

A White Book

TIBET FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

*The Story of the March 1959 Uprising as Recorded in Documents
Despatches, Eye-Witness Accounts
and World-wide Reactions*

*Edited by Raja Hutheesing
with a Foreword by the Dalai Lama*

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Foreword by His Holiness The Dalai Lama
(English Translation)

BIRLA NIVAS,

MUSSOORIE

15th October, 1959

I welcome the publication of the White Book on Tibet as I hope that it will help to bring home to the peoples of the world the sufferings and inhuman treatment of my people.

Tibet has always been an independent country exercising all the rights of sovereign people. The Chinese armies have violated the treaties and agreements they had forced upon us and are now committing aggression against my country and my people. There was no other alternative for me but to leave my country so as to be free to appeal to the conscience of the humanity. My offer to the Chinese to agree to an international commission which would investigate the crimes committed by the Chinese Communists and their armies has been brushed aside. My people and I were therefore left with no other recourse except to appeal to the United Nations and through it to the conscience of the world.

I am thankful to Shri Raja Hutheesing and Shri Patole who have selflessly worked to make this book a true and honest reflection of the events in my country.

We Buddhists firmly believe in peace and seek to live in peace. The Tibetans, both lay and monk, bear no ill-will or hatred against the Chinese people. We are convinced that they will one day realise the grave injustice they have heaped upon us. We have faith that truth will ultimately prevail and to that end I appeal to all those who believe in our cause to bend their efforts and help our people.



Dalai Lama

EDITOR'S NOTE

It is hoped that this 'White Book' on the Revolution in Tibet will be accepted as a fairly objective record of the tragic events in Tibet. There are no normal means of communications with Tibet and we have relied on newspaper reports, statements made in the Indian Parliament by the Prime Minister of India and the Chinese statements and broadcasts. Some material was also available from comments made by well known authorities who had visited Tibet in the past.

The Dalai Lama's own statements after his arrival in India are factual, but lack the tragic details of the drama. This is so, perhaps because he desires an international investigation into the charges he has made.

India, of course, was most concerned and as such Indian opinion may be considered as biased. On the other hand, the Chinese official statements give ample proof that the facts are as they have been stated by Indian and other sources.

We have tried to tell the story chronologically as far as it was possible to do so. There was no direct news, day by day, from the scene of the tragedy. Often the news took days before it percolated into India along with the constant stream of refugees. Some of the facts we could only know after the arrival of the Dalai Lama in India. It is therefore possible that we miss much of the drama that the events in Tibet must have possessed.

We have tried to fill in this lacuna by giving the reader some idea of the historical background and the ordinary life of a people who have lived in majestic isolation for centuries. We hope that the chapters by Mr. Amaury de Riencourt, Mr. Bessac and Mr. Ekvall will help to make these gentle and peace-loving people and their deeply religious way of living, a conscious experience. We are grateful to them for acceding to our request and taking the trouble to send us their articles at short notice.

The documentary evidence has been faithfully represented, and its original sources indicated. Obviously, some of the reports are repetitious, as they tell the same story, but the different nuances of individual writers help to create a fuller picture. It would be difficult to enumerate the various newspapers, writers, news and picture agencies who have gladly consented to our use of their material. We must, however, particularly thank the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Society of the United Kingdom and the London 'Daily Mail' for the copyright photographs of the Dalai Lama flight from Tibet.

The Editor would like to express his gratitude to the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom who collected much of this material. I am personally obliged to Mr. D. C. Patole who laboured for long hours cutting, clipping and pasting and helping

me to edit the material. Without his help I would not have been able to take up this work and to complete it in a short time.

As this manuscript goes to press, news has come that the Irish and Malayan resolution on the appeal of the Dalai Lama to the United Nations has been accepted by an overwhelming majority. Many of the Asian nations, however, preferred to abstain from voting. It is difficult to appreciate the reasons advanced by Mr. Nehru to justify India's non-participation in the voting, for I feel that refusal to recognise the moral justice of the Dalai Lama's appeal to the world conscience, strikes at the very principles of human rights which the Government of India claim to adhere to. India's denial of help to the oppressed people of Tibet has opened the doors through which peace in the whole of Asia is jeopardised.

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INTRODUCTION

Tibet will not die because there is no death for the human spirit. Communism will not succeed because man will not be slave for ever. Tyrannies have come and gone and so have Caesars and Czars and dictators. But the spirit of man goes on for ever.

—JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

TIBETAN HISTORY

An Introduction by Amaury de Riencourt

GEOGRAPHY alone would have set the Tibetan nation apart from all the others on this earth. Dwelling in proud isolation between the Himalayas and the wastes of Central Asia, high above the clouds on the loftiest plains and valleys of our globe, the Tibetans have often given the impression of living far out in interstellar space, on some distant planet. They came late to culture and civilization, much later than is commonly believed. It always was and remains a poor country made up of large, barren and treeless plateaus and secluded valleys. Terrifying, icy winds blow across the roof of the world, making settled life difficult and precarious. It is no wonder, therefore, that it was only when civilized life had already been in progress for thousands of years in the heavily populated lowlands of neighbouring countries—the Indo-Gangetic plains in the south and the Yangtze and Yellow River areas in the east—that Tibetans began to acquire a taste for civilization. Known for a long time to the Chinese as “ferocious barbarian shepherds” who dwelt far far away in the west, in inaccessible mountains, they were eventually drawn into the vortex of history in the seventh century A.D.

Divided for a while into numerous petty kingdoms and tribal states, Tibet was united for the first time by the ruthless King Song-Tsen-Gampo (Straight-Strong-Deep). At the head of a powerful army, he overran large slices of China and crushed the army of Emperor Tai Tsung. Peace was eventually restored in 640 A.D. and the Tibetans withdrew, taking along a Chinese princess as the bride of King Song-Tsen-Gampo. Under her civilized influence, and also that of his first Nepalese wife, the Tibetan ruler was converted to Buddhism. Autocratic in the extreme, he decided to establish it as the official religion of the land. From then on, a double current of cultural influences began to flow into Tibet—customs and manners from China, an alphabet, scholars and Buddhist monks from India. This intermingling of Indian and Chinese influences set the course of Tibet's future history.

The spread of Buddhism received further impetus when Song-Tsen-Gampo's successor King Ti-Song-Detsan brought the famed Buddhist saint Padma Sambhava. Working together, they founded the first

monasteries, and by merging more or less harmoniously Mahāyāna Buddhism with the aboriginal Pönism (a Tibetan form of animism), they and their successors eventually produced in “Lamaism” an entirely new brand of Buddhism. Later rulers such as Langdharma who attempted to fight the new faith, like Julian the Apostate in the Roman Empire, failed utterly. The octopus-like spread of Lamaism gradually covered the whole of Tibet; the lamas eventually secured political power, subdued the fierce nobility and tribal chieftains, transformed the kings into puppets—until such time as the abbots of the larger monasteries began to assume direct political power themselves.

A line of king-lamas was started when the abbot of the great Sakya monastery began to rule western Tibet. Those were times of great trouble in China. The Middle Kingdom had fallen under the sway of the Mongols. Whether out of genuine religious instinct or out of fear of being wholly absorbed by the irresistible Chinese civilization, the Mongol Emperor of China, Kublai Khan became a convert to Lamaism and requested the blessing of the king-lama of Sakya—who in exchange, was recognized by the Mongol authorities as legitimate ruler of the whole of Tibet. Thereafter, Lamaism made steady progress in Mongolia proper, eventually took it over completely, pacified the Mongols as it had previously pacified the Tibetans, and made Mongolia into a twin-nation of Tibet, ruled from its capital city of Urga by a Grand Lama.

In the meantime, political power began to corrupt the Lamaist clergy. Although more or less unchallenged for generations, the rule of the Sakya pontiffs began to meet increasing resistance, and eventually generated the far-reaching reformation of the famed Tsong-Ka-Pa (Man from the Land of Onions). Springing from northeastern Tibet, this great reformer inspired the revival of a purer form of Buddhism from which most of the enduring strains of Pönism were expelled. He urged celibacy and a puritan way of life on his followers who became known as *gelukpas* (those on the Way of Virtue) or Yellow Hats, in contrast to the *dukpas* or Red Hats of the old,

unreformed clergy (still powerful today in such areas as Ladakh and Bhutan). Tsong-Ka-Pa's reform was so profound and enduring that he became known to latter-day Tibetan devotees as the "Second Buddha".

The Yellow Hats were far more disciplined and better organized than the Red Hats; they began to challenge the authority of the king-lama of Sakya with increasing boldness. But what was eventually to give them overall supremacy was an audacious innovation: the creation of the Dalai Lamas. The long line of Dalai Lamas started in a humble way with the precocious son of a modest shepherd. Young Lotus Thunderbolt became a brilliant monk, the most celebrated of his time. He visited the aged Tsong-Ka-Pa, founded the huge monastery of Drepung (The Rice Heap), was eventually given the title of "Perfecter of the Priesthood" and was recognized as having attained Buddhahood in his lifetime. The innovation, however, is that after having "Passed beyond sorrow" through earthly death, his followers recognized his spirit as having passed into the body of another monk, who thus automatically became high priest of the great monastery of Drepung. The latter's successor, third of the line, was fortunate enough to convert a number of Mongol princes to the faith; as a reward, the title of "Dalai Lama", that is "All Embracing Lama", was bestowed upon him.

Up to this time, the Dalai Lama was still nothing more than a great religious figure and the acknowledged head of the *gelukpas*. Political power was still vested in the head of the *dukpas*, the king-lama of Tsang and abbot of Sakya. It was the Fifth Dalai Lama, the forceful and ruthless Lobzang the Eloquent, who contrived to destroy the political power of the king-lamas of Tsang and establish the supremacy of the Yellow Hats: a cynical alliance with the Tartar prince Gushi Khan resulted in the annihilation of the army of Tsang. In exchange for the title of "king" of Lhasa, a purely honorific title for the military commander, the Mongol prince left the reality of political power in the hands of the great Fifth Dalai Lama. From then on, Lobzang the Eloquent was free and able to establish an enduring rule of the most amazing kind on earth: Tibet was ruled by a succession of men who, as far as popular imagination and acceptance was concerned, filled the triple role of god, priest and king, endowed with the most awe-inspiring power over his subjects ever vested in a politico-religious ruler. He was able to convert most unreformed lamas to his reformist creed but the ruthlessness of his methods was such that the famed Austrian Jesuit, Father Grueber who was the first European ever to visit Tibet and who reached Lhasa during his reign, described him as "this devilish God-The-Father who puts to death such as refuse to adore him."

Such a bold innovation as a continuing succession of Bodhisattvas was not likely to stop at the creation of a line of Dalai Lamas. Thus, there came into being hundreds of similar lines of "Living Buddhas" enthroned in the larger monasteries, living mummies who were, in point of fact at least, worshipped as if they were incarnate deities. First and foremost, Lobzang's old teacher, "The Banner of Religion's Victory", was granted the title of Second Incarnate Lama, and became known as Panchen Rimpoche or, more commonly, Panchen Lama.

Following the Great Fifth's death, there was a period of disorder and anarchy in Tibet, compounded as usual in such cases by foreign invasions—this time by Muslim Tartars. The Tibetans appealed for help to China, now under the strong rule of the new Manchu dynasty. The end result was the establishment of a loose Chinese (or rather Manchu) suzerainty over Tibet symbolized by the appointment of two Chinese mandarin residents, the *ambans* to whom the reality of political power in Tibet now devolved. An ingenious device consolidated the Manchu rule: upto and including the Twelfth, all Dalai Lamas were discreetly and systematically poisoned before they reached their majority at the age of eighteen. Thus, throughout most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Tibetan people found themselves without strong leadership under the relatively mild suzerainty of the Manchu emperors in Peking—that is until 1894 when, upon the Thirteenth Dalai Lama reaching the fateful age of 18, the National Party in Lhasa staged an unexpected revolt. Conscious of what would happen if the Chinese had their way, they hoisted the Dalai Lama on the throne over the loud protests of the *ambans*. The Chinese Empire was giving evident signs of impending disintegration and the Tibetans felt by instinct that the time had come to shake off Chinese imperialism—which they did effectively in 1911-1912 when, the revolution, having swept the Manchu emperor off his throne in Peking, the Tibetans revolted in their turn, wiped out all Chinese garrisons in their country, and became *de facto* independent.

But another dramatic development had taken place some years before. In October 1903, the Water-Hare year of the Tibetan calendar, the British viceroy of India dispatched an armed expedition up to the roof of the world. The Dalai Lama fled toward the east. The Manchu authorities in Peking, who begrudged the Dalai Lama his unauthorized assumption of power and knew that they had lost their grip on Tibet, took this opportunity to depose the Tibetan ruler—an ineffective gesture of which the Tibetans took no notice. A complex game of power politics followed the temporary Indo-British occupation of Lhasa

which resulted in a treaty being signed between Tibet and Britain, establishing their relations on a formal basis. Although the British never recognized Tibet as a fully independent nation in so many words, they actually behaved as if they did. In the meantime, a last outburst of Chinese imperialism proved to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama that independence was the only real solution for his country.

After several years of travel through Mongolia and China, including very difficult negotiations with the Empress Dowager Tzū Hsi which led to nothing, the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa in 1909. He had hardly set foot in his palace when the Chinese launched a full-scale invasion of Tibet with the evident intention of incorporating the whole country in their moribund empire. Under the strong leadership of Chao Erh-feng, the Chinese eventually reached Lhasa and compelled the Dalai Lama to flee a second time—but, now, towards India. After an epic journey, similar in many respects to that made by his successor in 1959, half a century later, he eventually reached Kalimpong and settled down to a new exile in the south.

The revolution of 1911 in Peking solved the problem by cancelling the recent military invasion of Tibet. And from 1911 to 1950, Tibet ruled itself in all respects as an independent nation. For twentyone of these years, the Thirteenth Vice-Regent of Buddha guided his country through the stormy weather of the twentieth century. China had fallen to pieces; but there were constant minor aggressions against the ill-defined and ill-defended Tibetan borders by western Chinese warlords. It should be kept in mind that the Sino-Tibetan border was a huge area, partly unexplored and often impenetrable; there was no precise frontier. Instead, there were a number of fierce nomadic tribes and even independent states owing only nominal allegiance to Lhasa; in fact, neither Peking nor Lhasa really controlled them. But when Chao Erh-feng marched on Lhasa in 1906-1909, several of them had already seen their autonomy abolished and had been incorporated into the neighbouring Chinese provinces—such was the case with the kingdoms of Batang and Derge. Others had been subsequently absorbed by the Tibetans and brought under Lhasa's direct authority: this is what happened as late as 1927 when the prosperous kingdom of Po was annexed by Tibet. In fact, through the early part of the twentieth century, there was a gradual and parallel absorption by both Tibet and China of intermediate states until their administrations finally met east of Chamdo and south of Jeykundo.

Under the impulse of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Tibet underwent a slight measure of modernization;

a few mild social reforms were carried out; the administration became more efficient. But, on the whole, Tibet remained steeped in the past. The rule, maintained Tibet's neutrality in world affairs preserving with great skill a precarious balance of forces between the British in India, the Chinese warlords and China's weak central government, and the Soviet Russians who displayed enough interest to send a Soviet-Mongol mission to Lhasa in 1927. But he adamantly refused to establish Tibet's status officially as an independent nation and apply for membership in the League of Nations. The ambiguity of Tibet's juridical status remained unaltered since no foreign state recognized the Tibetan state as fully independent and sovereign. In internal affairs, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama displayed his autocratic temper and could not countenance political interference on the part of Tibet's higher clergy; this eventually led to a rift between the two highest authorities in Tibet and, in the early twenties, the Panchen Lama fled to China, where he eventually died. His bogus reincarnation, "discovered" by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's emissaries and used as a convenient tool by his communist opponents, eventually returned to plague the Tibetans.

In 1933, the Dalai Lama passed out of his Thirteenth Incarnation. His death was followed by a short interregnum and the discovery of his Fourteenth Incarnation, followed in February 1940 by a solemn ceremony of enthronement in Lhasa. Unfortunately, the removal of the seat of the Chinese government to Chungking had brought it into closer geographical contact with Tibet and had stimulated anew its imperialistic interest. Tibet's unofficial position as an independent entity in the eyes of some of the world's leading powers (President Roosevelt sent a mission to Lhasa in 1943) began to alarm the Chinese; and in the midst of a war against Japan in which the survival of China itself was at stake, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had enough time and thought to waste to attempt an aggression against Tibet. In 1943, he ordered the two western warlords Ma Pu-fang, Governor of Tsinghai and Liu Wen-hui, Governor of Sikiang, to invade the roof of the world. His instructions, however, were not carried out by the warlords and Lhasa was spared.

Tibet came out of the Second World War unscathed. Unity had prevailed in the country, as well as peace and order. But with international peace apparently restored throughout the world, inner conflicts came out in the open. They centered around the ambitious personality of the former Regent, the Reting Rimpoche. A plot developed and blew up early in 1947, resulting in an attempt on the life of the new Regent and ending with the

arrest and mysterious death of the Reting Rimpoche. I arrived in Lhasa shortly after, in May 1947, for the express purpose of studying Tibet's political problems and writing about them. By way of summing up this short introduction to Tibetan history, I would like to describe the most striking features of the country and the people, as they appeared to me at the time.

Perhaps the most striking feature of Tibet, apart from its fantastic inaccessibility and the awesome appearance of its mountainous landscape, was the evident joviality and happiness of its inhabitants—such gaiety as I never encountered in any other land. I was struck by the fact that, although they lived in a seemingly remote age of their own, under medieval conditions, they seemed to be satisfied with their lot. The Government's writ ran everywhere, people were law-abiding, peace and order reigned—at least in central Tibet. The top leadership in Lhasa was far better informed of world conditions than I would have expected. But somehow, they had a lackadaisical approach to the crucial problem of their own international status which I found puzzling and alarming. On the whole, they had relied for two generations already on a balance of forces between a strong Indo-British power in the south and a weak and divided China in the east. They did not seem to realize that this balance was changing fast—not so much through a weakening of India as through an immense build-up of Communist strength in China. In all my conversations with high and low officials I stressed the urgency of initiating diplomatic relations with all the great powers, of firmly establishing Tibet's right to independent nationhood and the Tibetan state's right to unqualified sovereignty. I urged that Tibet should apply for membership in the United Nations, to which Tibet had as much right and perhaps more than many of its newest members. But to all this, most Tibetans replied that there was no hurry, that India, for the sake of her own interests and in sheer self-protection, would continue the British policy of safeguarding Tibet's autonomy. Only the dynamic old Tsarong Shapè and some of the younger Tibetans agreed with my views; and they were powerless against traditional inertia and the rather timid outlook of most leading Tibetans.

This Tibetan reluctance to face facts, especially technological changes, this refusal to discard obsolete notions inherited from the venerable past, this reliance on a hallowed set of traditions, all this stood in the way of a realistic appraisal of their precarious situation. The Government was not vigorous. The Dalai Lama was still a child, the Regent was old and the Kashag (Cabinet) was made up of relatively timorous men who did not want to innovate. A

Regency is ill-equipped to deal with dangerous situations. Inertia and respect for traditions combined with an inadequate political leadership let Tibet drift slowly, rudderless, towards disaster. True enough, a slight effort was made the following year, in 1948, when a "Tibetan trade mission" was dispatched to Europe and America, using Tibetan passports—over the loud protests of the Chinese (Kuomintang) Embassy in Washington! Still, nothing was done on the part, whether of the Western powers, or of India, or even of the Tibetans themselves, to mobilize the energies of the nation and acquire the minimum weapons needed for self-defence against the looming Chinese aggression.

Whatever their shortcomings, the Tibetans are definitely a nation by all the accepted canons of international law and custom—historical, geographical, cultural and linguistic. They might have been partly to blame for not having adapted themselves fast enough to the new requirements of international relations; but the major share of the blame still rests on the shoulders of the free world who should safeguard the spirit rather than the letter of international law and civilization. Recent history makes it plain that Tibet today faces two major imperialisms combined in one: an aggressive *Marxist* expansionism which displays itself with equal ruthlessness and ubiquity in Central Europe and in the Far East; and a purely *Chinese* imperialism which was bound to manifest itself as soon as China had once more become united and powerful—regardless of the regime in power. This perspective shows us clearly that the danger facing Tibet is infinitely greater than that facing Hungary, for example. Soviet Russia cannot and has no intention of destroying Hungary *as a nation*. China, communist or not, can and is determined, not merely to communize Tibet but to destroy the Tibetan people as a nation. If one only reflects that Tibet's population adds up to hardly three million people and that China already totals six hundred and fifty million, the ease with which the Chinese can flood Tibet demographically (as they have flooded Manchuria and Inner Mongolia in our century, vastly outnumbering Manchus and Mongols in their own homelands) becomes plain. Steady Chinese immigration has already outnumbered the Tibetans in the northeastern area of Tsinghai as early as 1958. The writing on the wall is ominously clear. The destruction of the Tibetan nation would be a far worse crime than the enslavement—temporary, let us hope—of satellite nations such as North Korea and North Viet Nam.

Moreover, in the long run, such destruction could only be a prelude to a full-scale seizure by the Chinese communists of the Himalayan states, stepping

stones in turn to further aggressions against India itself. If I may be permitted to conclude this way, I would like to quote my own thoughts on the matter, written in 1949, a year before the actual Chinese invasion: "I became convinced that if ever Tibet was taken over by the Soviets or the Chinese communists, the whole of India and Southeast Asia would become strategically untenable and left wide

open to an invasion. Nestled in the stratospheric and hardly known valleys of the roof of the world, as inexpugnable as if they were situated on the planet Mars, communist armies and air forces could forcibly dominate the largest part of Asia."*

*Amaury de Riencourt: *Roaf of the World* (New York, 1950), p. 225.

WAY OF LIFE

By Fred Bessac

My introduction to the Tibetans was from the north. I entered their land over the vast expanse of uninhabited, cold, and arid great northern plains or Chang Tang as they are called in Tibet and the first Tibetans I met were nomadic pastoralists. The nomad with his flocks of sheep and herds of yak must move from place to place throughout the year seeking grass and water for his animals. He does not wander haphazardly across the desert and steppe as popular imagination sometimes credits him but is confined to a more or less regular round of migration by custom and the necessity of not encroaching upon the pastures of other groups. As soon as the pasturage in a certain locality is exhausted, they must dismantle their distinctive black tents, gather up their few household utensils, place them on the backs of yaks, and head for a prearranged area herding their flocks before them. The number of movements a year, which might be twelve or more, is dependent upon local conditions and upon the climate of the particular year.

The black tent mentioned above is similar in its general aspects to the tents of the desert nomads of the Middle East, Near East, and North Africa. In its own right it is no cheap abode, but represents considerable skill and labour, especially in the manufacture of the coarse but heavy cloth of which it is constructed. This cloth is woven from yak hair. The oblong tent owes its support principally to ropes which are tied to its upper corners. These ropes are led away from the tent, drawn over the ends of poles placed in the ground some distance from the tent and finally made secure in rocks on the ground. The tent is thus suspended rather than gaining support by resting on the ground. The sides of the tent are made close to the earth by placing rocks over them. This type of tent has an advantage in an area of high winds. It might flutter in the breeze but will not be blown down or be blown away.

The Tibetan, whether nomadic, agricultural, or urban, has a diet that consists of three staples; meat, either yak or mutton, parched barley-meal, and tea. Most of the meat is raised by nomads, barley by the farmers, and tea bricks are obtained by trade with China. The soda and salt for Tibetan tea is gathered by the nomads who also supply the bulk of the butter which is usually an ingredient added to the tea. If

milk is also used, it is supplied locally. Nomad and farmer are equally dependent upon each other for the basic articles of consumption. Barley-meal is mixed with tea and rolled into a ball which is then popped into the mouth. This Spartan fare is called "tsampa." The Tibetan eats with the fingers of his right hand as do many of the peoples of India, the Middle and Near East, and North Africa.

The common dress of both men and women in central Tibet is a long cloth gown with long sleeves. This gown is unbuttoned at the top and is held together primarily by a sash. As with the Mongols, the cloth covering the chest is left loose and herein are often kept many and sundry items, but nearly always the tsampa bowl. A pair of boots which usually come to just below the knee and which are made of leather except for the winter when felt boots are worn and a hat or hairstyle make up the rest of the essentials. In winter a heavy sheep skin coat with the wool turned inside is worn as protection against the cold as are also the men's conical fur-lined hats which are a variant of the general Central Asian type. Around Lhasa and on the trade route to India, the Indian Army hat is a recent but popular addition to the type of hats worn by Tibetans. Among the nomads, the sheep skin coats are often worn into the summer. On what is to a Tibetan a hot day, one arm and shoulder will be left exposed. I have seen nomads in this mode of semi-undress in freezing weather.

Some men wear their hair in a braid, while some wear it in a grand disarray. Men who have a certain position in the government are entitled to hang a turquoise from one ear. They are allowed to wear their hair in a little top knot in the middle of which a small charm box is kept. On going out, a small cap which looks like a rice bowl is worn to protect the charm box. Women have various hair styles. Some wear their hair in many small pig tails, while others wear their hair on a wooden rack which rests on the head. On festive occasions the women, around Lhasa at least, wear stripped, many coloured aprons and a charm box hung from the neck so that it rests on the breasts. The clergy wear a long gown similar to the one described above. It is red when made of the common cloth, but it is sometimes yellow when made of silk. The finest gowns have small patches

sewed on to the silk, thereby denoting the status of humble beggar which a monk should occupy.

As one descends the plateau country of northern Tibet to the valley systems of central Tibet, sedentary agriculturists are met. The Tibetan farmer can be contrasted with the farmer in China in that the Tibetan has a much higher standard of living. For in Tibet, there is not the terrible population pressure on the overworked soil as is the case in China. The Tibetan, in contrast to his Chinese counterpart, works the ground chiefly with the aid of animals. Also, in contrast to the Chinese, he either maintains flocks of sheep and herds of yak or has access to the herds of nearby pastoral settlements and thus has a sufficiency of animal protein in his diet. The Tibetan farmer thus combines animal husbandry and agriculture in a way that is familiar to students of Western history. As a matter of fact, their way of life is not dissimilar in mode of subsistence to that of the European peasant previous to the industrial revolution and that of the American farmer previous to the introduction of the McCormick reaper and other means of mechanizing farm labour. Tibetan agriculture is extensive rather than intensive. On a Tibetan farm one is certain to meet yaks, pigs, chickens, and, of course, the Tibetan mastiff which is also found as a protector of the herds amongst the nomads. Barley is the most important crop grown, but wheat is also raised at a lower altitude. Peas are grown for the animals. Fields are often irrigated, although in some areas this is not essential.

The average Tibetan peasant lives in a two-storey building. In central Tibet the ground floor is used as a stable, but in north-eastern Tibet it is used as the main quarters—the upper rooms are used only in summer. The sides are constructed of either stone, sun-dried brick, or pounded earth and sometimes serve as the main support for the roof. In areas where wood is difficult to obtain they must do so, but often the flat roof of beaten earth is supported by timbers. The house is usually enclosed within a courtyard. A wooden balcony leads up to the upper storey, but sometimes a stairway is found inside the house. In central Tibet the staircase is generally constructed of stone steps. The house is sometimes built around a patio for the first level or so and is then roofed over by the top storey. Actually, Tibetan architecture is ambitious and diversified but little known. Mansions of the well-to-do are often five storeys in height. The Tibetan temple style is well known for its austere competence. The Potala, although not typical, is certainly one of the more inspiring buildings in the world. On the southern slopes of the Himalayas where the country is heavily forested the wooden houses look like Swiss chalets. Nails are not used there. Rocks hold down the long

shingles which cover the gabled roofs. In the area between the wholly nomadic north and the predominantly agricultural south there are subterranean, stone-walled habitats. The roofs of these abodes are made of yak-hair cloth which is stretched across rafters in such a way that it forms a gable.

If one comes upon Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, as I did from the inhospitable north, the land of the wild yak, wolf, and lammergeier, down through the vast grasslands of the pastoral nomad, and then through the villages of the farmers bounded by groves of willow and poplar, one is not apt to consider the city quaint. I was impressed that this was a nation's capital and the centre of a complex civilization. There are three principal factors to life in Lhasa; those of the clergy, the bureaucracy, and the trader. We shall first consider the clergy.

The overwhelming majority of Tibetans are Tantric Buddhists. The Tantric school of Buddhism, historically speaking, shares with the Zen school or Ch'an as it is designated in China, an apex in the development of Buddhistic religious and philosophic thought. The Tantra stems from the teachings of Gautama Buddha as these are transmitted by the Old Wisdom School of the Theravada, from early Mahayana concepts and then from the Yogacara. The specific Tibetan contributions as opposed to the Indian base upon which Tibetan Buddhism rests, all tend more towards things more specifically religious than the philosophic rationalism of the Indians.

One of these contributions has been the insertion of native deities into the religious cosmos, a matter which is, of course, only peripheral to Buddhism. Another has been the reorganization of much of the clergy through the reforms of Tsong Kapa, who lived in the fourteenth century, into a pattern more resembling that initially advocated by Gautama Buddha. The reforms of Tsong Kapa mean that monks should live in monasteries for the large part or as hermits and should keep vows against killing any zoological thing or eating flesh, against theft, unchastity, lying, and drinking intoxicants. In Tibet a self-conscious exception is made to the rule against the eating of the meat of the larger domesticated animals. It is considered that man cannot live in Tibet unless he consumes the flesh of these animals, that the animal would not have been born without the help of man, and that the animal gains a better life in its next appearance on earth because it is eaten by a member of the clergy.

The third important innovation of the Tibetans into the religion that came to them from Southern Asia is the belief in an ability regularly to determine Bodhisattvas as actual persons. The Bodhisattva is someone who has the ability of attaining Nirvana,

but out of compassion for man and all sentient creatures he wills to be reborn on earth, enduring its frustrations and suffering, in order to help others on their road to salvation. Upon the death of a Bodhisattva, his reincarnation is sought as a living child. The most revered of such Bodhisattvas is Avalokitesvara or Chenreze as he is called in Tibet whose reincarnation is popularly designated as the Dalai Lama by the Mongols and by Westerners.

My impression of Tibetans is that they are a very tolerant people concerning religious matters. The church considers not only Tantric ideas but any Buddhist discipline as being worthy of study and is not at all doctrinaire. Within its assumptions it allows intellectual and spiritual deviation. But intellectual and spiritual exploration is a challenge accepted by only a few of the Tibetan Buddhists—as is the case among the adherents of any social-intellectual system.

Most people of the Tibetan religion are concerned chiefly with symbols of worship and have little knowledge of the complex nature of the philosophic and religious base of the belief system in which they participate. One advances as a monk into the spiritual world largely because the teacher with whom one is most in contact is wise and able. If one is fortunate enough to have a good teacher, wisdom may be acquired. But not all teachers are wise. Fortunately, the Mahayana faith does not rely upon wisdom as the only means to salvation, but as in Christianity, allows for salvation to be attained by faith and grace. There is a great deal of faith in Tibet. It is one of the most religious nations in the world. Prayer, pageantry, and acts of religious devotion are so much a part of Tibetan life that it is difficult to imagine their absence from it.

Most aspects of life have a religious flavour to them. Monasteries dominate the landscape. Festivals are generally an accompaniment to religious pageants. Illness is often thought of in terms of evil spirits influencing the body. Songs, dances, and literature often have a religious theme. However, the most emphatic link between the sacred and secular worlds is the Dalai Lama, the incarnation of Avalokitesvara, who is at one and the same time not only the most revered holy personage in Tibet and the surrounding areas of the Mongol, Monguor, and Yagor, but is also the temporal ruler of Central Tibet.

As the head of the Central Tibetan Government, the Dalai Lama has under his command a complex bureaucracy. Positions within this bureaucracy are filled chiefly from two sources, the clergy and the service nobility. Often a lay and a clerical official are appointed to share responsibility of the same position. Higher positions and those close to the capital are actually under the control of the Dalai

Lama and his appointees, but local positions are sometimes filled by the local gentry or are subject to a local monastery and these latter often have only an indirect relation with the central Government. This is especially true in relation to some of the older families of the nobility and some of the incarnations. One such semi-independent incarnation is the Tashi Lama known to non-Tibetans by the name Panchen Lama by which the Mongols and Monguors refer to him. The Tashi Lama is revered as an incarnation of Amitabha Buddha. The Tibetans recognized his incarnation for the first time in the old teacher of the fifth Dalai Lama. The temporal powers of these local dignitaries do not extend beyond their individual holdings. In recent years there has been a rather successful effort on the part of the Government of Tibet to break up these feudal or semi-feudal holdings and to make them more responsible to Lhasa. The Chinese, fishing in the troubled waters that naturally resulted from this effort, have made one catch—the Panchen Lama.

In some areas of Tibet, the farmer pays taxes directly to the representatives of the central Government. In other areas he pays taxes to a local gentry family or monastery, but his courts of justice are administered by the central Government. In still other areas he not only pays taxes to the local gentry or clergy, but also is subject to their courts although in all cases anyone may appeal to Lhasa in the case of a supposed injustice. If the farmer pays taxes to the local gentry or monastery and is subject to their courts, he may not leave his community unless he provides someone to take his place. However, this rule seems to be as often broken as not although a violator is subject to punishment if caught. Presumably the high premium placed on good peasantry works to secure them acceptance at the hands of rival gentry and the general cohesiveness of the emergent urban middle class protects them if they enter the towns to become traders or craftsmen. At times the local peasant community will refuse to allow its members leave without providing a substitute for fear that the tax burden will bear too heavily upon those that remain. Unfortunately, I do not have sufficient satisfactory information concerning this interesting economic and social problem.

Trade is carried on chiefly with India, but also with Nepal, China, Bhutan, and Mongolia. The important item of trade with China is tea which is transported over the most tortuous roads to Tibet from south-western China. It is an anomaly of commerce that China should supply tea to Tibet, especially central and western Tibet, while Indian tea is much more accessible. Tibetan exports are chiefly wool, yak tails, and religious items.

Tibetan craftsmen maintain an excellence on par or above that of their Eastern neighbours which is to say that they produce some of the world's best handicrafts and most beautiful objects of art. For the most part, the objects manufactured with the utmost skill are religious in nature such as *tankas* which are religious paintings and small bronze or clay statues of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas either in the round or in bas-relief. I have a bronze statue of the Buddha which was cast for me in Lhasa. I bedevil my colleagues who have a knowledge of the Orient by asking them to tell me the date and locality at which it was made. Sometimes they guess it was made in the Tsang Dynasty in China which is no mean compliment to pay a contemporary Tibetan artisan. Some of the secular objects on the manufacture of which considerable skill is often lavished are saddles, boots, and silver tea cups, although the most prized tea cup is made entirely from the burl of the birch tree without embellishment.

Although there is only one female incarnation of a Bodhisattva in Tibet and women take no direct part in government, they do have a relatively high position in Tibetan society especially as compared with their sisters living among the conservative sections of Chinese, Turkish, Mongolian, or Indian society. In central Tibet it is customary for the husband to do the travelling if the couple is engaged in trade while the wife manages the shop herself. Women are given great respect as entrepreneurs and often act independently of male influence. Their characteristic demeanour with its lack of false modesty and general self-confidence is an indication of the high degree of both independence and responsibility their men have allowed them. However, in central Tibet at least, in the choice of her future mate, a woman is allowed no opinion. But this statement must be qualified because often the future bride and groom, especially among the peasantry, have both spoken for each other to their parents and, if the parents refuse to acquiesce to their children's desires, the latter elope to return after the parental wrath has abated. In the polyandrous family often found in Tibet, the members are united by both mother and wife and the responsibilities of both women are great.

The typical Tibetan family is formed of either a son and daughter, their spouses and offspring, and one or more of his parents. Inheritance rules vary from place to place. In some areas inheritance goes only to male heirs; in other places male heirs receive the bulk of the inheritance; and in yet other areas inheritance is divided among all children equally. Of course, if the only boy in the family enters the clergy and ceases thus to continue the family line, it may appear that matrilineal inheritance is being practised if his sister and her children receive the estate, but

actually such a case would be but one instance in the working out of a system of bilateral inheritance. That is the system of inheritance practised in Western countries whereby both the paternal and maternal sides of the family receive equal recognition and inheritance is distributed among all the children, regardless of sex. Other relatives and neighbours help the Tibetan family in work and form a group of interacting people, the members of which are limited among the rural folk chiefly to the village or the nomadic encampment. Thus, it appears that in its essential features the Tibetan family is similar to the families of Inner Asia, Southern Asia, and China, differing from families of these areas principally in a tendency towards reckoning descent bilaterally. The Tibetan family is also distinctive because of the two features which I shall now discuss.

Most peoples of Asia practise son-in-law adoption. Usually this is done in cases where only daughters are left unable to carry on the family line. The children of the son-in-law take the mother's maiden name and inherit the maternal grandfather's property. In some cases the son-in-law assumes his wife's maiden name also. Among many of the peoples of Asia it is a great disgrace to be an adopted son-in-law and the practice is not common. In Tibet on the other hand, there is no stigma attached to being an adopted son-in-law and the practice is not uncommon.

The ideal Tibetan family, that is the type of family that the Tibetans want to have, is the same type that is desired by the old-fashioned Chinese, Indians, and Mongols, that is a family composed of the parents, their sons, the sons' wives, and grandchildren. Among the Tibetans, however, the brothers in such a large, extended or joint family will often have one wife in common. The Tibetans say that the wives of brothers make trouble if made to share the common mess and thus the best way to keep the family together is to have them all share one wife. Jealousy between brothers over their common wife is said to be rare. But fraternal polyandry does not always solve the problems of the large family in Tibet because among the more well-to-do Tibetans individually loved concubines are kept by some men in addition to the family wife, and one can well imagine the trouble that a concubine, ambitious for the sake of her son, can make within an extended family.

Space does not now allow a further description of the Tibetans. Much of the information that is stated above I have taken from the bibliography presented for this article. Those among you in whom an interest in Tibet and things Tibetan has been awakened and who desire to pursue this interest further will, I trust, find the books from this bibliography both interesting and instructive.

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TIBETAN CULTURE

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As befits a people who have a very special and distinctive culture, the Tibetans, whether the learned and great or the ignorant and lowly, have a strong cultural self-consciousness. Culture means many things to many people and the configuration of a culture rests on many factors, but Tibetan cultural self-recognition sees religion and language as the most important of all those distinguishing aspects of the Tibetan way of life. Of all the ties which hold the Tibetans together in a sense of oneness and well-knit unity, religion and language are the strongest links and Tibetan awareness of the fact is very simply stated in the Tibetan phrase "CHos Lugs gCig, KHa Lugs gCig" (religion system one, mouth system one).

The great Tibetan religious leader in the thirteenth century who made contact with the conquering Mongols to forestall a Mongol invasion of Tibet, and, by religious persuasion combined with political temporizing, secured under his own leadership a large degree of autonomy for Tibet, reported his efforts and his success to the Tibetans in the words, "I have done this for the benefit of those who speak the Tibetan language." It was the strength of organized religion, using the appeals and mystic sanctions of religion, which saved "those who speak the Tibetan language" from the devastation which came to so much of Asia, and even Europe as the Mongol horsemen rode to conquest.

Both religion and language reflect the genius and character of the Tibetan people. Mahayana Buddhism did not have its origin in Tibet, but the Tibetan version of Mahayana Buddhism has a character and vitality all its own. When Buddhism came to Tibet the philosophical concepts and close metaphysical reasoning basic to it were not discarded but were accepted and even elaborated by competent and scholarly Tibetan minds. Much, however, of the old barbaric native religion was retained and added to Buddhism, for the Tibetans were tenaciously unwilling to discard their heritage from the past: the beliefs and practices that were a part of their own era of expansion and conquest. The combination of the two thus became the Buddhism of Tibet,

which not only is devoutly believed in and practised in Tibet, but was accepted from the Tibetans with equal fervor by the Mongols, and made a part of their culture.

For the Tibetan, CHos (religion) is the final answer. It conditions his world view; it divides his society into two segments—the lay and the priestly; it is the important part of all science, drama, art, and scholarship; it exacts from him attitudes and observances which fill his life with sacrifices, activities and satisfactions; and to it he gives his deep allegiance.

Verbalization of religion, and the importance given to it in Tibetan practice, closely link language with religion. The mother tongue, with all its emotive power, of a people who are magnificent orators, creators of libraries, composers of beautiful love poetry and in general articulate to a remarkable degree, is also the means whereby religion is made effective in a universal, incessant and most varied verbalization, based on the assumption that the words—and they are Tibetan words—have power in themselves. Thus a language which in itself is both adequate and rich is strengthened by its religious employment among all "who speak the Tibetan language".

A certain language strength and surprising degree of, what may be called, linguistic sophistication are revealed in the events and developments which attended the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, and the adaptation and adoption of a system of writing from Indian sources to make a record of, and give permanency to, the concepts of the new religion. Transliteration and the introduction of loan words were kept to a minimum but the resources of the Tibetan language were carefully expanded in the creation—in Tibetan—of a vast new vocabulary to meet the need for terms in which to express all the abstruse and philosophical concepts that came with the importation of Buddhism. Under the Sanskrit influence the structure and syntax of the language were formalized and rules laid down, but the language itself remained Tibetan, even though the forms and new vocabulary resulted in CHos sKad (religion

language). This too helped strengthen the Tibetan language as a whole, for the universal distribution of CHos sKad (religion language) usage, tended to inhibit linguistic change, and established a common referent and aid to comprehension between the dialects which naturally would arise among an isolated and mountain people. Thus, "those who speak the Tibetan language", whether they come from Ladakh in the west, Kham and Amdo in the east, or the central area between the limits, understand each other, and are tied together by that mutual and recognized comprehension.

The extension of effective Chinese Communist control over all of Tibet constituted an immediate and mortal threat to the religion and language of the Tibetans. This they recognized immediately and clearly, regardless of the promises of religious freedom and linguistic autonomy which were made by the conquerors, who had used military force while speaking only of peace and helpfulness. Behind all the smooth assurances is the certainty that the doctrine according to Lenin-Stalin-Mao is to replace the doctrine of the Buddha; socialism is to replace the attitudes and observances of Tibetan religion as they function in Tibetan society; and communes are to replace monasteries. And Chinese—newly styled the Han language—not Tibetan, is to be the language of the future in the Land of Snows.

Freedom of religion is the permissive facade behind which anti-religious propaganda is slowly but surely to erode acceptance and faith; intensive secularization is to replace the role of religious

observances in Tibetan society; and economic strangulation and attrition are to undermine and eventually destroy the religio-political structure. For the Tibetan, if CHos (religion) is threatened, the most distinctive bond and characteristic of his culture is in danger: cultural extinction looms near.

The threat to the Tibetan language is more oblique but nevertheless sufficiently real. With the de-emphasizing of religion so will disappear the verbalization of religion as a source of linguistic strength and power of resistance to linguistic penetration. The Tibetan language is to be reformed, and modern terminology is to be created: but Chinese forms and Chinese terminology are the only outside linguistic source and influence, and heavy linguistic penetration and the massive influx of Chinese loan words is a certainty. The Han—like Latin in mediaeval times—is to be the only second language in the educational system, introduced at a very primary level, and the only language in which advanced study can be pursued. Knowledge of the Han is to be, not only the key to advancement and leadership, but a prestige symbol of great value. Thus soon the mother tongue of the Tibetans will become only the language of the ignorant and lowly, and eventually disappear as a distinctive and unifying factor in the configuration of Tibetan culture.

Thus, as in the thirteenth century, the hopes of the people of the Land of Snows are centred on the struggle their religious leaders are making to maintain cultural freedom and self-determination for "all who speak the Tibetan language".

I

THE PRELUDE

Tibet: 1950—1959

Who overcomes

By force hath overcome but half his foe.

—JOHN MILTON

From 1912 to 1950 Tibet was virtually an independent country. No Chinese writ ran in Tibet ; there was no Chinese law, no Chinese judge, no Chinese policeman on the street corner; there was no Chinese newspaper, no Chinese soldier and even no representative of the Chinese government.

—Report on Tibet submitted to the International Commission of Jurists by Shri Purshottam Trikamdas.

On the 25th October (1950), however, the Chinese announced on the Peking Radio that the process of "Liberating Tibet" had begun. The fat was in the fire. The Government of India was troubled about the Chinese action on the Tibetan borders and I received instructions to lodge a strong protest. The Chinese reply was equally strong. It practically accused India of having been influenced by the imperialists and claimed that China had not taken any military action but was determined to liberate Tibet by peaceful means. Our rejoinder, though couched in equally strong words, recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet and disclaimed all desire to intervene in its affairs, and emphasised once again our wish that the issue between the Tibetan and the Chinese should be decided peacefully and not by the use of force. Both the parties had made their point of view clear and were content to let it rest there.

—K. M. PANIKKAR in
In Two Chinas

THE PRELUDE

Unrest in Tibet

ON the admission of the Chinese themselves the rebellious activities of the Tibetan people have been of fairly long duration. Since the Sino-Tibetan agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, the 'rebels' have been plotting to tear up this agreement and preparing for armed rebellion. The Chinese established the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region as early as April 1956, but owing to obstruction by the "reactionaries" in the Tibetan Government there was little progress.

The local government of Tibet is called Kashag in Tibetan and its six members are called Kaloon. Of the six Kaloons, two are pro-Chinese : Ngapo

Ngawang Jigme and Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, who was wounded by the 'rebels' on March 10. Of the other four, Yuto Chahsidongchu, had already revolted in 1957 and fled to Kalimpong—the centre of the rebellious elements' activities abroad. The three others, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Nousha Thubten-Tarpa, and Hszika Jigmedorje (Shasu) came out into the open as traitors in the present rebellion.

Between May and June, 1958, the Chinese Communists alleged, the rebels intruded into Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka, destroyed communications, ravaged the people by plunder, rape, arson and murder and attacked agencies and army units.

"Liberation Threat"

By the beginning of 1950 the Communist Government in Peking was in effective control of the whole mainland of China except Tibet and parts of China's "Far West". The authority of the Nationalist Government had been eliminated. It was the proclaimed intention of the Chinese Communist Government to "liberate" Tibet during 1950. It was laid down as a basic task of the "People's Liberation Army". The Chinese Communist forces invaded Eastern Tibet in October. The Government of India made strong protests to Peking and Tibet made an appeal on November 8 to the United Nations against the Communist aggression and requested the U.N. that it should use its good offices to bring about a settlement of the dispute between Tibet and China.

The Tibetan Government considered it preferable to meet representatives of the Chinese Communist Government in neutral territory rather than in China or Tibet. During April, 1950, a seven-man Tibetan mission, appointed by the Dalai Lama's Government in Lhasa and led by Mr. Tsepon Shakabpa, arrived in India. The mission set up headquarters at the frontier town Kalimpong (on the Assam-Sikkim border, about 20 miles east of Darjeeling). The mission held conversations with the first ambassador of the Chinese Peoples' Government, who declined to commit himself on the question of

future Sino-Tibetan relations. At the suggestion of the Government of India the mission agreed to proceed to Peking for direct negotiations but after the invasion of Tibet in October the proposed visit to Peking was cancelled.

On May 22, 1950, Peking radio called on the Tibetan Government and people to achieve the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet, affirming that Tibet was part of Chinese territory and declared that its geographical remoteness would constitute no obstacle to the Communist armies. The broadcast also advised the Tibetan Government and people not to count on British or American aid and not to be "misled by slanders of the British and American imperialistic bloc aimed at sowing discord between nationalities". It gave an assurance that "the Central People's Government was absolutely considerate of the interest and traditions of all component nationalities of the People's Republic of China, and fully respects their freedom of religion" ; and ended with a call to the Tibetan Government to send plenipotentiaries "to conduct peace talks in Peking in order to save the Tibetan people from unnecessary losses."

On August 5, 1950, General Liu Po-chen, Chairman of the South-West China Military Affairs Commission and Commander of the Communist Second Field Army, declared that Chinese Communist forces would

shortly enter Tibet to "liberate" the territory, to drive out "the aggressive influence of British and American imperialism", to bring Tibet back into the "Motherland's big family", and consolidate China's "line of national defence". General Liu added that Tibet would be allowed "regional self-government and freedom of religion", that her institutions would be respected, but that her army would be incorporated into "the national defence forces of the Chinese People's Republic."

From August 1950 onwards there were reports in the Indian press and from Hong Kong that Chinese Communist forces had invaded Tibet. There was no official substantiation.

On October 24, 1950, the *New China News Agency* announced that a political mobilization directive had been issued ordering Chinese Communist forces to advance into Tibet "to liberate 3,000,000 Tibetans from imperialist aggression, to complete the unification of the whole of China, and to safeguard the frontier regions of the country."

On October 28, Lhasa officially confirmed that Chinese troops had entered Tibet from the east, whilst two days later a Government of India spokesman stated that the Tibetan Government had requested Indian diplomatic assistance in its dispute with China, but had made no request for military assistance.

It was authoritatively stated in New Delhi and by the Tibetan Mission in Kalimpong, that Chinese Communist troops had advanced into Tibet in several directions from the western Chinese provinces

of Sikang and Chinghai, that a number of frontier posts had been taken, and that the important town of Chamdo, situated about 300 miles west of Lhasa and the capital of Kham Province, had been captured. Press reports of a rapid Chinese advance on Lhasa were, however, not confirmed, the head of the Indian Mission in the Tibetan capital (Dr. Sinha) reporting to his government on November 13 that the Chinese Communist forces were still in the Chamdo area and were not nearer than 300 miles from Lhasa.

Although the Tibetan army, nominally about 10,000 strong and equipped only with a limited quantity of small arms, could hope to offer little effective resistance to the Chinese Communist forces, the rugged Tibetan plateau, with an average elevation of 12,000 ft. above sea-level, offered very great physical difficulties to an invader.

On October 28, 1950, India sent to the Chinese Government a note expressing "surprise and regret" at the invasion of Tibet, and at the fact that China should have sought a solution of her problems with that country "by force instead of by the slower and more enduring methods of peaceful approach."

The Chinese reply, dated October 30, 1950, asserted the Communist Government's claim that Tibet was "an integral part of Chinese territory" and that the matter was "entirely a domestic problem of China." A second Indian Protest was transmitted to Peking on October 31, the Chinese answer (November 17) merely reiterating the previously expressed view that China possessed "sovereign rights" in Tibet.

Geography, Area and Population

THE elevated plateau of Tibet, virtually cut off from neighbouring territories by the world's highest mountain ranges, is bordered on the north by the Chinese province of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) from which it is separated by the Kwen Lun range; on the east by the Chinese provinces of Chinghai and Sikang, whose political boundaries with Tibet have not been definitely demarked, on the west by Kashmir, in an area near the "roof of the world" where the Western Himalayas meet the Karakoram mountains; and on the south by the Himalayan hill states of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, and by India in Upper Assam. The area of Tibet is approximately 463,000 square miles, and the population numbers approximately 3,000,000. Despite the fact that the

economic system is largely feudal in character, with much of the best land being in possession of the monasteries, Tibet is mainly self-sufficient in food-stuffs and the peasantry is, by and large, agriculturally self-supporting and free from the worst type of agrarian poverty. As a result of the theocratic nature of Tibetan society, approximately one-third of the male population are monks. The upper and middle class townsmen, as well as the monasteries themselves, engage, however, in a considerable entrepot trade on the caravan routes to India and China, the principal exports being wool, hides and skins, and borax, and the chief imports being manufactured goods from India and "brick" tea from China.

International Relations and Political Status

TIBET was invaded early in the 18th century by the Chinese Manchu emperors, who established a loose and largely nominal Chinese suzerainty over the country. In the early years of the 20th century the Chinese Imperial Government attempted to establish greater control over Tibet, but (as described in the Tibetan Note to the United Nations) the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty by the Revolution of 1911 enabled Tibet to break the ties binding her to China, to evict the Chinese Mission to Lhasa, and to recall the Dalai Lama from India, whither he had taken refuge from the Chinese authorities. Tibet has been to all intents and purposes an independent nation since the first world war. In 1914, following a conference at Simla between British, Chinese, and Tibetan representatives, the "Simla Convention" was signed whereby nominal Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was recognised and China was given the right to maintain a Mission in Lhasa, but was forbidden to interfere in any way with Tibetan internal administration. The Chinese delegates, however, never signed

the treaty. The Tibetan Government, as stated in its note to the U.N. in 1950, maintained in consequence, that Tibet possessed full political independence *de jure*, as China had renounced "the benefits that would have accrued to her" under the 1914 convention.

The only foreign countries represented in Lhasa are India and Nepal. India maintains a Mission in the Tibetan capital, and trade agencies at Gyantse and Yatung, on the caravan routes. Prior to the appointment of Dr. Sinha as Indian representative in Lhasa, which took place after the transfer of power by Britain in 1947, relations between India and Tibet had been effected through an officer of the Indian Political Department stationed in Sikkim; the last British occupant of this post was Mr. A. J. Hopkinson, who continued to act in this capacity for some time after the establishment of the Dominion of India. Tibet herself maintains no diplomatic representation abroad.

Form of Government

The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama

UNDER the hierarchic form of government prevalent in Tibet, the supreme authority in the country is wielded by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, both of whom are regarded as incarnated aspects of the Buddha. The authority of the Dalai Lama is secular and administrative as well as spiritual. The Panchen Lama however, has only spiritual authority. The present (fourteenth) Dalai Lama, was enthroned in 1940, at the age of five, after satisfying the customary religious tests that he was a reincarnation of his predecessor. Since 1940 he has ruled during his minority through Regents but on November 17, 1950 was invested with full powers as spiritual and temporal head of the country in view of the emergency caused by the Chinese invasion.

Tibet was without a resident Panchen Lama since 1923, when the holder of that office fled to China after a dispute with the Dalai Lama, and subsequently died in that country in 1937. Since his death three youths were put forward as claimants, but the

Tibetan priesthood was unable to select a "true" reincarnation of the former Panchen Lama owing, it was alleged, to Chinese interference which prevented the candidates from travelling to Lhasa for the religious tests which precede the final selection. A 12-year old youth resident at the Kumbum Monastery in the Chinese province of Sikang is claimed by his followers as the "true" (tenth) Panchen Lama. This claim, however was not recognised in Lhasa until recently. According to reports in the foreign press, this youth and his advisers are alleged to be identified with the pro-Chinese faction in Tibetan politics.

The Dalai Lama is advised in temporal matters by a Council of Ministers (Kashag) and a National Assembly (Tsongdu). The latter, a body consisting of 500 to 600 members which include representatives of the great Buddhist monasteries, and national organisation, nobility, craftsmen and commoners meets whenever important matters are referred to it by the Dalai Lama or the Kashag.

China's Promise of Autonomy

THOUGH the Chinese invaded and annexed Tibet as far back as 1951 they did not dare to dissolve the political and religious system there. They feared popular unrest and revolt. On several occasions they publicly declared that Tibetan autonomy would be preserved and its religion and tradition respected. But in reality they tried to weaken the religious and political authority of Tibetans by introducing "reforms" which would communise Tibet. Here are a few quotations from official Chinese sources casting light on what they said and did :

The May 23, 1951, Sino-Tibetan agreements included the following conciliatory provision :

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

In 1952 Mao Tse-tung commented to a Tibetan delegation :

"In the region inhabited by the Han (Chinese) people, land distribution has already been carried out.....As to whether land should be distributed in minority nationality areas, it is for the minorities themselves to decide. It is as yet premature to speak of distributing the land in Tibet. The Tibetan people themselves must decide whether it is to be distributed in the future. Moreover, the land, when it is distributed, will be distributed by the Tibetan people themselves."

Chang Kuo-hua, Commander of the Tibet military district, stated in September 1956 before the Chinese VIII Party Congress :

"Before social reform is started...the working people must desire reforms...At present, these conditions have still not been fully achieved, so it will be a comparatively long period of time before socialist reform can be carried out."

Mao Tse-tung in his famous "contradiction" speech of February 27, 1957 added :

"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 (1958-1962) and we can only decide whether it will be done in the period of the third Five Year Plan in the light of the situation obtaining at that time."

The postponement of "reforms" was formalized in April, 1957 and reaffirmed regularly since that time. In part, the reason for the postponement stemmed from the fact that "reforms" had been tried experimentally in regions inhabited by Tibetans and contiguous to Tibet—Western Szechwan Province—in 1956 and had resulted in uprisings among the Khamba tribesmen and great apprehension in Tibet proper.

Autonomy: Concern over the apparently delicate state of affairs in Tibet also prompted the Communists to refrain from imposing an open Communist regime in Tibet. From the take-over in 1951 until 1955 affairs in Tibet were ostensibly administered by the Dalai Lama's Government. In 1955 the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was authorized by the State Council. This authorization seemed premature, for the Committee was not formally assembled until a year later. As the Communists themselves now admit, the Preparatory Committee has managed to accomplish very little in almost three years of existence—it will be three years old on April 22, 1959.

According to the State Council authorization of March 1955 :

"The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region will have the nature of a state organ, charged with the responsibility of making preparations to establish the Tibet Autonomous Region, and will be directly under the State Council. Its major task is to prepare for regional autonomy in Tibet, as provided in the Constitution and the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and according to the concrete conditions of Tibet."

The senior Peiping representative in Tibet, Chang Ching-wu, stated on that occasion :

"Like other brother nationalities of the Motherland, the Tibetan people will fully enjoy national equality and freedom of religious belief, gradually develop their political, economic and cultural educational work in the course of national constructions, and begin to march towards the path of brightness and happiness..."

One of the Tibetans now prominent in the new Tibetan administration headed by the Panchen Lama, Ngabou Ngawang Jigme, reported in 1955 :

"As the army and the working personnel of the Central People's Government went into Tibet under General Chang Ching-wu and Commander

Chang Kuo-hua under the order of the Government they have, in the spirit of the 17-article agreement and national policy, respected in every way the original political system of Tibet, the status of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama as well as the religious belief, customs and habits of the Tibetan people, besides giving protection to all lamaseries."

Religious Institution

AWARE of the vital Tibetan concern in the fate of their religious institutions, which had both secular and spiritual functions, the 1951 17-point Agreement dealt at length with this question. It reassured the Tibetans that :

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

"The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Ngoertehni (Panchen Lama) shall be maintained."

"The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out, (later references are to the Constitution adopted in 1955—) the religious beliefs customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected and lamaseries shall be protected. The Central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries."

Mao Tse-tung, speaking to a Tibetan delegation in 1952, stated :

"We Communists adopt a policy of protecting religion ; we respect their belief. Today we adopt the policy of protecting religion and we will do so in the future."

In March 1955, Chang Ching-wu, Peiping's representative in Tibet, declared :

"The people of Tibet are ardent worshippers of Buddhism. For the past three years the army and working personnel in Tibet have strictly followed the policy of freedom of religious belief, seriously respected the religious belief of the Tibetan people, truly protected the lamaseries, broadly rallied the religious circles, and strengthened the unity of the ecclesiastics and laymen and among the various religious sects. By all this work and the respect paid in China to freedom of religious belief, the broad ecclesiastics and laymen of Tibet have seen proof that the Communist Party and the Central People's Government truly respect and protect the freedom of religious belief."

Chang Kuo-hua, member of the Communist Party Tibet Work Committee, in an October 1957 speech reviewed religious affairs in Tibet.

"All this has amply proved that in our country people with religious beliefs are not only legally protected, but are actually safeguarded by the government and enjoy special respectability. Thus, the government is supported and praised wholeheartedly by the people of the whole country. All this has manifested concretely the correctness of the religious policy of the Party and the government. At the same time, it has also shown that Party organizations at various levels in Tibet have seriously implemented the Party's religious policy."

"Gradual" Policy Ended After the Tibetan Rebellion

ON March 28, 1959 one week after the uprising in Lhasa broke out, the Chinese Communists abolished the Tibetan government headed by the Dalai Lama and replaced it with a new administration under the nominal authority of the Preparatory Committee. The Panchen Lama was appointed acting chairman of the Committee and has since

been used by the Communists as a spokesman. Peiping also announced that the policy of delaying "Reforms" until 1962 is now to be abandoned. According to the March 31 editorial in the Peiping *People's Daily* the rebellion "has proved the necessity of instituting democratic reforms in Tibet."

Sino-Tibetan Relations

THE Han (ethnic Chinese) Communists, who claimed that they had come to help the Tibetans, in reality behaved like conquerors. There was complete disregard of Tibetan rights. In subtle ways the Dalai Lama showed that he disagreed with the Communists. He co-operated with the Communists because he wished to moderate the effects of Communist actions on his people. He had no enthusiasm for Communist policies. The following quotations from official Chinese Communist sources reveal their own stories :

On March 9, 1955, the Peiping Government's representative to Tibet made an official report to the Peiping State Council. He reported the following typical problems :

"Numerous are the shortcomings and errors on the part of the Chinese working personnel in Tibet. Part of the Han (Chinese) cadres have demonstrated a varying degree of the remnant concept of great Hanism, such as the lack of due respect to the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetans, the insufficient recognition of the merits of the Tibetan cadres, and the lack of due respect and warm support to them....."

"Concerning the purchase and transport work they fail to make timely price adjustments, causing part of the Tibetans a considerable loss for which compensation and amends have to be made later. In individual cases, there has even been breach of law and discipline and the phenomenon of commandism."

The Tibetan collaborator, Ngabou Nga wang Jigme, made a similar report to the Peiping State Council. Although apparently desirous of pleasing the conquerors of his country, he nonetheless felt called upon to observe that :

"In individual cases, some Chinese Communist cadres and Chinese army officers and soldiers, due to ignorance of Tibetan customs and habits and because of language difficulties, occasionally, committed defects and errors in trading and transport work in certain districts....."

In fact, according to Jigme's comments, the "disunity" between the Chinese conquerors and the Tibetans was so great that the Tibetans wisely refrained from expressing their views openly in front of the Chinese. During the "rectification" campaign of 1957, ample evidence was presented that the Communists ought to trap non-Party people by inviting them to openly express their views, later chastising them for having held these views. The Tibetans instinctively grasped this situation in their own country from the start. Jigme reported that the Chinese Communist policy of "consulting" with Tibetan officials was largely unsuccessful. Jigme said :

"During the initial stage, the officials, ecclesiastics and laymen of the Tibetan local government, influenced by the old habits sometimes considered discussion (with the Chinese) merely a matter of form, dared not express their opinions, or feared that even if their opinions were expressed they would not be firmly put into practice. As a result, they could not see the bright future of Tibet, nor would they show any enthusiasm in creating favourable conditions. No great results, therefore, were obtained."

The problem of Chinese disregard for Tibetan customs and sensitivities continued to be reported prominently in official accounts. In October 1957, Fan Ming, member of the Chinese Communist Tibetan Work Committee, added this comment which showed that, in fact, the problem was becoming worse :

"Great-Han chauvinism in Tibet is manifested in the feeling of superiority of the Han race, repugnance at the backwardness of Tibet, failure to respect the freedom of religious belief and traditional customs of the Tibetan people....."

"As a result, some cases have occurred where the nationalities policy was impaired, law and discipline were violated, and the freedom of religious belief and the customs of the Tibetans were not respected."

Subtle Protests of the Dalai Lama

THE Chinese Communists, who have heretofore sought to remain in the background in the governing of Tibet, and hence minimize Sino-Tibetan antagonisms, divided Tibet into three separate areas. Each was governed by different bodies, the first body, headed by the Dalai Lama, ruled from Lhasa,

the traditional capital. In order to establish the pro-Communist Panchen Lama in a more or less equal power position, the Panchen Kampo Lija Committee was formally established, with headquarters in the western Tibet city of Shigatse, seat of the Panchen. Still a third local government

was established in eastern Tibet in what was formerly part of Sikang province. In addition to existing Han-Tibetan rivalries, intra-Tibetan disunity was also promoted by the Communists.

Despite continuous Communist control and supervision, the Dalai Lama in his public statements managed to convey subtle disagreement with the often glowing Communist claims of progress in Tibet. In a typical exchange of comments on Tibetan developments at the time of the April 1956 formation of the Preparatory Committee of Tibetan Autonomy, the following discrepancies were noted between Chinese Communist statements and those of the Dalai Lama.

While the Chinese Communist spokesmen spoke of the "close unity" between the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, the Dalai Lama noted pointedly that "the former mutual distrust and misgivings and grievance against each other.....have been reduced."

Communist spokesmen reported the new highways into Tibet as outstanding examples of Han economic assistance to Tibet ; the Dalai Lama responded by

noting that many Tibetans had sacrificed their lives for this "progress." He said that "at the same time, many people, in assisting Tibet to improve its communications, sacrificed their valuable lives in the midst of construction. I wish to express here my sincere condolences for these martyrs."

The Peiping authorities spoke of the inevitability of national minorities "making necessary reform within themselves;" the Dalai Lama commented that news of reforms in neighbouring provinces "has reached Tibet and has roused the suspicion and anxiety of some people here."

Chinese Communist leaders warned that while religious freedom in Tibet would be maintained, political changes must not be delayed ; the Dalai Lama, however, added that "the basic problem in the restoration and development of protecting it as their own life. It is entirely a different thing from political reform. At the same time, we all know that without political development there can be no religious development. Therefore, it is not necessary to have any suspicions and fears."

Peking Admits Continued Revolts

Hong Kong

THE Chinese Communist press has admitted that an area in Szechwan Province on the eastern border of Tibet has been in a constant state of rebellion since early 1956. This was when the Party began to force its social and economic policies on the area's predominantly Tibetan population.

The admission is contained in a "Work Report of the People's Council of the Tibetan Autonomous Chou of Kanze," published in a recent issue of the Kangting *Kanze Pao*.

Although the "Work Report," which covers the period from December 1955 through March 1958, contains no details of current unrest, its description of the situation during the 27 months covered, seems to confirm the dispatches from Nepal and north India reporting intensification of the Tibetan revolt.

(In late July the London *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent in Darjeeling on the Tibetan border reported that the Tibetan revolt was spreading and that the Tibetans had formed a resistance organization to fight the Chinese Communists.)

The "Work Report" in the *Kanze Pao* indicates that on at least two occasions during the period covered the rebellion erupted into major revolt and that the Chinese Communist Army was "compelled to wage armed struggle to put down the revolts."

The first major revolt occurred during the spring of 1956 and was reported, in numerous dispatches from correspondents of Western newspapers and press associations in Nepal and India during May and June. It was not acknowledged by the Chinese Communist press until August of that year.

The second major revolt appears from the *Kanze Pao* article to have taken place during the spring of 1957, and has not been previously reported anywhere.

The paper says that it was the Party's decision, taken in December 1955, to introduce land reform in the Tibetan area that sparked the rebellion.

"When the reform was first launched," the paper states, "a few short-sighted feudal lords and landlords, acting at the instigation of counter-revolutionary elements, organized armed revolts in an attempt to resist the reform.....After the reform, law defying elements among the landlords and rich peasants were as arrogant as ever, and audaciously counter-attacked the peasants and reckoned accounts with them again in an effort to restore the old rule.

The article continues : "After April 1957, the masses were once more mobilized universally for dealing resolute blows to the law-defying landlords and rich peasants, thus further consolidating the results of the reform.

"...But under nationalistic and religious pretenses 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 their eyes, cutting off their noses and hamstringing them, causing great losses to the people in life and property.....In order to rescue the besieged cadres and liberate the oppressed working people, the Party and government were compelled to wage an armed struggle to put down the rebellion.....the rebels have described the class struggle as a 'national struggle' and a struggle to 'defend religion'....."

What had actually been taking place in the area was explained with somewhat more clarity by Hsi Jao Chia Tso, Tibetan chairman of the Communist-sponsored Chinese Buddhist Association. On June 27, 1956, Hsi Jao Chia Tso explained to the National People's Congress in Peking that the rebellions that were taking place in the Tibetan area of Szechwan were the result of dissatisfaction with Communist policies. According to the official *New China News Agency*, he stated that in the Kanze Autonomous Chou "there were recently some improper measures on land reform, and commercial taxes on lamaseries' farmland and cattle."

"These measures," he said, "created worry on the part of the lamas and the lamaseries." And he added, significantly, that the Chinese Communist Army "while collecting weapons from the people, even took away the weapons which had been placed as religious offerings. As a result, Buddhists doubted the sincerity of religious freedom."

Hsi Jao Chia Tso warned that to inconvenience the religious activities of the Tibetans and financially embarrass the lamaseries and lamas "will incur displeasure" toward the Peking government. He explained: "Among the lamas of the Tibetan nationality there are traditional Buddhist regulations and customs difficult to change, which hold that they cannot participate in agricultural cultivation. With the farmland and cattle of the lamas and lamaseries joining co-operatives, they cannot obtain payment for labour. In short, since the Tibetan people are highly conservative toward their native customs, it is therefore not surprising that they are also conservative in their attitude toward new events and systems. Any impetuous and eager attempts for change under unripe conditions can only lead to unfavourable results."

An indication of the extent of the "military measures against the rebels" which the Chinese

Communist regime admitted it used in a Peking NCNA dispatch of August 7, 1956, is contained in a petition addressed to the Indian Prime Minister Nehru by a group of Tibetans, headed by a brother of the Dalai Lama. The petition charged that the Chinese Communists had bombed the village of Litang, in the Kanze Chou, killing more than 4000 Tibetans, practically the whole village.

The NCNA Peking dispatch said only that "the rebellion.....limited to the area of Batang and Litang in the southern part of the Chou.....has been mainly settled.....Military measures against the rebels were necessary."

The "Work Report", published recently by the *Kanze Pao*, reveals that up to March 1958, "democratic reform" had not yet been completed in the southern part of the *Chou* (administrative district of several counties). It adds however, that the Party expects to complete the "reform" some time this year.

The "Work Report" states further that "in order to safeguard the democratic reform and the development of mutual-aid and co-operation in production" (the initial steps in the drive toward collectivization through which most of China had passed by the end of 1953) all those opposed to the "reform" have been dealt with.

It continues: "In accordance with the policy of 'combining productive labour with political education', those who are arrested and sentenced are put to corrective labour, so that they may turn a new leaf and begin life anew. Those who have been thus reformed are given jobs or are sent home to take up productive work. In the course of the democratic reform and the putting down of revolts.....the government has subjected to 'surveillance and study' only a few of the stubbornly resisting bandits and Kuomintang spies, so that they may admit their guilt and repent their crimes. As for the masses coerced into following the counter-revolutionaries, they have been released and sent home to resume production. After a few days of education they have profoundly realized from their own personal experience that they were deceived and hood-winked by the feudal landlords....."

—August 1958

Ceaseless Resistance

In 1950 the Chinese Communist forces advanced into Tibet to forcibly occupy that country with the declared motive "to liberate" 3,000,000 Tibetans. The Tibetans have resisted that aggression from the very beginning and the Chinese admit themselves that their rebellious activities have been of fairly long duration. The Chinese troops had advanced

into Tibet in several directions from the western Chinese provinces of Sikang and Chinghai. Among the several frontier posts captured was the important town of Chamdo, the capital of Kham province. Thus the Khampas were the first Tibetans to come under the Chinese yoke and they were the first to revolt. Years of suppression and punitive actions on the part of the Chinese have not dimmed their fervour for freedom. They have been at the forefront of the revolt since 1950 and even after the Dalai Lama has left Tibet they are carrying on the fight. No connected account is available of their several attempts to fight the Chinese occupation forces.

The Khambas, the most martial of all Tibetans whose resistance to the Chinese continued for a year after Chinese troops had invaded the country, only laid down their arms in response to a personal appeal from the Dalai Lama.

Rebellion in Golok District

THE first big flare-up which found a prominent place in the world press was the rebellion in Golok district in north-eastern Tibet in which about 900 Chinese troops were massacred. This was in March 1956.

The reports said :—

The trouble the Chinese have been facing in this part of Tibet was touched off two months ago when the conservative monastic sect, "Mimang," began a poster campaign against the Chinese and courted arrest.

General Mabofang, a Golok leader, led an attack on a Chinese garrison in which about 900 Chinese troops were massacred. He fled to Mongolia as Chinese reinforcements arrived. The revolt was suppressed with repeated bombing by Chinese war planes. Since then, Chinese planes have been regularly flying over Lhasa.

These reports, which were circulated abroad by foreign correspondents gathered to cover the coronation of King Mahendra, have been described as "a fabrication" by Chinese sources in Khatmandu.

Situation Explosive

Two months later reports reaching London indicated that the most immediate trouble spot was in the area inhabited by the Khamb tribes of Amdo just north of the territory where two months ago the Goloks rose in revolt and wiped out a local Chinese garrison.

Khambas Restless

London, May 7, 1956

THE Khambas are reported to be restless and, according to *The Times* correspondent in Khatmandu, their attitude is being anxiously watched in Lhasa.

Most Tibetans, the correspondent says, are devoutly hoping that the Khambas will not follow the example of their southern neighbours, the Goloks, as it could set up a national insurrection "which, even if initially successful, would inevitably provoke terrible retaliation and probably precipitate the downfall of the Dalai Lama and the whole traditional system."

The correspondent says that such a possibility however remote could result in diplomatic repercussions which would affect the stability of small frontier states like Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Revolt Against China

Ladakh

MABO Fano, Ladakh leader of the Golok tribe, has spearheaded an organised rebellion against the Peking Government in Tibet, according to reports trickling across the No Man's Land touching the borders of Ladakh.

The Chinese Government are reported to have flung about 30,000 men into action to contain and destroy the rebels.

The rebels, however, have gone underground after a violent clash with the Chinese Communists, in which the latter are stated to have suffered heavy losses. They are also reported to have lost some automatic weapons which the rebels are now using to good advantage.

The revolt is now stated to have spread to Badagay and Litayang in the south. If it spreads further, the Peking Government may be compelled to resort to a full-fledged war in Tibet in order to bring the situation under control once again, particularly because the rebels are believed to have the active support of the Chinese Muslims living in the western areas of Tibet.

Among some of the reasons listed for this rebellion are :

1. Heavy taxes imposed by the Chinese in these areas ;
2. Limitations placed on the authority of the DALAI LAMA ;
3. The arrest of a number of tribesmen, who have also been deprived of their arms ; and, most important of all,
4. Strained relations between Peking and the Tibetan Administration consequent upon the high-handedness of the Chinese Communist regime and their utter and almost callous disregard for the desires of the Tibetans in general.

The Chinese are further reported to have stationed a few well-armed divisions in Lhasa, the capital of

Tibet. Many of the Tibetan battalions have been disbanded.

REASON : They are reported to be ill-trained.

Over 60,000 Chinese soldiers are now stated to be guarding the southern frontiers of Tibet.

—*The Current, Bombay, May 16, 1956*

Incursion Into India

New Delhi

A PARTY of Chinese troops which had by mistake crossed the Indo-Tibetan border into India, near Chini, a week ago, has withdrawn, back into Tibetan territory, according to official information available here today.

It was explained that the Chinese lieutenant in charge of the troops thought that the area was Chinese territory as it was shown as such on the map he was carrying and had posted his men there. On the police chief at the border explaining to him the mistake, he readily agreed to withdraw his men and went back into Tibetan territory.

There are now no Chinese troops in the area on Indian soil, according to latest reports received here.

—*A. P. T. I. Message, July 18, 1956*

Red Tanks in Lhasa

Kalimpong

REPORTS from Tibet said today that Communist forces have moved tanks to protect the Lhasa area from the threat of an anti-Communist revolt.

At the same time, advices to this frontier station said tension within the Tibetan capital was heightened both by news of continued guerilla fighting against the Chinese in Eastern Tibet and by the failure of Peking representatives to release three resistance party leaders now under detention.

Both Chinese and Tibetan authorities had previously given assurances that all three leaders would be released, as demanded by the heads of three Lhasa monasteries.

It appeared the tanks were brought over the mountainous military highway from China by motor transports, then deployed from a concentration point, 65 miles north of Lhasa.

Travellers from Tibet reported that heavy fighting is still in progress between Tibetan irregulars and Chinese troops.

All routes into Lhasa through Eastern Tibet have now been closed by guerilla activity, they said, while a single route remains open through north-eastern Tibet.

—*Times of India, Bombay, July 18, 1956*

Invitation to Mr. Nehru Withdrawn. Unrest Again

On July 30, 1956 the *Times of India* wrote :

Having themselves invited Mr. Nehru to visit Tibet the Chinese authorities would not have normally put themselves in the embarrassing position of having to request him to postpone his visit indefinitely. That they have done so only shows that there is a new wave of political unrest in the region.

It is no secret that there was unrest there some time ago. The Chinese leaders themselves admitted that they had been a bit too rash in trying to force the pace of reforms in Tibet and so alienating a large section of the Lamas who were not quite prepared for revolutionary changes. The 'go slow' policy seemed to have borne some fruit and things appeared to have settled down. Indeed the invitation to Mr. Nehru would not have been extended if the Chinese had thought that the situation was uneasy in any way. The new trouble has apparently taken them by surprise.....The unrest can only be the result of political and economic changes for which many Tibetans are not yet psychologically prepared.

A Merciless Struggle

London

"THE revolt has spread north into Sinkiang and west to the borders of India," the correspondent continues. "Fighting is going on over the whole of high Asia. An estimated 300 a day average is being added to the almost incredible total of deaths which obviously cannot be exact but certainly gives a true picture of the proportions of the revolt. It is a merciless struggle."

"No prisoners are being taken on either side and no wounded being treated because of the shortage and in most cases total lack of food and medical supplies."

"This is the worst and perhaps final battle in a guerilla war that has continued sporadically since the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1950 on the pretext of liberating it from the 'Imperialists'."

—*Hindu, Madras, July 31, 1958*

Pray for Better Days.....

A question I was repeatedly asked by my various informants was 'should we rise up in Lhasa?'

With the example of Budapest in mind one could only caution them to keep their antiquated weapons hidden in the prayer flags and pray to Buddha for better days.

—*Gordon Shepherd in the Daily Telegraph*

Tremors in The Paradise

WRITING editorially *Thought* (New Delhi) said on July 28, 1956 that the resistance against the Chinese in eastern Tibet was growing. There are tell-tale tremors in the paradise being constructed on the roof of the world.

Trouble in eastern Tibet seems to have spread to the provinces of Golok, Horkhok, Derge, Nyarong, Chantin, Lithang, Mang-Kham and Mheli. Mimang (Tibetan resistance) leaders have alleged that several monasteries have been bombed by Chinese aircraft. Dhango Gompa in Nyarong and Dholma Tara in Chantin, they say, have been razed to the ground. Heavy taxation, interference with the Dalai Lama's authority, contempt of the Tibetan government shown in the dismissal of two Prime Ministers and the setting up of military administrative offices, crippling land "reforms" and, of course, the desire for independence are said to have been some of the causes of the disturbances.

In a topography such as that presented by Tibet, with its poor communications, even an ill-equipped resistance can be stubborn. The destruction of a few bridges, as seems to have been done on the Tachienla-Chamda-Lhasa road, can dislocate regular troops effectively. Reports indicate that the Chinese had approached the Dalai Lama to send three leading Lamas, Byawa Tsurpu Karmape, Trechen Rimpoche, and Chung Rimpoche, on a goodwill mission to the disturbed areas. All three are said to have expressed their inability to go.

Hatred of China

IN 1956 the Khampas ambushed a Chinese Vice Premier, Marshal Chen Yi, slaying some of his escort. Tibetan nationalism and hatred of China have always thrived in Kham, whose feudal overloads, the Pandantsangs, are traditionally pro-Western and have a strong influence on the Dalai Lama.

The Khampas, were joined in insurrection by the western Amdowa and Golokpa peoples and, clearly encouraged by the monks who lead Tibet's theocracy, by now are backed by a considerable portion of the population.

The Khampas have managed to embarrass Nehru who, as self-appointed apostle for neutral righteousness, often lectured the West for alleged misdemeanours while restraining himself when it came to lecturing the Sino Soviet bloc. Tibet was viewed by the British and is viewed by independent India, as an autonomous area under China's nominal suzerainty. But neither Britain nor, later, New Delhi ever considered itself obligated to protect Tibet from external aggression. Furthermore, India has long been engaged at home in efforts to put down a tribal

rebellion similar to that of the Tibetan Khampas prior to their incursion into Lhasa. This is the partisan movement of the Nagas of Assam. Embarrassed by his anti-Naga operation, Nehru tried to consider the Khampa uprising as nothing to get excited about, as a Tibetan equivalent of the Naga affair, and as none of India's business. His attitude seemed convenient until the Khampas worked into Lhasa itself, gained the Dalai Lama's blessings, and managed to attract a few bullets towards the Indian Consulate General.

—G. L. Sulsberger in *The New York Times*, March 6, 1959

A Long-Drawn Fight—1958

THOUGH the people of Tibet continued to fight hard and effectively against Chinese military rule, the reports of the struggle were few and far between. On April 5, 1958, Gordon Shepherd, *The Daily Telegraph* Special Correspondent, reported that guerilla forces in the Eastern Kham territories have now succeeded in cutting the military highway from Szechwan Province to Lhasa for nearly 500 miles. They have made direct contact between Chungking and the Tibetan capital impossible, and forced the Chinese to build diversion routes 1,800 miles long. Whole towns in the Kham area are changing hands in pitched battles.

The report added, in Lhasa itself the Chinese have been forced to increase their garrison during the winter months to about 30,000 men. This matches the combined strength of the capital's three great armed monasteries and the small but loyal Tibetan army. Parades of Chinese military strength have failed to cow the population and a tense situation exists.

The partisans have now cut the Chinese supply line at the village of Gyamda, only 160 miles east of Lhasa. Previously the road had been kept open as far as Takmok, some 300 miles east of the capital. A large Chinese encampment there with 6,000 troops and 5,000 civilians has now had to be abandoned because of constant guerilla attacks.

Air Attacks Gas Bombs Report

GORDON Shepherd further reported :

The Chinese have deployed forces varying between 90,000 and 120,000 men in the Kham area alone in a vain attempt to subdue the rebels. Air attacks on patriot strongholds with gas as well as high explosive bombs have been reported. The total Chinese casualties there were estimated at "more than 40,000." That means 40,000 killed because the wounded were not counted and no prisoners were taken.

The Kham guerilla bands are commanded by "Pompos" or tribal chieftains as well as by monks. They are armed only with rifles—a mixed batch of German Mausers and British and Russian types from the 1914-18 war.

Tibetan's Status

A man's status in Tibet today seems to be judged by the number of rifles he has hidden in various places. One patriot had to count up his hoard on his prayer-beads in answer to my question as to his own standing. Then he replied, "Forty-two," and grinned like a guilty school boy confessing to concealed cigarettes.

—Gordon Shepherd in *The Daily Telegraph*

"People's Party" Underground Movement

THE underground movement of the so-called Tibetan "People's Party" is strongly centred in Lhasa and the atmosphere is said to be smouldering.

The main anti-Chinese forces consist of the population of the three great monasteries near the capital, the Serah, Draphung and Ganden. They contain a total of about 26,000 monks, each of whom has a rifle wrapped somewhere among his prayer flags.

The Chinese have managed to reduce the Tibetan army from 20,000 to about 5,000. But this hard core refuses to be disbanded.

Rebels Try to Petition Nehru

Kalimpong

It is learnt from independent sources here that a force of warring Khampas, estimated at some 300 tried to enter the Chumbi valley to present a petition to Mr. Nehru when he passed through the valley on his way to Bhutan. They were stopped by Chinese troops at Phari at the head of the Chumbi valley and ordered to disperse. They refused to disperse and a skirmish ensued as a result of which casualties were reported on both sides.

Of late groups of Khampas have been operating as far south as the Chumbi valley demanding arms, horses, mules, money and provisions from traders and travellers for an alleged "liberation" movement upon Lhasa, Tibet's capital and seat of the Dalai Lama.

—A P. T. I. Message, Sept. 24, 1956

Insurgents Control Lhasa Highway

Khatmandu

A MAJOR part of the Lhasa-Peking highway, passing through Kham province in north-eastern Tibet, was under control of rebel Khampas, according to reliable sources here.

Unless heavy Chinese military escort was arranged to accompany traders' caravans of trucks, it is unthinkable to reach goods through to Kham without being looted and destroyed, added a trade spokesman.

—A P. T. I. Message, October 12, 1956

Traffic Suspended India-Lhasa Roads

Khatmandu

THE Chinese authorities in Tibet have suspended all commercial traffic over the India-Lhasa highways, according to reports received here.

The exact reasons for the suspension of traffic were not known but these reports suggested that it was possibly due to intensification of activities by the Khamba rebels in north-eastern Tibet.

The reports said that all vehicular, mule and trekking traffic on the highway have been closed.—

—A P. T. I. Message, October 12, 1956

Lama's Story of Chinese Attack on Monasteries

Kalimpong

GHABA Rimpoche, whose monastery lying south-west of Si-ning and north-east of Litang in the Sikang province of China, was destroyed by Chinese troops in 1957, now roams the streets of Kalimpong. Ghaba Rimpoche is a Khampa. His people were the first Tibetan rebels against the Chinese Government.

Here is the story of the Rimpoche (incarnate Lama) which is also the story of the beginnings of the Tibetan revolt.

Ghaba Rimpoche's monastery was one of the 25 in Kikudoh province of Kham. Seven hundred monks lived in the monastery which possessed vast cultivated lands.

Chinese troops first came from Litang to this area of Themchi Ngenga (25 towns) in 1952. For a couple of years they were friendly. But, in 1956, they began talking of "liberating" the people from the influence of the monasteries. The Chinese held meetings of Khampas and told them that the Lamas did no work, told lies about religion and made others toil for them.

The Chinese stated that, under the new administration, only those who worked would get food. They asked the people not to work for the monasteries nor send offerings there. They also asked the Lamas to work in the fields and earn their bread. The "liberation" propaganda was intensified among the Tibetan people in Sikang and not Tibet itself.

This sudden offensive against monasteries created much resentment in Kikudoh.

To make the thousands of Khampa Lamas work and not live off the people, the Chinese authorities called a meeting of Tibetan officials and Head Lamas of the area in 1956. Disturbed by Chinese propaganda, suspicious officials and Lamas conferred among themselves and decided not to attend the meeting.

When the Chinese came to know of this, they persuaded the Tibetan officials and Head Lamas to attend another conference at Kikudoh to safeguard the interests of the local people.

Officials and the Lamas presented themselves in Kikudoh. They waited there for four days but no meeting was held by the Chinese authorities. One day, Chinese troops surrounded them and prevented them from returning home. Meanwhile, in the countryside, Chinese troops began taking away arms from the Khampas. They said that the Khampas were not authorised to keep arms.

After they had assured themselves that the detained leaders would no more be able to organise the people to oppose the reforms intended to be introduced by the Chinese authorities, Chinese soldiers released the Tibetan officials and Lamas.

Meanwhile similar incidents had taken place in Litang, Bathang and Chending, where most Lamas had surrendered to the Chinese and worked in the fields and on the roads to earn their bread.

When they returned, the leaders decided to resist the Chinese attempts to change their social set-up. They held a meeting and decided, if need be, to fight the Chinese with arms if they insisted on changing their way of life. Sensing tension, the Chinese troops took positions on the hilltop above the Ghaba Monastery and sent word to the Lamas to surrender. One Lama who went to negotiate was shot dead as he approached the Chinese positions. This created panic and 300 Lamas fled the monasteries. The Lamas of the nearby Thangu Monastery heard this news and they too fled westwards towards Lhasa.

War Council Held

Lamas of the Phenching Gompa Monastery joined them and so did the eight hundred Lamas of Kikudoh Monastery. They were a vast army of Lamas fleeing westwards when they reached the Thinchinlinga Monastery. The Thinchinlinga Lamas held a war council and decided to fight if the Chinese came near. They won the support of the local Khampas. The pursuing Chinese soon arrived and a battle took place. The Lamas were defeated and the monastery burnt and destroyed. With the Chinese hot on their heels, the Lamas had either to fight or surrender. The local people were prepared to help them. So, a rebel army of displaced Lamas of 25 monasteries and villages

of Kikudoh came into being. It declared war on the Chinese.

Because the whole countryside stood up against them, the handful of Chinese soldiers who pursued them were either killed or driven out of Kikudoh. The rebels looted their arms. With looted automatic weapons, they shot down a Chinese plane that came to spot them at Lhomok.

This was the beginning of the Khampa rebellion against the Chinese which has now spread to Tibet. The Chinese were never able to recover Kikudoh. Ghaba Rimpoche, who had come to Doasa to tell the people of the Khampa revolt, managed to escape to India a few days before the revolt broke out in Lhasa itself.

He believes the Chinese will never be able to set foot again in Kikudoh where they destroyed seven out of the 25 monasteries and where Lamas no longer pray and meditate but fight with guns.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 14, 1956*

Dalai Lama Tried to Flee Before?

London

THE Dalai Lama is pleading with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, for political asylum, according to the New Delhi correspondent of the *Daily Express*, but Mr. Nehru has already turned down the Lama's two requests.

The correspondent says, he was told officially that Mr. Nehru's reasons for declining were that the Lama would be a great nuisance as an exile on Indian territory and as the spiritual head of millions of Buddhists, fleeing from reds would stretch Indo-Chinese relations to the breaking point.

Mr. Nehru feels that the Dalai Lama could do more good in his own land by trying to preserve what national entity the reds have left him than by throwing it in his hands.

The correspondent adds: "As things stand the Dalai Lama has no hope. Behind him stands his red shadow, the puppet Panchen Lama, whom Communists will put in his place at the slightest sign of trouble."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, December 15, 1958*

Plots in Mosques

Hong Kong

THE latest report received here says that five Muslim priests who "used mosques as their principal bases for counter-revolutionary activity," in Tsinghai Province were subjected to a public mass trial attended by 20,000 people and were sentenced to death. Four of them were executed while the death sentence on the fifth was suspended. Fourteen others were sentenced to prison terms.

The existence of a counter-revolutionary plot and the holding of a mass trial were reported in *Sining Tsinghai Jih Pao*. The newspaper said: "These criminals used religion and local nationalism as a cover for the counter-revolutionary activities directed against the motherland and designed to split national unity.

"They succeeded in gathering together a number of landlords, rich peasants, bad characters and others who were hostile to the revolution and organised them as a backbone of this reactionary group.

"They bound themselves together by religious vows, denounced Communism and Socialism, freely fabricated rumours and incited, deceived and intimidated the masses.

"They laid down a programme of counter-revolutionary action, organised themselves into units and planned their first attack on the Hsein (county) town of Hualung in order to expand their counter-revolutionary influence. Their plans included taking other places by force."

—Sudhakar Bhat in the *Times of India*, January 19, 1959

Colonisation of Tibet

Hong Kong

CHINA has begun large-scale colonisation of her provinces bordering on Tibet, although mention of Tibet itself has been carefully omitted in reports giving details of the mass migration of people, mostly youths.

The *Sining Tsinghai Jih Pao* reported that in the past three years over 35,000 Chinese youths had permanently settled in Tsinghai province whose altitude ranges from 6,000 to 12,000 feet.

Even though these accounts of migrations discreetly avoid mentioning Tibet, earlier reports emanating from Lhasa and other parts of China have made it sufficiently clear that the Han people (the Chinese) are now to be found in large numbers in Tibet. The Han people hold most of the responsible posts and engage themselves in activities connected with China's "big leap forward" in Tibet.

Peking *Kwang Ming Jih Pao* stated in a report of mass migration: "When the (Han) youths arrived at the settlement area in Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Chou (district), Tibetan crowds welcomed them in a manner in which they might celebrate their own festivals, helped them to carry luggage, obtain water and cook rice, and took the initiative in holding joint parties with the Han youths. They told one another about their own customs and exchanged production experience."

—Sudhakar Bhat in the *Times of India*, March 2, 1959

Trouble Brewing : The First Warning

New Delhi

"TROUBLE is brewing in eastern Tibet, but it was difficult to gauge its dimensions and the precise aims and ability of the rebel leadership," said Mr. Jigme Dorji, Prime Minister of Bhutan, in an interview.

He said that accounts of the rebellion of the Khampas against Chinese authorities which had appeared in the foreign press were not based on information gathered on the spot. It was, therefore, not possible for him to say to what extent they were credible. He believed, however, that "frequent conflicts" were taking place between the Khampas and the Chinese.

There was evidence, he said, that active rebels had moved very close to the northern border of Bhutan with China. "One cannot say whether they are being pushed back or it is part of their organised movement."

—A. P. T. I. Message, March 5, 1959

Dalai Lama Invited to Peking

Darjeeling

THE Dalai Lama has been asked by the Chinese to visit Peking immediately. Tibetans generally are opposed to this as it is believed the present uncertain conditions inside Tibet do not justify such a visit.

Many apprehend the invitation may be a ruse to keep the Dalai Lama as a hostage in China. There is also widespread apprehension about the safety of the Dalai Lama. On February 15, an attempt was alleged to have been made on the Dalai Lama's life while he was starting from Norbu Lingka, his country residence, for Lhasa to receive the Doctorate of Theology (Dakor Thamcha). Thousands had lined the wayside to catch a glimpse of His Holiness when the crowd discovered that two live handgrenades were planted on the road. According to the report, the crowd seized two of the alleged plotters and handed them over to the authorities.

—A. P. T. I. Message, March 6, 1959

Rebels Close to Bhutan's Border

New Delhi

In an interview, Mr. Jigme Dorji, Prime Minister of Bhutan, said that active rebels had moved very close to the northern border of Bhutan with China. "One cannot say whether they are being pushed back or it is part of their organised movement. If they try to transgress our territory and trouble our people we will resist them with all our strength."

In reply to a question, Mr. Dorji said, "We will not be in a position to grant them asylum nor would we encourage their settlement on our soil."

—A. P. T. I. Message, March 6, 1959

Difficult People to Govern— Khampas in Tibet

New Delhi

SPEAKING at his monthly press conference, Mr. Nehru said that it was well known that there had been "troubles" in certain parts of Tibet connected with people who were called Khampas. "I cannot tell you the extent of these troubles. The Khampas, as you may know, come from that part of the Tibetan region which was more or less integrated into China long ago, not in the last few years, but previously, and it has been a very difficult part to govern even in earlier years. It is that part that has apparently given trouble."

A correspondent asked whether the government of India had any information that China had started socialisation of schools in Tibet. Mr. Nehru said: "Well, I do not know what they are doing now but my own information was that the first report they made soon after the change-over was to establish many schools there. There is no question of socialisation of schools there but establishment of schools. Later they closed many of those schools and they rather toned down their activities there. I cannot say what is happening there now."

—A P. T. I. Message, March 6, 1959

Khampa Revolt

THE Khampas, who inhabit what is known as Inner Tibet, have been longer under Chinese suzerainty than the rest of the Tibetans. The Khampas are of tough stock and possess small arms.

The Chinese Communist forces had invaded Tibet in October, 1950, following the Peking declaration on January 1 that year to liberate the mountainous state.

—Indian Express, Bombay

Rebels Harass Chinese

London

About 200,000 Tibetan guerillas, who are holding their own against the 300,000-strong Chinese Army, have brought the occupation force's morale to a low ebb and have forced the troops to ask for a truce on two occasions, it is reported.

A Darjeeling dispatch to the weekly Spectator, says that in two years of full-scale revolt the Tibetans have killed over 50,000 Chinese, losing 15,000 themselves in the process. It says: "Now the revolt has spread to cover the whole area from the borders of India right up to, and even including, parts of Sinkiang and Szechuan in West China."

—A Reuter Message, September 29, 1956

March on Lhasa

THE Khampas who have been in open revolt against the Chinese Communist authority for some years have apparently moved towards Lhasa where they enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the local population. Obviously the Chinese are bound to resort to strong measures to reassert their authority and the consequence must inevitably be serious clash and bloodshed.

Ever since the Chinese Communists sought to impose their authority on the peace-loving Tibetans and proceeded to uproot the Tibetans from their age-old traditions and faith, they are faced with stiff opposition. Attempts to brainwash young Tibetans and discipline the older generation failed miserably.

Forcible Conversion

A couple of years ago the Chinese thought it wise to beat a retreat from the programme of rapid conversion of Tibet into a fully trained Communist unit of the Chinese State. Chinese-operated schools were closed and land reforms were abandoned. But the Chinese Army remained and was a constant reminder to the Tibetans of their present subservient role. The Khampas, who are also Tibetans, have always been a turbulent people and history has recorded the serious difficulty encountered by invaders in subordinating them. The Tibetan's resentment against the Chinese has led to numerous clashes in the past. Ten years of strong rule have not helped the Chinese Communists to establish either peace in Tibet or friendly relations with Tibetans. It remains to be seen whether the Chinese would adopt a statesmanlike attitude and seek to win the friendship of the Tibetans by recognising their aspirations or would resort to the use of their armed might to teach the Tibetans a lesson for wounding their pride as a big new power.

—Hindu, Madras

Refugees Speak of Chinese Atrocities

INFORMATION collected from Tibetan refugees who came over to India throws a flood of light on the events that happened in Tibet since the Chinese invaded the country in 1950. The refugees belong to various parts of Tibet and owing to difficulties of communications, none of them is able to give a complete picture of what happened in the country as a whole. Each one of them, peasants, soldiers, traders or monks, tells a story of what happened in his village or in the nearby villages. When all these stories are one day collected and pieced together, they will present a shocking picture of the brutal terror that was practised by the Chinese invaders.

In the beginning, it appears, the Chinese were profuse in their assurances of non-interference in internal affairs. They told the Tibetans that they were in Tibet only to help them and would do nothing that would disturb their age-old customs and institutions. A number of refugees spoke about these profuse assurances given by the Chinese. Some of them also referred to the Seventeen Point Agreement that was negotiated between the Dalai Lama and the Peking Government. They said they found out later that it was a fraudulent document which the Dalai Lama was forced to sign.

The refugees talk of the efforts made by the Chinese to collect information about the wealth stored in monasteries and the properties of well-to-do people in villages. This information they managed to get by bribing some people and by promising others high positions in the new regime. Anti-social elements in villages were of particular assistance to the Chinese in this respect. They became the recipients of many favours from Chinese officers and in return for those favours they supplied them all the information that they needed.

Monasteries Burnt and Ransacked

THE initial stage of securing a foothold in the country lasted, it appears, for about a year. Then began the next stage of brutal suppression and oppression for despoiling the country of all its wealth, for destroying the monasteries and other institutions and all other elements in the Tibetan society which were not amenable to the Chinese rulers and for imposing upon the people the Communist system of government. Many refugees have told vivid stories of the many acts of cruelty and of wanton destruction of life and property perpetrated by the Chinese invaders in the course of their campaign to subjugate the people and to destroy their religion and its institutions. They spoke feelingly about the looting of monasteries, the killing of monks and others, the destruction of property and livestock, the inhuman treatment of arrested persons, and defilement of religious emblems and places.

The following story told by an ordinary monk gives an idea of what happened :

About 2,000 Chinese soldiers came to Gaba-Lab Monastery and surrounded it. They targeted the monastery with machine guns, artillery and ordinary arms. They fired the monastery with those arms and made us surrender. All the properties and images inside the monastery were snatched away.

Ten important Lamas and workers of the monastery were arrested. They were tortured. Every day they captured many ordinary monks. They subsequently took them to another place and on the

way some 11 or 12 persons were buried alive into a pit.

They imprisoned more than 400 monks, for one month. During this period the monks were instructed to fight against "American Imperialists". They talked of giving religious freedom but in practice they asked us to replace our monk garments by "Chinese army uniforms".

He then told about the images that were taken away to China and said: "Costly brocades used as dress for religious ceremonies and scrolls and scripture covers were taken away and used for theatrical purposes. The wooden planks supporting the books and scriptures were burnt as fuel."

One monk complained that the Chinese used the monastery cells and temples as stables and sheep and goat stalls.

Monks Compelled to Marry

MANY other stories of indignities and atrocities to which the Lamas and monks were subjected are also told. It appears that one of the common indignities was to use them as beasts of burden going to the extent of putting reins in their mouths. Attempts were also made to convert monks into laymen by forcing them to marry. Girls were suborned to seduce them and prizes were offered to those who seduced more monks.

Another monk told about what happened in the monastery to which he was attached: "The communists wrecked the silver, gold, bronze, copper and brass images and alters and votive articles of monasteries with picks, shovels and axes and moved them all down to China. The scriptures and books of the monastery were used as soles of their boots and shoes and useless ones were spread over the bridges. In this way they robbed the monastery of all its inner and outer properties. All the wealthy and rich monks were killed. The rest of the monks were forced to get married to women and work on the agricultural fields. The heads and respectable men as well as officials were accused of robbing the masses. They were shot on the spot where immediately they were buried. First they were shown the pits in which they were to be buried and then making them suffer, killed and buried."

Buried Alive

A YOUNG monk has told a long story of the inhuman treatment that was meted out to Lamas and to others who did not agree to play the Chinese game. He told *inter alia* : "In July 1958, the Chinese arrested a monk and putting reins into his mouth made beggar girls to ride on him in public. Langtoo

Rimpoche another lama was burnt to death at the annual trade fair at Tihdoo by wrapping him into cotton and putting Kerosene oil on it; this was done in September 1958. In the same month, 14 persons including 4 incarnate lamas were taken to the Nyunggoo Pass and buried alive. An old incarnate lama was flogged to death."

Many spoke about the desecration of scriptures and the taking away of gold and other images to China. One said: "The scriptures and books were thrown on the streets and used as rugs and cushions. Thousands of images were moved to China openly, telling people that those are to be used as material for bullets. About one thousand images made of mixed copper and gold of big sizes were uprooted and moved to China. Mausoleums of famous lamas made of copper and gold consisting of two or three storied buildings were, one refugee told, destroyed and the images were taken away and the corpses inside were thrown to dogs. Many precious images of Buddha were also taken away to China along with all their valuable paraphernalia.

Indoctrination and Brain-washing

A LOT of information is available from the refugees about the indoctrination activities of the Chinese. A trader spoke about the Chinese taking away to China 300 youths from his own and nearby villages. These youths, he said, were trained to revolt against elders and parents and to abolish religion. Another refugee said, "the Communists snatched away hundreds of children from parents and relations and then deported them like slaves for education and training but actually to indoctrinate them". According to the refugees the Chinese were not satisfied with the surrender of property; what they insisted on was the surrender of the minds.

An important Lama threw more light on the practice that was adopted. He said: "When the Chinese Communists opened schools at Lhasa there was very little response from our Tibetan boys for the mere fact that they, the Communists, tried to indoctrinate our children. In order to avoid their apprehension, the Chinese Communists assured and even declared to our people, that there would be classes for religious instructions. They kept 45 minutes for religious instructions. They reduced it gradually and in the end completely eliminated the courses. I was a witness to all these and it was a proof that all these promises were a mere farce and their main purpose was to inculcate disrespect for our leaders, our Sovereign Dalai Lama and even our most precious religion." The Tibetan teachers in the schools were given compulsory instruction in Communist philosophy and programme. Through subtle propaganda and indoctrination, the refugees said: "The seeds of dissension were sown between parents and their children, between teachers and students, and between husband and wife. The usual spirit of the family fraternity, brotherhood and love was turned into mere mechanical relationships." "The warmth of the household was changed into coldblooded suspicion among each other and even resulted in murders," said another more sophisticated monk.

The Chinese Communists carried on propaganda against Buddhism and attempted to coerce the Tibetans into giving up their religion. They attempted indoctrination on a large scale. It also appears from the information supplied by refugees that the Chinese rulers made many attempts to uproot and destroy the Tibetans as a race and to populate Tibet with people from China who were forced to emigrate from various regions and to settle down in Tibet. If the process continues, they said, one day there will be no Tibetan nation and no Tibetan people.

II

THE UPRISING IN LHASA

The uprising in Tibet was a national revolt. "If we fail to recognise the true nature of the struggle, we shall stand condemned before the impartial opinion of the world."

—ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI

*For freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.*

—LORD BYRON

MONDAY 9 MARCH

The Beginning

THERE is no authoritative account of the Tibetan crisis. While the Chinese version is one-sided, information from the Tibetan and other independent sources is incomplete and often contradictory. Though the rebel forces had been infiltrating into the capital for some days before the actual flare-up the immediate cause seems to have been what was according to Tibetan reports, a Chinese invitation on March 10 to the Dalai Lama to visit the Chinese military headquarters in Lhasa, to witness a theatrical performance.

The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for March 10. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and as a result about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

Thereafter, the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against the Chinese rule in Tibet. They denounced the 17-article agreement with China and shouted that they were free. Fighting broke out on the night of March 19. The Dalai Lama had already escaped from Lhasa two days before.

Norbulingka Surrounded

ON March 9 the Dalai Lama received an invitation from the local Chinese Military Commander to attend a cultural programme at the military headquarters, unaccompanied by any of his ministers or his bodyguard. This made people suspicious because in the last two years many high personages, who were not pro-Chinese, were invited to parties by the military commanders and were either killed or imprisoned. A large number of people surrounded the Norbulingka Palace on March 10. On this day the monk who brought the invitation was killed by the crowd and his body was dragged through the streets. The people shouted, "We are not under Chinese rule, we want independence."

The Dalai Lama asked the people to be calm and said that he would not go to the show. But the people

mounted guard round the palace throughout the night.

Ling Rimpoche, a senior tutor of the Dalai Lama, after discussing the matter with three members of the Kashag, summoned the newly formed Tshongdu of people's representatives. While the Tshongdu debated the issue a huge crowd guarded the Norbulingka Palace. During the crisis the Chinese soldiers were confined to the barracks. Crowds of Tibetans paraded the streets with banners, with "Go Home, Chinese" and "We Hate the Hans" written across them in giant letters. The crowd also paraded before the Indian Consulate calling for Indian support.

Violent Demonstrations

Darjeeling

LATEST reports add some details to the confused background story of the uprising. Apparently before the demonstrations in Lhasa, the Chinese had arranged a special plane to take the Dalai Lama from Lhasa. The Kashag or Tibetan Cabinet, was in session at the Potala, deliberating on the advisability of allowing the Dalai Lama to leave Lhasa as the official oracle had deemed the journey inauspicious.

Meanwhile, crowds surrounded the Potala and, when the Tibetan commander came out to pacify them, began to throw stones, which resulted in him being injured. In the prevailing confusion, general fighting broke out.

Resistance forces were joined by monks, and neighbouring monasteries yielded a surprising quantity of arms and ammunition to help the resistance fighters.

—Statesman's Darjeeling Correspondent, Kalimpong, March 22

Invitation to Dinner

Kalimpong

THE Chinese military commander, who has an estimated 50,000 to 70,000 troops in the Lhasa area, on March 8 invited the Dalai Lama to dinner on March 10, specifying that he should not bring a bodyguard. The news leaked out.

Early in the morning on March 10, more than 40,000 Tibetans demonstrated, shouting anti-Chinese

slogans. The crowd surged two miles outside the town to Norbulingka, the Dalai Lama's summer palace, and demanded that he should not attend the dinner. The Dalai Lama appeared and promised over a loudspeaker that he would not go.

—*Times of India Correspondent from Kalimpong, March 25*

Tibetan Apprehensions

New Delhi

"WE have since received fuller information from the Consul-General in Lhasa. It appears that various rumours in regard to the Dalai Lama caused excitement in Lhasa. About two weeks ago, a large crowd of Tibetans entered the premises of the Indian Consulate-General. They spoke to our Consul-General about the rumours and their apprehensions. Three days later, a large number of Tibetan women came to our Consulate-General and requested our Consul-General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau and be a witness to the presentation of certain demands. The Consul-General told them that this was not proper and he could not accompany them or associate himself with any demonstration. The Consul-General brought these incidents to the notice of the Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa. He had rightly decided not to interfere in these internal affairs....."

—*Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha on March 23*

An Eye-Witness Account

Darjeeling

Two Tibetan refugees, who arrived in India in the middle of May, gave a vivid account of the fighting during those fateful days beginning from March 10. They took part in the defence of the Norbulingka, the summer palace of the Dalai Lama. They withstood continuous shelling and gunfire from the Chinese forces for three days and two nights, before retreating towards the Kyi Chu river to escape to India.

The two refugees, who registered as Dorji Tashi and Rappay at the Foreigners' Registration Office, Darjeeling, on May 13, told the Darjeeling correspondent of the *Statesman* that they were Khampa traders in food and ready-made garments and lived at Banasho, the trading centre of Lhasa. Dorji had previously visited India on trading assignments but this was Rappay's first visit.

Recounting the main events at Lhasa and about their participation in the Norbulingka's defence, they said that on March 10 they had raced through the streets to the palace on hearing that the Dalai Lama had been asked to attend a function at the Chinese

Military Headquarters unattended. As they approached the Norbulingka they saw thousands of people going in the same direction. The crowd was so thick they could hardly move. They saw men and women armed with swords, daggers, knives and even long staves.

Just in front of the main gate of the Norbulingka they saw the dead body of Kanchung Sonam Gyatso, a Tibetan official of the fourth rank, who had collaborated with the Chinese. They were told that Kanchung had been seen by the crowd coming towards the palace on a motor-cycle. He was dressed as an ordinary Tibetan but wore a protective mask over his face, as done by all Chinese, against the dust and wind. It was believed that he was carrying an important message to the Dalai Lama from the Chinese Commander. When the crowd had surrounded Kanchung and adopted a threatening attitude, Kanchung lost his head and, pulling out his pistol, fired several shots. The crowd closed round him and threw stones at him, eventually stabbing him to death. Dorji said he saw two big stones lying near the dead man.

The crowd was so thick that the Chinese thought it prudent to let them alone. Instead they began to train their artillery on the Norbulingka from four sides. There was a heavily fortified Chinese garrison on the north of the palace. On the south-east, just across the Kyi Chu, was Trip, the Chinese Military Headquarters, and on the east between Chokpuri Hill (where the Tibetan Medical College is situated) and the Potala, was New Lhasa, built by the Chinese after the occupation.

—*Darjeeling Correspondent of the Statesman, May 16*

Declaration of Independence

New Delhi

When the demonstrations first began on March 10 in front of the summer palace of Norbulingka, the assembled Tibetans declared that they were now independent. A proclamation to that effect was made by the mob's leaders. More such declarations came from various groups and monasteries in the subsequent days. Resolutions to that effect were passed at numerous public meetings and among those signing them were Tibetan Government officers.

—*The Political Correspondent of the Statesman, Calcutta
March 26*

TUESDAY 10 MARCH

A Traitor Stoned to Death

Kalimpong
A TIBETAN, who was a witness to the rebellion during the first two frenzied days in Lhasa on March 9 and 10, has arrived here. According to him, an agitated crowd stoned to death Kanchung Sonam Gyatso, a Lama, who had come to the Norbulingka, the Dalai Lama's summer palace, to invite the God-king to the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese Army.

The Lama had brought directly to the Dalai Lama the invitation from the Chinese without first sending it to the Kashag (Tibetan Cabinet). The Kashag had taken exception to this and had grown suspicious of Chinese intentions. Word had spread that the Chinese were taking away the Dalai Lama. A crowd

had collected at the Norbulingka when Kanchung Sonam Gyatso arrived with a motor-cycle pilot and two cars to take the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Command. The angry crowd stoned Gyatso to death. The body was then dragged through the streets.

Later, Tsemong Tentzen, a pro-Chinese Tibetan General, came to pacify the crowd, but he too was stoned and injured.

The next day—on March 10—the women of Lhasa demonstrated in front of the Norbulingka and the Tibetan, who is now in Kalimpong, left Lhasa on March 11 when he saw things getting worse.

—*Kalimpong Correspondent of the Times of India, Bombay, April 17*

Preceding Events

New Delhi
TILL the very last the people of Lhasa were anxious to avoid a clash within the holy city. Tension mounted as the fighting between the Khampa rebels and the Chinese army drew nearer. The first major disturbance occurred on March 10. By this time fighting was taking place in the surrounding districts. The citizens of Lhasa had told the Khampa warriors to keep out though some of them had come in as observers rather than partisans.

The Dalai Lama was at that time living in the summer palace of Norbulingka or the jewel park. On this day the Dalai Lama received an extraordinary invitation from the Chinese to a tea party. This departed both from custom and protocol in two ways. It was an invitation sent directly to His Holiness and not conveyed through the Kashag (the Cabinet). Secondly, the Dalai Lama had been asked to go to the Chinese military headquarters and not to the palace where such parties had previously been held. He was to go alone.

Through a combination of events, already described in these columns, news reached the people of Lhasa and about 30,000 surrounded the walled palace and declared that they would not let the Dalai Lama go

to this party. The people were fully convinced that the party was a ruse and the Chinese intended to kidnap the Dalai Lama.

Members of the Dalai Lama's bodyguard cast away their Chinese uniform, put on Tibetan clothes and made ready to defend the Dalai Lama. Volunteers from Amdo and Golok, already in town, joined the bodyguard and soon acquired 5,000 rifles.

Excitement mounted and the crowds surrounding the summer palace declared that Tibet was independent and they would no longer take orders from the Chinese. The Dalai Lama did not go to the Chinese party.

Chinese Appeal

Taken aback, the Chinese authorities commissioned the loudspeakers already erected in various parts of the town and declared that there had been a misunderstanding. They said that the Dalai Lama had not been asked to come alone and there was no intention to kidnap him. The loudspeakers entered into a denunciation of the "brigands and thieves" who had inflamed the populace and asked the citizens to remain calm.

—*The Political Correspondent of the Statesman, Calcutta, March 14*

Indian Government Informed

New Delhi

FOR the first time on March 11, the Indian Foreign Office got the message from the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa, dated March 10, that there was some excitement in the town and that a large number of people had visited him—representatives of the public, some officials, monks, heads of monasteries etc.—and complained to him about the Chinese authorities there.

The Indian Consul-General was naturally very much embarrassed. What was he to do? He did not wish to interfere. It would have been wrong on his part. He told them that he could do nothing for them and reported it to the Foreign Office. "That was the first information we had that something was afoot."

—Mr Nehru in the Lok Sabha on May 4

WEDNESDAY 11 MARCH

“We Are Independent”

ON March 11 Tibetan men and women again demonstrated, carrying black flags and shouting “We are independent. We owe allegiance only to the Dalai Lama.”

A procession then proceeded to the Dalai Lama’s summer residence. In response to a mass petition, the Dalai Lama agreed to cancel the dinner invitation.

Meanwhile the people, it is further stated, raided Tibetan arsenals and took away a large quantity of arms and ammunitions.

According to the same sources, a secret pact was reached between the people and Lamas to fight in the present struggle.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 21*

Black Flag Demonstrations

Kalimpong

FEELING was still running high on March 11 when more than 5,000 women demonstrated, carrying black flags and shouting anti-Chinese slogans. The Dalai Lama appeared again. This was his last reported public appearance.

Tibetan sources say witnesses of these demonstrations are now in India. The Indian Government says the crowd also asked the Indian Consul-General Major Chibber, to intercede for the Dalai Lama, but Maj. Chibber maintained he could not intervene.

—*Times of India Kalimpong Correspondent, March 25*

Women Demand Freedom

New Delhi

THE Chinese appeal had no effect and the next day women also came out demanding freedom for the Tibetans and hands off the Dalai Lama. The women went to the Indian Consulate-General which is near the summer palace and asked the Indian representative to accompany them to the Chinese headquarters where they wanted to make representations.

—*Political Correspondent, Statesman, March 24*

Independence Proclaimed

ON March 11, 1959, a meeting of all Tibetan Government officials was called at the palace. A

few pro-Chinese officials did not attend and a proclamation was issued in the name of the Cabinet that Tibet was independent. Among the cabinet ministers who were present were : Surkang Naushar, Gastang and Shasur. (These ministers are in India with the Dalai Lama).

Unmoved by the Revolt!

Hong Kong

While the world’s press reported the Tibetan revolt, the only statement forthcoming from Peking on Tibet was a 300-word account released by the New China News Agency today about the constructive progress along the Chinghai-Tibet highway.

The Agency said that fertile farmland, ranches, new townships and factories and mines had developed along the Chinghai-Tibet highway, 4,000 metres (roughly 13,000 feet) above sea level. They were the result of the dogged efforts of road maintenance workers on this 2,100 kilometre highway from Sining to Lhasa, it said.

Chinese workers, the Agency reported, used molten snow to wash away the alkaline content of the soil and used gypsum to change its chemical content.

In addition to opening coal mines, Han workers had built salt plants on salt lakes, iron smelting furnaces and brick kilns. Tanneries had been set up to produce fur-lined clothing and leather shoes. Food processing factories had also come into being.

The Agency said that when people first arrived in Garmu, they had hardly a tent. Now the new township had a big automobile repair shop and many small plants were scattered around it.

—*Sudhakar Bhat in The Times of India March, 25*

THURSDAY 12 MARCH

Monasteries Join Revolt

New Delhi

THOUSANDS of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authority.

By March 12 the movement had become very big. The monasteries of Drebung (population 7,700 monks), Ser (5,500) and Ganden (3,300) joined the Lhasa movement and pledged non-cooperation with the Chinese. The Samye Gampa also followed suit.

Thereafter there were daily demonstrations in Lhasa streets and mass signatures to resolutions proclaiming Tibet's desire for freedom.

The temper of the mobs worsened and a lama who was known to be keeping close contact with the Chinese was killed and his body dragged through the streets as a warning of what could happen to collaborators.

During these ominous days the Chinese kept quiet and did not retaliate. They, however, singled out one Cabinet Minister and another acting Cabinet Minister and fastened responsibility for the troubles on them.

This was perhaps the period to which Mr. Nehru referred as one of conflict of wills. On March 20 the real conflict came.

—*The Political Correspondent of the Statesman, Calcutta, March 24*

People ask for Freedom

A MEETING was held at Shol—below the Potala, on March 12. Almost the entire population of Lhasa attended. At this meeting it was decided to prepare documents regarding the claim of independence. This meeting was almost in continuous session from 12th March to 17th March and the people gathered there were without arms.

Appeal to the Indian Consul

New Delhi

.....After that a number of reports were received about the general excitement in the town, the tense situation, people holding meetings and all that. On the 14th again the Indian Consul-General at Lhasa sent a message that a crowd of 5,000 Tibetan women had come to the Consulate with the same

kind of complaints and asked the Consul-General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Office in Lhasa and be a witness of what they had to say. The Consul-General felt embarrassed and said he could not come. He reported to the Foreign Office "and we told him 'you are quite right'—stick to your business and do not get entangled."

—*Mr Nehru in the Lok Sabha, on May 4*

Tibetans Rush for Arms

Kalimpong

AN uneasy quiet ensued until about March 15, when fears of Chinese manoeuvring, combined with a report that a plane had landed at a nearby airfield, caused the people to rush to the Tibetan national arsenals. Fighting broke out after a few days.

—*Times of India Correspondent from Kalimpong, March 26*

Marchers' Slogan

Kalimpong

This border town was given a new slogan today—"March to Delhi"—by Alo Chomde, an underground resistance leader who escaped from Tibet some months ago.

He told a 300-strong Tibetan gathering in the Town Hall here today: "Sell all your belongings and buy a ticket to Delhi. Our brothers are dying and we have no right to stick to our belongings."

It was decided at the meeting, the second in 24 hours, that each Tibetan willing to go to Delhi must buy his own passage.

A 20-man delegation representing Kalimpong and Darjeeling organisations of Tibetans, various regional areas of Tibet and all important monasteries, met the Indian Political Agent at Gangtok yesterday and returned to report their talks at the Town Hall meeting.

The Political Agent is stated to have told them that all was quiet in Lhasa until yesterday morning. He regretted, however, that he had no new information on the safety or whereabouts of the Dalai Lama.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, March 25*

TUESDAY 17 MARCH

The Dalai Lama's Flight

ON the 8th day of the Tibetan month Aswa Nepa (March 17) it was decided by the National Assembly and the Kashag that the Dalai Lama should leave Lhasa immediately ; his life, they considered, was in danger. It was feared that if he remained in Lhasa the Chinese were bound to get hold of him and use him against the people, who had begun demonstrating against his going to China. There were demonstrations in Lhasa and it was reported on March 14 that the Khampa rebels were only 25 miles away from the capital. A plane had landed at a nearby airfield, which made the people rush to the Tibetan national arsenals.

The Dalai Lama's palace, Potala, was surrounded by the Tibetan Army (not Chinese Army). Inside the palace there were no Chinese. Small batches of his top men began escaping from Potala on March 16.

On the night of March 17, he himself, along with his bodyguard came out, and began his journey towards India.

Chinese Report Dalai Lama's Escape

The Chinese Radio, on about March 25-26, announced from Lhasa that the Dalai Lama had fled from the capital. Unconfirmed reports indicate that he fled two days before the fighting started in Lhasa.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 26*

Dalai Lama Decides to Leave

Tezpur

"IN spite of this demonstration from the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety. While these negotiations were being carried out, reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet. On the 17th of March, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka palace. Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond."

"After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama, and in those

difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, the members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa. The Dalai Lama would like to state categorically that he left Lhasa and Tibet and came on to India of his own free will and not under duress."

—*Dalai Lama's Statement at Tezpur, April 14*

Last-Minute Decision

THE Dalai Lama told Mr. Nehru, when they met at Mussoorie on April 24 that before 4 p.m. on March 17, he had no definite ideas of leaving Lhasa. He left six hours later at 10 p.m. despite his hope that something good might happen. But the Chinese shelling of his palace compound had a powerful effect on his mind. He felt that everything had broken down. The Tibetan ruler and his party had departed in such a hurry that they forgot to bring the necessary clothes.

—*Mr. Nehru's Statement at Mussoorie, April 24*

Fighting Starts

AFTER nightfall on March 17, the Chinese fired two shells on the palace which fell in the lake in front. Apparently they failed to intimidate the people of Lhasa.

The same night at 10-30 p.m. the Dalai Lama and some of his party left the palace, one by one, on their way to India.

After the bombardment when the Dalai Lama did not come out and surrender the Chinese suspected that the Dalai Lama had fled. Search parties and planes were sent scouring. The Chinese then started fighting the rebels in earnest and claimed that the rebellion was completely crushed by March 23. During these days, it was reported, 5,000 Tibetans were killed and 4,000 captured. According to one report the Chinese spent two days burning the bodies.

Dalai Lama's Escape

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama made his escape from the capital on March 17. Accompanied by three members of his Cabinet, and the Lord Chamberlain, and guarded

by remnants of the Tibetan Army and warriors from Kham, Amdo and Golok, he was proceeding to south and eastern Tibet which is still largely under the control of the insurgents.

It is still not clear why the Chinese in Lhasa took so long to react to the events which took place on March 10. Probably in the tense days that followed they were awaiting instructions from Peking. Evidently their minds were made up when the Kashag tore up the 17-point agreement.

It was the intention of the Kashag and members of the Grand National Assembly that their decision should be formally conveyed to the Chinese authorities in Lhasa. A committee was set up charged with the task of conveying the decision to the Chinese.

The first shots fired by the Chinese were directed against this assemblage. The knowledge that the Dalai Lama had escaped had further incensed the Chinese. In the confused 24 hours that followed units of the Tibetan Army rallied for the defence of their king and capital.

Heroic Defence

Among those who distinguished themselves by their heroism were the Dalai Lama's bodyguard, the Kusum Regiment, the Drepche Regiment and units of the Gyantse Regiment which had also arrived in the capital.

Powerful assistance was given by men of the "four waters and six hills." This would mean the Khampas and insurgents from Amdo and Golok.

The Khampa partisans are still in administrative control of south-east Tibet, except for isolated Chinese encampments. One of their major victories in recent weeks was the capture of Tsetang, near the Tsona region, across the Bhutan border. This was one of the best fortified positions and after the Khampa attack the Chinese hid in the numerous underground tunnels. Undaunted, the Khampas sent a purchasing mission to a market near the Bhutan border and bought chillies or red pepper by the ton. With the help of burning chillies they literally smoked out the Chinese from the cellars and tunnels.

Thereafter, they made successful swoops north-east and south and the latest reports show that they are in control at Kongpo, Thakpo, Poyvel and Chodzung.

Of the 18 "traitors" mentioned in the Peking announcement, the movements of only six can at present be accounted for. Three of them are Cabinet Ministers while one is the Lord Chamberlain. They are in attendance on the Dalai Lama. One is in India and another is abroad.

One important Tibetan is now believed to be prisoner of the Chinese. He is the abbot of the

Kundling monastery and, incidentally, the landlord of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 29*

Delhi's Part in the Escape Plan

London

THE *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent reporting from Tezpur today said that, according to reports he had received there, "the Indian Government had helped to plot the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet."

According to Tezpur reports, he said, "the essentials of the plot seem to have been planned by Mr. Apa B. Pant, the Indian Political Agent in Gangtok," who is said to have visited Lhasa last summer "and apparently made private contact with the Dalai Lama, despite intensive efforts by the Chinese always to be present when they conversed."

The correspondent explained that "from Gangtok the Indians maintained a radio connection with their Consul-General in Lhasa. Somehow or the other, they are said to have planted an additional Indian with wireless in the Dalai Lama's household. When the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa on March 17, the Indian operator was with the fugitive party. He sent daily coded messages which were transmitted direct from Gangtok to Mr. Nehru." The operator could use only one code and by the time the Dalai Lama's party had reached the North-East Frontier Agency's border, the Chinese had broken the code.

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 17*

Delhi Denies Plot Story

New Delhi

AN official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry emphatically denied today the report published in *The Daily Telegraph*, London, that the Government of India had plotted the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet.

India had nothing whatsoever to do with the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa or his subsequent journey to Tibet, he declared.

The spokesman said that there was no contact between the Dalai Lama and any official of the Government of India with regard to this matter. The Government was not even aware that the Dalai Lama was intending to leave Lhasa.

—*Sunday Standard, Bombay, April 18*

Battle in Lhasa

New Delhi

LARGE scale fighting has broken out in Lhasa and scenes of the utmost confusion prevail in the Tibetan capital. The Indian Consulate-General is in the thick of the fighting which started three days ago. The scene of the fighting is the area between the

Potala and the Dalai Lama's summer palace, the Norbulingka. The distance between the two is two miles.

Almost the entire population of Lhasa, together with the Khampa rebels who had been concentrating in the environs for the past several weeks are now engaged in the battle, in which both sides are using firearms.

It is believed that the people of Lhasa rose as soon as news went out that the Chinese authorities were trying to place the Dalai Lama in custody.

A few days ago the chief Chinese authority in Lhasa sent word to the Dalai Lama asking him to repair to his headquarters. In view of the prevailing situation this caused the liveliest apprehensions. Soon after another messenger came to the Potala saying that the Dalai Lama was to go alone, unaccompanied even by his abbots-in-waiting.

People in the Potala, the Dalai Lama's winter residence, prepared for the worst. Word reached the Dalai Lama's mother and there was weeping and wailing. The news spread outside the Palace and soon thousands of Tibetans, gesticulating and shouting, surrounded the Potala. Thousands of weeping women also moved towards the Indian Consulate-General appealing for help.

No clear picture is available of what happened in the subsequent days. The armed Khampas must have swung into action and the Chinese too must have taken a decision to suppress the revolt with all the forces at their command.

It is not even known, whether the Dalai Lama is still in the Potala or has been spirited away, either by his friends or his enemies.

—*Statesman, Calcutta March 20*

Conflicting Views

New Delhi

THE debate on the External Affairs Ministry's grants in the Lok Sabha today was marked by the sharply contrasting points of view advanced by leading spokesmen of the Communist Party and the Praja-Socialist Party on Tibet and the U.S.-Pakistan military pact.

Mr. Asoka Mehta (P.-S.P.) referred to reports of Chinese colonisation and armed conflict in Tibet and declared that a policy of friendliness towards China could not be "purchased by sacrificing the legitimate and rightful claim of the Tibetan people to domestic autonomy and cultural freedom."

On the other hand, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty (Communist) spoke of "exaggerated reports of

unrest" in Tibet spread by foreign journalists and criticised the Indian Political Officer in Sikkim for privately giving vent to his "pronounced and well-known anti-Chinese views."

—*Times of India, Bombay, March 16*

Chinese Migration to Tsinghai Province

Hong Kong

PEKING's policy of encouraging the migration of Han (Chinese) people to the frontier regions has reduced the local population of Tsinghai comprising mostly Tibetans, Mongols, Kazaks, Salars and Torguts to the status of a minority within their own province.

The Governor of Tsinghai, Mr. Yuan Jen-Yuan, said that in 1949, the population of Tsinghai province was only 1.4 million. It has now exceeded 2.3 million. Of these, Han (Chinese) people number well over 1.6 million.

Muslims Revolt

Reports indicating unrest in Tsinghai have appeared in Chinese journals. In October last, *Sining Tsinghai Jih Pao* had reported that a "counter-revolutionary plot" had been uncovered in the province and 14 "counter-revolutionaries" were either executed or sentenced. The persons were Muslims, who were charged with using religion as a "cloak for their counter-revolutionary activity."

The current unrest in Tibet is the result of Peking's policy of settling large numbers of Han people in Tibet. As early as in 1956, the Chinese Governor of Tibet, General Chang Kuohua, had declared: "Tibet is a huge area, but is too thinly populated. Efforts must be made to raise its population from its present level of two million to more than ten million."

Since then, Han people have begun to settle down in large numbers in Tibet. They control all key positions in the political life and economy of the region.

—*Sudhakar Bhat in Times of India, March 17*

Rebellion Spreads to Outer Tibet

Srinagar

KHAMPA rebels have recently extended their sphere of revolt to south-western Tibet, according to reports reaching Ladakh in Kashmir.

These rebels, supported by over 80,000 monks in various monasteries in southern Tibet, have launched wholesale guerilla warfare against the local Chinese

troops. Wherever these Khampas have extended their activities they have received native support. Chinese regular troops are being sent to rebel-ridden southern districts. Nearly 5,000 Chinese troops have reached Lhasa.

Reports state that initially trouble arose about six months back when the Chinese authorities thought that the monasteries in Tibet were wealthy in the territory ruled over by communists. They wanted to introduce some sort of reforms in some of these monasteries, depriving the monks of their wealth.

This action was resented by the monks, who left their prayer wheels and took to arms. These lamas and monks found the Khampas readily available, and this led to a number of battles in Derge and Tanyak between Chinese troops on the one hand and the monks and Khampas on the other.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, March 17*

“ A Clash of Wills Than A Clash of Arms ”

New Delhi

SPEAKING in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nehru said that the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet had always been recognised and there was an agreement between the two for maintaining the autonomy of Tibet. It was another matter if the agreement was possibly made by the Tibetan leaders under “the stress of circumstances.”

He added that he did not wish to express any view on the situation since, apart from being embarrassing, it might make “a difficult position more difficult.”

“I do not say,” he added, “that there has been any large-scale violence.” However, conflicts, here and there, were continuing. The situation there at present was “more a clash of wills than a clash of arms or physical bodies.”

—*Times of India, March 17*

Arrest By Invitation

The tactic of “arrest by invitation to negotiation” is a standard Communist tool. In the aftermath of the revolution (on December 11, 1956) the chairman of the Budapest Central Workers Council, Sandor Racz, and his deputy were arrested after accepting an invitation to confer with Kadar in the Parliament building. A similar and notorious instance for the postwar era took place in March 1945 when the 16 leaders of the Polish Underground Army were arrested and taken to the Lubianka Prison in Moscow after responding to an invitation in Marshal Shukow's name to enter talks “in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence.” (See Z. Stypulkowski, Invitation to Moscow, Thames and Hudson, London, 1951, p. 211).....

—*R. L. Garthoff, Problem of Communism
(Washington, D. C.) Jan-Feb 1957.*

WEDNESDAY 18 MARCH

Big-Scale Battle

Kalimpong

ACCORDING to unofficial reports reaching here there had been large-scale fighting throughout Tibet. The fighting which broke out on Wednesday last, these reports said, was continuing till yesterday morning.

These reports suggested that Tibetan Army personnel were fighting the Chinese in Lhasa itself. The Chinese, these reports added were using light machine guns.

There was no definite information on the casualties in the fighting but one unofficial source estimated that 100 Tibetans and 50 Chinese were killed.

It was learnt that caravans and mule traffic between Lhasa and Kalimpong, the Himalayan entrepot of Indo-Tibetan overland trade remained completely suspended since Thursday last.

No one had crossed the Indo-Tibetan border since the reports that there had been an uprising in Tibet.

—*Anrta Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, March 22*

Fighting Spreads

New Delhi

THE fighting has now moved from the immediate vicinity of the Indian Consulate-General. The staff of the Indian mission and their families are keeping within the building, and in that sense are somewhat isolated from events taking place in their neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, information trickling through devious routes and sources builds up a broad picture of unrest and rebellion, which now engulfs widely spaced areas all over Tibet, notably in the central, southern and eastern regions.

A National Uprising

THE picture is one of a national uprising. At the same time, there is little illusion here about the ultimate fate of Tibet. With roads over which rumble 10-ton trucks, airfields which are usable and vast resources, the Chinese have the power to crush the revolt.

They have used aerial bombing before to deal with isolated pockets of resistance ; the indications are

that they are in a grimmer mood now—and less inclined to listen to counsels of patience and forbearance.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 22*

Severe Fighting Starts

Kalimpong

THE demonstrations developed into severe fighting between the Chinese and Tibetans. On about the 18th March, a manifesto declaring Tibetan independence and repudiating the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of May 1951, in view of its violation by China, is reported to have been approved by the Kashag, the Tibetan Cabinet, and the Dalai Lama fled from Tibet towards the Indian frontier accompanied by a number of his advisers, including apparently three of the six members of the Kashag (another had fled to India in 1957).

Tibetan sources in Kalimpong say the fighting began on March 18 and continued at least until March 21. However, Maj. Chibber's radio report indicated it began on March 20.

A usually reliable source said artillery was used in the fighting and two major monasteries on the outskirts of Lhasa were burning on March 21, apparently as a result of shelling. Casualties and the outcome of the Lhasa fighting are not known.

Fighting was reported at the same time in Gyantse, a major city on the India-Lhasa route. Guerillas are believed to dominate most of the area between Lhasa and some territory north of Lhasa and eastern Tibet.

—*Times of India Kalimpong Correspondent, March 22*

Norbulingka Shelled

Darjeeling

EARLY on the morning of March 19, harsh chatter of machine-guns could be heard by the people, who, now numbering more than 10,000, had completely surrounded the Norbulingka and were themselves surrounded by the Chinese Forces who had erected pill-boxes as strategic points and completely encircled the crowd by deploying armoured cars and trucks. The crowd inside the Norbulingka had put up a protective barrier of sandbags.

At about 7 a.m. shells began to rain down on the Norbulingka and its compound. The defenders could not fire back as the Chinese were out of firing range and entrenched behind strongly fortified barricades. Moreover the smoke and confusion inside the Norbulingka compound reduced visibility to the minimum. The shelling was so heavy that the palace's famous green park lost many of its trees. Numberless people and horses were also killed. Chokpuri too suffered much damage and heavy casualties.

The shelling on the Norbulingka continued non-stop for three days and two nights. Those entrusted to guard the palace, among them Dorji and Rapgay, were given one rifle to be shared by two persons while each man received 72 cartridges. They took their meals inside the Summer Palace but stayed outside the rest of the time, doing guard duty and snatching whatever little sleep they could in between.

—From the story told by two Khampa refugees, Dorji Tashi and Rapgay, to the Darjeeling Correspondent of the Statesman, May 16

THURSDAY 19 MARCH

Peking Radio Version

PEKING Radio, while announcing the appointment of the Panchen Lama as head of a new regime in Tibet, for the first time acknowledged the Tibetans had rebelled against their Chinese rulers.

The broadcast, quoting the *New China News Agency*, said the Dalai Lama was "originally scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibetan Military Area Command." It claimed that the proposal to attend the show "was put forth by the Dalai Lama personally more than a month earlier and the date, March 10, was fixed by the Dalai Lama himself."

"On that day, however, the rebellious Tibetan clique spread wild rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibetan Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama and, by using this rumour as a pretext, staged an armed rebellion, put the Dalai Lama under duress and raised such reactionary slogans as 'Independence for Tibet'," Peking Radio said.

Tokyo

Accounts from India and Formosa had said the Dalai Lama was directed by the Chinese garrison command to come to a dinner unattended. Fears that the Chinese intended to make him their prisoner then started the uprising.

Peking Radio said that on that day the rebels simultaneously "killed Kanchung Sonam Gyatso, a Tibetan official of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region who opposed the rebellion, and wounded Sampo Tsewongrentzen, the Tibetan Vice-Commander of the Tibetan Military Area."

It said the rebels "surrounded the headquarters" of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the Chinese Army and the offices of the Central Government agencies in Lhasa.

Peking Radio admitted that Tibetans who it termed "traitors" had been active for a "fairly long duration." The broadcast claimed that they "represent imperialism and the most reactionary serf-owners."

—A. P. and *The Times of India News Service from Tokyo, March 28*

The Chinese Communique on the Revolt

VIOLATING the will of the Tibetan people and betraying the motherland, the Tibetan Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits and launched armed attacks against the PLA Garrison in Lhasa during the night of March 19. Acting on orders to put the rebellion down, the valiant units of the PLA stationed in Tibet completely smashed the rebellious bandits in the city of Lhasa on the 22nd. Now the units of the PLA assisted by patriotic people of all sections, both ecclesiastic and temporal, are mopping up the rebellious bandits in some other places in Tibet.

In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and national unity, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council issued an order on March 28 which, apart from enjoining the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to stamp out the rebellion thoroughly, proclaimed the decision that from that day the Tibetan Local Government which instigated the

Peking

rebellion be dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan Local Government.

The armed rebellion of the Tibetan Local Government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Lhasa began on March 10. The Dalai Lama had originally scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army on March 10. The proposal was put forth by the Dalai Lama personally more than one month earlier and the date of March 10 was fixed by the Dalai Lama himself. On that day, however, the rebellious Tibetan clique spread wild rumour alleging that the army units of the Tibetan Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama and by using this rumour as a pretext, staged armed rebellion, put the Dalai Lama under duress, raised such reactionary slogans as "Drive away the Han people" and "Independence for Tibet" and, at the same time, killed Kanchung Sonam Gyatso, a Tibetan official

of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region who opposed the rebellion, and wounded Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, the Tibetan Vice-Commander of the Tibetan Military Area Command, and others. The armed rebels at the same time surrounded the headquarters of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the offices of the Central Government agencies in Lhasa.

The rebellious activities of the Tibetan traitors have been of fairly long duration. These rebels represent imperialism and the most reactionary big serf owners. Since the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet and the Central People's Government and the Tibetan Local Government concluded the agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet (namely the 17-article agreement) in 1951, they have been plotting to tear up this agreement and preparing for armed rebellion. But as the motherland is thriving and prospering day by day, the policy of the Central People's Government toward Tibet is correct and the garrison units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet observe strict discipline, all of which enjoy the warm support and love of the people of all sections in Tibet, the rebellious conspiracy of this handful of reactionaries had no support from the Tibetan people. In accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, the Central People's Government has always insisted on the solidarity of all the nationalities in the country and solidarity among the Tibetan people, and has carried out regional national autonomy in Tibet. This is warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was established as early as April, 1956.

Yet, owing to obstruction by the reactionaries in the Local Government of Tibet, the preparatory work for the autonomous region has made little progress. The 17-article agreement stipulates that the Tibetan Army must be reorganized, and that Tibet's social system, that is serfdom, must be reformed in accordance with the wishes of the people. These two important tasks could not be carried out as the result of obstruction by the reactionaries. In order to wait for the reactionaries to wake up, the central authorities at the end of 1956 told them that within six years, that is for the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, reform would not be carried out and the Tibetan Army would not be reorganized.

The Local Government of Tibet is called Kashag in Tibetan and its six members are called Kaloons. Of the six Kaloons, two are patriots: Ngapo Ngawang Jigme and Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen who was wounded by the rebels on March 10. One of the other four, Yuto Chahsidongchu, had already turned traitor in 1957 and fled to Kalimpong—the centre of

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

Between May and June last year, on the instructions of the Tibetan local government and the upper strata reactionary clique, the rebel bandits intruded into Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka, destroyed communications, ravaged the people by plunder, rape, arson and murder, and attacked agencies and army units of the Central People's Government there. Guided by the spirit of national unity, the Central People's Government repeatedly enjoined the Local Government of Tibet to punish the rebel elements and maintain social order. But the Local Government of Tibet and the upper strata reactionary clique took the Central People's Government's attitude of maximum magnanimity for a sign of weakness. Their talk was of this sort: the Han people can be frightened off; in the past nine years, the Han people have not had the courage to lay even a finger on our most wonderful and sacred system of serfdom; if we attack them, they can only defend and not hit back; they dare not suppress our rebellion, but only enjoin us to suppress the rebellion; if we bring a large group of rebel forces to Lhasa from other places to hit them with they will surely run away; if not, we abduct the Dalai Buddha to Loka and gather forces for a counter-attack to take Lhasa back; if we fail, we run to India; India has sympathy for us and may help us; there is the powerful United States which may also help us: President Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan has already given us active help; the Dalai is god, who dare not obey him? The Americans say that the people's commune movement in China has caused discontent among the people who are ready to rebel; it is time to drive the Han people

away and proclaim independence, and so on. The spirit of these reactionaries soared to the clouds and they were ready to take over the whole universe. They refused to do their duty to stop the rebel bandits' ravages and instead stepped up their treacherous intrigues. After concentrating considerable counter-revolutionary forces in Lhasa, they started their armed rebellion on March 10, openly scrapping the 17-article agreement.

After the outbreak of the March 10 rebellion in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama wrote to the representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet on three occasions saying that he had been seized by the reactionaries and was making all possible efforts to deal with the illegal actions of the reactionary clique. In reply, the representative of the Central Government welcomed the attitude of the Dalai Lama and expressed the hope that the Local Government of Tibet would change its wrong attitude and do its duty to suppress the rebellion.

These reactionary elements, however, not only did not in the least repent but decided to extend the rebellion. They blatantly abducted the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army Units stationed in Lhasa on the night of March 19. The hope of a peaceful settlement was extinguished. The reactionary forces of Tibet finally chose the road to their own extinction.

At 10-00 a.m. on March 20, the troops of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were ordered to take punitive action against the clique of traitors who had committed monstrous crimes. With the aid of the patriotic Tibetan monks and laymen, the People's Liberation Army completely crushed the rebellion in the city of Lhasa after more than two days of fighting. A rough count shows that by the 23rd, more than 4,000 rebel troops were taken prisoner, and 8,000 small arms of different kinds, 81 light and heavy machine guns, 27 81-millimetre caliber mortars, six mountain guns and ten million bullets were captured. Encircled by our troops, many of the rebel troops surrendered in groups.

The rapid putting down of the rebellion in Lhasa showed that the Tibetan traitorous clique is certainly doomed and that the future of the Tibetan people is bright. Primarily this is because the Tibetan people are patriotic, support the Central People's Government, ardently love the People's Liberation Army and oppose the imperialists and traitors. Tibet, including the three areas of Chamdo, Chientsang (Yu) and Houtsang (Tsang) has a total population of 1,200,000, while the rebellious bandits number only 20,000 people, mostly people who were deceived and intimidated to join. Included are some rebellious

elements who fled to Tibet from areas east of the Kingsha River in what was formerly Sikang Province, and are known as the Kamba people. The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsmen who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world. There are also many patriotic progressive people in the upper and middle strata in Tibet. They support the Central People's Government, oppose the rebellion and advocate democratic reform of the unjust social system so as to turn Tibet step by step into a civilized, progressive area. Tibet now already has a labouring class firmly aspiring for emancipation, and fairly large sections of patriotic progressive people who want reform in the upper and middle strata and also middle elements. The task at present is first to put down the rebellion and establish peaceful order. In the course of this, the policy of the Central Government in dealing with the rebel elements is to punish without fail those guilty of major crimes, not to punish the intimidated followers and to reward those who have performed meritorious services. The Central Government has instructed the People's Liberation Army Units in Tibet to unite broadly with all Tibetans who have not taken part in the rebellion, accept responsibility for protecting the lives and property of the peasants, herdsmen, and people of the industrial, business, political and religious circles in Tibet, respect the habits and customs of the local people and their religious beliefs, protect the lamaseries and cultural institutions and relics and safeguard the interests of the mass of the people and social order. As for those captured and enemies who have laid down their arms, it will not be permitted to retaliate against, injure or humiliate them.

The Chinese government, for its part, considers that in the relations between China and the neighbouring countries to the Southwest, primarily between China and the great friendly country of the Republic of India, the principles of peaceful co-existence are to be persistently applied. The five principles of peaceful co-existence were for the first time put forward in the agreement signed between China and India on April 29, 1954, on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India. In the fundamental interests of the two countries, both parties have no reason at all not to adhere to these principles fully both at present and in the future. Chinese government quarters welcome the statement of the Indian Prime Minister Nehru on March 23 on non-intervention in China's internal affairs and consider this statement to be friendly. On the part of China, there has never been interference in the internal affairs of India or discussion of the internal affairs of India at the sessions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee. It

considers such discussion of the internal affairs of a friendly country to be impolite and improper.

In order to wipe out the rebel bandits thoroughly, the State Council has ordered the units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet to assume military control in various places in Tibet. The tasks of the military control 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 of 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, Chentang, south of Lhasa and Taichao, Lingtze, Tsamu, Dinching, Chamdo 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 Choliehnamje 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.

As a result of the rebellion by the reactionary forces in Tibet and the defeat of the rebellion a new page is unfolding in Tibet's history. The conclusion can now be drawn that the imperialists and Tibet's reactionary forces entirely miscalculated the situation in Tibet. Contrary to their wishes, the rebellion started by them in Tibet has not led to a split of the motherland and the retrogression of Tibet, but instead has strengthened the consolidation of national unification, accelerated the doom of the reactionary forces in Tibet, pushed forward democratisation in Tibet and promoted a new birth of the Tibetan people.

—*New China News Agency, March 25*

Chinese Guard Monastery

Khatmandu

CHINESE troops were reported to be keeping a strong guard round the monastery of Tongbuk, since March 19 when Tibetan rebels launched a general offensive against the Chinese garrison in Lhasa.

The monastery situated at a height of 12,000 feet on the Tibetan side of Everest, was used as a jumping-off point by many Everest expeditions which were then not permitted to assault the peak from the Nepalese side.

A Sherpa trader from Nepal's north-eastern district of the Sola Khumbu said today that on March 19 while he was in the vicinity of Tongbuk, he saw 12 trucks arrive in the monastery area. He estimated that there were about 400 Chinese soldiers encircling the monastery.

The Sherpa trader left the Tongbuk area on that very day and arrived in Khatmandu last evening.

—*A. P. T. I. Message, March 31*

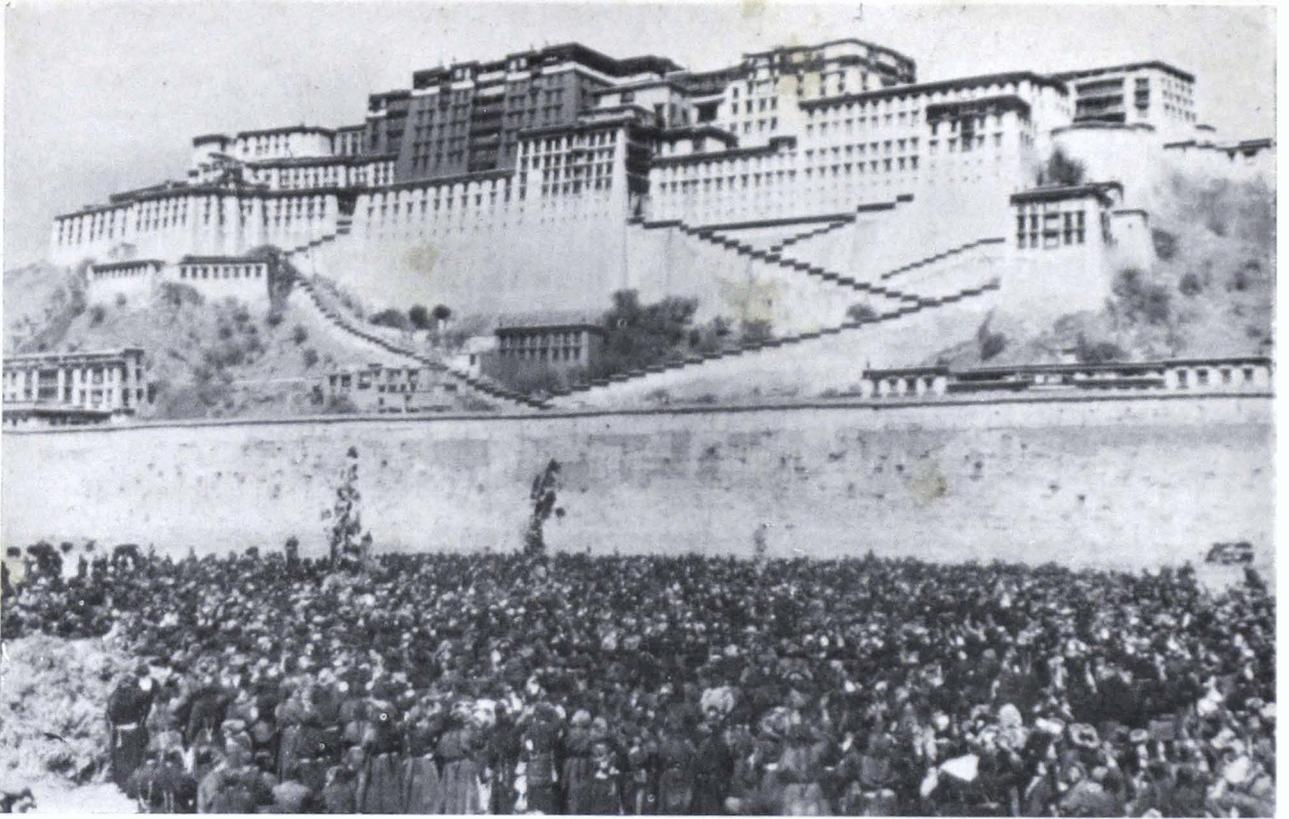
Uprising in Gyantse

Darjeeling

It is believed that the uprising is not confined to Lhasa alone, but has spread to Gyantse, in Central Tibet. For the past two days all telegraphic communications have been cut off between Lhasa and India. Daily Chinese broadcasts from Lhasa have also ceased.

Further details of the reported attempt to arrest the Dalai Lama are coming in. The Chinese military authorities asked the Dalai Lama to attend a banquet at the military headquarters but to come unescorted by his personal bodyguards. This news leaked out, resulting in a mass demonstration.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 31*

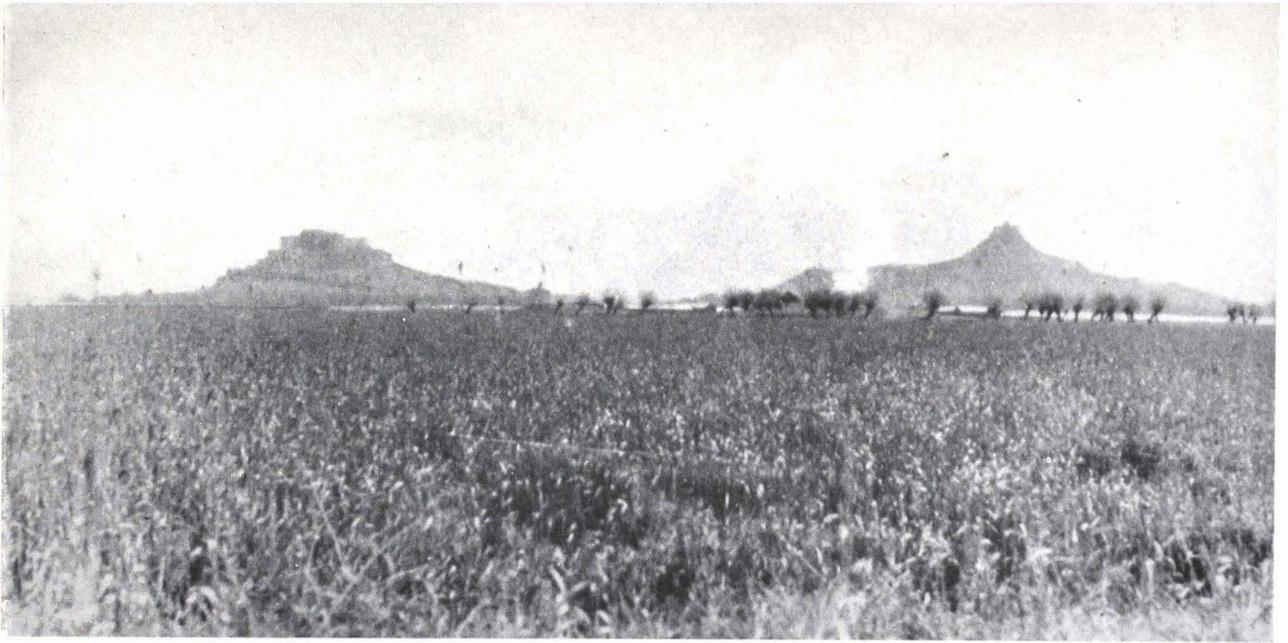


WOMEN DEMONSTRATORS IN FRONT OF POTALA

(Associated Newspapers Ltd.)



DEMONSTRATION
IN FRONT OF
NORBULINGKA



BOMBARDMENT OF LHASA

LHASA—AFTER THE FIGHTING

(P.A.—Reuter Photo Ltd.)





TIBETANS LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS

(P.A.—*Reuter Photo Ltd*)

DALAI LAMA EN ROUTE TO INDIA

(*Associated Newspapers Ltd*)





ARMS AND PRISONERS CAPTURED BY THE CHINESE IN LHASA
(P.A.—Reuter Photo Ltd.)

FRIDAY 20 MARCH

Two War Chiefs in Kalimpong

Kalimpong

LONENLA Sadu Tshang and Chicago Tshang Namgay Dorjee, members of the 22-man Khampa "War Council," arrived here yesterday from Tibet. They have come here via Bhutan and several Tibetans went up to the Bhutan border to receive them.

According to reports current here, it is gathered that the leaders are here to ascertain the extent of help the Kham people will get from Tibetans living in India as well as in Central Tibet. The Khampas have no direct communication with Central Tibet as the entire area is cordoned off by Chinese forces and nobody is allowed to go in without strict scrutiny.

Sawang Ncabro, Head of the Tibetan Council and one of the signatories to the Sino-Tibetan treaty has been admitted into the Lhasa military hospital with a fractured arm, it is learnt here. It is reported that a large crowd of Tibetans assembled in front of his house shouting anti-Chinese slogans and when he came out on his balcony to pacify the Tibetans, a stone hit him.

Mere Travellers

Messrs Lonenla Sadu Tshang and Namgay Dorjee, described by the *Statesman's* Kalimpong correspondent's message on March 21 as Khampa "war chiefs" from Tibet, repudiate this description. They describe themselves as travellers visiting India and deny that they are seeking help from local Tibetans to fight the Chinese.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 21*

Open Demonstrations

Calcutta

GREAT tension and uncertainty prevail in Lhasa, capital of the Tibetan region of China, according to reports by traders and other travellers from Tibet who have recently arrived at Kalimpong.

These reports suggest that Khampas, who inhabit Southern Tibet, have been rebellion-bent for some time and according to one traveller, a large number of them have proceeded towards Lhasa.

The populace of Lhasa and the adjoining areas would appear to have enthusiastically joined the

Khampas, and there have been open demonstrations against the Chinese regime.

The exact reasons for this reported sudden deterioration in the local situation are not clear and are rather obscure.

Such information as is available does not suggest any prevalence of violence in Lhasa.

Demonstrations have been peaceful in the square of Lhasa, and elsewhere. Nevertheless the situation is one credited with explosive possibilities.

—*Bombay Chronicle, Bombay, March 19*

Lhasa Inner City Saw Fighting

Khatmandu

THE Nepalese Foreign Office disclosed that the Nepalese Consulate-General building in Lhasa was hit and damaged during fighting between Chinese and Tibetans. None was injured. It added that Nepalese officials, traders and domiciles in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet were safe.

As the Nepalese consulate building in Lhasa is located in the market area, it is assumed here that the fighting was not limited to some leading monasteries, palaces and the secretariat, which are outside what is called the "inner city" of Lhasa. The fighting spread far across the market and the old residential quarters which form the city of Lhasa.

Potala, Norbulingka, the secretariat, the Indian Consulate and the Drepung and Sera monasteries which were affected by the fighting, are well outside the inner city.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, April 14*

500 Killed in Five Days

Gangtok

Five hundred persons, mostly Tibetan soldiers, are estimated to have been killed in the five days of fighting. The Chinese used heavy guns and pounded buildings which they suspected harboured detachments of the Tibetan Army. Several citizens of Lhasa also died in the shelling. The damage to buildings was considerable.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 10*

Shelling of Lhasa

Tezpur

GIVING an eye-witness account of the shelling by the Chinese Army in Lhasa, an official of the Dalai Lama told Acharya Kripalani that both the palaces of the Dalai Lama—Potala and Norbulingka—had come under attack.

He said that shops, dwelling houses and other property had been looted or burnt by the Chinese army. The trouble started three days after the Dalai Lama made good his escape from the Tibetan capital.

The Tibetan official claimed that 15 Chinese armymen joined the Tibetan rebels during their heroic fight and had crossed into the Indian territory as refugees. These Chinese armymen were not staying at Tawang, he said.

Asked about casualties, he said he could not give any details but he believed a large number of Tibetans had been either killed or injured while attempting to cross over to India.

The Tibetan official said: "We do not want imposition of Communism on Tibetans nor do we like Chinese intervention in our religious affairs." He claimed that the struggle in Tibet was spontaneous and nobody was coerced to fight the Chinese Government.

He attributed the mass migration of Tibetans to India to "destruction of monasteries and killing of monks and Lamas by Chinese troops." The three big monasteries of Tibet, Drepung, Sera and Gandung, had been subjected to shelling and "thousands of Lamas killed," he added.

"The destruction of monasteries and the killing of our innocent spiritual leaders made the Tibetans nervous and they apprehended severe repression from Chinese troops. They were so panic stricken that they had left behind even their wives and children "uncared for," he added.

—*Hindu, Madras, March 21*

Fighting Breaks Out

New Delhi

"ON March 20, fighting suddenly broke out between the Chinese troops and Tibetan elements. There was firing in the vicinity of our Consulate-General and some stray bullets hit our building. For some time, it was not possible for the Consul-General to go out of the premises. All our staff and their families are safe and no significant damage to property has been reported. Apparently, the situation in Lhasa has somewhat quietened down.

"There are about 30 members of our staff in the Consulate-General in Lhasa, we requested the Chinese

Government, through our Ambassador in Peking and the Chinese Ambassador here, to ensure fullest protection to our personnel and properties in Lhasa, and they promised to do so.....

—*Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha on March 23*

Chinese Proclamation

Peking

FOLLOWING is the proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army dated March 20.

For a long time the Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique have plotted a rebellion in collaboration with imperialists and reactionaries outside the country. For quite some time they have assembled rebellious bandits and connived at their ravages, destruction of communications, plunder of merchants and travellers, rape, arson and murder in various parts of Tibet, thereby inflicting suffering on the people.

The Central People's Government, adopting an attitude of magnanimity, repeatedly ordered the Tibet Local Government to punish the rebels strictly and protect social order. But the Tibet Local Government only feigned compliance. It not only evaded responsibility for putting down the rebellion, but encouraged and supported it and thus inflamed the rebellious bandits. By March 10 this year, most of the Kaloons and the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet even joined the rebels. They put the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, openly betrayed the motherland and undermined unification of the country. They murdered Kanchung Sonam Gyatso, a Tibetan official on the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and wounded Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, deputy commander of the Tibet Military Area Command. In addition, they launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army stationed in Lhasa on the night of March 19. Their crime could not be more heinous.

In order to protect the unification of the motherland and national unity and to relieve the people of the Tibet region of misery and suffering, our army is ordered to take punitive actions against and put down the rebellion. We hope that all the people in Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, will energetically help our army in the campaign to put down the rebellion and not give shelter to bandits, supply the enemy or provide the rebellious bandits with information.

As to the rebels, our army will treat them in accordance with a policy of leniency in various ways : no account will be taken of the past misdeeds of

those who desert the rebellious bandits and return to us ; those who make contributions will be awarded ; all those captured will be well-treated, they are not to be killed, insulted, beaten or searched and deprived of their personal effects. Those who persist in error and carry out stubborn resistance will be punished strictly.

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.

It is hoped that all the people, ecclesiastical and secular, will live and work in peace, not listen to and believe rumours or create disturbances among themselves.

Chang Kuo-hua, commander ; Tan Kuan-san, Political Commissar ; Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Teng Shao-tung, Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, Deputy Commanders ; Chan Hua-yu and Wang Chi-mei, Deputy Political Commissars.

—*New China News Agency (NCNA), March 28*

SATURDAY 21 MARCH

Desperate Situation

Darjeeling

ON March 21, at about 4 p.m. the situation (in Lhasa) became desperate and they were told to evacuate and try to reach the Kyi Chu from the south-west and escape. But in negotiating this distance of about a mile to reach a convenient point on the river bank, they had to pass through a mile of heavy Chinese shelling and machine-gun fire, from the garrison to the north of the Norbulingka and from Trip on the opposite bank of Kyi Chu. This proved to be the most hazardous part of the journey undertaken by the two. Dorji exclaimed: "It was pure hell from the shells."

Dorji and Rapgay were soon separated and their companions began to fall—critically wounded or dead. With admirable presence of mind Dorji hid inside a sandhole till dusk while Rapgay took refuge behind whatever shelter he could find—a dead horse, a fallen companion, a stunted bush. Lying prone on the ground he crawled towards the river bank.

After sunset, Dorji crawled towards the Rama Kang, the landing strip on the Kyi Chu, where coracles plied and ferried people across. On the way Dorji saw countless people and horses lying in heaps.

The water rose chest-high at Rama Kang. There was also a swift and treacherous current. Dorji could not find any of his original 20 companions. There were, however, many others. They decided to ford the river by forming a human link by holding hands with each other. As they forded the turbulent Kyi Chu many people were carried away by the strong current, others were mortally wounded from Chinese shells. Bloating corpses human and animal, floated past them. The swift current tore away all his clothes, and Dorji reached the other side naked. Many were in a similar plight, some were badly wounded. They began to run and hobble towards the west, shivering in the cold, inhospitable night. They reached their first village well after midnight, and awakened the frightened people, who gave them clothes and their first meal—tea and tsampa.

They moved off as soon as they could and reached Che La, a rugged mountain pass 37 miles west of Lhasa, on the following morning. There Dorji became reunited with Rapgay but the rest of the 20

were missing. There was no dearth of refugees and a stream of them crossed the Che La (Saint Mountain) at about 9 a.m. They reached Banza Dru Khar (the Brahmaputra) over which a single boat plied, carrying 40 men and horses on a single trip. Here they had a long wait, so heavy was the congestion. After crossing the Banza Dru Khar they saw a single plane flying very high. Up till then they had encountered no Chinese forces. The villagers en route, who seemed very much afraid, offered them food and shelter.

Nearing Tha Duk in Southern Tibet the two heard that the Dalai Lama had entered India. Up till then they had formed no plans but were running away blindly. They now decided to seek asylum in India. They separated from the injured and maimed, who left for Tha Duk to receive their first medical attention. The strong now took a route which led them to the Bhutan border. Nearing Dho Dzong they heard to their great dismay that heavy Chinese pickets were guarding entry points at the Bhutan border. Determined to cross into India they started towards the north and after six days reached Sagya. Travelling day and night they eventually reached Tinkey Dzong in West Tibet, near the Nepal border. After two days they reached Walun in Nepal. In their party were 183 persons but only the two of them decided to travel to Takpa Dzong, a trek of three days. A further three days march took them to Phalut. They had crossed into India.

—From the story told by two Khampa refugees to the *Darjeeling Correspondent of the Statesman*, May 16

Consul-General Asked to Move

New Delhi

.....ON March 21, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa called on our Consul-General and suggested to him that for the better protection of himself and his staff, they should move into the Foreign Bureau. We have instructed our Consul-General to inform the Foreign Bureau that it will not be right or proper for our Consul-General to leave the premises. A large number of Indian nationals are involved, including the families of our personnel, and there are valuable properties and records within our premises. In accordance with international law and usage, our Consul-General and his staff and our records and properties are entitled to the fullest protection, and we have no

doubt that the Chinese Government will see the reasonableness of our request.

This outbreak of violence in Lhasa itself is a new development. Previously, there had been conflict in various parts of southern Tibet between the Khampas and the Chinese forces. But the Lhasa region had remained quiet.....

—Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha on March 23

Monasteries on Fire

Kalimpong

PROFOUND anxiety has been felt by all Tibetans here, ever since the tragic news of the Lhasa fighting broke. A deep gloom has settled over Tibetan homes.

Added to this is the general anxiety about the safety and welfare of the Dalai Lama. This heroic, if tragic, figure has been the fount of inspiration behind the resistance forces, and the unifying factor among the Tibetans. He has also been the moderator in all contacts between the Chinese and the Tibetans.

The present anxiety is, therefore, understandable. If something untoward happens to him, it will have repercussions which cannot be underestimated.

For the third day, telegraphic communications between Lhasa and India remained suspended today. Meanwhile, a cryptic message from usually reliable sources stated that fire had been seen arising from Sera and Drepung, two of Tibet's largest monasteries near Lhasa. This conceivably indicates that Lhasa has received its first aerial bombardment.

Rumour has it that there has been a heavy exchange of artillery fire between the Chinese and the populace, heavy guns being put into action by both sides.

Meanwhile, reports state that Gyantse, in central Tibet with a population of 15,000, is now in resistance hands—except for two forts on the outskirts. There are rumours that the Chinese have posted strong pickets around strategic towns to stop the uprising from spreading.

There is a complete blackout of fresh news from Lhasa, but it seems quite certain that all movement outside Lhasa has been controlled. The Chinese are reported to be especially vigilant about important personages escaping from Lhasa.

Tibetans in Kalimpong yesterday sent several petitions to the Indian Prime Minister seeking India's good offices in saving the Dalai Lama, stopping further unrest in Lhasa and securing the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Tibet.

Rescue Pledged

It is strongly felt in Gangtok, says our correspondent there, that during the first Lhasa flare-up Chinese

troops took the Dalai Lama into custody. It is not known if he is at present detained in the Potala, but resistance fighters are pledged to rescue him. The fear is also widespread in Gangtok that the Chinese may use planes to blast the Khampas out of their mountain hide-outs.

—Statesman Darjeeling Correspondent, Kalimpong, March 23

Lhasa Radio Goes off Air

London

REPORTS that Lhasa Radio was off the air dramatised the revolt situation in the Tibetan capital of which accounts are coming via New Delhi.

Observers speculated that the radio's silence, for the first time since Far East monitors kept a round-the-clock watch, meant that fighting in Lhasa was serious enough to have caused the Chinese to evacuate the station, at least temporarily. Even the carrier wave, signifying that the station was operating, was not heard at the normal Chinese news time.

The Lhasa fighting, believed to have lasted three days, followed reports from the border suggesting that the situation in Tibet was rapidly deteriorating.

Reports indicated that the Dalai Lama continued to enjoy unquestioned support and loyalty of the Tibetans and a peaceful solution was possible only if the Chinese—whose ten-year rule has not helped them to establish either peace or friendly relations with the Tibetans—came to terms with him.

—Nafen, March 21

Rebellion Explained

New Delhi

THERE was total absence of news today from Lhasa. It was officially stated this evening that, as far as was known, the Indian Consulate-General and its staff were safe.

Sources with knowledge of Tibetan affairs described the up-rising of the Khampas, from southern Tibet as having developed over a period of years. The Khampas, who are of tough stock, are stated to have always been somewhat turbulent people and had been independent of any external authority for nearly 40 years since 1915. Before 1915, though they were supposed to be under Chinese suzerainty the Chinese central authority seldom exercised any control over them.

The Khampa resistance to the Chinese occasionally manifested itself in violence. It is said there have been instances when Khampas held up Chinese military convoys, destroyed vehicles and seized arms. The Khampas make their own guns as well.

The Chinese central authorities exercised considerable vigilance to prevent the Khampas from

infiltrating in numbers into the Lhasa region. Nevertheless, a good number of them are reported to have found their way to Lhasa and adjoining areas and the present trouble would appear to have erupted as a result of the support they received from the local population.

The Chinese have a garrison in Lhasa and three Chinese Generals. They seldom sought to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet which has been conducted by the Dalai Lama, assisted by his principal advisers.

The Chinese had entered into a 17-point agreement with the Dalai Lama to ensure autonomy to the Tibetan region. However, they initiated a number of reforms in respect of land, education etc.

There is little news as to how these reforms on the civic side progressed, but it was obvious that there was resistance. In 1956, however, the Chinese considerably slowed down their reforming activity, and later withdrew a large number of Chinese civilian cadres from Tibet.

A preparatory committee with the Dalai Lama as the chief was appointed presumably to pacify the Tibetans. It is understood that this committee made little headway and hostility to the Chinese regime became more and more pronounced and vocal.

It is stated that the fact that more outright opposition to the Chinese has now manifested itself may be an indication of the inability of the Chinese authorities to persuade Tibetans about a future programme of reform or the exact relations that should subsist between the Tibetan region and the Chinese Central Government.

—*Sunday Standard, Bombay, March 31*

Chinese Use Artillery in Lhasa

New Delhi

THE staff of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa and their families are safe, though fighting continues to rage near the extensive grounds of the Mission. The Indian Consul-General, Major Chibber, is at his post and is carrying on heroically. There is still no positive news here about the Dalai Lama's safety or whereabouts.

In the fighting automatic weapons are being used. The Chinese have brought artillery into action. The fighting evidently is still beyond the turquoise bridge and the main gateway to the ancient city erected at the point of junction of two low hills. The Potala, the Dalai Lama's winter palace, which was the scene of patriotic demonstrations a few days ago, is reached after crossing the bridge.

As the fighting approached the city the position of the Dalai Lama understandably became extremely

difficult, while a war atmosphere slowly engulfed the city.

The trouble in Lhasa is not a sudden eruption, but comes as a climax to skirmishes between the Khampa rebels and Chinese troops, which two weeks ago had come within 20 miles of the capital.

India Perturbed

Political and non-political circles in Delhi, as no doubt in the rest of India, have been extremely perturbed by the sad news from Lhasa and the fear that the Dalai Lama is in peril.

Prayers were offered for the Dalai Lama's safety in numerous homes and the small Tibetan community lit special butter lamps in front of garlanded portraits of him.

The Secretary of the Jan Sangh's Northern Zone Mr. Balraj Madhok, issued a statement saying: "The age-old institutions, customs and beliefs of the Tibetans are being trampled under foot. It is a challenge to the conscience of the entire civilized world."

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 21*

Tibetans May Ask India to Mediate

Darjeeling

A TIBETAN mission may visit New Delhi to seek mediation by India in the uprising against the Chinese, I learn from Tibetan sources here. No appeal to the U.N. is contemplated; the memory of the Hungarian tragedy is still too fresh. India is thought to be the only friendly Power capable of helping Tibet by using her good offices with the Chinese authorities.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 24*

Indian Mission in Lhasa

THE Indian Mission in Lhasa has a staff of about 30. It runs a hospital as well. Many of the officials live in Lhasa with their families.

It was officially stated in New Delhi on March 21 evening that the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa and its personnel were safe following reports of disturbances in the Tibetan capital. No further reports have been received about the demonstrations near the Consulate.

The Consulate-General is near the Potala palace which itself is situated on the crest of a hill. Taking the topography of the area and the reports of the disturbances into account, it is considered unlikely that there could have been any organized battle.

—*Hindustan Times Delhi*

Dalai Lama Under House Arrest?

Hong Kong

PEKING has asked its Military Governor in Tibet, Gen. Chang Ching-wu to "persuade" the Dalai Lama to come to the Chinese capital. Gen. Chang has been advised to see that the spiritual head of Tibet does not turn down Peking's request.

(The Chinese came to know of the flight of The Dalai Lama only on March 25.)

Peking has been wanting the Dalai Lama to make a public statement condemning the revolt of Khamba tribesmen and other elements in Tibet which are reported to be discontented with Peking's policy of gradual socialisation of that country and encouraging the mass migration of Han people so that the local population, in the course of a few years, would be reduced to a minority of one Tibetan to four Chinese.

Propaganda Drive

ON December 26 last year, the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region of Tibet at its 27th session in Lhasa, presided over by the Dalai Lama, confirmed Peking's policy of not carrying out "democratic reforms in the Tibetan region during the period of the Chinese Second Five-Year Plan," which extends upto 1963.

It was then decided that "patriotic and socialist propaganda and education programmes should be universally and penetratingly launched." It was decided to train cadres of Tibetans and organise them to take part in manual labour.

Since these decisions were taken, well-informed sources said, loudspeakers have been installed in practically every home especially in Lhasa, to disseminate "Communist education." Tibetans have no choice but to listen to propaganda that emanates from these loudspeakers which cannot be switched

off. Some Tibetans who smashed these loudspeakers were summarily sent to labour camps.

In addition to this Communist propaganda drive in Tibet, China has reportedly started billeting Chinese people in Tibetan homes. Most homes in Lhasa and other places in Tibet have to accommodate Chinese "guests" who, apart from keeping a watchful eye on the activities of their hosts, eventually dominate some in which they are "guests."

It was reported that Tibetans are upset over India's inability to do anything in their behalf and regret New Delhi's "inferiority complex" in relation to China—a complex that prevents India from saying or doing anything that might not be to the liking of Peking.

—Sudhakar Bhat in *The Times of India*, March 22

Rebellion Smashed—Peking Claim

Tokyo

THE Peking broadcast said the Chinese Army stationed in Tibet "acting on orders" to suppress the rebellion, "completely smashed the rebel tribes and bandits in the city of Lhasa on March 22."

It said the army "assisted by patriotic peoples of all sections, both ecclesiastic and temporal, are mopping up the rebels in some other places in Tibet."

The fighting in the capital was heavy, according to reports in Darjeeling, with estimates of up to 5,000 Tibetans killed. The Chinese, according to these reports which could not be verified, spent two days burying the bodies.

China listed the Tibetan casualties at 4,000 captured. The Chinese troops seized 8,000 small arms, 81 machine-guns, 27 mortars, six mountain guns, and huge amounts of ammunition, the Peking broadcast said.

—A. P. and the *Times of India* News Service reports from Tokyo, March 28

MONDAY 23 MARCH

Flare-up Again in Lhasa

Kalimpong

FIGHTING had broken out again within the city of Lhasa, according to latest reports from Tibet received here today. The Tibetans were now using light machine-guns captured from the Chinese a couple of days ago.

The reports also said that Tibet's two large monasteries—Sera and Drepung—had been badly damaged by Chinese artillery and that the 13,000 Lamas living in these monasteries had joined hands with elements engaged in fighting the Chinese.

The Norbulingka, the Dalai Lama's summer palace, was also reported to have been fired at by the Chinese.

Hundreds of Tibetans, among them high Tibetan officials and Lamas, met in the Town Hall here this afternoon to discuss the current situation in Tibet.

The meeting adopted a number of resolutions, one of which requested the Government of India to intervene in the Tibetan situation.

The Tibetans felt that they were more closely linked with Indians than anybody else, the resolution said.

Deputation Plan

A 19-member deputation consisting of Tibetan officials and Lamas, it was learnt, would meet the Indian Political Officer at Gangtok tomorrow to apprise him of the situation in Tibet and to impress upon him that serious repercussions might follow if India did not mediate immediately.

The deputation may also go to Delhi if no satisfactory reply is received from the Indian Political Officer, it was learnt.

Special prayers are being offered in all local monasteries for the long life of the Dalai Lama whose whereabouts at present were not known.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, March 23*

Communications Cut

New Delhi

THE Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs has notified that as the wireless telegraph circuit to Lhasa in the Tibet region of China is interrupted no telegrams will be accepted for Lhasa till further Notice.

The Dalai Lama's brother who is staying in Kalimpong told PTI today that he was completely unaware of "so many things happening" in Tibet.

He said that he had nothing authentic to say for himself and that his knowledge of the happenings in Tibet was limited to reports from New Delhi published in newspapers.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, March 23*

Bhutan Border Guards Alerted

Calcutta

IN anticipation of large scale exodus from the trouble-torn Tibet, guards along the Bhutan-Tibet border are being strengthened, this was gathered on Monday in Calcutta from a source close to the Bhutan Government.

The source admitted that the information reaching his country was also 'scrappy' and there seemed to be a complete blackout of news from the Tibet side as nothing could be gathered from the panic-stricken Tibetans who were being refused entry at the borders, nor from the Chinese Authorities.

—*Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta March, 23*

This is the second time in history that a Dalai Lama has sought asylum in India. In February 1910, a Chinese force of about 2000 strong, entered Lhasa, killed some people and tried to seize the Tibetan Ministers. The then Dalai Lama, with an entourage of 200, fled to India and was granted asylum by the British Government. He stayed in Darjeeling till 1912, when an internal rebellion threw off the Chinese yoke, and then returned to Tibet.

TUESDAY 24 MARCH

The Revolt Spreads to All Corners

New Delhi

THE Lhasa revolt has spread to all corners of Tibet according to reports reaching here.

In Lhasa itself the scene of fighting between the Chinese troops and insurgents has only shifted from the vicinity of the Indian Consulate-General to other parts of the city.

Wherever the Dalai Lama is—Mr. Nehru said yesterday that he did not know his whereabouts—it is reported that he is not in Chinese hands.

According to one version, he went underground before the fighting started on March 20. His palace is now guarded by Chinese pickets.

(The Dalai Lama escaped secretly from Lhasa on March 17.)

Peking Radio is maintaining a studied silence on this subject as well as on the state of the five-day-old hostilities.

It is believed that among the targets of attack are the Chinese propaganda posts depicting the United States as an aggressor and describing Americans in uncomplimentary terms.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 24*

India Asked to Intervene

New Delhi, March 24

HUNDREDS of Tibetans held a meeting at Kalimpong yesterday to discuss the situation and adopted a number of resolutions, one of which requested the Government of India to intervene.

The Tibetans felt they were more closely linked with Indians than anybody else, the resolution said.

—*P. T. I.*

KMT Appeal

Taipeh, March 24

A MONGOLIAN-BORN member of the Kuomintang Cabinet yesterday appealed to the free world to support the Tibetans in their conflict with the Chinese.

Mr. Li Yung-hsin, Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, met the Press after a secret conference with ranking officials to appraise

the situation in Tibet and discuss what steps to take to support the Tibetans.

Mr. Li said the Government was closely watching the developments in Tibet.

He declined to reveal what steps the Kuomintang Government would take.

Mr. Li had said earlier that the Kuomintang Government was maintaining some sort of contact with Tibet.

—*Reuter*

Nepal Disapproves

Kalimpong, March 24

THE bordering State of Nepal has expressed its concern to the Peking regime over the big Tibetan uprising. To the Buddhist population of Nepal the report of the arrest of the Dalai Lama has come as a great shock.

The Nepalese, however, are stated to be eager that the rebels should not use Nepalese territory as the base for their activities against the Chinese regime in Tibet.

NAFEN adds : The Tibetan rebellion is far more real to the Nepalese than it is to the people say, living on the Indian side of the Tibetan border. The reason is there are some 50,000 people living in Lhasa of Nepalese origin who have yet to decide whether they are to become Chinese citizens under the Sino-Nepalese agreement of 1956.

Citizenship

This agreement gives the right to persons of Nepalese extraction to opt for Chinese or Nepalese citizenship, and return to Nepal if latter.

There have been reports of considerable pressure by the Chinese on Nepalese traders and others inhabiting Tibet to adopt Chinese citizenship. As persons of Nepalese origin enjoyed considerable privileges in the past they are also looked down on by the Chinese as relics of an unsavoury era.

Apart from the citizenship question, Nepal is naturally concerned over what happens to persons of Nepalese origin in any disturbances that might envelop Lhasa or the surrounding areas.

Dalai Lama's Safety

Another cause of disquiet to the Nepalese is the safety of the Dalai Lama who is greatly respected by the Nepalese whose religion was to a considerable extent Buddhism until the cult of Buddha almost disappeared some decades ago.

The revival of Buddhism under the Buddhist Council of Nepal, with King Mahendra as its patron, has been showing some results lately.

In common with India, Nepal is the only country to maintain a diplomatic mission in Lhasa with the status of a Minister. A former Military Attache in the Nepalese Embassy in New Delhi was recently posted to Lhasa.

Well-Defined Border

Like India, Nepal too does not have a well-defined border with the Tibetan region of China. In the event of disturbances Nepalese officials will no doubt find it hard to keep back the hordes of refugees that might enter the country.

Recently, the Nepalese withdrew their military garrison from Lhasa which leaves the Nepalese population in Tibet almost at the mercy of the Chinese troops. Khatmandu also does not maintain any diplomatic mission in Peking, though the Nepalese Ambassador in New Delhi is concurrently accredited to Peking.

—*Nafen*

The Chinese Upset

Hong Kong

THERE is every likelihood of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa being asked to close down or

temporarily to suspend its work in Tibet, according to an Asian (not Indian) visitor to China, who is now in Hong Kong.

Apprehensions about such a precipitate order being issued by the Chinese Government were being raised in diplomatic quarters in Peking, according to this traveller, whose identity cannot be revealed.

China's principal objections to continuing the operation of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa were twofold: (1) The presence of representatives of the Indian Government in Tibet is an indirect incentive and encouragement to Tibetans to rebel against Chinese authority. (2) The Indian Consulate-General is the only source which has been making available to the outside world authentic, though strictly scrappy, information about the revolt of Tibetans against the Communist rule over their country.

—*Times of India, Bombay, March 24*

Diplomats in Dark

Hong Kong

THE diplomatic community in Peking itself was quite ignorant of the happenings in Tibet, according to this visitor. Members of every diplomatic mission in the Chinese capital, including the Indian Ambassador and his staff, are confined within a radius of 15 kilometres from the heart of Peking—Tien An Men Square. Besides this restriction on their movement, Notes or queries sent by diplomats to the Chinese Foreign Office are seldom answered in writing. Normally, the Chinese Foreign Office takes weeks before verbally acknowledging official communications—even from diplomats of countries which are supposedly very friendly towards China.

—*Times of India, Bombay, March 42*

WEDNESDAY 25 MARCH

A Desperate Bid to Throw off Chinese

Kalimpong

FIGHTING in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa represents a desperate attempt—may be the last—of more than one million Tibetans to avoid being crushed by China. The Tibetans have little hope.

This picture was given yesterday by Tibetan sources at the Indian end of a caravan route to the Roof of the World.

The sources indicate that what for the last three years has been primarily guerilla warfare against the Chinese by one Tibetan tribal group, the Khampas, has now become a truly national effort to throw off Peking's moves towards absorption of a traditionally autonomous people.

Lama's Brother's View

Because of Chinese efforts to indoctrinate the Tibetans, destroy the economic basis of the monasteries and colonise the plateau, "our religion is going, our race is going—we are going to be wiped out by the Chinese," says a brother of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader who is the focal point of the struggle. The Dalai Lama's elder brother, Mr. Gyalo Thondup, lives in nearby Darjeeling.

The Lhasa situation has not been clear since fighting broke out last week following what people feared was an attempt to remove the Dalai Lama. Unconfirmed reports say the fighting died down in Lhasa on March 21, while continuing at other central Tibetan points.

Apart from days' old news coming out along the 310-mile caravan route between Lhasa and Kalimpong despite a Chinese border seal, the only direct source of information is the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa. The Consul-General sends reports by radio to the Indian Government. New Delhi is following a cautious policy in releasing its information.

It is, however, possible to piece together this sequence of recent events.

The Khampas living in eastern Tibet and some in China proper have been fighting the Chinese since 1956, five years after the Chinese take-over of Tibet. They are said to be fighting in the name of the Dalai Lama but some consider them traditionally war-like,

fighting more from habit and embarrassing the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama has never publicly supported the Khampa cause. But in his speeches on religious subjects he has used parables with nationalistic and patriotic themes.

—*Kalimpong Correspondent of The Times of India, March 23*

Fighting Ceases in Lhasa

Kalimpong, March 23

FIGHTING has stopped in Lhasa although tension is still high throughout Tibet according to reports received here today.

The reports said Chinese stopped firing first and Tibetans following soon after.

Tibetans resident in Kalimpong and adjoining areas met here last night and again this morning and discussed the situation in Tibet.

Speakers at the meetings expressed deep concern over the absence of news regarding the whereabouts of the Dalai Lama.

Later, prayers were offered for the safety and long life of the Dalai Lama.

—*P. T. I.*

Tibetans Restive Under Reds—Ike

Washington, March 25

PRESIDENT Eisenhower described the Tibetan people today as very much disturbed and restive under Chinese rule.

He told his Press conference that the United States Government reports of the situation there were only fragmentary but apparently the Chinese had had to bring in some reinforcements.

There had been a very considerable amount of guerilla fighting and some fighting in Lhasa.

The President said that the United States Government reports were so sketchy that there was very little else to deduce at the moment.

—*Reuter*

He Loved His People

New York, March 25

MR. THUBTEN Norbu, eldest brother of the Dalai Lama, said in an interview published in the *New*

York Times today, that he had last seen his brother in India in 1956 and that he "begged" him then not to return to Tibet.

"But he told me," Mr. Norbu said, "it was his duty and he could not leave his people leaderless."

Mr. Norbu, who said he was a high-ranking monk before he fled Tibet in 1951, is now in Seattle, Washington, hoping to join the staff of an American university.

—*Reuter*

Reported Arrest of Tibetan Army Unit

Gangtok

ACCORDING to information received here this evening from a reliable source, members of the Tibetan army unit stationed at Trochinang (Yatung)—former Tibetan trade agency, now a Chinese headquarters—

were arrested by Chinese troops on March 22 and carried off to an unknown place, with all their rifles, in military vehicles.

The commandant in charge (Shaygno) of the Tibetan Army, was taken to the Chinese checkpoint across the Mouchu river. With him went red flags and two bowls of food. It was widely understood there by the Tibetans that this was to perform the last rites of a Tibetan soldier.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 24*

Telegraph Circuit to Lhasa Restored

New Delhi, March 25

THE wireless telegraph circuit to Lhasa was restored yesterday the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs said in a Press Note today.

—*P. T. I.*

Uneasy Quiet Descends on Lhasa

Darjeeling

WHILE an uneasy quiet has descended over Lhasa and wireless communications with India restored since Monday night, mystery yet shrouds the extent of the fighting and the casualties in the city.

It is understood that at least one member of the Indian Consulate-General has been killed, while about 50 to 60 shots have hit the Consulate. Meanwhile, official sources at Gangtok till yesterday were unable to comment on happenings inside Gyantse as it still remained cut off from all communications.

It seems reasonably certain that the Dalai Lama, is safe and, in the absence of any comment from Chinese sources, not in their custody.

News about Lhasa and elsewhere still travels by tongue—much of it exaggerated beyond all measure, some unfounded, some true.

Usually reliable sources told me today that Tibetan military personnel stationed at Yatung, on the Indo-Tibetan border, had been disarmed and arrested by the Chinese, while their captain had been shot dead. Yet the most shocking story that I heard related to the demolition of the fabulous Norbulingka, the summer palace of the Dalai Lama. My source, whom I am reluctant to disbelieve, told me, on the best authority, that Norbulingka, with its 200 buildings, its two-mile wide and half-mile broad compound, has been reduced to a shambles by heavy Chinese artillery. If true, what prompted the Chinese to commit such sacrilege?

In trying to solve the mystery a vital clue relates to the assessment of the Lhasa uprising. Was this merely an outburst by a disgruntled few or has it a much wider backdrop, involving the destiny of the whole country in terms of a national uprising?

Knowledgeable sources believe that the recent incidents in Lhasa were a camouflage to divert the attention of the Chinese while resistance forces spirited the Dalai Lama away. This is still a conjecture, perhaps wishful thinking, but it must be remembered there was a gap of seven days before the first Tibetan demonstration and the actual fighting in Lhasa. During those seven days the Chinese had allowed Tibetans to surround Norbulingka and demonstrate in front of the Indian and Nepalese Consulates. The Dalai Lama was last seen in public on March 10.

If the Dalai Lama has escaped, where is he? Will he cross over to India? It is difficult to surmise. Another question arises, whether the fighting around the Indian Consulate, which falls in the direct route between Lhasa and Norbulingka, was merely another red herring, drawn by the Tibetan masses to mislead the Chinese forces into thinking that the Dalai Lama had taken refuge there.

To obtain a true perspective about the significance of the Dalai Lama's escape, it is necessary to reconstruct major events happening inside Tibet since the reluctant departure of the Dalai Lama from Gangtok after his Indian tour of 1956-57. In Lhasa he had to face increased Chinese pressure to curb this nationalistic spirit while his own countrymen insisted on his using his influence to ask the Chinese to liberalize their dealings with Tibetans and to give them a much broader-based autonomy, eventually leading to complete independence. In this growing tension the Dalai Lama fast began losing favour with the Chinese, which resulted in the present cryptic invitation to visit Peking.

Meanwhile, two major episodes occurred in Tibet last year which, though seemingly insignificant at the time, in retrospect seem full of potential possibilities. The first was the cancellation of Mr. Nehru's

visit to Lhasa on Chinese insistence. This left the populace sullen and dissatisfied, while the monks were openly critical, if not hostile.

Khampas in large numbers began leaving Lhasa and moved towards the South. En route they plundered and pillaged, taking booty of firearms and food. Simultaneously the Chinese decided to introduce large-scale settlement of Chinese in the Golok and Amdo areas of North Tibet. This in turn drove the Amdos and other Tibetans, in a migration, towards

Central Tibet as far as Jeykundo, between Kham and Lhasa. The migrants then bifurcated, one group moving on to South Tibet, Thago, Kongbo, and (Pemak), while the other went south-east, Serathang and Minayak.

At present resistance forces occupy an area roughly one-fourth of Tibet with a population of 5½ million and a standing army of 40,000. Their domain stretches from Lho-dzong to Nagar Tsedzong.

—*Darjeeling Correspondent of the Statesman, Calcutta, March 25*

THURSDAY 26 MARCH

Mass Cremations in Lhasa

New Delhi

News from Lhasa continues to be grim. Throughout March 26 and 27 the Chinese were engaged in mass cremations of those who had been killed in the fighting. Estimates of the dead vary between 2,000 and 15,000.

Martial Law

The Chinese administration has imposed martial law on the capital and the curfew starts from 5 p.m. The orders to the Chinese soldiers are to shoot anyone seen on the streets thereafter.

Damage to the holy city has been both extensive and gruesome. The Norbulingka palace is in shambles. Smoke is still coming out of the monasteries of Drepung and Sera. The Chinese, it would seem, used incendiary bombs to destroy these famous centres of religion and learning. In some ways, the monasteries are like university towns and therefore the anxiety for the safety of their boys such as expressed by Kushak Bakula of Ladakh, can be easily understood.

It would appear that the Tibetan soldiers in Lhasa put up their last stand from the foot of the Potala. It is feared that this famous building has suffered considerable damage.

The beautiful cathedral of Jokhanj has received extensive damage as a result of shelling by the Chinese. This cathedral was erected before the advent of the Dalai Lama. Its four corners have been damaged while its southern portion has practically been demolished. In this portion the Kashag, the Tibetan Cabinet, used to hold its meetings. All buildings in north Lhasa have been demolished. Three days ago resistance was still being offered in isolated parts of Lhasa.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, March 29*

Resistance in Various Pockets

New Delhi

WHILE fighting near the Indian Consulate-General at Lhasa has died down, reports from the old city are still vague. There seems to be resistance in various pockets, but the Chinese Army is apparently on top.

While in certain barricaded positions the resistance offered by the partisans has been extremely stiff, in others the Chinese have literally smoked them out.

There were no doubt cases where the citizens had to surrender. At others, many must have died at their gun positions. For these reasons, it is impossible to estimate the casualties.

The Indian Consulate-General is functioning more or less normally. It stays in its own buildings. The Chinese have now made arrangements for the protection of its staff, property and records. The Consulate-General has reported that all the members of its staff and their families are safe and in good heart.

Diplomatic contact with fairly satisfactory results continues between New Delhi and Peking and between the External Affairs Ministry and the Chinese Embassy here.

—*New Delhi Correspondent of the Statesman, Calcutta, March 26*

Chinese Report Dalai Lama's Escape

Darjeeling

THE Chinese Radio, it is understood, announced from Lhasa that the Dalai Lama has fled from the capital. Unconfirmed reports indicate that he fled two days before the fighting started in Lhasa.

There are persistent rumours that he is heading south, but these sources believe that he will not cross into India and will prefer to remain with the resistance forces, massed in Southern Tibet, at a point from where it would be convenient for him to cross over in an emergency.

It is gathered reliably that the Chinese Communists admitted publicly in Lhasa that the Tibetan Cabinet had denounced the 17-point agreement signed between the Tibetan delegation and the Chinese Communists in Peking in 1951 after the Communist occupation of Tibet. There are rumours that the treaty itself was torn up.

Gyantse Unaffected

Our Gangtok correspondent says that according to a trader who arrived in Gangtok from Yatung today, no uprising took place in Gyantse. The Chinese have disarmed small Tibetan Army units stationed at outposts and have confined the men to their barracks under guard.

Flight in Secret

New Delhi

On the 17th the Dalai Lama and party left Lhasa rather secretly. According to them on the 17th evening at about four o'clock two shells or bombs fell into a lake in the summer palace. This made them think: 'This is the last moment and this palace is going to be shelled and there is going to be war' and they left Lhasa.

"As far as I know, even then it was not the Dalai Lama's intention to leave Tibet. Subsequently it must have developed. In the course of the week from the 11th to 20th news came to us. Before that we knew nothing about the situation except that there were all kinds of currents and cross-currents at work in Lhasa and Tibet."

—Mr. Nehru in the Lok Sabha on May 4

Rumour has it in Gangtok that the Khampa rebels were able to spirit the Dalai Lama away during last week's heavy fighting in Lhasa and because the "God" king is now safe the uprising may peter out. These reports state that several hundred Khampas died in the Lhasa flare-up.

Other reports reaching Gangtok say that more than a third of the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka was destroyed by shell-fire during the height of the fighting. No Indian was killed, these reports say, but it is feared that Indian business may suffer as a result of the general dislocation of normal life in Tibet. This morning, however, a mule caravan arrived from Yatung and a mule pack carrying Indian goods left Gangtok—a sign of normal conditions returning.

—Darjeeling Correspondent of The Statesman, Calcutta, March 26

Tibet Denounces Treaty With China

Washington

THE Tibetan Cabinet was reported to-day to have denounced the treaty with China on the ground of persistent violations by the Chinese and to have proclaimed Tibet to be independent. Under the treaty of May 23, 1951, China took control of Tibet's foreign and military affairs.

The State Department spokesman said he could not, however confirm the report which appeared in the *New York Times*.

The spokesman, Mr. Joseph Reap, also said the State Department welcomed the statement in which Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the KMT Chinese leader, had again spoken of his respect for the struggle for autonomy which the Tibetan people were now conducting against the Chinese.

Mr. Reap said the State Department had not received confirmation of the report of the treaty denunciation.

However, the United States position is clear, he declared. "The United States has never recognised or condoned this so called agreement, under which the Chinese Communists deprived the Tibetan people of the political autonomy which they had long enjoyed."

Mr. Reap was asked to comment on a despatch from Kalimpong, India, to the *New York Times*, saying that the Chinese had confirmed that the Tibetans had revoked the treaty with Peking "under the influence of the American imperialists". The *New York Times* did not identify the exact Chinese source for this reported statement.

Mr. Reap, replying to questions, said that as far as he knew no consultation had taken place between the United States and the KMT Chinese regarding the possibility of helping the Tibetan rebels.

KMT Arms Aid

President Chiang has talked about arms drops but we have no information that he is doing that, he added.

Mr. Reap was also asked if he had information to sustain any belief that Chinese activities in Tibet were aimed at India, or Bhutan or other nearby protectorates.

He replied that he did not know what information had been received by the State Department, adding: "I had better not get into that question".

—Hindu, Madras, March 26

Tibet Uprising Smashed? Chinese Install Panchen Lama

Tokyo

CHINA announced today that it had "completely smashed" an uprising in Tibet and installed the Panchen Lama as head of a new regime.

An order by the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, abolished the Tibetan Government nominally headed by the Dalai Lama. A broadcast by Peking Radio said the 23-year-old Dalai Lama had been abducted by rebels who rose against the Chinese overlords last week.

The rebels attacked Lhasa on March 19 and were defeated in two days of battle, Peking Radio said. It said the Chinese Army was in control of Lhasa on March 22 and that army units "are mopping up the rebels in some other places in Tibet."

Peking Radio said the Dalai Lama "under duress by the rebels" tore up the treaty he signed in 1951 with China. The Panchen Lama has been at his

religious headquarters at Shigatse, south-west of Lhasa. There was no indication whether he has yet arrived at Lhasa.

China listed the Tibetan casualties at 4,000 captured. The Chinese troops seized 8,000 small arms, 81 machine-guns, 27 mortars, six mountain guns and huge amounts of ammunition, the Peking broadcast said.

Eighteen "traitorous elements" in the Preparatory Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region have been relieved of their posts and are "to be punished individually under law."

Peking carefully refrained from assailing the Dalai Lama, the "Living Buddha" of the Tibetans and the most popular man in the Land of the Lamas.

The broadcast said many of the arms were brought in from abroad. It said the base of the rebellion—to the south of the Tsangpo River—received "air dropped supplies from Chiang Kai-shek bands on a number of occasions."

The revolt was blamed on the "Tibetan local Government and an upper strata reactionary clique" backed by imperialists.

Panchen Lama Installed

Mr. Chou's order emphasised that, while the Dalai Lama was under "duress by the rebels", the 21-year-old Panchen Lama would act as "Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region". Committees in the self-governing regions of China take orders from Peking.

But the broadcast made it clear that the Chinese military would be in charge. Peking said a Military Control Committee was set up in Lhasa on Monday and other cities and areas had been placed under the firm control of the Chinese Army...

Since the Chinese Army entered Tibet and Peking and Lhasa concluded a 17-article agreement in 1951 "on measures for the peaceful liberation," the broadcast claimed, the Tibetans "have been plotting to tear up the agreement and preparing for armed rebellion."

Peking Radio said that, by April, 1956, a Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was established "and warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people."

"Yet, owing to obstruction by the reactionaries in the local Government of Tibet, the preparatory work for the Autonomous Region has made little progress," it said.

It said the 17-article agreement stipulated that the "Tibetan army must be reorganised, and that Tibet's social system, that is serfdom, must be reformed in accordance with the wishes of the people."

These "two important tasks could not be carried out." Peking Radio said.

—A. P. and "The Times of India News Service, March 28

Rebels Cover Dalai Lama's Flight

Kallimpong

THE Dalai Lama, now in flight, is seriously ill, according to persistent reports current here. (Later information proved that fortunately there was no truth in these reports.)

It is stated that four of the six members of his Cabinet now dissolved by the Chinese are moving with the Dalai Lama through areas controlled by Khampa rebels. They are reported to be heading east apparently finding the south completely sealed. The fugitives' progress is handicapped by the Dalai Lama's illness, stated to have been caused by a fall from a hill. The circumstances in which he fell down are not known.

Thousands of Chinese soldiers are reported to have fanned out south-west and east in a bid to capture the Dalai Lama.

Heavy fighting of a sporadic nature has been reported from Lhaggjar Dzong, Kaam, where the rebel commander, Gonpo Tashi, has set up his headquarters.

These fights, the reports say, are intended to cover the escape of the Dalai Lama. His initial flight took him almost due south for four days from Lhasa. Later, as the Tibetan rebels who were carrying him off found it impossible to break through Chinese security rings and cross either into India or Nepal, they headed eastward with the Dalai Lama.

All along the Tibetan borders with Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and India, the Chinese have put up emergency frontier militia with orders to shoot rebels trying to cross the border. Soldiers have orders not to shoot the Dalai Lama under any circumstances but do everything that is necessary to take him into custody.

The Chinese have imposed strict censorship on private communication between Tibet and the outside world. Telegrams that are transmitted out of Tibet are allowed to say only these three words, "We are safe."

—Hindu, Madras, March 29

SATURDAY 28 MARCH

Tibetan Government Dissolved

Tokyo

THE following is the text of China's State Council order signed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, proclaiming the dissolution of the Tibet Local Government and setting up a Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region as broadcast by Peking Radio :

"The following order is hereby proclaimed:

"Most of the colony of the Tibet Local Government and the upper strata of the reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits, carried out rebellion, ravaged the people, put the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local army and rebellious elements to launch a general offensive against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa.

"Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt unification are not allowed by law. In order to safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, the decision is that from this day the Tibet Local Government is dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region shall exercise the functions and powers of the Tibet Local Government.

"The Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is under duress by the rebels. Panchen Erdeni Chujigeltse (Panchen Lama), Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, will act as the Chairman.

"Pebala Cholieh Namje, member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is appointed Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee; Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee, is appointed Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee.

"Eighteen traitorous elements—Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), Yuto Chashidongchu, Tsriaong Lozong

Yiehsi, Kachang Lozong-Rentzen, Dala Logzong Sungdin, Khemey Sonam Wongdui, Rongnamse Thubtan-Norzong, Pala Thubtan-Wenten, Nonghsi Thubtan-Zongchu, Namselin Panchun-Jigme, Menjelin Jalyang Geltseng, Karihpén Tsewong-Dorje, Peng Chu, Weisegeltseng (Kundelinchasa), Gungalama and Tsupugamapa Rihpiedorje—are relieved of their posts as members of the Preparatory Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region and of all their other posts and are to be punished individually under law.

"Sixteen persons, Teng Shao-tung, Chan, Yua-yu, Hui Yi-jan, Liang Hsuan-hsien, Tsuiko Dongchutseren, Chantung Lozong-Namje, Chhden Tsripa, Thubten Kunga, Chienpaizuli, Ngapo Tsirtenchoga Dorjetsirten, Shirou Dungchu, Geltesengpintso, Lozong Tsucheng, Chunjue, Pintsowongchiu and Wang Pei-sheng, are appointed members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

"It is to be hoped that the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region will lead all the people of Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, to unite as one and make common efforts to assist the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion quickly, consolidate national defence, protect the interests of the people of all nationalities, secure social order and strive for the building of a new democratic and socialist Tibet.

"Premier Chou En-lai.

"March 28, 1959."

Military Control

Reuter adds: The *New China News Agency* in another dispatch said the Chinese State Council had ordered its troops in Tibet to assume military control in various places "in order to wipe out the rebel bandits thoroughly."

It said a Military Control Committee had been set up in Lhasa on March 23. Military control committees would be set up in succession in other places except for Shigatse, capital of the Hou Tsang area which was under the leadership of the Panchen Lama, and "where it is not necessary to set up one," it added.

—*The Times of India, March 27, 1959*

TUESDAY 31 MARCH

Dalai Lama Enters India

New Delhi

PRIME Minister Nehru officially confirmed in the Lok Sabha that the Dalai Lama has crossed into Indian territory on March 31. He also announced that political asylum has been granted to the Dalai Lama at the latter's request.

Mr. Nehru stated that he had the information about the Dalai Lama's movements two days ago and that he had hesitated to say anything yesterday (April 2) as he wanted further information and more details. Mr. Nehru said that on the morning of April 1 he received a message from Shillong, dated March 31, that an emissary with a message from the Dalai Lama had arrived on March 29 at our border checkpost in Chengetang in NEFA. The emissary had arrived

on March 29 with a message stating that the Dalai Lama desired political asylum and that he expected to reach the Indian border on March 30. "We received the message on the first of April and on the same evening another message was received by us again via Shillong that the Dalai Lama, with a small party of eight has crossed our territory on the evening of March 31. (Cheers)."

When the Dalai Lama crossed into Indian territory he was received by the Assistant Political Officer of the Tawang sub-division and later the rest of the party came in and the total number of people who had come with the Dalai Lama and after him was 80.

—Hindu, Madras, April 3



III

THE DALAI LAMA Symbol of Tibetan Independence

Tibet may be a theocratic rather than a secular state and backward economically and socially. But no nation has the right to impose progress, whatever that may mean, upon another nation.

—JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

“In striving to retain his people’s right to live and worship in their own way, the Dalai Lama has brought his appeal to men of conscience everywhere. Like the late Ramon Magsaysay, he chose to stand where others have faltered in protest of fundamental human rights.”

—THE MAGSAYSAY AWARD CITATION

THE ESCAPE FROM LHASA

The Escape from Lhasa

MANY reports have been published about the dramatic escape of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa. The world will have to wait for the true account of what has been described as "one of the greatest escapes ever" till the Dalai Lama himself reveals the story, which he has promised to do in the near future. Till then his escape must remain shrouded in mystery and round which many romantic legends are growing. Here are some of the reports of the daring flight from Lhasa and of the gruelling journey of 15 days, over uncharted mountain passes, reaching an altitude of 19,000, and torrential rivers till the Dalai Lama and his party reached the Indian border.

Dalai Lama Enters India

Hongkong

THE *New China News Agency* reported today that it had learned that the Dalai Lama had entered India on Tuesday.

The news agency said that the Dalai Lama and others arrived in India on March 31. It said Indian border authorities had left for Tawang in Assam to meet him and that foreign correspondents were also trying to reach him.

The agency gave no other details.

—*A Reuter Message, April 2*

Nehru Greets Dalai Lama

Shillong

MR. NEHRU has sent a message of greetings to the Dalai Lama on his arrival in the Indian territory (at Tawang in the Kameng Division of NEFA), it was learnt here today.

Official sources here said that the contents of Mr. Nehru's message were very brief.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

Armed Escort for Dalai Lama

The Dalai Lama, who, in addition to his personal bodyguard, is being escorted by a detachment of the Assam Rifles, today left Tawang for Bomdila, a 75-mile trek across the 14,000 ft. Semla Pass.

It is believed his bodyguard have brought small arms with them. On arrival at Tawang the Dalai

Lama was taken to the administrative bungalow for rest in preference to the famous monastery there.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

Government in Exile

New Delhi

It is now confirmed that three members of the Tibetan Cabinet, the Kashag, have crossed into India with the Dalai Lama. They are Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa and Hsinka Jigmedorje.

A fourth member of the Kashag, Yuto Chahsidongchu, came away to Kalimpong in 1957.

This means that a majority of the Kashag which, together with the Dalai Lama at its head, constituted the Tibetan Local Government, is now in exile in India.

Meanwhile, there has been no communication from Peking since the granting of asylum to the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama's party should have left Tawang today on the first lap of its journey to Bomdila. The route lies over the 14,000 foot-high Semla Pass.

The first point in Assam outside the inner line that the party will touch is Foothills, north of Tezpur.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 7*

Peking Scoop Baffles Delhi

New Delhi

How the Chinese were able to break the Indian code on the arrival of the Dalai Lama continues to bewilder the Government. This was clear from the remarks with which the Home Minister took objection to an adjournment motion on the subject in the Lok Sabha today.

Although the motion, which came from Mr. Hem Barua, was found to be inadmissible for diplomatic and technical reasons, it is believed the Central Intelligence is pursuing the investigation with vigour.

Evidently, the Chinese monitored the wireless message sent from the North East Frontier Agency when, on entering Indian territory, the Dalai Lama sought asylum, and decoded it with accuracy through efficient espionage. The Prime Minister said on Sunday that the secret was well kept in New Delhi.

—*Hindustan Times, April 7*

Adjournment Motion Disallowed

New Delhi

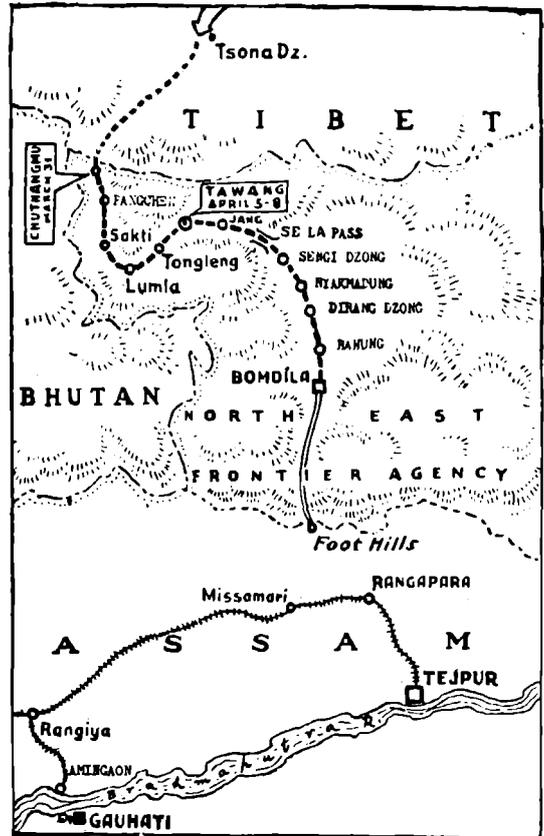
AN adjournment motion on the announcement by the *New China News Agency* of the arrival of the Dalai Lama in India much before the news was made known in New Delhi was ruled out by the Speaker in the Lok Sabha today.

In the absence of the Prime Minister, Pandit Pant told the House that it was difficult to find out how another country got information ahead of India. Each country had its own system of espionage, there were planes flying about in their countries or near their borders.

Apart from the fact that the adjournment motion did not relate to a matter of urgent public importance of recent occurrence, Pandit Pant also took objection to the subject of the motion. He maintained that the motion must, except in extraordinary circumstances, relate to some domestic affair. When diplomatic relations were involved and delicate matters were sought to be discussed it would be risky to admit the adjournment motion even if it were admissible under the rules.

Without allowing further discussion, the Speaker disallowed the motion. The motion had been tabled by Mr. Hem Barua (PSP) and Mr. Vajpayee (Jan Sangh).

—*Hindustan Times*, April 7



Dramatic Escape

Kalimpong

THE Dalai Lama escaped from his winter palace, Potala, and not from the summer palace, Norbulingka, as reported in the press so far, according to a high-ranking Tibetan official who fled his country.

In early March, the Dalai Lama was overwhelmed by the nationalist upsurge in his country. On March 9 and 10, there were demonstrations in Lhasa against his going to China.

He would have gone to attend the National People's Congress, to which he had been invited. On March 14, the Khampa rebels came to within 25 miles of Lhasa. Most members of the Dalai Lama's Cabinet and spiritual leaders strongly expressed themselves against his following the Chinese line. This time he had to say to which side he belonged.

The Ministers, however, knew that if he remained in Lhasa the Chinese were bound to get hold of him and use him against his people. The only way to get him out of Chinese control was to get him out of Tibet.

It was then that his dramatic escape was planned. His palace, Potala, was surrounded by the Tibetan Army (not Chinese Army). Inside the palace there were no Chinese. Small batches of his top men began escaping from Potala on March 16.

On the night of March 17, he himself, along with his bodyguard, came out, and began his journey towards India. He did not cross the Kyi river at the usual ferry crossing. He went up north, took a detour, crossed the Brahmaputra, skirted the town of Pedi and the Yambrok Lake and hurried on towards Son. In groups of six and eight, his party, resting during day and journeying at night, rode towards India.

The Chinese acknowledge that they did not know of his escape until March 19. As soon as they knew they sent a party from Lhasa in hot pursuit. The going was very difficult. Twenty-five miles out of Lhasa, the Khampas blocked their way and gave them a fight. The Chinese then used spotter planes and sent them on the trail of the fleeing Dalai Lama. They could have air-dropped soldiers. But without horses, in hostile and unfamiliar terrain, their soldiers could never have caught up with the Dalai Lama and his entourage.

They were afraid of strafing his party from the air at night. They did not want to injure or kill the God-King. That would have been fatal for them. Such action would have turned all Tibetans into their enemies for ever.

At night spotter planes on several occasions flew over the fleeing Tibetans. The Chinese closely

followed the Dalai Lama's movements, but knew no way of stopping him. They did not want to take the risk of doing something that would cause bodily harm to the Dalai Lama. It would be unfair to say that the news of his crossing over to India leaked out in this country and was conveyed to China.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 7*

A Breathless Trek

Tezpur

TIBETAN sources here giving an account of the God-King's escape from Lhasa, said the 23-year-old Gyelpo Rimpoche—as the Dalai Lama is known in Tibet—left his palace about midnight on March 17, after having failed in his bid to avoid bloodshed between the Chinese and his people.

Under the dim light of the crescent moon the Dalai Lama and his party trekked all the way to the Brahmaputra. To avoid detection they had left Lhasa one by one and met miles away from the capital.

When the Chinese discovered the escape it was too late. But still it was a "breathless trek" with a constant fear of being caught by the Chinese, these sources said.

Attendants and guards carried the Dalai Lama's 60-year-old mother and 14-year-old youngest brother, Ngari Rimpoche, who is considered the "living Buddha" and is head of all the monks in western Tibet.

Runners in the Khampa area posted the party with information on the position of the Chinese Army. They were warned that the easier route from Lhasa to Bhutan was full of Chinese troops, and the innumerable passes towards the west up to Ladakh in Kashmir were under Chinese guard. They therefore quickly decided on the caravan route of Bhotiya and Tibetan traders, towards the south-east.

The Brahmaputra according to these sources, was crossed in *tru koas*—boats made of yak hide. The party possibly had to jettison some of the load it was carrying, including some gold bars, in the Brahmaputra to make the journey easier.

Once across the southern bank of the turbulent river, the party had to pass through vast barren lands. The pace was increased, for time was of the essence, and the march had to be made at night.

Pema (Lotus), 17-year-old sister of the Dalai Lama was perhaps the best trekker among the women members of the party, these sources said.

—*A P. T. I. Report, April 17*

Crossed at 19,000 Feet

THE Kyi river was crossed at an altitude of 19,000 ft. This was a hazard that would daunt even a

Himalayan climber. According to certain authoritative sources, the Dalai Lama travelled by a track familiar to Tibetans, particularly of the Kham and Amdo region, to somewhere near the Bhutan-India border. The difficult journey took the party through the Che and Gokar Passes at altitudes of 18,000 ft.

The amazing feature of the escape is that the party seems to have taken the route up to Nagartse, for on this route the Chinese had strong concentrations. The story whether the Dalai Lama was disguised or not will not perhaps be told for a considerable time to come; but one thing is clear, the party always marched by night, resting during the day.

Looking at the map of Eastern Tibet, however, one can safely hazard the guess that he did not go as far as Nagartse but crossed the Brahmaputra river and took the Kongila Dzong route.

Once the party had reached Kongila Dzong, the threat of Chinese attack had virtually vanished. Nowhere does the region seem to have been less than 12,000 ft. in height.

Expert Guide

Their entry into India through the Chutangmu Pass an outlet known to only a few Tibetans, suggests that an expert guide must have accompanied the party. Also they had outwitted the Chinese at every stage. For the Chinese surrounded a monastery on the Tibet-Nepal border, expecting the God-King to seek asylum there. Disappointed, the Chinese made a frantic effort to take the Dalai Lama by sending secret agents into the inner line of the Assam border. Here too, they failed.

An Eye-Witness Account of the Escape

Tezpur

THIS is the first eye-witness account of the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa given directly to the Press. It was told to me by members of the Dalai Lama's party, who for the last 32 days have accompanied him in his epic dash for freedom.

On the 8th day of the Tibetan month Aawa Nepa (March 17) it was decided by the National Assembly and the Kashag that the Dalai Lama should leave Lhasa immediately: his life, they considered, was in danger.

Plans for such an eventuality had been made weeks before: food had been stocked, a part of the fabulous treasure that is at the command of the Dalai Lama had been packed for easy transport by mules and, more important, members of the Dalai Lama's family, his closest advisers and Ministers had been brought together and had prepared themselves for flight with their God and King.

On the morning of the 17th, members of the National Assembly began leaving the Norbulingka in small groups. It was still the time of the Mollem festival and visits by Lhasa's officials to one another (which in some cases meant fairly distant travel) was not a cause for suspicion by the Chinese.

These officials made their way to Nathang, on the Lhasa side of the Brahmaputra river, where by agreement they awaited the Living Buddha. On the night of the 17th the Dalai Lama himself left the Summer Palace, dressed in the robe of a poor lama and accompanied by servants. He was preceded a short way by his mother, sister and young brother, the Ngari Rimpoche. They travelled in the first instance by a route other than that taken by the Dalai Lama. In the words of three persons who accompanied him: "He just left the palace as if he was taking a normal walk." Nobody interfered with him or tried to stop him.

The next morning the small party crossed the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) "in broad daylight". The crossing was made by inflated yak skin rafts pulled across the river by hand. The crossing was uneventful. Fresh horses awaited the party who had already taken to the saddle outside Lhasa. At first, the Dalai Lama's aged mother had to be carried, but when it seemed that this slow and laborious process might endanger the party, she gamely rode with the rest.

So sudden had been the escape that advance warning could not be given to villages and dzongs through which the party travelled, but messages for fresh horses were sent by Tibet's highly efficient arrow

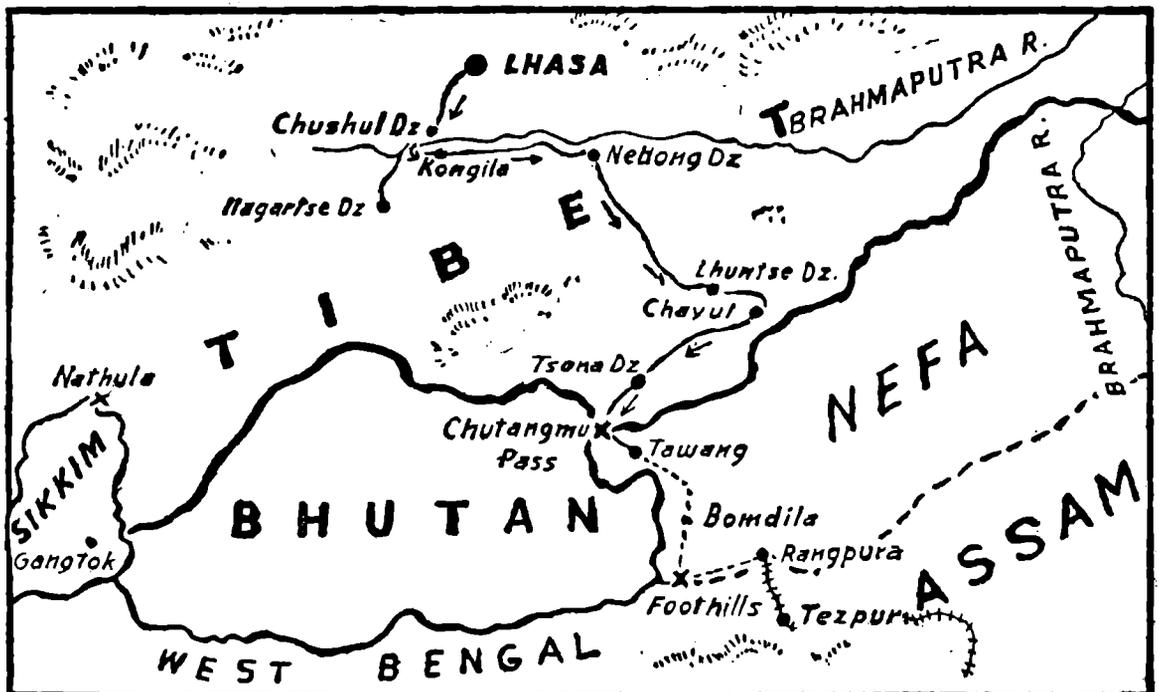
service: a system which requisitions horses and runners wherever required so that important messages under the Dalai Lama's seal are delayed in their progress only for as long as it takes messengers to change horses and hand over the packet in which they are contained.

After two days' travel, the party was met by a Khampa escort which accompanied them all the way to the Indian border. This was at Chitang and the number of the party now swelled to nearly 200. Until then the Dalai Lama had only a small escort of his personal guard (Kusumpas). Contrary to belief, the party travelled extensively by day. On the fourth day out of Lhasa a plane was sighted, but it passed at a distance.

The first intention had been to make for the Sikkim or the Bhutan border. At every halt plans were discussed and changed.

While fresh horses were found and acquired, Khampa intelligence would advise the position of Chinese forces. For instance it was early known that the Chinese had blocked all approaches to Sikkim, and on the few routes they commanded into Bhutan they cut or blew up local bridges (many rope and bamboo affairs across mountain torrents).

South of the Brahmaputra, the country alternates between open plateau and stark inhospitable mountain ranges. The land, for Tibet, is fertile and the area is fairly populous. It was easy, therefore, for the party to move from village to village, and "since there are hundreds of caravan routes in these regions and



bands of Khampas and caravans move over them, it would not have been easy for the Chinese to know which party was the Dalai Lama's."

Though every effort was made to jettison ceremonial, the progress of the Dalai Lama caused great excitement in every encampment he passed through. Speed had to be maintained, but all stops were made as comfortable as possible for the Living Buddha; at each, he gave a hurried public audience.

It is believed (my informants had not actually been present at the small ceremony) that the oracle travelling with the party advised immediate entry into India. It was plain to all, however, that here lay the only hope of the Dalai Lama's ultimate safety: Khampa intelligence had made it clear that there was a bridge of Tibetan-held territory, several miles across, roughly corresponding to the old caravan route linking Nedong Dzong to Tsona and Towang.

On two later occasions, the party heard aircraft and then, as they neared the Indian border, they sighted a plane which they believed to be Indian. It was at this point, two days' ride from the N.E.F.A. frontier, that couriers were sent to make contact with Indian border authorities. Nowhere had they seen Chinese forces. At no time did their information suggest that the Chinese were close by.

My informants requested that no mention be made of the exact route they followed; in fact, they deliberately failed to mention the names of places they stayed in south of the Brahmaputra. This, they explained, was because other Tibetans may at this very moment be using the same route and also because "we fear reprisals against those who helped us should the Chinese enter the region in force."

What chance was there of the Khampas holding this area? "A very good one," my informants said. "Fighting will never stop until we are satisfied."

—Special Correspondent of the Statesman, Calcutta, April 18

An Adventurous Journey

Shillong

BEHIND the flight from Lhasa of the Dalai Lama, which has been described by the Press all over the world as one of the greatest escapes ever, is a story of grim determination and courage which negotiated mountainous terrain considered to be impossible even for the sure footed Tibetans.....

The Dalai Lama's party crossed the river Kyi, running in a region at an altitude of 19,000 feet. This was considered dangerous even for Tibetans who were well versed in the art of mountain climbing. Some authoritative circles indicated that the Dalai Lama was advised that he should use some already known tracks in the Kham-Amdo region, which could gain them entry into India somewhere along

the Bhutan-India border. Marching through Cho Pass and Gokar Pass, at altitudes of 18,000 ft., is itself a difficult feat; for the route taken by the Dalai Lama for some distance from Lhasa was heavily fortified by Chinese troops. While one could not say with any amount of certainty whether the Dalai Lama was disguised or not, one fact has emerged clearly. It is that the party travelled by night and rested during day.

The party crossed the Brahmaputra to reach the Kongila Dzong route. This particular route was preferred since the party did not fear any attack from the Chinese here. Marching 20 miles per day through steep climbs and sudden descents in these uncharted mountains was an amazing feat indeed. That the escape from Lhasa to India was carefully planned well ahead was clear because at every stage the party equipped with a mobile wireless set, was able to keep the Dalai Lama's supporters informed in advance of the day-to-day march of the Dalai Lama.

Experienced climbers among the hillfolk said that the Dalai Lama's march from Lhuntse Dzong through Tona Dzong and Chuyi was the most difficult because there were steep ascents on small and narrow ledges with very high rocky walls on sides and yawning chasms below. Due to the dangerous nature of the terrain and the strict watch maintained by the countries on this border there was speculation that if the Dalai Lama left the Tibetan territory he would enter Bhutan. It now transpires that the Chutangmu Pass was a pass known only to a handful of Tibetans and even then only an experienced mountain guide, who was an expert at reading tracks, could have guided them across this pass into safety. It is stated that only after an advance guard had scouted the area and reported it safe for the onward travel of the Dalai Lama, providing for enough rest ahead, did the Dalai Lama continue his journey.

—Special Correspondent of Hindu, Madras, April 12

Unidentified Plane Flew Over Dalai

New Delhi

A SOLITARY plane flew over the Dalai Lama's party as they were escaping from Tibet towards India after crossing the Brahmaputra.

A member of the party said that on hearing the drone of a plane they looked up and tried to identify with binoculars whether the plane was Chinese. "We hoped it was an Indian plane but could not make out whether it was Chinese or Indian," he said.

The region where they sighted the plane was far from the Indian frontier. He thought it was a Chinese plane on reconnaissance to locate the Dalai Lama and party.

For the first two days and nights after leaving Lhasa the escaping party moved at top speed day and night without halt. The Dalai, his mother, sister, youngest brother and other important persons rode on horseback. Servants and attendants walked all the way. Provisions for a whole month were carried on muleback.

They crossed the Tsangpo (the name of Brahmaputra in Tibet) in a single yak hide boat which was used to ferry all the members of the party, their luggage and horses and mules, the boat having to make several trips.

Once across the Brahmaputra the party marched sometimes all night and slept by day or moved during the day and slept at night.

—*Hindustan Times, April 20*

Letter from Dalai Lama

Hongkong

PEOPLE'S China claimed to-night that the Dalai Lama, 23-year-old Tibetan spiritual leader, had been planning secretly to join Chinese military forces when he was abducted "by rebel forces during the Tibetan uprising".

The Dalai Lama had been taken by the rebels to Loka province, a mountainous region, south of Lhasa, the capital. This was the first indication of the spiritual leader's whereabouts since his departure from Lhasa on March 17.

The official *New China News Agency*—in the second statement from Peking in two days on the Tibetan revolt—released a series of letters exchanged

between the Dalai Lama and General Tan Kuan-san, Chinese Political Commissar, before the spiritual leader's "abduction".

The letters were written between March 10 and March 17, when the Dalai Lama was said to have been "abducted" by the rebels.

The Dalai Lama was quoted as saying after the outbreak of the revolt that "reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety" and that "the unlawful actions of the reactionary clique break my heart."

In his letter on March 16 the Dalai Lama wrote: "I am very glad that you are so concerned about my safety, and hereby express my thanks....."

"The day before yesterday I made a speech to more than 70 Government officials, instructing them from various angles, calling on them.....calm down or my life would be in danger."

"I am trying skilfully to make a demarcation line between the progressive people and those opposing the revolution within the Government officials."

"A few days from now I shall make my way to the Military Command secretly....."

The news agency commented: "but the very next day the traitorous clique abducted him from Lhasa to the Loka area, southeast of Lhasa."

"Then on the night of March 19 the clique of traitors launched an all-out attack against the People's Liberation Army Garrison in Lhasa."

—*Hindu, Madras, March 29*

The Dalai Lama's Letters

On March 29 the official New China News Agency released a series of letters exchanged between the Dalai Lama and General Tan Kuan-san, Chinese Political Commissar, in Tibet.

The letters were written between March 10 and March 17, when the Dalai Lama was said to have been "abducted" by the rebels. The letters revealed that the Dalai Lama collaborated and parleyed with the Chinese Communists up to the final hour before he changed his mind and fled.

For a long time, it was believed that the letters were faked by the Chinese for propaganda purposes. Even Mr. Nehru publicly doubted their authenticity, by wondering aloud in Parliament if these letters were "ever written."

But at his meeting with Mr. Nehru on April 24 at Mussoorie, the Dalai Lama acknowledged the authorship of the letters the Chinese announced he had written to the Chinese Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command. The principal reason for writing these letters, according to Mr. Nehru, was probably to try and avoid a break with the Chinese during that highly trying period in the hope that some solution might ultimately be found. "The Dalai Lama was pulled in different directions."

Perhaps the best explanation for his conduct, which may appear strange to a non-Tibetan, is to be found in the Dalai Lama's own words: "During all this time patiently and sincerely I endeavoured to appease my people and to calm down their feelings and at the same time tried my best to persuade the Chinese authorities in Lhasa

to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendliness. In spite of repeated failures I persisted in this policy till the last day when it became impossible for me to render any useful service to my people by remaining in Tibet. It was in these circumstances that I was obliged to leave my country in order to save it from further danger and disaster."

At his press conference, at Mussoorie on June 20, he confirmed having written three letters to the Chinese Military Commander in Lhasa, but pointed out that it was "at a critical time when the lives of innumerable people were in the hands of the Chinese. It was a measure adopted in order to take a peaceful course of action. When the circumstances in which these letters were written were brought to the notice of the world, they cannot make any other impression than to expose the measures of the Chinese oppression."

The Letters

Peking

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 handwriting.

The text of the six letters follows :

I. The letter sent to Dalai Lama on March 10 by General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and the Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command.

Respected Dalai Lama :

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

Salutations and best regards,

March 10, 1959.

TAN KUAN-SAN

II. The Dalai Lama's letter sent to General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command on March 11.

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar Tan,

I intended to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by people, ecclesiastical and secular, who were instigated by a few bad elements and who did not know the facts. This has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss what to do. When

your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama on the 10th) appeared before me, I immediately became overjoyed that you do not mind at all.

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

Dalai Lama, written by my own hand

III. Letter to Dalai Lama from General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command, on March 11.

Dalai Lama,

The reactionaries are now so audacious as to have openly and arrogantly carried out military provocations. They have erected fortifications and posted large numbers of machine guns and armed reactionaries along the national defense highway (the highway north of the Norbu Lingka) thereby seriously disrupting the security of the national defense communications.

Many times in the past, we told the Kashag that the People's Liberation Army is duty bound to defend the country and to protect the security of communication lines related to national defense, and therefore it certainly cannot remain indifferent to this serious act of military provocations. Therefore, the Tibet Military Area Command has sent letters to Surkong, Neusha, Shasu and Pala asking them to tell the reactionaries to remove all the fortifications they established and to withdraw from the highway immediately. Otherwise, they will bear responsibility themselves for all the serious consequences. I want to inform you of this. Please let me know what your views are at your earliest convenience.

Salutations and best regards,

March 11, 1959.

TAN KUAN-SAN

IV. The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command on March 12.

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar Tan,

I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (referring to March 11) forwarded to you by Ngapo. I have had the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful actions of the reactionary clique break my heart. Yesterday I told Kashag to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbu Lingka under the pretext of protecting me. As to the incidents of yesterday and the day before, which were created under the pretext of protecting my safety and have seriously estranged the relations between the Central Government and the Local Government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them. At 8-30 Peking time this morning a few Tibetan army men suddenly fired several shots near the Tsinghai-Tibet highway. Fortunately, no serious disturbances occurred. As to the questions mentioned in your letter (referring to the letter of the 11th sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama), I am planning to persuade my few subordinates and give them instructions. Please tell me frankly any instruction you have for me.

March 12, 1959.

DALAI

V. Letter sent to Dalai Lama on March 15 by General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army :

Respected Dalai Lama :

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your two letters dated March 11 and March 12. The traitorous activities of the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet have grown into intolerable proportions. These individuals, in collusion with foreigners, have engaged in reactionary, traitorous activities for quite some time. The Central People's Government has long adopted an attitude of magnanimity and enjoined the Local Government of Tibet to deal with them seriously, but the Local Government of Tibet has all along adopted an attitude of feigning compliance while actually helping them with their activities, with the result that things now have come to such a grave pass. The Central People's Government still hopes that the Local Government of Tibet will change its erroneous attitude and immediately assume responsibility for putting down the rebellion and mete out severe punishment to the traitors.

Otherwise the Central People's Government will have to act itself to safeguard the solidarity and unification of the motherland.

In your letter, you said : "As to the incidents which were created under the pretext of protecting my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them."

We warmly welcome this correct attitude on your part.

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

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

Salutations and my best regards,

March 15, 1959.

TAN KUAN-SAN

VI. The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command on March 16.

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar Tan,

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

The day before yesterday, the fifth day of the second month according to the Tibetan Calendar (March 14, 1959) I made a speech to more than 70 representatives of the government officials, instructing them from various angles, calling on them to consider seriously present and long-term interests and to calm down, or my life would be in danger. After these severe reproaches, conditions took a slight turn for the better. Though the conditions in here and outside are still very difficult to deal with at present, I am trying skillfully to make a demarcation line between the progressive people and those opposing the revolution within the government officials. A few days from now when there are enough forces that I can trust I shall make my way to the Military Area Command secretly. When that time comes, I shall first send you a letter. I request you to adopt reliable measures. What are your views? Please write me often.

March 16, 1959.

DALAI

Dalai Lama's Intention Before Leaving Lhasa

Peking

THE *Peking Evening News* said tonight that three days before leaving Lhasa the Dalai Lama told Tibetan officials and rebels that he did not want to leave Tibet for India.

A Lama official named Tudengdanba who took part in the rebellion said he heard the Dalai Lama say this according to a despatch from Lhasa by the *New China News Agency*, quoted by the newspaper.

He said the Dalai Lama made a speech to Tibetan local Government members and rebel delegates on March 14 in which he said, "Some people might think it better for me to go to India. But this would be only for the well-being of one person.

"I have been in India, but it will not do for me to live there. I only want to stay in my own land."

The Dalai Lama is said to have added that it was he alone who arranged the visit to a theatrical performance at Chinese headquarters in Lhasa on March 10, which a crowd in front of his palace prevented him from attending.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 23*

Official Seeks Asylum

Kalimpong

YAMPHEL Pangda Tshang arrived in Gangtok yesterday evening seeking asylum in India. Yamphel Pangda Tshang, the eldest of the three famous and fabulously rich Pangda Tshang brothers of Kham, is the first notable Tibetan to cross the frontier after the recent happenings in Tibet.....

Pangda Tshang, it is reported, is coming from Sakya, nearly 200 miles south of Lhasa, where he was sent by the Chinese authorities a month ago to settle a dispute between Lamas there. He left Sakya immediately after the uprising. He is accompanied by his wife and other personal staff. Nearly 35 loads of goods, considered "valuable," have arrived with Pangda Tshang.

Till recently Pangda Tshang was the head of the Commerce and Industries Department of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Tibet Region of China at Lhasa. He was the Chinese trade agent at Kalimpong for a couple of months in 1955. He was the Tibetan trade agent at Yatung for several years and was a member of the Tibetan trade delegation to China in 1948.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 1*

Refugees Cross Mouch River

Gangtok Bazar

THE fact that Chinese troops have been massing on the Tibetan frontier since the uprising in Lhasa

explains today there has been no fighting at Yatung. The only big thing to happen at Yatung was the arrest of the Tibetan Army unit stationed at Trochiang.

One person was shot dead there on March 22 and two Khampas were arrested the next day. It reported that two others were shot dead while trying to escape into Sikkim by a Chinese patrol.

Though no refugees have so far entered Sikkim, some groups were reported to have crossed the Mouch river in Chumbi Valley and were on their way to India via Jelep La in eastern Sikkim.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 1*

Steps to Protect Chinese Agency

Darjeeling

INQUIRIES at a local bank here having extensive business connexions at Yatung confirm that Indian traders there are safe. Though trade routes are open there is now little movement of goods on the Mathula-Gangtok highway.

Meanwhile, it is learned that the police are taking steps to protect the Chinese trade agency at Kalimpong.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 1*

Arrival Announced

New Delhi

PRIME Minister Nehru officially confirmed in the Lok Sabha to-day that the Dalai Lama has crossed into the Indian territory on March 31. Cheers from Congress and Socialist benches greeted the Prime Minister's announcement. The Prime Minister also announced that the Dalai Lama was heading towards Tawang, which is the headquarters of the Tawang sub-division in the North-East Frontier Agency and that he would be reaching Tawang on Sunday, April 5.

Mr. Nehru also announced that political asylum has been granted to the Dalai Lama at the latter's request. Altogether 80 Tibetans have accompanied the Dalai Lama into India.

Mr. Nehru stated that he had the information about the Dalai Lama's movements two days ago and that he had hesitated to say anything yesterday as he wanted further information and more details. Mr. Nehru said that on the morning of April 1, he received a message from Shillong, dated March 31, that an emissary with a message from the Dalai Lama had arrived at our border check post in Chengetang in NEFA. The emissary had arrived on March 29 with a message stating that the Dalai Lama desired political asylum and that he expected to reach the Indian border on March 30. "We received the message on the first of April and on the same evening another message was received by us again via Shillong that

the Dalai Lama, with a small party of eight has crossed our territory on the evening of March 31 (cheers)." Anticipating that such a development might occur, Mr. Nehru said the Government of India had instructed their check-posts what to do if such a development took place. When the Dalai Lama crossed into the Indian territory he was received by the Assistant Political Officer of the Tawang sub-division and later the rest of his party came in and the total number of people who had come with the Dalai Lama and after him was 80.....

—K. Rangaswami in *Hindu, Madras*

Farewell to Tibet

Shillong

SOME of the accounts available here from various sources give most touching descriptions of the moment when the Dalai Lama crossed into India.

As he was approaching the Indian border the Dalai Lama got down from his horse and walked some distance. Just before reaching the border point, the Dalai Lama, whose serene face was now flushed with emotion, looked back to the distant snow-capped Tibetan hills for a moment. By that time the members of his party arrived in batches. The aged mother of the Dalai Lama, who was the moving spirit of the party inspiring all to face difficulties of the hazardous journey with determination and fortitude, silently stood beside him and affectionately took him in her arms. There was deep silence all round. The glow of the setting sun spread its splendour over the snow-capped distant mountains.

As the darkness was deepening, the Dalai Lama sat in silent meditation. The monks who were accompanying him started chanting hymns. Many amongst the party were overwhelmed with emotion and were in tears.

An emissary had earlier left the place to inform the Indian border official that a high dignitary would be crossing the Indian border shortly. There was considerable excitement at Chutangmu as soon as the news spread. The Indian officials were ready to receive the Dalai Lama and party.

Shortly after sunset the Dalai Lama with a small party entered India and the officials present there received him with reverence. The Assam Rifles escort, which was already there, threw a cordon around the party as many people started pouring in to see the "God-King."

Immediately the Dalai Lama was taken to a tent provided with all facilities and he spent the night there. The rest of his party arrived in batches and all were given proper accommodation.

The party included, besides the aged mother, two brothers and one sister, several Ministers of the

Tibetan Government, senior Palace officials and a few aged monks.

Some of the armed guards, who had escorted the Dalai Lama, returned to Tibet after he had safely crossed into India. A few Tibetan guards without arms, however, are now in the Dalai Lama's party.

The Dalai Lama was given a rousing and dignified welcome on arrival at Tawang by 800 Buddhist monks and over 5,000 other Buddhists in their traditional manner, adds a NAFEN message.

With the Dalai Lama's safe arrival at Tawang, the townlet is now pulsating with new life, the Buddhist monks creating a serene atmosphere by chanting hymns and burning hundreds of candles inside the giant monastery.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 7*

Dalai Lama's Directive

Shillong

The Dalai Lama was reported to have impressed yesterday on the party accompanying him that they should not behave in any way which was likely to embarrass the Government and the people of India. He said that they must be inspired by Buddhistic ideals and not abuse the hospitality of the great country that had given birth to Lord Buddha.

The Dalai Lama was said to have made this statement at an important conference he held yesterday at Bomdila with his advisers.

Official sources here declined to say anything on the conference beyond remarking that such a conference must be treated as a routine matter.

The conference, it is gathered, framed a code of conduct for the Tibetans who are in the Dalai Lama's party. It also discussed the outlines of the Press statement the Dalai Lama is expected to issue at Tezpur on April 18.

It was understood that the conference, first since the Dalai Lama crossed into India, was attended by three Cabinet members of the dissolved Tibetan Government, high monk officials and a former general of the Tibetan Army.

The Dalai Lama, it was further understood, expressed his gratitude to the Government and the people of India for granting them political asylum at a time of stress and strain and when it seemed everything was lost. He hoped that those who were in the party would be worthy of India's hospitality.

—A P.T.I. Message, April 16

Peking Plays Down the Escape

Peking

News that the Dalai Lama had crossed the border from Tibet into India caused little excitement here to-day when it was published very briefly in the Peking newspapers without comment.

It appeared as a three-line item on the front pages, but under a bold heading across three columns which read: Under duress by Tibetan rebellious elements the Dalai Lama enters India. Indian border police go to meet him.....

In another message the *People's Daily* accused the Yugoslav Press of publishing "distorted" reports of the Tibetan rebellion.

It said that Yugoslav newspapers showed "special interest" in the rebellion, publishing "a great number of dispatches which were all elaborately selected and edited according to their need."

—*Hindu, Madras, April 3*

Peking Unmoved

Peking

THE Chinese tonight read for the first time the news of the Dalai Lama's request for asylum in India.

The *Evening News* published the report at the bottom of the front page under the two-column headline: "Dalai Lama under duress has entered India."

Peking remained quiet today with life going on normally. Chinese and Indian officials maintained silence on the situation arising from the Dalai Lama's arrival in India.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 4*

Arrival at Tawang

Shillong

THE Dalai Lama, fleeing from Lhasa, reached the Tawang monastery and safety today after 19 days of hazardous and continuous journey through difficult terrain.....

The Dalai Lama, who was yesterday one stage ahead of schedule, according to reports received here, camped in the vicinity of Tawang and entered the township only today.

From Chutangmu pass, where the party had crossed into India and where the Dalai Lama's body-guards surrendered to Indian authorities their arms, the Assam Rifles provided escort. The Political Officer of the Kameng Frontier Division, Captain Harmender Singh, hastened to Tawang from his headquarters in Bomdila to receive the God-King.....

It took the Dalai Lama and party five days to cover approximately 50 miles from Chutangmu to Tawang.

P.T.I. adds: The Dalai Lama looked sick and fatigued.

The tiny town of Tawang accorded a warm and reverential welcome to the Dalai Lama.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 5*

The Red Seal

It is not known here how many of his articles of personal use the Dalai Lama has been able to bring with him. These could not be much. It is possible that some more may be coming in with stragglers in his party.

The Dalai Lama is carrying with him the insignia of his high position, namely, the Red Seal.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 5*

Panchen Lama Takes Charge

Hong Kong

THE Panchen Lama, pro-Communist rival of the Dalai Lama, today arrived in Lhasa to head the Tibetan Government, the *New China News Agency* reported.

The report said that the 21-year old Panchen Lama would act as chairman in the absence of the Dalai Lama.

The Panchen Lama declared at the Committee's first meeting since the Tibet revolt that he would strive to put down the rebellion thoroughly.

"I hope to unite the people in Tibet still more closely," he said, according to the *New China News Agency*.

A question being asked is whether the Government of India recognises the Panchen Lama as the temporal head of Tibet. It is officially stated that India has at no stage recognised Tibet as a sovereign State. Therefore, who is the temporal head there is strictly an internal affair of China.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 5*

Safety Precautions

Shillong

THE Dalai Lama's safety is the prime consideration of the Government of India and adequate measures have been taken to protect him fully.

These were broadly indicated by Mr. K. L. Mehta, Adviser to the Governor of Assam for NEFA, to Mr. P. N. Menon, Publicity Chief of the External Affairs Ministry, who arrived here today, at a press conference here this afternoon.

It was made clear that no newsmen would be allowed to enter NEFA now, more so because the Dalai Lama's mind was not known on this question. No foreign Government representatives would also be allowed into NEFA.

Prime Minister Nehru has sent a message of greetings to the Dalai Lama on his arrival in Indian territory (at Tawang, in the Kameng Division of NEFA), says a PTI message.

Official sources here said that the contents of Mr. Nehru's message were "very brief."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 7*

No Restrictions

Shillong

THE Dalai Lama is free to meet anyone in India, said Mr. P. N. Menon, who has been deputed by the Government to escort him to his destination in the Uttar Pradesh hills. Mr. Menon arrived here today.

The policy of the Indian Government is not to place undue restrictions on the Tibetan leader, and they do not intend keeping the Press away from him. "It is up to the Dalai Lama to meet or not anybody here," Mr. Menon added.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

Guards Surrender Arms

Shillong

SINCE his entry into Indian territory, the Dalai Lama is reported to have instructed his entourage not to act in any way which would embarrass the Government and the people of India. In this connection the Dalai Lama's instruction to his entourage has been clear and specific, it is understood.

His anxiety not to embarrass the Government found eloquent expression when he was crossing into India on Chutangmu sector on March 31. As soon as he crossed over, the Dalai Lama asked his bodyguards equipped with automatic weapons to lay down their arms.

Extremely fatigued, his bodyguards at once surrendered their arms and while doing so their faces were beaming with satisfaction as they had succeeded in their historic task in escorting their "God-King" safely to a friendly country. From that moment a section of the Assam Rifles commanded by an officer took over the charge of the Dalai Lama and his party and safely escorted them to Tawang monastery.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 7*

Progress of Journey

Shillong

THE Dalai Lama and party, with some 30 or more mules carrying his personal baggage, today crossed the 14,500 ft. Semla Pass between Jhang and Sangazong. After an hour's halt, he continued his journey to Dirangzong, 16 miles away.....

When the Dalai Lama left Tawang yesterday for Bomdila some 500 monks in the Tawang Monastery bade him a reverential good-bye. Some of them stood

on the ramparts of the fortified wall of Tawang inside which the monastery is situated, and blew long copper pipe trumpets.

—*Hindu, Madras, April 9*

Arrival in Bomdila

Shillong

Joyous crowds reverentially greeted the Dalai Lama as he entered Bomdila today, ending his difficult 62-mile journey from Tawang, near the Tibetan border, along a bridle-path winding through forested hills.

The God-King was received at the 8,000-foot-high headquarters of the Kameng Frontier Division by Mr. P. N. Menon, Deputy Secretary of the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. Harbindar Singh, Political Officer, and crowds of Mompas, many of whom had trekked from far-off villages. The villagers had come to see the Dalai Lama for whom they had been praying ever since they had heard the news of his escape from Lhasa.

Official reports said the Dalai Lama and party had to negotiate a difficult distance of six miles from Sangazong to Nyukmandongd involving the crossing of passes at an altitude of over 14,000 feet today.

Nyukmandongd is about half way between Tawang and Bomdila which are 62 miles apart. The party was originally expected to reach Bomdila on April 13.....

Ceremonial Scarfs

P.T.I. adds: the Dalai Lama was presented with ceremonial scarfs. Later he was taken to the residence of the Political Officer where he will be staying during his halt at Bomdila.

A strong contingent of the Assam Rifles is guarding the entire area.

Meanwhile, tribal people are moving in groups around Bomdila, singing and dancing in celebration of the Dalai Lama's arrival.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 12*

Security Measures Tightened

Tezpur

THE Dalai Lama's arrival at Bomdila yesterday was followed by a severe tightening up of security measures today under which all private traffic from Misamari onward to Foothills was stopped.

Those who had already been at Foothills were allowed to return after strict scrutiny of their passes

and motorcade of correspondents of the world Press were asked to produce their accreditation cards.

—A P. T. I. message, April 13

Dalai's Adviser Enters Bhutan

Kullmpong

KARMAPA, a leading member of the dissolved Preparatory Committee for Tibet and a close adviser of the Dalai Lama, has entered Eastern Bhutan, according to reliable sources here.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 13

At Bomdila

Shillong

THE Dalai Lama today paid a visit to the N.-E.F.A. Leprosy Hospital at Bomdila, headquarters of the Kameng Frontier Division, and blessed the inmates, it was officially learnt here.

The 23-year-old God-King smilingly touched the leprosy patients with his sacred prayer box.

The Dalai Lama's stay in Bomdila has been far from one of relaxation, for, he also visited a number of institutions including the Cottage Industry Training Centre, a middle school, and an emporium where handicrafts of the tribal people were on display.

At the school, he dropped all formality and talked through interpreters with young pupils, blessed them and wished them success in their studies. He later saw children at play in a newly-opened children's park.....

—Times of India, Bombay, April 15

Dalai Lama Was Aware of 1959 Ferment

New Delhi

The Dalai Lama, according to Tibetan astrology, was aware that 1959 was a year of ferment to Tibet and of torment to himself. Every 12th year is considered inauspicious for the God-King.

The firm belief of the Tibetans is that the present troubles of the Dalai Lama would end with this year and a happy period would dawn for him in 1960.

Nechung, the oracle of Lhasa, whom the Tibetan Government consults, confirms this belief. Recently pious Tibetans purchased thousands of goats and set them free. There were also special offerings in monasteries to propitiate the evil spirits.

On a previous occasion too, the Dalai Lama has sensed bad days ahead. When the regime of Chiang Kai-shek was routed in China there was uncertainty about the future of Tibet.

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 8

More Join Dalai Lama's Party

New Delhi

It is now learnt that the Dalai Lama's party will consist of about 130 Tibetans.

He crossed into Indian territory at the Chutungmu Pass on March 31, after a 15 day trek from Lhasa, with a party of about 80 and moved on with them to Bomdila, headquarters of the Kameng Division, where he is now resting. But since then about 50 more Tibetans, who in escaping the net that was thrown by the Chinese got separated from the main party, have reached Bomdila.

Official sources in Shillong confirmed that transport arrangements made at Bomdila were for a party of about 130.

The Dalai Lama, it is understood, after his entry informed Indian officials at the frontier that some members of his party for reasons beyond their control were moving in loose and irregular order and would be reaching the border later. He requested facilities for their entry.

According to a list supplied by the Dalai Lama more members of the main body of the Dalai Lama's entourage are expected to enter India in the course of the next few days. For reasons of security and convenience they are reported to be trekking their way to the Indian border through different routes.

—Indian Express, Bombay, April 16

Code of Conduct Drawn

Shillong

THE Dalai Lama was reported to have impressed yesterday on the party accompanying him that it should not behave in any way which was likely to embarrass the Government and the people of India. He said that the members of his party must be inspired by Buddhistic ideals and that they should not abuse the hospitality of the great country that had given birth to Lord Buddha.....

The Dalai Lama, it was further understood, expressed his gratitude to the Government and the people of India for granting them political asylum at a time of stress and strain and when it seemed everything was lost. He expressed the hope that those who were in the party would be worthy of India's hospitality.

The conference, it is gathered, framed a code of conduct for the Tibetans who were in the Dalai Lama's party.....

It was understood that the conference decided to address a formal communication to the Government of India expressing gratitude for the excellent arrangement made for the Dalai Lama and his party since they crossed into India.

The communication would also convey a request that no lavish and expensive arrangements be made for the stay of the Dalai Lama and his party in India and that the arrangements be austere.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 16*

Dalai Lama is Invited to U.S.

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama has been invited to settle in the United States by a group of American millionaires, it is learned.

Meanwhile, hundred of invitations and prayer messages to the Dalai Lama from various foreign countries are pouring into the External Affairs Ministry.

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 16*

Ex-P. M. on Tibetan Revolt

Delhi

TIBET's former Prime Minister, Mr. Lukhangawa who fled Tibet in 1956 and has since been living in Kalimpong as a political refugee said the Chinese had stringently sealed the Bhutan route from Tibet to Kalimpong in India. But the little information reaching him lately indicated that the Tibetan people were put under enormous suppression by the Chinese.

The normalcy that the Chinese could bring in Tibet after the revolution in March will only be "on surface" as the people would never compromise with any measures which would hurt the religious feelings of the masses, Mr. Lukhangawa said.

The Tibetan people offered food and cloth to monks so that they could devote their life to study of religious scriptures and keep up Buddhism. But land reforms attempted to be introduced by the Chinese authorities would hit the monks who sustained themselves with food, cloth and money given by the people. The monasteries, lamaseries and libraries of religious books depended on charities given by the people and these would crumble down if innovations of the land system on the Chinese communistic lines were forced upon them, he said.

"Our people would never tolerate smashing up of monasteries and Buddhism," he added.—

—*A P. T. I. Message, April 17*

Letters From President Eisenhower

Tezpur

Two sealed covers from President Eisenhower were delivered to the Dalai Lama as he was boarding the special train at Tezpur yesterday, it is learnt here from a usually reliable source.

These covers were among a heavy mail bag received yesterday containing a large number of letters from many distinguished world personalities all expressing

pleasure at the safe journey of the Dalai Lama to India.

—*A P. T. I. Message, April 19*

The Tezpur Statement and After

THE Tezpur statement of the Dalai Lama started a bitter controversy when the Chinese questioned its authenticity. The Dalai Lama had come to know of the Chinese allegation that he was "under duress" immediately after it was made. In view of this he had decided even before he met any high-ranking Indian official to issue a statement to the world press when he reached Assam.

The *New China News Agency* denounced the statement as "a crude document, lame in reasoning, full of lies and loopholes" and charged that the statement was not by the Dalai Lama himself but was imposed on him by person or persons.

The Indian official circles called the Chinese News Agency commentary on the Dalai Lama's statement as "unbalanced and not decent" and emphasised that no officer of the Government of India was concerned in any way with the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement.

The Dalai Lama himself declared on April, 22, that the statement made by him at Tezpur on April 18 was issued under his authority and indicated his view.

"He Came to India of His Own Free Will"

—*The Dalai Lama's Statement*

Tezpur

THE Dalai Lama made his first public appearance on Indian soil on April 18 at a reception in Tezpur. His long-awaited statement was read out in Tibetan by a member of the Dalai Lama's party to over 50 journalists, representatives of TV and radio systems in Europe and America, who had driven down to cover what was easily the "story of the year."

The statement said that the Dalai Lama left Lhasa and Tibet and came to India of his own free will and not under duress. He said that he left Lhasa because of the "strained relations between Tibet and China."

The following is the full text of the Dalai Lama's statement to the Press :

"It has always been accepted that the Tibetan people are different from the Han people of China. There has always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan people. Throughout history this has been asserted on numerous occasions. Sometimes the Chinese Government had imposed their suzerainty on Tibet and at other times Tibet had functioned as an independent country.

"In any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous in control of its internal affairs.

"In 1951, under pressure of the Chinese Government, a 17-point agreement was made between China and Tibet.

"In that agreement the suzerainty of China was accepted as there was no alternative left to the Tibetans.

"But even in the agreement it was stated that Tibet would enjoy full autonomy. Though the control of external events were to be in the hands of the Chinese Government, it was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government with the Tibetan religion and customs and her internal administration.

"In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese armies, the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy even in internal matters and the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs.

In 1956 a Preparatory Committee was set up for Tibet with the Dalai Lama as Chairman and the Panchen Lama as Vice-Chairman and General Chang Kuo-hua as the Representative of the Chinese Government.

"In practice even this body had little power, and decisions in all important matters were taken by the Chinese authorities. The Dalai Lama and his Government tried their best to adhere to the 17-point agreement, but the interference of the Chinese authorities persisted.

"By the end of 1955 a struggle had started in the Kham Province and this assumed serious proportions in 1956. In the consequential struggle the Chinese armed forces destroyed a large number of monasteries.

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

"The relations of Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February 1959.

"The Dalai Lama had agreed, a month in advance, to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for the 10th of March. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and, as a result, about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

"Thereafter the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai

Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against the Chinese rule in Tibet.

"Two days later, thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authority. In spite of this demonstration from the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with the Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety.

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

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

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

"It was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous. The route which the Dalai Lama took involved crossing the Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers and making his way through Lhoka area, Yarlung Valley and Pesonadzong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzey Mane, near to Chutangmu.

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

"India and Tibet have religious, cultural and trade links over a thousand years and for Tibetans it has always been the Land of Enlightenment, having given birth to Lord Buddha. The Dalai Lama is deeply touched by the kind greetings extended to him on his safe arrival in India by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and his colleagues in the Government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent a reply to this message of greeting.

"Ever since the Dalai Lama entered at Kanzey Mane, near Chutangmu, he has experienced in full

measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the Government of India's officers posted there had spared no effort in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

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

"His country and people have passed through an extremely difficult period and all that the Dalai

Lama wishes to say at the moment is to express his sincere regret at the tragedy which has overtaken Tibet and to fervently hope that these troubles will be over soon without any more blood-shed.

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

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

Peking Challenge Authenticity of Tezpur Statement

Hongkong

THE following is a partial text of the *New China News Agency* commentary on the Dalai Lama's statement.

"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 loopholes.

"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 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 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 for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

"The statement alleges that the 17-Article 1951 agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet was produced 'under the pressure of the Chinese Government'.....

".....After the signing of the agreement, in his October 1951 telegram to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Dalai Lama referred to the agreement as one concluded 'by the delegates of both parties, on a friendly basis', and said that 'the Tibetan Local

Government and the Tibetans, lamas and laymen, unanimously support the agreement.' Since entering Tibet, the People's Liberation Army has been carrying out the 17-Article agreement with complete fidelity. Neither the political system existing in Tibet nor the original position and powers of the Dalai Lama had been changed. Lamas and lay officials at all levels remained at their posts as before. Religious activities and the customs and habits of the local people were respected, and Tibetan currency continued to circulate.....

"In a word, the political, social, and religious systems in Tibet remained as they were before the peaceful liberation.... The Central authorities set up the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in April 1956 with the Dalai Lama as its head. The fact that the preparatory committee was ineffectual was precisely because of the obstructions of the former Tibet Local Government who did not want regional autonomy at all but instead wanted the same so-called 'Tibetan independence' that the imperialists wanted. They painstakingly plotted to sabotage the 17-Article agreement, going from directing the rioting of the Khampa rebels to openly launching an all-out armed rebellion themselves on March 10.

"The statement did not.... point to a single fact testifying to any violation of the 17-Article agreement by the Central People's Government. The only fact it mentioned was the Central Government's putting down of the rebellion in the former Sikang area in 1955.....

".....It was 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, the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet hastily plotted to start a conflagration and directed the Khampas to rebel immediately.

"Their plan was to make the Khampa rebellion serve as the frontline, covering their own action to drive out the Han people and proclaim independence in the Tibet region itself.....

".....But contrary to their calculations, the rebellion was swiftly put down. In the battles to quell the rebellion, of course, some lives were lost and some buildings were damaged—and for this the rebels, and first of all those who directed the rebellion, must be held responsible. Aside from this, there was no such thing as large numbers of lamas being killed or many monasteries being destroyed, as is alleged.....

".....The statement 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 on that day to go to the auditorium of the Tibet military area command to attend a theatrical performance for which he himself had asked a month in advance.

"It does not dare say who fixed that date. But it was clearly stated by the Dalai Lama in his letter to General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, on March 11. The letter said, 'I decided to go to the military area command to see the theatrical performance yesterday (namely March 10), but I was unable to do so, because of obstruction by people, lamas and laymen, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts.'

"The statement asserts that... on March 17 two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka Palace. This is a brazen, outright fabrication. The fabricator, however, leaves a backdoor open for himself. 'Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond.' But if the People's Liberation Army really wanted to attack, why was it that it only fired two or three mortar shells and did not venture to fire one more shell after they fell in a nearby pond?

"The way of referring to the Dalai Lama's leaving Lhasa in the statement demonstrates that not the Dalai Lama himself but the 'advisers' realized that they should leave Lhasa. The Dalai Lama's letter, dated March 12, further said: 'Yesterday I told the Lhasa administration to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who had arrogantly moved into the Norbulingka under the pretext of protecting me.' This bears out the fact that after March 10 the Dalai Lama was encircled by the rebel armed forces and was abducted on March 17. The statement does not dare deny these facts; this brands as patently deceitful the statement

that the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa was 'of his own free will and not under duress.'

".....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 a Tibetan style but a European or a near-European style. Some concepts and phrases used in the statement are 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 and 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. Some phrases of the statement are quite similar to those used by certain foreign newspapers and statements commenting on the rebellion in Tibet, such as 'the Tibetan people are different from the Han people of China', the Dalai Lama is the 'spiritual head' of all Buddhists in Tibet, etc. Judging from the various points mentioned above, one has reason to suspect that the statement was not by the Dalai Lama himself but was imposed on him by some person or persons.

"The 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 to block the road for him to return to it? Is this not an attempt to create a situation for compelling the Indian Government to permit the Tibetan rebels to engage in anti-Chinese political activities in India?

"The statement expresses the hope that 'these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed'. This hope corresponds to reality, any way. The rebellion which broke out more than a month ago will end before long. The People's Liberation Army units have not only promptly smashed the rebellions in the Lhasa area, but also rapidly crushed the rebel group in the area south of the Yalu-Tsangpo river. In the fighting to suppress the rebels, all of the local Tibetan people stand by the side of the People's Liberation Army. Those who were intimidated have deserted the rebels en masse and returned to their homes to join in productive work. Not only the bloodshed, but also the backwardness, darkness and brutality of the old Tibet will become a thing of the past."

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 20*

Faked, Says Panchen

Hong Kong

THE Panchen Lama has described the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement as a "sheer distortion of facts and a complete fabrication," the *New China News Agency* reported today.

Speaking at a Peking banquet last night, he said the statement "issued in the name of the Dalai Lama" turned things upside down and was obviously a result of coercion by the reactionaries, and certainly not of his own free will.

"As to this, the people of Tibet and I express great wrath and firm opposition," he said.

The agency added that Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Deputy to the Panchen Lama in the Tibet Preparatory Committee, said the statement was put out under the compulsion of the traitors who have abducted the Dalai Lama.

"The whole statement is an out-and-out distortion of the facts. I am firmly opposed to it," he added.

"The ignominious failure of the counter-revolutionary rebellion has now further strengthened the solidarity and unification of all the various nationalities of the motherland and cleared the way to build a socialist paradise of happiness for the people in Tibet," he said.

Crude Statement

The news agency also quoted a political commentator saying that the "statement issued by the Dalai Lama when he reached Tezpur on Saturday is a crude document, lame in reasoning and full of lies and loopholes."

The commentary said that the "so-called statement" was issued "through an Indian diplomatic official in Tezpur."

The commentator said that from the very beginning the statement "beat the drum for the so-called independence" of the Tibetans.

Tibet's political and religious systems were all laid down by the Peking Central Government between the 13th and 18th centuries the commentary said.

The fact that the statement began with a mention of so-called independence proved its author was "reflecting the will of the imperialist aggressors....."

"In modern history, so-called Tibetan independence has always been the scheme of the British imperialists for carrying out aggression against China, and first of all against Tibet.

"The 1951 (Sino-Tibetan) agreement starts from the affirmation that Tibet is part of the People's Republic of China. But the statement does not mention a word of this," the commentary said.

The former Tibet Local Government "painstakingly plotted" to sabotage the 1951 agreement, directing the rioting of the Khampa rebels and later openly launching an armed rebellion themselves on March 10, it added.

Rebellion in Sikang

The commentator said that the Dalai Lama's statement did not point to a single fact testifying to any violation of the 1951 agreement by China.

The only fact it mentioned was the putting down of the rebellion in the Sikang area in 1955. But the "whole world knows that the Sikang area was not even part of Tibet at all."

The Khampa rebellion, it added, was swiftly put down—contrary to the calculations of the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet.

In the battles to quell the rebellion, of course some lives were lost and some buildings damaged—and for this the rebels, and first of all those who directed the rebellion, must be held responsible.

Aside from this, there was no such thing as large numbers of Lamas being killed or many monasteries being destroyed, as is alleged.

The news agency issued almost simultaneously, with the commentary a full English text of the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 20*

Ceremonial Scarves

Mussoorie

A spokesman of the Dalai Lama told newsmen here today that the use of the miniature scarves presented by the Dalai Lama to visitors on Wednesday last, after his second public audience since his arrival here, was not properly understood by the recipients and some of them had thrown it on the road in spite of its sanctity.

This scarf called, "soongdu" in Tibetan is presented as a memento to the visitors. It has knots called "vajra" on either side believed to ward off evil spirits.

According to Tibetan custom, red and yellow scarves are presented to monks and long-haired persons while white scarves are given to laymen after every audience with the Dalai Lama.

Here in India, the spokesman added, monks and long-haired men were few and as such the colour distinction was not observed. The scarf should be tied round the neck by each recipient and kept for two or three days, he said.....

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 18*

Delhi Reacts Sharply

New Delhi

"UNBALANCED and not decent," was how the official circles here reacted to the Chinese news agency's commentary on the Dalai Lama's statement.

It was said that an official of the External Affairs Ministry distributed copies of the Dalai Lama's statement to the journalists. What the Government of India did was to make arrangements whereby the assembled journalists could meet the arriving dignitary from Tibet in an orderly fashion.

A spokesman of the Ministry told me that it was the duty of the Government to assist the journalists in the country to discharge their work and in this particular case the Government did not do anything special except to provide mechanical facilities which were paid for. The Government had to perform the dual task of looking after the security of the Dalai Lama and consistent with that of helping the journalists in the coverage of the news.

The Chinese commentator has also stated that the style of the statement was "definitely European or near European." Obviously the insinuation is that the Indian officials who were with the Dalai Lama, presumably acting under instructions from New Delhi, assisted in the drafting of the statement. As a matter of fact, New Delhi would have liked the Dalai Lama to make a much briefer statement. But when the Dalai Lama showed an inclination to say a great deal, the Government of India did not feel called upon to restrict him. The reference to "Indian expansionist elements inheriting the British legacy in Tibet" was rejected by the spokesman as

absurd. If really there were expansionist elements in India they would have clung to the privileged position the British occupied not only in Tibet but also in the other Himalayan kingdoms. It was because the Indian leaders were not expansionist in outlook that India voluntarily abandoned her special position in these countries. Official circles feel that the Chinese commentary must be regarded as an indication of the Chinese Government's anger against India for the freedom and facilities it has granted to the Dalai Lama.

New Delhi would like to remind China that India is not a member of the socialist camp and therefore is not obliged to take note of what may or may not offend China. In granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama and his advisers India has done what any civilised country would have done in the circumstances and this cannot be construed as an unfriendly act towards China. Official circles would point out that never once has Prime Minister Nehru uttered a single word in criticism of China since the Tibetan crisis developed. It is considered likely that the Chinese Government by these unjustified insinuations is hoping to put pressure on India and prevent the freedom being permitted to the Dalai Lama and his advisers to mount anti-Chinese propaganda offensive from Indian territory. Mr. Nehru, while not committing himself, has already indicated that he would proceed cautiously in the matter. Also official circles read the Dalai Lama's statement as indicating that he has no desire to break with the Chinese completely.

—Hindu, Madras, April 21

Dalai Lama Stands by His Tezpur Statement

Mussoorie

THE Dalai Lama today declared that the statement made by him at Tezpur on April 18 was issued under his authority and indicated his view, "I stand by it", he added.

A statement by the Dalai Lama read out in Tibetan and translated into English by a Tibetan official interpreter said: "On April 18, I issued a statement at Tezpur. I did not wish to follow it up with another statement at that stage.

"However, I have seen the *New China News Agency* report, implying that I was not responsible for this earlier statement. I wish to make it clear that the earlier statement was issued under my authority and indicated my view, and I stand by it.

"I am making this brief statement to correct the wrong impression created by the *New China News Agency's* report, and do not propose to state anything more at present."

The Dalai Lama's message was read out to pressmen by Mr. Khenchung Tara, a monk-official of the Dalai Lama's party.

The name of the Tibetan official who translated the statement into English, was Mr. L. T. Surkhang, official interpreter of the Dalai Lama's party.....

Among the entourage of the Dalai Lama there are monk-officials besides Ministers who are proficient in English.

There is a radio set in the drawing room of Birla House where the Dalai Lama and party sit to listen to the main news bulletins including those of Peking Radio. Notes are made of points affecting them and PTI learns from the Dalai Lama's party sources that thereafter they discuss them and take decisions.

The same sources who speak fluent English said that the Dalai Lama had come to know of the allegation that he was "in duress" immediately after it was

made. In view of this, he had decided, even before he met any highranking Indian officials to issue a statement to the world press when he reached Assam.

The Tezpur statement was read out after the Dalai Lama's arrival there from Bomdila at the Circuit House by Rinshisurkhang, the Dalai Lama's official interpreter in front of more than 60 press representatives including foreign pressmen.

The Joint Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri S. Sen, was there only to do press liaison work and that, too, in response to the joint appeal by press correspondents to Prime Minister Nehru.

Correspondents here asked why the statement issued by the Dalai Lama today was in the first person, namely the Dalai Lama using the word "I" and not in the third person as he did at Tezpur in issuing his first statement.

An official said : "This is the desire of His Holiness and because, the *New China News Agency* wanted it."

Shri P. N. Menon of the External Affairs Ministry who was present at the press conference where today's statement was issued, made it clear to correspondents later that it was entirely upto the Dalai Lama to use the first person or the third person, and it was the Dalai Lama who could really say why his first statement was issued in the third person.

A correspondent suggested that the Tezpur statement might have been a fake. Shri Menon said he would not think it could be faked, since the statement was issued by the Dalai Lama's representatives.

Asked as to how the Dalai Lama could know about the *New China News Agency's* reports, Shri Menon said the Dalai Lama read newspapers and listened to radio broadcasts.

Correspondents asked if the Dalai Lama would like to meet the Press. Shri Menon said that he (Dalai Lama) had been informed about the wishes of correspondents.

Tenzing Too

Siliguri

Everest conquerer Tenzing Norgay came down from Darjeeling but carefully avoided the enclosure marked for distinguished guests, and stood among his own people behind the wooden barricade. He said he was unwilling to isolate himself from the rest.

Discovered in the midst of the crowd, Tenzing said he was relieved that the Dalai Lama had arrived safe. "I was so worried about him."

—A P. T. I. Message, April 19

Answering questions, Shri Menon said : "As far as I know the Dalai Lama's party did not bring any weapons."

Some Khampas might have gone back after escorting the Dalai Lama to the Indian border, Shri Menon said, reiterating that no officer of the Government of India was concerned in any way with the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement.

Shri Menon gave out the names of the Tibetan Party who were close to the Dalai Lama in all matters.

The entourage consisted of three Ministers (in all there were five, two having stayed on in Tibet) Kalon Surkhang, Kalon Shasur, Kalon Liushar (who was attached to the Foreign Bureau), and close associates in the inner entourage are the senior tutor, Tsang Ling Rimpoche, the junior tutor, Trijang Rimpoche, and the Lord Chamberlain Chikyap Khempo.

Forty-year-old Gadong Kuteng Khenchung Tenzing Paljor who is also in the party is the oracle.

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 22

Panchen Hopes for Dalai Lama's Return

Peking

THE Panchen Lama, Tibet's pro-Communist temporal leader, today accused some Indians of harbouring "expansionist ambitions" towards Tibet, which he said would always belong to China.

In a speech to the Chinese Communist Parliament in Peking, he also urged the return of the Dalai Lama from India and attacked Britain for its actions in Tibet more than half a century ago.

"I solemnly declare that Tibet is always China's Tibet," he told more than 2,000 Chinese Communist delegates. "We will never allow any foreigners to interfere in our affairs in Tibet, or the rest of China."

The 22-year-old Panchen Lama, appointed by the Chinese to replace the Dalai Lama at the head of their "Preparatory Committee" for Tibet, denied the Dalai Lama's statement last week that Tibet did not enjoy autonomy under the Chinese.

He reiterated that the Dalai Lama had been abducted from Lhasa and claimed his statement last week was imposed on him "by foreigners".

"I express my sincere hope that the Dalai Lama will be able to free himself of his predicament of being under duress, will return to the mainland, and will join the Tibetan people in working for a bright and happy new Tibet."

He went on to attack the British expedition to Tibet in 1904 in which, he said, many Tibetans were slaughtered and Buddhist leaders murdered. "These

are the bloody lessons we have learnt from the so-called 'Tibetan independence,' he said.

He said the tone of the Dalai Lama's statement is not that of the Dalai Lama himself nor customary to our Tibetan usage.

The Panchen Lama added : "It is worth noting that the reactionaries in India, walking in the footsteps of the British imperialists, have always harboured expansionist ambitions towards Tibet and have carried out various forms of sabotage activities which are undoubtedly favourable to imperialism and unfavourable to Sino-Indian friendship."

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 22

India Accused of Meddling

Tokyo

CHINA said today that it had become "even more obvious that the Dalai Lama had issued neither of the two statements attributed to him in India."

At the same time, the official *New China News Agency* implied that an Indian official was involved in writing the 23-year-old God-King's April 18 statement denouncing Communist rule in Tibet.

The Chinese assertions climaxed 48 hours of violent verbal attacks on "Indian expansionists" who, Peking claimed, had been trying, through the Tibetan situation, to meddle in China's internal affairs.

Peking Radio reported, in the most pointed language used so far, that Deputies to the Parliament now meeting in Peking, "warned the imperialists and Indian expansionists not to meddle in China's internal affairs."

The Agency said that the statement issued by the Dalai Lama's entourage on Wednesday, which insisted that the Dalai Lama was the author of the April 18 declaration, was read "by Tibetan rebels who abducted the Dalai Lama to India."

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

Wednesday's brief, second statement was issued as a direct reply to the *New China News Agency's* implication that the Dalai Lama had not been responsible for the earlier statement issued at Tezpur.

The Agency said it did not answer its objections.

The *New China News Agency* said that Mr. P. N. Menon, the Indian Government's liaison officer with the Dalai Lama's party, had "let the cat out of the bag" when, "to whitewash for

himself," he declared that the Tezpur statement was made by the Dalai Lama and no one else.

The Agency said Wednesday's declaration did not bear this out.

The Agency said it was "notable" that the statement was not issued by the Dalai Lama himself, and that he "did not even make his appearance."

Peking Radio interrupted its huge outpouring of anti-Indian propaganda briefly during the night to lash out at the Tibetan nobility, Government and Lamas for having violated the 17-point Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 23

India Condemned

WANG kun-lun, Vice-Mayor of Peking, condemned "Indian expansionists".

"The Chinese People will not tolerate their criminal activities against China," he said.

He reminded Indian authorities to be aware of their responsibilities toward China and advised them to abide strictly by the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

"The feverish attempts of the imperialists and foreign reactionaries to disrupt China's unification and the solidarity among the nationalities are doomed to failure."

Deputies to the Second National People's Congress today "solemnly condemned" British and Indian "imperialists" for scheming the Tibetan rebellion and interfering in China's internal affairs with the intention of splitting Tibet from China, Peking Radio reported.

—Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 23

Wish Fulfilled

Mussoorie

The Dalai Lama today fulfilled a wish he had expressed in 1956 of revisiting Mussoorie. The wish, however, materialised in unexpected circumstances.

The wish of the Dalai Lama was recalled by the manager of a local hotel here where the Tibetan leader had stayed for a day during his official visit to India two and a half years ago. The manager said that, in reply to a request to bless the hotel, the Dalai Lama had remarked, "I like Mussoorie very much and wish to come here again."

—A P. T. I. Message, April 21

On the Way to Mussoorie Reception at Siliguri

Siliguri

PRAJA-Socialist Party and Jan Sangh followers, raising cries of "Chinese dragon leave Tibet," were among a welcoming throng of Tibetans, Nepalese and Indians, several thousands in number, which greeted the Dalai Lama here today.

The slogans were obviously not understood by the Tibetans and the Nepalese present.

The special train carrying the Dalai Lama and his party drew into Siliguri railway station at 9-35 a.m. He halted here for about an hour on his way from Tezpur to Mussoorie via Banaras.....

The Dalai Lama alighted smiling from the coach and walked to the 14-foot rostrum specially erected outside the railway station. The gathering cheered the Dalai Lama, who acknowledged their greetings by raising a bouquet which had been presented to him earlier by the station master. The Dalai Lama made no speech.

He then returned to the train and resumed his journey at 10-45 a.m.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 19

Welcome at Varanasi

Varanasi

THE Dalai Lama today strongly pleaded for the promotion of Buddhistic ideals for the cause of world peace.

The spiritual head of Tibet, who was addressing a gathering of about 10,000 anxiously waiting for more than three hours to have the "darshan" of His Holiness from a decorated rostrum, said in the Tibetan language: "We must pray for promotion of Buddhistic ideals for the cause of world peace."

A Little Tibet

Among Tibetans it is customary to turn every room a Dalai Lama occupies into a Buddhist temple. A room in Bhutan House, where the 13th Dalai Lama lived in exile, is now a gilded shrine.

Will Birla House, where prayer flags will soon fly, become a Tibetan gompa? Certainly the area is now a Little Tibet. In the old Happy Valley Club House and guest houses on the Birla estate are now settled the Dalai Lama's large retinue. Already there are local Tibetans at the permissible limits of the valley: their lips moving in prayer, their eyes upon the house in which by an adverse miracle their god and king has come to dwell.

—Statesman, Calcutta

He urged all to work for peace by remaining "true to their respective religions."

He added: "I had been to this holy place of Sarnath, where Buddha had delivered his first sermon 2,500 years ago. This is the second time that I am visiting the place.

"On both the occasions, you have welcomed me with much love and affection. I am happy and thankful to you all....."

Monks blew conch shells and beat the heavy gongs when the Dalai Lama walked into the Mula-gandh Kuti Vihara. They held a big umbrella painted yellow, red and white over the Dalai Lama.

Six brahmins chanted sanskrit hymns to greet the Dalai Lama.

Verses from the Buddhist scriptures in the Tibetan language were sung on the occasion. Pali verses were also recited by the monks of the Vihara.

Bhikku Jagdish Kashyap presented to the Dalai Lama the *Tripitakas* published recently by the Government of India on behalf of Nalanda Vishwa Vidyalaya.....

And at Lucknow

Lucknow

MORE than 10,000 people greeted the Dalai Lama when the special train carrying him from Tezpur to Dehra Dun halted for 30 minutes at Charbagh-Lucknow Station this evening.

He gave his blessings to the assembled people, who vociferously cheered him.....

The Dalai Lama said that he hoped his coming to India would further strengthen the bonds between India and Tibet.

The Dalai Lama said that India and Tibet had spiritual and religious ties. Ties of religion were the strongest and no country could prosper without religion, he added.

He then chanted prayers in Tibetan to bless the assembled people.

—A P. T. I. Message, April 20

Welcome at Birla House

Mussoorie

THE Dalai Lama stepped out of his car and walked into Birla House today after a brief welcoming ceremony to end a 2,000-mile journey from Lhasa.....

The Dalai Lama walked smilingly to the house. At the entrance of the house he was greeted by two women who presented him and later his mother and sister with scarves, flowers and fruits, including mangoes.....

Earlier, the Dalai Lama made a brief halt at Gandhi Chowk on arriving from Dehra Dun to receive flowers from the Chairman of the local municipal board. He stood up in his car and acknowledged the greetings of a crowd of 2,000.

Local Jana Sangh workers welcomed the distinguished guest and shouted, "Down with Chinese Imperialism," "Hindi Tibeti Bhai Bhai."

Earlier, over 3,000 people gave a warm welcome to the Dalai Lama at Dehra Dun railway station....

—Times of India, Bombay, April 21

Journey's End

Mussoorie.

His long arduous journey to freedom over, the Dalai Lama spent a restful day at Birla House today. He did not move about much, and is reported to have been feeling a little giddy due to travel strain. He was examined by a doctor and given treatment.

Otherwise he is feeling quite cheerful, and circles close to him said he has liked Mussoorie and was feeling quite at home here.

The camp hospital has had a busy time all through the day. About 35 members of the Dalai Lama's party received treatment there till this evening. Most of them were cases of travel sickness. Three of them had bruises on limbs and some others suffered from minor ailments generally brought about by the strenuous journey and worry.

From whatever little one could see at the Happy Valley, which encloses Birla House, today the Tibetan visitors are a jolly lot. They looked happy and eager to make friends if allowed to meet outsiders.

I saw some of them at tea today. They squatted in rows and consumed cupfuls of tea in no time. Samosas were a hot favourite.

The party comprises members of all age groups. Some of them are hardly out of their teens, but many others are so old that one wonders how they could undertake a difficult journey.

—Indian Express Correspondent, Bombay, April 21

Dalai Lama Settles Down to Quiet Life

Mussoorie

AFTER the adventure of the escape and the journey from Lhasa the Dalai Lama is beginning to settle down to a normal peaceful life in the quiet of Happy Valley in Mussoorie.

The Dalai Lama is resuming his daily routine. He is getting over the fatigue and strain of the past month. He had his first walk in the lawns of Birla Nivas yesterday. He is attending to his religious

studies and prayers for which a room has been set apart, besides his bedroom on the top floor of the house.

The Dalai Lama has 92 Tibetans with him and these include, besides his mother, sister and brother, his three Ministers in the former Tibetan Government, his two tutors, Lord Chamberlain and Junior Chamberlain, Secretary-General of the Government, the 40-year-old oracle named Gadong—the master of robes, the master of kitchen and the master of ceremonies.....

Three of the five Ministers in the former Lhasa Government—Kalon Surkhang, Kalon Shasur and Kalon Liushar—are with him. Liushar was in charge of the Foreign Bureau in Lhasa.

The 13-year-old brother of the Dalai Lama—the youngest of the brothers—Ngari Rimpoche is an incarnate Lama.

While all the members of the Dalai Lama's family have been eating together in the main dining room of Birla Nivas on the ground floor, it is understood that the Dalai Lama himself has been eating alone in his own room. It appears he relishes boiled rice and parathas but tastes everything provided in the menu.....

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 23

Dalai Lama's Father was Poisoned—Panchen Lama

Tokyo

THE Panchen Lama charged today that Tibetan rebels had poisoned the Dalai Lama's father some years ago and expressed the pious hope that his Holy colleague would free himself and return "to the embrace of the motherland."

He was addressing the National People's Congress in Peking.....

Heavy Press Coverage

Mussoorie

Over 110,000 words Press coverage was made on the wires here during the last six days in connection with the visit of the Dalai Lama.

Heaviest coverage was done yesterday when Prime Minister Nehru saw the Dalai Lama and met the Press twice during the day.

Apart from Indian Press messages, Press cables were sent to foreign countries including the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Japan, Australia and Canada.

—A P. T. I. Report, April 24

The Panchen Lama did not say when the Dalai Lama's father was poisoned, but said that the rebels "in the past attacked the Sera monastery, slaughtered the patriotic Living Buddha Rabchen and afterwards poisoned the Dalai Lama's father who was patriotic."

The Dalai Lama's father, a peasant from the Chinese province of Tsinghai, accompanied his son to Lhasa in 1940 and was made a noble.

The 21-year-old Panchen Lama repeated the familiar Chinese charges that the Dalai Lama had been abducted by the rebels and compelled to issue a statement denouncing the Chinese Communists.

At another point, the Panchen Lama recalled the British entry into Tibet at the turn of the century. "Under the cruel manipulation of the British aggressors and their running dogs," he said, "former Panchens were driven out, the Living Buddha Rabchen was murdered, the Living Buddha Gada was poisoned and so was the father of the Dalai Lama. These are the bloody lessons we have learned from the so-called 'Tibetan independence'."

He claimed that the Dalai Lama's statement that the Tibetan people wanted independence was a lie, and declared: "Tibet is always China's Tibet." He also echoed the Chinese claim that the Dalai Lama

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

—Times of India, Bombay, April 22

Full and Helpful Talk

Mussoorie

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, had a four-hour "full and helpful" talk with the Dalai Lama at Birla House here today.

He later told reporters that the talks were aimed at exploring the possibilities of creating an atmosphere in which a solution of the present difficult situation in Tibet might ultimately be found.

Mr. S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, was present at the talks. The Dalai Lama's Adviser also participated in the talks.

The Prime Minister also told newsmen that the Dalai Lama had acknowledged the authorship of the letters the Chinese announced he had written to the Chinese Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command.

How Dalai Train Kept to Schedule

Top officials of the Northern Railway who travelled by the special train carrying the Dalai Lama ensured that it reached Dehra Dun from Banaras in 17 hours and 50 minutes, the time schedule drawn up in advance.

An elaborate network of checks made it imperative that the train passed certain points at fixed times so that information could be passed on to advance points. A pilot train which ran ahead of the special train was kept constantly informed about the progress of the latter as the time lag between the two had to be maintained.

The Dalai Lama travelled all by himself in a special coach, said to be the best got ready yet for a visiting dignitary. It had a kind of inner cove as security men made it impossible for practically all but two to enter his apartment. One of the two was Mr. P. N. Menon of the External Affairs Ministry, who travelled with the Dalai Lama from Bomdila.

The few officials who travelled by the special train had a number of interesting anecdotes to give about the entourage of the God-King. Many of the party had not even seen a train, much less travelled by a luxury special. Two sturdy stalwarts opened a tap and enjoyed the spray shooting at their chignons which had already been touched by water. The dining car was a marvel to the Tibetans, who enjoyed touching the cutlery and imitating the bearers who taught some of them how to use the knife and fork. To several members of the party their fingers were the best cutlery as they gave up attempting to eat with the polished and tempting implements.

No chances were taken in the kitchen. Security men who had not been accustomed to standing the smell of garlic and turmeric watched alternatively while every stage of cooking was gone through and even sniffed at the water used for boiling rice and vegetables. The only bearer who was given a special pass to enter the Dalai Lama's apartment and serve the meals reported that the God-King ate the dishes with obvious relish.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 23

The principal reason for writing these letters, Mr. Nehru said, was probably to try and avoid a break with the Chinese during that highly trying period in the hope that some solution might ultimately be found. The Tibetan ruler was pulled in different directions.

Clarifying this statement in answer to a question, Mr. Nehru said that it did not signify a split in the Dalai Lama's own camp.

Mr. Nehru said that the Dalai Lama had told him that before 4 p.m. on March 17, he had no definite ideas of leaving Lhasa. He left six hours later at 10 p.m. despite his hope that something good might happen. But the Chinese shelling of his palace compound had a powerful effect on his mind. He felt that everything had broken down. The Tibetan ruler and his party had departed in such a hurry that they forgot to bring the necessary clothes, he said.

The Prime Minister also said that the Dalai Lama had told him during the latter's 1956 visit to India that he wanted to introduce many reforms in Tibet. He did not want his country to remain socially and economically backward.

Mr. Nehru said he would have carried on his talks further if he had not got so late for a reception arranged for him by the Mussoorie Municipality.

Calm Thinking

Addressing Congress workers soon after his arrival from Dehra Dun, the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said that the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie symbolised the complicated situation that had arisen in recent months in Tibet. These events constituted a serious problem for the "nation concerned."

Mr. Nehru said that passions had been stirred. While the people of India were justified in expressing their sympathy with the people of Tibet, they should not allow themselves to be swept off their feet. They must remain calm and think coolly. He said: "It is an international question. Relations between different countries are involved."

Mr. Nehru added that when all the facts of the situation were not known, as in this case, it was not responsible for the people to pass judgment.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 24

Invitation to Ceylon

Colombo

THE Dalai Lama has accepted an invitation to visit Ceylon as soon as the problems connected with the Tibetan situation now engaging his attention are resolved.

The invitation was extended to the Dalai Lama on behalf of the Maha Sangha of Ceylon by a five-man Bhikku delegation which met him in Mussoorie on Sunday last.....

A spokesman of the delegation said on arrival here that the Dalai Lama had told them that he would be pleased to visit Ceylon. He expressed eagerness to visit the Dalada Maligawa (the Temple of the Tooth) in Kandy, where a tooth of the Buddha is enshrined.

The Dalai Lama told the delegation that his first duty was to see that peace was restored in Tibet and the suffering of his people ended.

Moral Approach

The delegation suggested to the Dalai Lama, the spokesman said, that the Tibetan issue should be resolved on the moral plane rather than on a political basis. The problem was so deep-rooted that any approach on a political level was bound to end in failure, the Ceylonese said.

The spokesman said the Dalai Lama agreed with this suggestion, adding that as a Buddhist he had great faith in the moral approach to problems.

The Bhikkus suggested to the Dalai Lama that "moral pressure" be brought to bear on the Chinese Government through a joint appeal by religious leaders the world over calling for the immediate restoration of Tibetan autonomy.

The Ceylonese Buddhists suggested that a call for such a joint appeal could be made by the Dalai Lama himself. Alternatively, Bhikkus in Ceylon could take the lead towards that end. Already the Maha Sangha of Ceylon had addressed letters to Buddhist leaders in Burma, Cambodia, South Viet-Nam, Thailand and Japan, asking that they meet for this purpose, the spokesman said.

—Times of India, Bombay, May 6

First Tibetan Refugees Arrive

Tespur

THE first Tibetan refugees, including women, children and sick people, arrived at Bomdila today. If they can maintain their present pace it is likely that they will reach Misamari Camp on Wednesday.

It is likely that the refugees will rest before resuming their trek to Misamari. The 70-mile mule track linking Towang and Bomdila has been rendered extremely dangerous by several days' incessant rain, though some slackening off was reported today. The track at places is only 1½ ft. wide and alternately climbs and descends from Towang (11,000 ft.) through Jhang (10,000) Se La (15,000), Senkedzong

Stories Current about Dalai Lama

The "Daily Telegraph's" correspondent reporting from Tezpur said that, according to reports he had received there, "the Indian Government had helped to plot the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet."

According to him, "the essentials of the plot seem to have been planned by Mr. Apa B. Pant, the Indian Political Agent in Gangtok," who is said to have visited Lhasa last summer "and apparently made private contact with the Dalai Lama, despite intensive efforts by the Chinese always to be present when they conversed."

The correspondent explained that "from Gangtok the Indians maintain a radio connection with their Consul General in Lhasa. Somehow or other, they are said to have planted an additional Indian with wireless in the Dalai Lama's household. When the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa on March 17, the Indian operator was with the fugitive party. He sent daily coded messages which were transmitted direct from Gangtok to Mr. Nehru." The operator could use only one code and by the time the Dalai Lama's party had reached the North-East Frontier Agency's border, the Chinese had broken the code.

* * *

The Dalai Lama's last act before fleeing from Lhasa was to write a "long, pathetic letter of appeal" to Mr. Nehru, explaining his desperate situation, the "Daily Mail" correspondent reported from Tezpur.

The correspondent said the Dalai Lama's letter begged for asylum, telling Mr. Nehru that "he was certain the Chinese had a plan to kill him in a way which could be presented to the world as a natural death and they would then replace him by a "reincarnation," whom they would train to do their bidding."

* * *

The leftwing "New Statesman" of London, commented on a popular Indian view that the Dalai Lama "cannily escaped Chinese vigilance through one of the regular routes from Tibet into India."

The journal said: "It is far more likely the Chinese allowed him to slip through, believing a reluctant Dalai Lama in their hands would be more trouble, than a Dalai Lama in exile, whom they could make responsible for any troubles they may have in Tibet."—NAFEN.

(14,000), Dirangzong (5,250) and Rahung (3,980) to reach Bomdila which has an altitude of about 10,000 ft.

Although there are a number of villages along the route inhabited by hospitable people the journey would be arduous at this time of year, even for people fully familiar with mountain tracks, the engineer said.

—Statesman, Calcutta, May 10

"Prisoner in India"—U.K. Press Stories

London

INDIAN High Commission officials here were unable to comment today on London newspaper reports from Mussoorie and Darjeeling, alleging undue Indian concern to silence the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees generally.

Of the London *Daily Mail* depicting the Dalai Lama as a "prisoner", an India House spokesman said: "We must leave the reaction to such reports in New Delhi's hands."

The *Daily Mail* splashed a front-page story under the head-line "Dalai Lama a 'prisoner'", and inside printed a cartoon by Illingworth, showing the Dalai Lama behind barbed wire. This was printed alongside the first instalment of a copyrighted survey from Calcutta of Tibetan events from 1954 onwards by the Austrian author, Heinrich Harrer, once the Dalai Lama's tutor.

Harrer charged Shri Nehru with having "sealed the lips of the Dalai Lama", his ministers and his family as the price for their "uneasy asylum."

"Caged Up"

The *Daily Mail* Correspondent Rhona Churchill, from Mussoorie, describes the Dalai Lama, his mother, sister, young brother, and ministers as "caged up" behind a 14-foot high barbed wire fence, "painfully reminiscent of the outer wall of a German concentration camp."

Harrer, who escaped to Tibet from India during World War II and says he loves Tibet and its people, who speaks their language and claims close friendship with the Dalai Lama's family, is said to have been prevented from keeping his "appointment" with the Dalai Lama's mother. The Indian security police were said to have interrupted his efforts to converse with a Tibetan official and with servants outside the Mussoorie residence of the Dalai Lama.

From Darjeeling, George Patterson in a long despatch to the *Daily Telegraph* said: "The most lurid mystery stories of one's schooldays cannot

equal the activity of India's security police to ensure that no one comes near the Dalai Lama."

Patterson claimed to have it on very good authority that the Dalai Lama "only entered India on condition that he could be permitted to make a personal appeal to the United Nations or to any of the outside countries for help."

—*A Nafen Message, May 11*

Eclipse Will Pass—Dalai Lama

Mussoorie

THE Dalai Lama today appealed to Buddhists all over the world to pray that "hindrances" at present faced by the Tibetans might "pass away like the eclipse of the moon or the sun and bring light for Buddhism to flourish ever more in peace and freedom."

He was inaugurating the 2,500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations here....

The Dalai Lama spoke in Tibetan and his speech was translated by one of his interpreters in English.

Over 1,000 men, women and children, including local Tibetan devotees and tourists of various nationalities, participated in the colourful ceremony which lasted one hour.

Text of Speech

Following is the text of the Dalai Lama's speech:

"Our Lord the Buddha, having the inner urge to deliver all beings from the deluge of sufferings and anxieties to eternal peace and happiness, began with his determination to free himself of all sins. During the periods of many Bodhisattvas, the Buddha had devoted himself to lives of great sacrifice for the benefit of all beings, which, by then, had yielded him with an accumulation of the highest merits.

"In the final stage, he obtained supreme enlightenment under the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, but it was at Banaras that the Buddha first set forth the wheel of law into motion. He later wandered through many places preaching his divine doctrine in a language befitting the understanding of each individual, and by the light of his wisdom, multitudes of people were able to obtain salvation.

His Teachings

"In this generation, we are most fortunate even to be able to practise, if not all, a part of his great teachings. Gautama Buddha, with his great love and compassion for all beings, had shown us many ways and means of parting from the miseries of this life and obtaining 'nirvana.'

"In following his teachings, we must not crave or hanker for worldly pleasures of this life, but should, without the faintest doubt, have complete faith and seek refuge in the three 'Ratnas.' We must diligently try to avoid all vices and perform all virtues in thought, word and deed. It is most important, and it should always be borne deep in your heart at all times, to try and do good for the welfare of others.

"This month is the great occasion of the birth, enlightenment and mahaparinirvana of the Lord Buddha, and it is that, all virtuous deeds performed on this day of the great occasion, have special developments of merits to all beings. In Tibet, it is a tradition to commemorate this sacred occasion by practising widespread virtues and abstaining from all vices. Therefore, I appeal to all Buddhists throughout the world to fervently pray and practise widespread virtuous deeds, so that all the merits developed by their virtuous acts may benefit all beings in this and the life after.

"By the kindness and great works of our ancient kings and the learned translators, who invited famous pandits of India to expound on the philosophy of Buddhism, they were successful in establishing the doctrine of the Lord Buddha in Tibet. The great teachings had become so deeply rooted in the land that it is preserved with sanctity to this very day. However, to the recent misfortune of the Tibetan people, their Buddhist faith and its practice had undergone a period of deterioration and a great number of true followers have had to suffer in the cause of their uplift.

"Hence, once more I appeal to all to pray, that these hindrances, like the eclipse of the moon or the sun, may pass away and bring light for the doctrine of Buddhism to flourish ever more in peace and freedom."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 22*

Dalai Lama is Worried

Mussoorie

THE events in Tibet are causing great concern to the Dalai Lama. When asked about the fate of the valuable manuscripts in the monasteries, his smiling face suddenly showed signs of worry. He was visibly moved by hindrances placed in the people's way of life.

The Dalai Lama gets information about his country from several sources, the most important being the Tibetan refugees who are being contacted on arrival by his emissaries at Misamari. Another source is the sturdy Khampas who are crossing the Himalayas. He listens to the radio to supplement

his information, besides going through six daily newspapers.

In spite of his two months stay in Mussoorie, the Dalai Lama's mail has not decreased. There is still a certain amount of curiosity about his plans.

He now meets people frequently. Although he has avoided Press interviews, he is quite communicative to correspondents if he comes across any.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 17*

Indictment of China: Dalai Lama

Mussoorie

FOLLOWING is the text of the statement made by the Dalai Lama at a Press conference held here on June 20:—

Ever since my arrival in India, I have been receiving almost every day sad and distressing news of the suffering and inhuman treatment of my people. I have heard almost daily, with a heavy heart, of their increasing agony and affliction, their harassment and persecution and of the terrible deportation and execution of innocent men. These have made me realise forcibly that the time has manifestly arrived when in the interests of my people and religion and, to save them from the danger of near-annihilation I must not keep silent any longer but must frankly and plainly tell the world the truth about Tibet and appeal to the conscience of all peace-loving and civilised nations.

To understand and appreciate the significance and implication of the recent tragic happenings in Tibet, it is necessary to refer to the main events which have occurred in the country since 1950. It is recognised by every independent observer that Tibet had virtually been independent by enjoying and exercising all rights of sovereignty, whether internal or external. This has also been impliedly admitted by the Communist Government of China, for the very structure, terms and conditions of the so-called Agreement of 1951 conclusively show that it was an agreement between two independent and sovereign States. It follows, therefore, that when the Chinese armies violated the territorial integrity of Tibet they committed a flagrant act of aggression. The Agreement which followed the invasion of Tibet was also thrust upon its people and government by the threat of arms. It was never accepted by them of their own free will. The consent of the government was secured under duress and at the point of the bayonet. My representatives were compelled to sign the Agreement under threat of further military operations against Tibet by the invading armies of China leading to utter ravage and ruin of the country. Even the Tibetan seal which was affixed to the Agreement was not the seal of my representatives but a seal copied and fabricated by the Chinese authorities in Peking, and kept in their possession ever since.

While I and my government did not voluntarily accept the Agreement, we were obliged to acquiesce

in it and decided to abide by the terms and conditions in order to save my people and country from the danger of total destruction. It was, however, clear from the very beginning that the Chinese had no intention of carrying out the Agreement. Although they had solemnly undertaken to maintain my status and power as the Dalai Lama, they did not lose any opportunity to undermine my authority and sow dissensions among my people. In fact, they compelled me, situated as I was, to dismiss my Prime Ministers under threat of their execution without trial because they had in all honesty and sincerity resisted the unjustified usurpation of power by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet. Far from carrying out the Agreement, they began deliberately to pursue a course of policy which was diametrically opposed to the terms and conditions which they had themselves laid down. Thus commenced a reign of terror which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet. Forced labour and compulsory exactions, a systematic persecution of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries, and execution of certain leading men in Tibet: these are the glorious achievements of the Chinese rule in Tibet. During all this time, patiently and sincerely I endeavoured to appease my people and to calm down their feelings and at the same time tried my best to persuade the Chinese authorities in Lhasa to adopt a policy of conciliation and friendliness. In spite of repeated failures, I persisted in this policy till the last day when it became impossible for me to render any useful service to my people by remaining in Tibet. It is in these circumstances that I was obliged to leave my country in order to save it from further danger and disaster.

I wish to make it clear that I have made these assertions against the Chinese officials in Tibet in the full knowledge of their gravity because I know them to be true. Perhaps the Peking Government are not fully aware of the facts of the situation, but if they are not prepared to accept these statements, let them agree to an investigation on the matter by an international commission. On our part, I and my government will readily agree to abide by the verdict of such an impartial body.

It is necessary for me to add that before I visited India in 1956, it had become increasingly clear to me that my policy of amity and tolerance had totally

failed to create any impression on the representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet. Indeed, they had frustrated every measure adopted by me to remove the bitter resentment felt by my people and to bring about a peaceful atmosphere in the country for the purpose of carrying out the necessary reforms. As I was unable to do anything for the benefit of my people, I had practically made up my mind when I came to India not to return to Tibet until there was a manifest change in the attitude of the Chinese authorities. I, therefore, sought the advice of the Prime Minister of India who has always shown me unflinching kindness and consideration. After his talk with the Chinese Prime Minister and on the strength of the assurances given by him on behalf of China, Mr. Nehru advised me to change my decision. I followed his advice and returned to Tibet in the hope that conditions would change substantially for the better, and I have no doubt that my hopes would have been realised if the Chinese authorities had on their part carried out the assurances which the Chinese Prime Minister had given to the Prime Minister of India. It was, however, painfully clear soon after my return that the representatives of the Chinese Government had no intention to adhere to their promises. The natural and inevitable result was that the situation steadily grew worse until it became impossible to control the spontaneous upsurge of my people against the tyranny and oppression of the Chinese authorities.

At this point I wish to emphasise that I and my government have never been opposed to the reforms which are necessary in the social, economic and political systems prevailing in Tibet. We have no desire to disguise the fact that ours is an ancient society and that we must introduce immediate changes in the interests of the people of Tibet. In fact, during the last nine years several reforms were proposed by me and my government, but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people. In particular, it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and the large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensation for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carrying out this just and reasonable reform. I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich traditions of our country, but the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimisation, sacrilege and plunder in the name of reforms, a policy which

is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa.

I have attempted to present a clear and unvarnished picture of the situation in Tibet. I have endeavoured to tell the entire civilised world the real truth about Tibet, the truth which must ultimately prevail, however strong the forces of evil may appear to be today. I also wish to declare that we Buddhists firmly and steadfastly believe in peace and desire to live in peace with all the peoples and countries of the world. Although recent actions and policies of the Chinese authorities in Tibet have created strong feelings of bitterness and resentment against the Government of China, we, Tibetans, lay and monk alike, do not cherish any feelings of enmity and hatred against the great Chinese people. We wish to live in peace and ask for peace and goodwill from all the countries of the world. I and my government are, therefore, fully prepared to welcome a peaceful and amicable solution of the present tragic problem, provided that such a solution guarantees the preservation of the rights and powers which Tibet has enjoyed and exercised without any interference prior to 1950. We must also insist in the creation of a favourable climate by the immediate adoption of the essential measures as a condition precedent to negotiations for a peaceful settlement. We ask for peace and for a peaceful settlement, but we must also ask for the maintenance of the status and the rights of our State and people.

To you, gentlemen of the Press, I and my people owe a great debt of gratitude for all that you have done to assist us in our struggle for survival and freedom. Your sympathy and support have given us courage and strengthened our determination. I confidently hope that you will continue to lend the weight of your influence to the cause of peace and freedom for which the people of Tibet are fighting today.

Agreement at Bayonet Point

The Agreement of 1951 was between two independent and sovereign States. But when the Chinese armies violated the territorial integrity of Tibet (1950), it was a flagrant act of aggression. The Agreement which followed this invasion was thrust upon the people of Tibet. The consent of the Tibetan Government was obtained under duress and at bayonet point. The Tibetan seal put on the Agreement was not the real one, but copied and fabricated in Peking.

—Dalai Lama, at his Press Conference at Mussoorie on June 20, 1959

Dalai Lama Wants U.N. Inquiry*London*

THE Dalai Lama wants a United Nations Commission to inquire into Chinese atrocities in Tibet, reports a *Daily Mail* Correspondent from Mussoorie citing a member of the Dalai Lama's court.

The courtier is quoted as saying that the findings of such a commission would shock the world.

"The atrocity of quick death, cruel though this is, is merciful. Killing by torture as the Chinese are doing is anti-God and against civilisation," he added. (At his Press conference, the Dalai Lama said he had made his statements on the Chinese reign of terror in Tibet in full knowledge of their gravity and if Peking was not prepared to accept them, they should agree to investigation by an international commission.)

The *Daily Mail* Correspondent asked what effect such a report was likely to have on Chinese behaviour in Tibet. He was told by the courtier: "The report would be ugly. The Chinese are not completely contemptuous of world opinion."

The correspondent thought it "significant" that the Dalai Lama at his Press conference referred to

"I and my government." Mr. Nehru had never admitted that India gave sanctuary to the Tibet Government but only to the Dalai Lama.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, June 22*

**Hindu Mahasabha Backs
Dalai Lama's Plea***Delhi*

THE Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha today lent its support to the appeal of the Dalai Lama to India and other countries for help to restore the autonomy of Tibet.

It adopted a resolution stating that acquiescence in the "fait accompli" would be "tantamount to a betrayal of humanity and democracy, and would set a dangerous precedent of allowing aggressor nations a free hand in suppressing weaker and smaller nations."

The Committee expressed the view that the issue of unilateral violation of the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951 and the suppression of the rights of the people of Tibet and their age old ways of life and religion should be taken to the United Nations. . . .

—*Times of India, July 13*

IV

THE TIBETANS CARRY ON THE FIGHT

“ We may not use force to compel other nations to ally themselves to Russia. Only a really voluntary, a really free agreement may be used, and this is impossible if there is no freedom to repeal the agreement. The parties must have equal rights, if the agreement is to be real, and not a conquest marked by phrases.”

—V. I. LENIN

Quoted in *Der Monat* (Berlin), February 1957

“ Naturally the struggle between atheism and theism is not concluded. The masses must be led to eradicate more deeply the roots of belief in superstition, demons and gods; we must arm the masses with materialism and dialectics, and the results of the previous phase of atheistic propaganda must be strengthened and developed, thereby causing the masses to grasp truly the weapons of thought liberation.”

—*A Great Victory for Athelism*, by WU
YU-TSAI, *Red Flag* March 1, 1959.

*Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like the thunder-storm against the wind.*

—LORD BYRON

TIBETANS FIGHT ON

Chinese Drive to Smash Khambas

The Dalai Lama's flight to India marked the end of one phase of the Tibetans' struggle against China.

On March 28 the Chinese proclaimed the dissolution of the Tibet Local Government and installed the Panchen Lama as the head of the new regime. Two days later on March 31, after a strenuous journey over high mountains and across swollen rivers the Dalai Lama was reported to have crossed safely into India.

News about sporadic fighting in different parts of Tibet, especially the Khampa area, continues to trickle in across the almost impregnable barrier which the Chinese have put round Tibet. The present indications show that the Tibetans will continue to fight the intruders as they have always done for the many centuries past.

The reports about the fighting in Tibet are getting fewer and fewer though whatever little news trickles over the barrier shows that the grim struggle is being carried on.

Kalimpong

REPORTS filtered through here to-day of heavy fighting in Tibet. Artillery fire has been heard for two days in a region 35 miles south of Lhasa.

It is believed the Chinese Communists are doing their utmost to wipe out the resistance of the Khamba tribesmen. They have been sending thousands of troops to Tibet by air as a precaution against fresh rebellion.

The indications are that the principal fighting is going on in an area south of the Brahmaputra River. The area is about 100 miles wide and from 75 to 100 miles long between Nankarlsi in the west and Lho Drong in the east.

The Khambas are reported to be still in complete control of south-central Tibet. In the south-east the Chinese are trying a pincer move to isolate a rebel pocket, and are said to be employing paratroops.

Khamba guerillas are reported to be systematically ambushing the Chinese and killing large numbers. It is claimed that the Chinese have been forced in some areas to do most of their patrolling at night.

The Chinese are said to be watching the Sikkim and Bhutan trade routes, using spotter planes. It is

also reported that more than 2,000 Tibetans have been killed and that many more have died of starvation or wounds.

—John Osman, Daily Telegraph, London, April 4

Shrines Shelled

Kalimpong

SOME picture of Communist Chinese action in and around Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, is beginning to emerge. The Chinese have evidently been punitive and cruel. The whole of the quarter from which the Tibetan demonstrators came at the start of the trouble has been razed. Among the famous buildings totally destroyed are Norbulingka, the Dalai Lama's residence, and Ramochi Temple. Parts of the ancient and beautiful Potala Palace have also been damaged. All vestiges of Tibetan autonomy, such as her military forts, have been smashed down.

Reports reaching here tell of indiscriminate shooting of the Khamba people, even those who have not become freedom fighters. In Lhasa the punitive process still goes on in bursts of violence. Heavy artillery fire revived south of the city on Wednesday but has now died down again. On the same day an exceptionally shattering explosion occurred in Lhasa itself. Between forays by the huge Chinese garrison, the city is silent. There is a rigorous curfew and virtually all the able-bodied men who survived the street battles have been shipped out: nobody knows where.

—Cyril Dunn in The "Observer", London, April 4

Chinese Look for Tibetans

Kalimpong

Four days ago all Tibetan males in Lhasa were told to cut off their pigtails and wear Chinese costumes (blue boiler suits). Indian and Nepalese citizens were summoned and informed by the Chinese Communists that any fraternization with Tibetan "rebels" would be punishable with death.

Four days ago Chinese officials entered the Indian Consulate with photographers on the pretext that all foreign property was to be photographed.

—Statesman, Calcutta, May 13

Revolt Spreads to South China

Singapore

INSURRECTION has broken out in the Chinese province of Chinghai and the autonomous region of Sinkiang along the northern border of Tibet, according to unconfirmed reports from Peking.

One source said that serious riots had occurred in Sinkiang, especially in the Karghalik district, at the starting point of the new highway into Tibet.

Disturbances are also said to be taking place on the 1,400 mile route connecting Sining, in Chinghai with Lhasa.

Although these reports have not been confirmed, it is learnt that the Peking authorities have imposed new restrictions on travel to Sinkiang and Chinghai. Anyone wishing to visit these regions must first obtain special passes from the police.

The people of Chinghai are mainly Mongols and Tibetan Buddhists and there have been constant indications of local resistance against the Chinese regime both in Chinghai and Sinkiang during the past 15 months.

In December, the Chinese revealed that a purge had been carried out in Sinkiang and leading administrative officials were condemned as "local nationalists" and dismissed.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 5*

Revolt in Tsinghai

Hong Kong

NEWSPAPERS published in China's Tsinghai Province—the birthplace of both the Dalai and Panchen Lamas—have reported that "the great socialist revolution" in that region has been accompanied by armed revolt.

Tsinghai Hung Yu Chuan says: "When the great socialist revolution in the pastoral areas of our province was still in its primary stage, reactionaries among the 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. Religious and feudal power was completely burned away by the flame of revolution."

Other regional newspapers from China reported that last month 642 artillery men "who have distinguished themselves in their work at the Fukien Front (facing the Quemoy complex)" attended a conference called by General Chen Hsi-Lien.

Many of these "heroes of the invincible People's Liberation Army of China" were drafted to Tibet

and they "completely wiped out the counter-revolutionary clique which was showing hostility towards the glorious Han (Chinese) people under the cloak of religion."

These periodicals reported that General Chang Ching-wu, the Chinese Military Governor of Tibet, will be suitably decorated for his unparalleled strategy in "completely crushing 20,000 armed Tibetan rebels."

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 7*

Khampas Carry on Fight: Seven Bridges Blown Up

Shillong

CHINESE hopes of quelling the Khampa uprising have been dashed to the ground as the Khampas have blown up seven bridges on the only road from China to Lhasa in the course of a fortnight's severe fighting.

Authoritative information reaching here says that the fighting is widespread in the Kham region, where the Khampas have blown off huge chunks of the road and routed Chinese platoons. At one place alone 75 Chinese soldiers were killed.

Reports speak of determined fighting from pocket to pocket, indicating that the Chinese cannot hope to be on top of the situation within a reasonable future.

As the road is the only lifeline between China and the Tibetan capital reports speak of the Chinese transshipping considerable reinforcements over the Yanning gap. Their difficulty is the terrain which is familiar to the Khampas and affords them excellent help in hit-and-run tactics.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

"Operation Census" in Lhasa

Tezpur

The entire population of Lhasa has been enumerated and identity cards issued by the Chinese authorities in a bid to curb the present trouble, according to information available with reliable sources here.

It is said the Chinese herded together people and made them stand in rows in the sun as scores of cameras clicked. The finger-prints of all, including women and children, were taken. The whole operation was carried out in three days.

The Chinese propose to extend the census operation to all regions under their control.

The "operation census" reveals the anxiety of the Chinese in Tibet where the trouble is said to continue unabated.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 17*

Guerilla Tactics

Kalimpong

A HIGH-RANKING Chinese official said today that his Government had now finally decided to put down the Tibetan rebellion once and for all.

The fighting in Tibet is slowly receding to the countryside from the neighbourhood of Central Tibetan towns and is widespread, though scattered. Areas east of the Kalimpong-Lhasa trade route are still largely under the control of the Khampa rebels.

Chinese troops, handicapped by the unfamiliar terrain and Tibetan hostility, are pursuing the rebels, who are now spreading themselves out and adopting guerilla tactics.

The roads to and from Lhasa are still blocked. But for Chinese Army convoys, there is no regular communication between the major Tibetan towns, Lhasa, Phari and Yatung.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 7

Khampas Run Short of Arms

Gangtok

REPORTS reaching this border town suggest that 30,000 Khampas, who with the support of units of the Tibetan army rebelled against the Chinese in Lhasa on March 19, are fast running out of arms and ammunition and are desperately in search of fresh supplies to keep up their struggle.

Stocks they accumulated in the past three years are fast being exhausted in the total war the Chinese have declared against the Khampas.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 8

A Free Tibetan Government Proclaimed

Kalimpong

A MANIFESTO proclaiming the formation of a provisional Government by Tibetan resistance forces reached this border town today.

The manifesto proclaimed that the struggle against the Communist Chinese would continue until Tibet gained full independence.

It said that the provisional Government was backed by a so-called National Volunteer Defence Army headed by Mr. Bo Cho Kha Soum and Mr. Andu Gompu Tashi....

Tibetan sources said that both were prominent leaders in the resistance movement which now controls huge areas of southern and eastern Tibet.

The manifesto said that resistance forces were now consolidating their control of Stang, Dhak Po, Kong Po and the south and west Do Tho areas. It claimed that this area would have up to 50 dzongs or forts and a population of 500,000.

The statement also said that the provisional Government would recognise the Dalai Lama, now in India, as its spiritual and temporal leader.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 8

Panchen Lama Defends Chinese

Tokyo

THE Panchen Lama said today that "reactionary elements" were still active in Tibet.

Peking Radio said the Panchen Lama reiterated that the "upper strata clique and rebel groups, together with imperialists, abducted" the Dalai Lama and tore up the treaty signed by Tibet and China in 1951.

This, the Panchen Lama said, was the reason why the Peking Government was forced to dissolve the Tibetan Local Government....

He added that "in some areas of Tibet reactionary elements were still active."

He said they were "setting fires, killing... and terrorising patriotic progressive people...."

Nation in Chains

Khatmandu

Three million Tibetans, who vainly rose in revolt against their Communist masters a month ago, are now living in a land of massive prison camps, reports reaching the Nepali capital indicate.

The biggest of them all—situated at the northern slope of Mount Everest—houses nearly 200,000 Tibetans, it is said. Nuns and lamas, farmers and landlords—all those who asserted their basic right to freedom and religion—are the inmates.

It is gathered here that the entire population is put in concentration camps, understood to be about 20 in number and scattered all over the mountain kingdom's 4,70,000 square mile area.

Freedom of movement is denied, and so is the freedom of speech.

Every Tibetan is also required to report at every appointed hour at the nearest Army post and explain his whereabouts. Families in the concentration camps are tortured to reveal the whereabouts of their missing members.

Orphaned children—children of those who died fighting the Red Chinese—are roaming Lhasa streets, hungry and weeping. And any sympathy shown to the innocent babies is a punishable crime.

Members of every village are registered and get food through identity cards.

—Sunday Standard, Bombay, April 25

Revolt Was Fomented: Say the Chinese

London

RADIO Peking has again charged that the Dalai Lama is still "under duress."

The broadcasts quoted these Tibetan officials as saying that certain capitalist countries, the KMT and the USA, had fomented the rebellion against the Chinese regime in Tibet.

These officials levelled counter-charges against the Dalai Lama's Cabinet. They accused men in the Cabinet of having murdered the "Living Buddha" of the Sera Monastery and several other monasteries when the head lamas did not accept their "reactionary views."

These broadcasts at no time charged the Dalai Lama of complicity in the rebellion.

—NAFEN Report in *Hindustan Times*, April 8

Fighting Intensified

Gangtok

FIGHTING has intensified south of Chamdo, after the Dalai Lama crossed over into India. Sporadic fighting is also reported to have broken out in the Amdo area in Chinghai province, from where the Dalai Lama comes.

Reports also speak of vast troop movements in Central Tibet. Khampa guerillas are said to have engaged Chinese troops in combat at several places.

According to unconfirmed reports, the Chinese have suffered heavy casualties in hand-to-hand fighting with the Khampas.

The Chinese are said to have intensified their aerial activity in Tibet. The airport near Lhasa is reported to have become very busy. Planes are being used to guide Chinese troops to Khampa hide-outs. Wherever rebel concentrations are spotted from the air, the planes alert troops and guide attacks.

The Chinese are reported to have moved jets into Tibet to check attempts by Kuomintang planes to airdrop supplies to rebel forces south of the Brahmaputra.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 9*

Bridges Blown Up

Taipei

REPORTS from high Kuomintang Chinese sources said today that heavy fighting was raging in areas south-east of Lhasa and most of the lamas in Tibet had joined the rebel forces.

The reports said that some 30,000 Communist Chinese troops had already entered Tibet to reinforce the forces there.

The rebels in Tibet were said to be operating under the title of the United Tibetan Anti-Communist Army.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 9*

Rebels Control Major Part of Tibet

Taipei

TIBETAN "freedom fighters" were now regrouping and would soon join forces with anti-Communist rebels in the Provinces of Chinghai and Sikang. Mr. Li Yung Hsin, Chairman of the Kuomintang Government's Mongolian-Tibetan Affairs Commission, told a Press conference today.

He said, "the battle of Lhasa was not the end of the anti-Communist war but just the beginning of Tibet's fight for freedom."

The rebels in Tibet, Mr. Li said, had now adopted mobile guerilla warfare in the mountain regions.

Due to the rugged terrain the rebels were still controlling the major part of Tibet.

In the bloodshed of Lhasa last month, according to Mr. Li, the Chinese killed about 10,000 rebels, Lamas and civilians and threw 8,000 others, mainly Lamas, into concentration camps.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 10*

Sikang Rebels Aid Tibetans

Hong Kong

REBELS in the Sikang province of China have sent aid to the Tibetan rebels, the *New China News Agency* said today.

The agency said Chang Kuohua, vice-chairman of Tibet's Preparatory Committee, which has assumed the powers of local Government under the Panchen Lama, told the Committee on Wednesday that the Tibetan rebels were "closely linked" with the rebels in Sikang.

He said that "part of the remnant of the rebels" from Sikang fled to Tibet and joined the rebels there in looting, raping, burning and killing.

They also destroyed roads, held up lorries, murdered Tibetan and Chinese officials and others and made "sneak attacks" on the Chinese army, he said.

The rebels were given access to ammunition, food and other materials stored by the local Government, and a number of officials, members of the Tibetan army and lamas from the monasteries, went over to them with arms issued by the Government, he added.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 11*

Mass Execution in Sinkiang

Taipei

The Formosan Government reported today that the Chinese had arrested more than 4000 persons in Sinkiang province and executed most of them.

KMT Government sources, quoting an intelligence report, said the Chinese were taking harsh measures against suspected anti-Communist sympathisers.

The report said the 4000 persons were arrested in the main cities of Sinkiang province, such as Tihwa, Ili and Hotien. Sinkiang, the largest province of China, is sandwiched between Tibet and the Soviet Union. Though twice the size of Alaska, it has a population of only slightly more than four million.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 25

Call to Quell Rebellion

Peking

THE new ruling body in Lhasa has urged Tibetans to help Chinese troops quell the continuing revolt in the country it was officially reported here today.

This advice came in a resolution passed by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in Lhasa three days ago.

The Committee pledged support to the Peking Government's policy and called on all Tibetans "regardless of nationality, occupation or whether lamas or common people" to help to put down the rebellion completely and quickly.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 11

Call to Repair Buildings

Gangtok

THE Chinese are now engaged in repairing buildings in Lhasa damaged in the fighting from March 19 to March 23.

Judging from the repeated calls issued by the Chinese Military Area Command in Tibet for public co-operation, the damage must have been considerable.

Tibetans in this border area, stretching from Bhutan to Darjeeling, are anxious about the fate of their relatives in Lhasa. Telegrams sent by Tibetans here to their kith and kin in Lhasa remain unanswered.

Lhasa has not returned to normal yet. Meetings of Tibetans, guarded by Chinese troops, are held daily to condemn the activities of the "rebel bandits."

Unconfirmed reports reaching here said stragglers of the Kuomintang Army in the Sikang jungles

adjoining Tibet, have joined the Khampas. The reports added that KMT planes had succeeded in air-dropping supplies to the Khampas in the Amdo area of the Chinghai province of China.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 10

Mongolian Rebels Send Arms

Hong Kong

A TAIPEH report states: The Kuomintang official "Central Daily News" said today that Mongolian rebels were supplying Tibetan rebels with Russian-made weapons.

Quoting "reliable" intelligence reports, the newspaper said that Russia had in the past few years supplied weapons and equipment to the Mongolians, but many had subsequently fallen into the hands of the rebels.

After the formation of the Tibetan rebel forces, the Mongolian rebels had channelled the weapons to Tibet through anti-Communist forces in the neighbouring Chinese provinces, it said.

—Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 11

Chinese Seize All Arms

Gangtok Buzar

THE Chinese authorities have begun recovering private arms in the possession of Tibetans in the Yaung-Gyantse region.

It also spoke of a display of banners proclaiming "military rule" in the small township of Yaung about 30 miles north of the Sikkim-Tibet border. The presence of a large number of heavily loaded military trucks there has also been reported.

Meanwhile, a senior Khampa official under the former Tibetan Government who has just crossed the border into Sikkim said that his estimate of the number of armed rebels in Tibet was 50,000.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 13

Rebels Seek India's Intervention

New Delhi

THE Provisional Government formed by the rebels in Tibet is seeking the intervention of India and Nepal to stop the fighting in the forbidden land of the Lamas, according to a reliable report from Darjeeling.

The Tibetan rebels are also reported to be pressing India and Nepal to recognise the Provisional Government.

Quoting rebel sources, the report adds that the Provisional Government is asking India, Nepal and other countries to take the Tibetan question to the United Nations.

The rebel Government, according to the Darjeeling report, claims complete control over four Tibetan provinces—Isang, Dhalpo Kung Po, Kong Po and South West Dho.

These strategic provinces have 50 forts and an estimated population of over 1,000,000.

A National Volunteer Army has been created by the Provisional Government to carry on the struggle against the Chinese regime.

—A NAFEN Item, April 13

No Mongolian Arms For Tibetans

THE Embassy of the Mongolian People's Republic on Monday described the Press report that Mongolian "rebels" were supplying Tibetan rebels with weapons as "utterly groundless."

In a statement the Embassy said that the report did not deserve to be paid any attention, coming as it did from Taipeh.

The statement added there had been no rebellion whatever in Mongolia and there was therefore no question of "Mongolian rebels supplying Tibetan rebels with arms."

—A P.T.I. Message of April 11

Bodies Found in River

Kalimpong

BODIES of the dead in the Lhasa fighting were seen floating down the Kyichu river by mule drivers and travellers coming to Gyantse. It is said that the Chinese collected the dead in trucks and threw the bodies into the river.

According to news reaching here, arrests are still made in Lhasa occasionally. One never sees young men coming out of their houses during the day. Only women, children, the old and the infirm are seen in Lhasa streets these days, it is stated.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 14

'Revolt Will Be Put Down'— Panchen Lama

Tokyo

THE Panchen Lama was quoted by Peking Radio today as saying he firmly believed that the Tibetan revolt would "certainly be thoroughly" put down at the earliest possible time.

The Panchen Lama addressed a banquet given in his honour by the Shensi Provincial People's Council following his arrival in the city of Sian, the radio said. He is *en route* to Peking to attend the National People's Congress.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 13

China Warns Against Invasion Bid

Tokyo

China declared today that any attempt to "invade" troubled Tibet "would be crushed by the iron fist" of the people of Communist China.

The warning was given by General Fu Chung, Deputy Chief of the General Political Department of the Chinese Army.

Peking Radio said that Gen. Fu, speaking before the Chinese Parliament, warned "imperialists and foreign expansionists that any scheme to invade China's territory of Tibet would be crushed by the iron fists of the united people of all nationalities of China."

—Times of India, Bombay, April 25

Duties Abolished

Kalimpong

THE Panchen Lama has announced a big concession in levies to traders, presumably to win over an influential section of Tibetans to his side.

He abolished the duty on import of tea from India and also the duty on export of wool to India. Tea for Tibet, which is of a special kind, comes in big compressed blocks in sheepskin containers. Owing to transport difficulties between China and Tibet, it is first exported from China to India and then India exports it to Tibet. This tea is prepared and packed in China. The Tibetan Government will lose a substantial sum by the abolition of these duties.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 13

Lhasa Under Curfew

Gangtok

THE Indian Consul-General in Lhasa, Major Chibber has conveyed to the Government of India his sense of horror at the widespread destruction caused in Lhasa by Chinese troops and Tibetan rebels.

Major Chibber came out of the Consulate today and went round the city to inquire about the welfare of Indian citizens after the Chinese authorities had lifted the restrictions imposed on him earlier. He ventured out for the first time during the last 33 days of the Tibetan rebellion.

He has reported that all the 120 Ladakhis studying in Lhasa are well. Potala, the massive winter palace of the Dalai Lama, has sustained minor damage. Several buildings in the town have been completely destroyed.

An uneasy quiet prevails in Lhasa. The town is still under curfew although a few shops have opened.

Able-bodied men are not to be seen anywhere. It is reported that they have been taken by the Chinese to other places. Repair squads have been organised and it is likely that young persons have been taken for repair work. Armed Chinese guards patrol the city.

The Chinese have taken under their care the children and dependents of those who have fled with the Dalai Lama to India, according to unofficial reports reaching here. The Lhasa Military Control Committee has passed an order confiscating their property.

—*Times of India, April 14*

Tibet Revolt Continues

London

Moscow Radio said today the situation in Tibet was "on the way to normal" but "not all rebel bands have been disarmed as yet."

They were continuing "their terrorism, robbery and violence against patriots and the local population but it is more than obvious that their end is near," the radio added in an English-language programme.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 14*

Monks Interrogated

Khat mandu

It is reliably learnt that the Chinese have posted strong guards at all monasteries and monks are being screened and interrogated thoroughly in order to weed out the reactionaries in the religious hierarchy in Tibet.

It is understood that the Chinese Army interrogators are being aided by some well-known pro-Chinese Tibetan abbots. The reports say that many monasteries are nearly empty. Many monks fled when the fighting broke out last month. New monks who are not only pro-Chinese but also bear up to the standard set by the Chinese are understood to have been drafted to monasteries to take up vacant places.

The two monasteries near Lhasa—Drepung and Sera—which are understood to be in ruins, following the Chinese bombardment in the initial stages, are being repopulated and some of their former inmates have been sent to concentration camps.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 15*

Many Forced to Join Rebels

Peking

MANY Tibetans, who were forced to join the anti-Chinese rebellion, have now surrendered to the Chinese army, a *New China News Agency* despatch from Lhasa said. The agency added that the Chinese had sent these people back to their homes.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 15*

60,000 Troops Guard Lhasa's 50,000 People!

Siliguri

Peking has posted 60,000 Chinese troops to guard about 50,000 Tibetans in Lhasa and suburbs, a reliable source said here today.

The source, claiming to have been in close touch with the latest events in and around the Tibetan capital, said a complete census of the population of the area had been taken so as to enable the authorities to spot out men in the event of any trouble.

"Lhasa is today a sealed town," he added.

He said Chinese families in large numbers had been brought from the thickly populated provinces of China and resettled there on the most fertile lands.

There were considerable concentrations of Chinese in West Tibet which had been linked with the Chinese mainland through Sinkiang, he said.

In the process of resettling Chinese in the Tibetan areas, he said, the Peking authorities had "ruthlessly quelled a protest uprising."

The source said that "unknown numbers of Tibetans had been sent to unknown places, possibly to concentration camps or for building of roads through forced labour."

He said the Tibetans were tough fighters, specially the Khampas.

He said the Dalai Lama's home province of Jamdo had been made a province of China.

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 20*

Attack on Rebel Stronghold

Kalimpong

A MONTH after the outbreak of revolt in Lhasa, the Chinese Army is now engaged in a serious clash with the Tibetan rebels near Nangar-Tse-Dzong, about 150 miles south-west of the Tibetan capital . . .

It is now known that in the first week of April, a ceaseless movement of Chinese military vehicles near Gyantse was very much in evidence and about that time the Chinese authorities had also commanded about two thousand mules in the adjoining region. All this, it is presumed, was in preparation for an attack on the strategic Nangar-Tse-Dzong, which is fifty miles due east of Gyantse (there is an Indian Trade Agency at Gyantse).

On April 10, an eye-witness account said, several trucks, full of wounded Chinese armymen, were

drawn up at the approaches to Gyantse and they moved into the town after midnight.

It is believed that the rebels either ambushed the advancing Chinese on their way to Nangar-Tse-Dzong or put up a strong resistance at Dzong itself. Whatever may be the exact site of the clash, the Chinese seem to have suffered many casualties.....

It is regarded doubtful if the rebels' defence of Nangar-Tze-Dzong will last very long before the superior mechanised might of the Chinese Army. It is believed, however, that they will try to hold on to it as long as possible before planning a spread-out under a unified command into the vast expanses of their territory in preparation for a long-drawn-out guerilla war.

—*Hindu, Madras, April 16*

Rebels Ready For A Long Battle

Tokyo

THE Khampa rebels of Tibet apparently have made plans for a long military campaign against the Chinese Army in the frozen passes of the Himalayas.

The official Communist *New China News Agency* said that the rebels had stocked themselves heavily with food and drawn manpower from peasant households.....

The agency said that peasants in large numbers had joined the rebels, bringing with them large quantities of grain and seed. It claimed, as it did in the case of the fleeing Dalai Lama, ruler of Tibet, that the peasants were coerced by the rebels.

"More than a month ago," the agency said in a report monitored here, "the rebellious bandits entrenched in the outskirts of Lhasa seized the livestock and grain of local peasants and coerced as many as possible into joining the rebellion. The people lived in fear and dared not carry out sowing."

The agency said that the rebels took one man from each household in villages near Shigatse, former fief of the Panchen Lama.

Each man had to bring 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 with him.

The scale of the food-stocking by the rebels strongly suggested that unless the Chinese fly in new supplies the Chinese-held regions of Tibet will be in serious trouble.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 17*

Chinese Guard Passes

Kalimpong

THE unguarded pass from Tibet to Lhachung, in northern Sikkim through which Pangda Tsang came

to India, is now heavily guarded by Chinese troops, it is learnt. Chinese troops have also moved to several other passes. This has obviously been done to stop the rebels from fleeing to India.

The rebels, however, are not expected to cross over to India from central Tibet, where the Chinese have laid a death-trap for them. They are still entrenched in eastern Tibet, their stronghold. If ever Chinese troops succeed in driving them out, they would either go and join the rebels in Sikang or cross into Bhutan and the North-East Frontier Agency.

Meanwhile, reports of large-scale arrests of Tibetans suspected of aiding the rebels and of inciting the Tibetan army personnel against the Chinese, have been reaching here from the southern areas of central Tibet. One such report said arrests had been made in the neighbouring trade centre of Yatung. There is still no traffic between Yatung, Phari, Gyantse, Shigatse and Lhasa.

Occasionally, Chinese army convoys move on patrol duty from one town to another. Motor highways, damaged by the rebels during the Lhasa uprising, have not yet been repaired. The Chinese are waiting for peace to return to the countryside to start road repairs.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 17*

Chinese Troops Isolated

Taipeh

CHINESE troops in Tibet are almost isolated and are depending on airdrops for supplies, KMT China newspapers reported today.

They said the only two highways linking Tibet with mainland China were destroyed by rebels.

The newspapers also carried reports of fresh uprisings in Chinghai, one of the Chinese provinces bordering Tibet and the birthplace of the Dalai Lama.

—*A Reuter Message, April 15*

Provisions for Dalai Lama

Tezpur

SIXTY cases of provisions, cooking media, fruit juice, butter, tinned foods and ice-cream freezers have been rushed from Calcutta for the Dalai Lama's special train.

A number of tins of rasagollas have also been specially ordered.

The Dalai Lama's mother, Gayyum Chemo, "Great Mother of the Country," who, along with the God-King, is resting for the night at Khelong, 50 miles from here, will be the recipient of a white scarf at a public reception here tomorrow. The scarf will be presented to her by the wife of the Tezpur Municipal Chairman.

Specially anxious to meet the "Great Mother" is Gyaivz Thudrub, her third child and second son, who has come here from Kalimpong, where he is in business. He is the only layman among her seven children.

He will also meet, after many years, his eldest sister, 34-year-old Semokussho and his youngest brother, 13-year-old Ngari Rimpoche, who are in the Dalai Lama's party.

—A P.T.I. Message, April 17

Plotting Done in Kalimpong : China Repeats Charge

New Delhi

THE latest reiteration by the Peking *People's Daily* of the charge that Kalimpong has been "the centre of Tibetan plotting" can be presumed to reflect the official views of the Chinese Government.

The Chinese obviously do not place much reliance on Mr. Nehru's repudiation of the charge and claim to be better informed about "secret activities" in Kalimpong through their own intelligence sources.

The Prime Minister has so far sought to make light of the Chinese charge. But in view of the persistent repetition of the allegations in the face of official Indian denials, a more serious view is likely to be taken in the matter.

—Times of India, April 17

Spirited Away to China

Kalimpong

Among the Lamas arrested in the uprising is Thomo Geychhi Timpoche, the Lama of Chhumbi Valley. The 22-year-old Lama was born in Gangtok, and has been for the past two years studying in Lhasa along with the Dalai Lama for the degree of doctor of divinity. This year both were judged by their tutors and declared successful. The Chinese charge against him is that he distributed to Khampa rebels charms which they believed made them bullet-proof.

Another Lama who mysteriously disappeared last year is 75-year-old Kesi Sirag Gyatso, Vice-President of the Administrative Committee. This tall, bearded Lama attended the Buddha Jayanti celebrations in Delhi in 1956. He was popularly called Vsirpala. He returned to Lhasa from Delhi and from there went to his monastery in Kumbum in Tsinghai province. He is said to have made a violent anti-Chinese speech and is reported to have been taken away to China. He has been unheard of since then.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 17

Food Prices Soar in Tibet

Kalimpong

PRICES of foodstuffs and other articles have risen in Lhasa and towns in the interior of Tibet, it is learnt here.

Several shops still remain closed because their owners have either been arrested or have fled. There is acute shortage of goods due to the total stoppage of trade with India for about a month and black-marketing is rampant.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 17

Panic on Nepalese Border

Khatmandu

CHINESE troops chased a group of Khampas fleeing into Nepalese territory, opened fire and killed one of them, according to a report published in the *Motherland*, an English daily, here.

The paper said the story was told by two of the Khampas who managed to escape the Chinese fire and reached the Nepalese capital.

They said the incident had created "panic" among people in the border areas near Namche Bazar and they wanted protection. A petition would be made to the Nepalese Government, the report said.

According to the newspaper report, this group of three Khampas escaped from the Tibetan town of Tingri when Chinese troops raided their town, two days' trek from the Sherpa town of Namche Bazar.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 18

Chou Hopes for Lama's Return

Peking

MR. CHOU EN-LAI, Chinese Prime Minister, said today "although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India we still hope he will be able to free himself from the hold of the rebels and return to the motherland."

Mr. Chou, who was reporting to the People's Congress—China's Parliament—which opened its second session here, said that the Chinese Government had scored a "great victory" in quelling the rebellion in Tibet.....

He added: "We hope that all well-intentioned friends—I refer to those who are willing to persist in practising the five principles of peaceful co-existence with our country and have pledged not to interfere in China's internal affairs—will, in the first place, note this clear distinction between the overwhelming majority and a small handful."

Mr. Chou welcomed statements by Prime Minister Nehru on non-interference with China's internal affairs and on the consolidation of friendly ties between China and India.

He declared: "The Tibetan reactionary clique in collusion with imperialism, has suffered a shameful fiasco."

Mr. Chou said that Chinese army units in Tibet were mopping up rebel remnants in remote areas and that all the country was now under the control of the interim government set up by China and the army. About 20,000 Tibetans had taken part in the rebellion.

Mr. Chou stated: "The former Tibetan Local Government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata had colluded with Chiang Kai-shek and foreign reactionaries in an attempt to undermine China's national unity and to restore imperialist aggressive influence in Tibet, and to preserve backward, reactionary and cruel serfdom.

They do not want to practise national autonomy with the participation of people's representatives. The time for the imperialists to interfere with China's internal affairs has long been over, Mr. Chou added.

More than 2,000 men and women from all over China were present at the Congress which is to decide on the men who will lead the country for the next four years.

Among Congress Deputies was the Panchen Lama, 21-year-old Tibetan temporal leader, appointed by China to head a new ruling body in Tibet.

—*Sunday Standard, Bombay, April 18*

Lhasa Curbs on Indian Consulate Removed

New Delhi

THE Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon, told the Lok Sabha today that certain restrictions placed on the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa and his staff when the fighting broke out there appeared to have been removed since April 17.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 23*

Chinese Claim Rebel Forces Wiped Out

Tokyo

THE Chinese Army in Tibet claimed today that it had wiped out the bulk of the Tibetan rebel forces and killed, wounded or taken prisoner nearly 2,000 rebels.

The Army said that the only remaining opposition was from "a few remnant bandits who have fled to remote mountainous areas."

"With the active support of the Tibetan people in those localities," the announcement said, "the troops are continuing to hunt out and mop up the scattered remnants. They will be wiped out in the near future."

The Army said that it was "now in control of the vast area south of the Tsangpo River and north of the Himalaya mountains."

It was the first detailed report by the Army on the military campaign against the Khampa rebels in Tibet. The statement was issued by the *New China News Agency*, broadcast by Radio Peking and monitored here.

It said that in more than 10 days of fighting it had captured "a vast number of villages, crushed the rebel forces who had taken up positions in the various places and killed, wounded or took prisoner nearly 2,000 rebels."

It said that by the morning of April 21 "all the key points in the border area of the Loka area and in the northern ranges of the Himalaya mountains had been brought completely under control."

It added that "a part of the rebellious elements fled to India".

"Under our heavy blow, the rebellious bandits crumbled like mud walls and, apart from those put out of operation, many intimidated followers have deserted the rebel units, handed over their weapons to the People's Liberation Army and returned home to take part in production."

The Army claimed that it had captured more than, 30 administrative units, called Dzong and Chi, "south of the Tsangpo River, east of Gyantse, north of the Himalaya mountains and west of Tsela Dzong."

"In 10 days," the Army said, "the P.L.A. (People's Liberation Army) swept across hundreds of kilometres and wiped out the rebel nests at one stroke."

The Tibetan rebellion broke into full violence on March 10. But the communique revealed that the Chinese had not been able to mount an assault in the icy passes and peaks outside of Lhasa, the capital, until nearly a month later.

"After rapidly putting down the rebels in Lhasa, the P.L.A. which is quelling the rebels, sped southward on April 8 from Lhasa across the Tsangpo River by three routes east, west and centre—and mopped up the hard-pressed rebels. Pursued by the P.L.A. the rebels broke and scattered in disorder the moment they were attacked, the communique said.

The Army said that while military operations continued it had set up "military control institutions" on a wide scale in various places of the Loka region, which it described as a centre of the rebellion. It said that the Tibetan Government and nobility had, in the past, "received arms from abroad and supplies air-dropped from unidentified foreign planes" in the area.

It identified the rebel commander as Amdutson Gcomputashi, but did not say whether he had been captured.

The Loka region is the main rebel base south-east of Lhasa—south of the Tsangpo River and north of the Himalaya mountains. It is Tibet's border area with India and Bhutan.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 23*

Tibetans Set Fire to Chinese Bank

Kalimpong

THE Bank of China building at Lhasa, capital of Tibet was set on fire recently, according to travellers reaching here from Tibet today.

—*Bharat Jyoti, Bombay, April 25*

Chinese Warning To Tibetan Rebels

Hong Kong

GENERAL FU CHUNG, Deputy Chief of the Chinese Army's Political Department, today warned Tibetan rebels that they would be "wiped out" if they did not lay down their arms quickly.

Reporting this the *New China News Agency* said he told the Chinese National People's Congress in Peking that the rebels would find themselves in a blind alley if they flee to India.

General Fu said the Chinese Army already controlled the vast area south of the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) River and north of the Himalayas and key points on the border. The army was wiping out the handful of remnant rebel bandits.

He promised that anyone who left the rebels would be forgiven. Those who "undertake meritorious actions" would be rewarded. Captives would be treated leniently and not killed, insulted, beaten or robbed. Only those who went on fighting unrepentant would be "duly punished".

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 25*

'Strong Pressure' On Rebels

London

THE Kuomintang newspaper *China Post* said in Taipeh today that Chinese troops in Tibet, who had received fresh supplies airlifted to Lhasa, were exerting strong pressure from three directions on rebels south-east of the capital.

It said the rebels would have to withdraw and link up with anti-communist "revolutionaries" who, it claimed, were fighting in Yunnan along the Chinese border with Burma.

—*A Reuter Message, April 28*

Eye-Witness Account :

Dusk-To-Dawn Curfew

Khatmandu

THE Chinese have sealed off the entire Tibetan border and strict vigilance is being maintained to check leakage of information and to bar the flight of refugees outside the country.

The Land of the Lamas has been put wholly under a dusk-to-dawn curfew and all mountain passes, including the highest and toughest, are being guarded by Chinese Army patrols in a bid to restrict Tibetans' movements.

This eye-witness account of the Lhasa revolt situation was given in an interview with *The Indian Express* by Thobgen, who claims to be a graduate of Peking University, hailing from the Kham province of Tibet.

Thobgen, who is on his way to Mussoorie, where the Dalai Lama now lives, said he was an eye-witness to the arrest of the Panchen Lama at Shigatse, because he opposed the Chinese killing of Tibetan monks.

Thobgen told me he left Lhasa on April 1, and while crossing a 22,000-foot-high pass he lost his servant to Chinese bullets, but himself managed to escape, spending three dreadful nights in a cave.

Monastery Bombed

According to Thobgen, the trouble in Tibet is not of recent origin. Early in March, 1956, information was said to have reached Lhasa of the Chinese clash with Tibetan monks in a monastery, probably the biggest and most respected in Kham, at Lytang.

The Peking-Lhasa highway was built through Kham, overrunning the standing crops. The Kham farmers protested against it, but the protest was ignored by the Chinese officers. The Khampas (the people of Kham) hindered the progress of the road, and tried to oust the Chinese construction units from the villages. This was followed by an armed clash between the Chinese Army and the Khampas resulting in many casualties.

Kham is the richest province of Tibet having a population of about 30,000. Well-built and hardy, the Khampas are mostly business men and farmers. They form the backbone of the Tibetan Army. In Lhasa the Khampas constitute the upper class, which holds key positions in the Government.

One night a daring gang of Khampas attacked a Chinese Army camp and killed a large number of soldiers under cover of darkness. Within three days of the incident, about 60 Chinese bombers raided Lytang and killed many Tibetans, besides destroying the monastery.

Khampas Firm

On his return to Lhasa from China, Thobgen said, he had met a number of Khampas, and they apprised him of their plans and programme. Every Khampa had taken a pledge to drive out the Chinese from Tibet. All Khampa villages were evacuated, women and children removed to Lhasa or the neighbouring border towns. Surplus food was destroyed lest it should fall into the hands of the Chinese.

Thousands of Khampas went out of their villages and formed themselves into guerilla bands. They started raiding isolated Chinese points, sabotaging communications and transport services. Information reaching Lhasa from time to time revealed clashes that had occurred between the Khampas and the Chinese Army.

Three months before the flare-up in March, the Dalai Lama held a special meeting of his advisers, close associates and almost all Lamas of important monasteries. The Dalai Lama advised them to leave Tibet if they wanted security of life and property.

The Chinese insisted on raiding the Potala palace and important monasteries in Lhasa to arrest Kham refugees, and this led to deterioration in the situation in the first week of March. The Chinese Army threw a cordon around the Norbulingka and Potala palaces to stop the refugees from escaping. The situation in Lhasa became more tense.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 26*

Grim Battle in South Tibet

Shillong

WAVES of Chinese planes bombed Tibetan areas adjoining the Kameng Frontier Division of N-E.F.A. during the last few days in a bid to wipe out Khampa rebels, who still dominate wide areas in South Tibet, it is learnt from well-informed sources. The bombing by low flying planes was concentrated on the area through which the Dalai Lama escaped to India.

Meanwhile, Chinese land forces with the help of pro-Chinese Tibetans are now closing in from three directions in South Tibet and Khampas in isolated pockets are facing total annihilation. Many Khampa hideouts have been completely destroyed by Chinese mortars.

Grim and bloody battles are now ranging in many sectors and the death roll so far is reported to be very heavy. Outnumbered Khampas in these sectors, who could not resist the pressure of the Chinese land forces, are now retreating towards the MacMahon Line. But they are being bombed and machine-gunned by Chinese planes.

Groups of these Khampas are now entering India through various trade routes. The exact number of them is not yet known but it is believed that some of them, who crossed into India through the North-East Frontier Agency, have been disarmed.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 25*

Loka Rebels Smashed

Tokyo

CHINA indicated today it might seal-off its borders with India and other States bordering Tibet to block travel to and from the revolt-torn country.

It also hinted that fighting was still under way in Tibet although a major band of rebels in the Loka area, south-east of Lhasa, had been smashed.

The official *People's Daily* of Peking hailed this as a major victory in "speeding up the putting down of the rebellion" and then stated :

"After the People's Liberation Army has taken up its posts at key defence points along the border, the imperialists and foreign reactionaries will no longer be able as before to dispatch spies or special agents and to smuggle arms, coming and going across our borders and carrying on aggressive activities at will."

The border referred to was not specified but presumably would include at least India, Bhutan and Sikkim, all close to the Loka area. Loka is south of the Tsangpo river and north of the Himalaya mountains near Tibet's border with India and Bhutan.

Two days ago, China disclosed it had killed, wounded or taken prisoner nearly 2,000 rebels in securing the Loka area.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 25*

Szechwan Revolt

Hong Kong

THE 1955-56 Khampa rebellion among the Tibetan minority in China's Szechwan province, mentioned by the Dalai Lama in his statement, was directed from Tibet by the "upper strata reactionary clique" the *New China News Agency* said yesterday.

In a "background" despatch, the agency said that the so-called Khampa rebellion was staged by "inhuman slave owners and feudal lords" in the area around Kantse on the eastern Sikang-Tibet plateau. Large quantities of guns and other weapons were smuggled in from Tibet. Many of the weapons captured from the rebels were made abroad. The Khampas frequently sent emissaries to Tibet to report on the rebellion and bring back letters and instructions from Tibet's "reactionary clique."

From Tibet, the clique constantly sent people to direct the rebellious bandits. One letter said: "Expand your armed forces rapidly; aid will come from abroad."

When the rebellion failed, many rebel "gang leaders" escaped to Tibet, where the "reactionary clique" sheltered and rearmed them, the agency said.

The trouble began in the summer of 1955, when two Tibetans, who accompanied the Dalai Lama to Peking for the National People's Congress returned home.

The men, Surking Wonching Galei and Tsrijong Lozong Yiehsi, went by separate routes inciting rebellion and issuing instructions for an armed rising, it said.

The agency said the rebellion was suppressed in a short period and "democratic reforms" had been carried out with success.....

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 29

Lamas have Fled Lhasa Before

The present marks the second occasion when the 14th Dalai Lama has fled Lhasa. The first occasion was in 1950.

The 13th Dalai Lama also fled Lhasa on two occasions—in 1904 when the Younghusband expedition marched on the Tibetan capital and again in 1910 when the Chinese attacked Tibet.

Wherever he is, the Dalai Lama remains the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet by divine right. He is regarded as an incarnation of Chenrezi "the Lord of Mercy."

It was the 5th Dalai Lama who created the office of Panchen Lama as a reward for his devoted tutor. The Panchen Lama has only spiritual powers as the incarnation of Amitabha "the Boundless Light". His seat is at Shigatse.

The 9th Panchen Lama fled to Chinghai under Chinese protection in 1923. He died there in 1937 after which Tibetan and Chinese search parties both discovered candidates for his successor in Lhasa and Chinghai (Chinese-Tibet) respectively. In 1949, the Kuomintang Chinese recognised the Chinghai nominee as the 10th Panchen Lama. Later that same year, the new Panchen Lama recognised the Chinese Communists and returned to Tibet the following year in the wake of the Chinese army.

Protests and Counter-Protests

New Delhi

SINCE the Chinese Ambassador saw the Foreign Secretary, Mr. S. Dutt, on Sunday to receive the Indian protest against the vilification of this country in China, another Chinese diplomat has called at the External Affairs Ministry to make a counter-protest regarding the Bombay incident of discourtesy shown to a picture of Mr. Mao Tse-tung.

The Prime Minister regretted the lapse on the part of "a small group of irresponsible people" in his statement on Tibet in Parliament yesterday.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 29

Chinese Troops on Nefa Border

Shillong

THE Chinese, in hot pursuit of Tibetan refugees, have massed troops along innumerable passes in southern Tibet and almost near the borders of Kameng and Subansiri frontier divisions of NEFA.

They have succeeded in capturing a number of fleeing refugees, according to border reports reaching here.

Security measures along the NEFA border have been considerably tightened.

The passes very near to Indian borders where the Chinese troops are greatly in evidence are Tutangla beyond the MacMahon Line, Penla, Trala, Horla, Martala, Rebala and Shang-Shangla.

The northern-most Indian check-post is at Chutangmu in the Kameng division. Further to the north of these passes are Takpo and Lhakong, where also, according to these reports, considerable Chinese troop movements are taking place.....

—Indian Express, Bombay, April 29

Full Peking Rule

New Delhi

THE Chinese Embassy here today released a report of the proceedings of the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region held at Lhasa yesterday under the chairmanship of the Panchen Lama.

The report makes two significant admissions. The first is that though the rebellion has been "victoriously" put down in the Lhasa area it is continuing in other areas.

Chang Kuo-hua, vice-chairman of the committee told the meeting: "At present the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet, which had victoriously put down the rebellion in the Lhasa area, were continuing to put down the armed rebellion in other areas."

Secondly, the facade of preserving the autonomy of Tibet is abandoned once for all and the country comes under direct Chinese tutelage.

The report says: "Members of the Preparatory Committee pledged themselves to unite and strive jointly to build up a new, democratic, socialist Tibet under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, May 10*

Radio Sets in Lhasa Seized

New Delhi

ALL India Radio has increased the volume of its Tibetan programme. Every detail known about the Dalai Lama's dramatic flight from Tibet is being broadcast for the benefit of Tibetans.

Unconfirmed reports received in New Delhi however, say that the Chinese authorities are taking away receiving sets from private homes and installing community sets controlled by the authorities.

—*NAFEN, May 9*

Chinese Violate U.P. Border

New Delhi

IN a written reply to Shri Bhakt Darshan, Smt. Lakshmi Menon, Deputy Minister of External Affairs, said in the Lok Sabha today that the negotiations with the Chinese authorities on the occupation of certain areas situated on the border of Tibet adjoining Uttar Pradesh by Chinese soldiers had so far remained inconclusive. She added that it had been decided to continue them at a later stage.

Shri Bhakt Darshan had asked what was the outcome of the negotiations conducted with the Chinese regarding the occupation of the Bara Hoti Plateau and other places situated on the Tibet-Uttar Pradesh border by Chinese soldiers during last winter.

—*A P.T.I. Message, May 8*

Injured Khampas Coming to India

New Delhi

A LARGE number of Khampas, injured in engagements with Chinese soldiers in Tibet, have entered Bhutan. Many of them, it is believed, are now coming down towards West Bengal for shelter and medical aid.

In spite of strict measures taken by the Chinese, some 5,000 Tibetan refugees crossed the border and entered the Kameng Division of NEFA. Another

group of several hundreds also entered Bhutan. This group, it is gathered, included a large number of Khampas who were injured during the uprising.

Many of these wounded people required urgent medical aid.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, May 10*

Khampas Ambush Chinese Convoy

Calcutta

KHAMPAS recently ambushed a Chinese convoy on the road between Yatung and Gyantse, it was said here by some Indians who recently returned from Tibet.

A few Khampas, controlling the road, stopped Chinese trucks at a gorge near a town called Gopshe, swooped down on the Chinese troops escorting the convoy, and attacked them with swords before they could open fire, it was stated.

After the ambush, the Chinese are said to have stopped all traffic in the area and hastily cleared an administrative building to shelter the wounded.

It is further said that, shortly after the ambush nearly 1,000 pro-Chinese Tibetan troops and 100 Chinese officers marched into the area to drive away the Khampas.

Reports reaching here from Gangtok say that Mr. Gyawa Karmapa, leader of the Red Sect (the Dalai Lama heads the Yellow Sect), and 60 other lamas are fleeing towards Bhutan. They are expected any day now at the Bhutan-Assam border town of Buxa.

Two hundred more Tibetans are expected to arrive at Hastisar, on the Indo-Bhutan border.

—*A P.T.I. Message, May 11*

No Russian Troops in Tibet

New Delhi

THE Government of India has no official information about the presence of Russian troops in Tibet.

It is considered likely that a few Soviet troops might have been brought into Tibet to give protection

1000 Killed

New Delhi, May 2

According to the Chinese estimate of Tibetan casualties in the Lhasa fighting, about 1000 rebels were killed and 2500 surrendered. The economic life in Lhasa is said to be slowly returning to normal.

to the Soviet engineers who are assisting the Chinese engineers in laying down the roads and constructing airports in Tibet. It is, however, stated here that it would be a gross misrepresentation of facts to say that the Soviet army units are operating against Tibetan "rebels".

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, May 25

Corpses in Lhasa Streets

WITH the commencement of public trials in Lhasa of landholders and so-called collaborators, chiefly former Tibetan officials, by the so-called People's Court, many of them were paraded through Lhasa streets in chains. It is reported that many fresh bodies are now lying around Lhasa streets. It is believed that these bodies are unconnected with the Lhasa fighting but the result of fresh executions. The river near Lhasa is still unusable due to corpses. The Chinese are digging wells to provide enough water, as the river is still contaminated.

Tibetans Fight Tibetans

About 2,000 troops of the Panchen Lama have been ordered into battle at Nagar-Tse Dzong. Tibetans, still angry, are now being asked to fight Tibetans. There have been heavy casualties with immense slaughter. This is the first instance when troops of either the Panchen or Dalai Lama have been used, though forcibly.

Only two days ago 3,000 to 4,000 Tibetan women forced themselves inside the Indian Consulate demanding to see photos of the Dalai Lama's arrival in India, because they were told by the Chinese that he was under duress.

—Statesman, Calcutta, May 13

Lhasa Rising Aftermath

Foothills

THE Chinese have launched an intensive brutality campaign in Tibet after the abortive Lhasa rising, fleeing Tibetans revealed here.

Refugees pouring into India also displayed bullet wounds in their bodies which they attributed to Red "excesses." A senior lama doffed his hat to show gun-shot injuries in his head.

Tibetans reaching Foothills are being taken in Indian Army trucks to Misamari, 17 miles from here. They appreciated the friendly and humane treatment accorded to them on the Indian side, and warmly greeted their Indian hosts.

Interpreters are now the most wanted men at the border. The few there are busily engaged in recording stories from individual refugees.

—Indian Express, Bombay, May 14

Women Mob Indian Consul in Lhasa

Kalimpong

NEARLY 500 Tibetan women forcibly entered the Indian Consulate in Lhasa last week and demanded proof that the Dalai Lama was not under duress in India, reliable reports reaching here today said.

The women demonstrators pushed aside the Chinese guards posted at the Consulate gates shouting: "You are telling us lies. The Dalai Lama is under duress in India." They refused to leave the premises unless some proof of the Dalai Lama's free movement was shown to them, the reports added.

The Indian Consul-General told them that he had no recent picture of his Holiness and assured them that the Dalai Lama was not under duress in India.

At last when it was getting dark and there was no sign of the demonstrators leaving the premises, the Indian Consul-General showed them the film entitled "Gautama the Buddha." The audience bowed every time the Dalai Lama appeared on the screen and left the premises peacefully.

—Indian Express, Bombay, May 18

Chinese Troops Ambushed

Kalimpong

NEARLY six hundred Chinese soldiers were killed and about another two hundred injured when Khampa rebels fired on a Chinese army unit engaged on clearing a road block recently at a site about fifteen miles from Gyantse, according to an Indian trader who had just returned here after a two-month stay in Tibet. The injured were brought to Gyantse at night, he said.

The trader said the Gyantse-Yatung road was so unsafe that no trucks or cars were plying there. He had himself to take a horse-driven cart to cross the area and was detained for days at Yatung for security reasons.

He also said that Indians in Gyantse were not allowed to listen to radio broadcasts other than those by the Chinese, and any one contravening the regulation in this respect was looked upon as anti-Chinese.

—Hindu, Madras, May 20

Tibetan Refugees in Misamari Camp

Tezpur

THE total number of Tibetan refugees sheltered at Misamari Camp during the last seven days since May 13, has gone up to 1,184. There are three women in all.

Barring one Tibetan lying sick as an indoor patient, in the Camp Hospital, the refugees who call on the hospital, 150 daily on an average, complain of foot sore.

These refugees, registered under the Foreigners Registration Act, have been issued permits to stay in India for three months only by the Government of India. The validity of their stay after the expiry of the date, may, however, be extended, if necessary. Customs duty on gold, silver or other valuable property liable for payment of duty, it is learnt, will not be levied in the case of these refugees.

—Hindu, Madras, May 20

Massacres and Mass Graves

MASSACRES in eastern Tibet last summer, were revealed by the Dalai Lama's brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu, now studying in the U.S.A.

The Dalai Lama's brother, Thubten Jigme Norbu sitting in a New York office, was shocked to realize that the world had not heard of the mass graves in eastern Tibet, filled with thousands of children and old people machine-gunned by the Chinese Communists last June and July.

"The young, able-bodied ones fled to the hills to fight as guerillas," said Norbu, an ex-Buddhist priest, as he revealed the details of the massacre for the first time. "But their villages and everyone who remained behind were obliterated. Even children, so high." (He put his hand about 65 centimeters from the floor.) "They could not walk yet."

The suppression, tyranny, and sometimes murder of the Tibetans began in 1953, said Norbu, less than two years after the little country of 3,000,000 people was subjected to Chinese Communist domination.

"It kept increasing in tempo in the attempt to get all Tibet into the communes," said Norbu.

"Last year, the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi, came to the eastern area of Tibet, Amdo and Kham, and held a conference to persuade Tibetans to join the communes. Most paid no attention at the meetings; some prayed; others slept even. He was annoyed and told the people: 'My last words to you are, if you join the communes you will live. If you do not, you die'."

As Norbu tells it, this is what followed: Chen Yi returned to China and his underlings tried to get everyone in Amdo and Kham to sign for the communes. So many refused that Communist soldiers were sent for. The able-bodied fled. The rest were machine-gunned.

"After the machine-gunning, they would inspect the bodies," Norbu said. "Any still alive were shot."

The Amdo region is where he, his three brothers and two sisters were born. They had a little farm, so small that most of the time it was just enough to feed them. Their father is dead now. When the Communists arrived, Norbu was put under house arrest for 10 months while the Communists tried to brainwash him. Sent on a peace mission through Tibet, he took advantage of to it escape.

He has met the Panchen Lama. "A very nice man," said Norbu. "If he doesn't escape they will kill him too."

And the course of the Revolt ?

"Everyone in Tibet has arms, for bandits and wild animals," he said. "The Communists couldn't take them away. As long as the Tibetans are alive they will fight."

—New York Mirror, July 4

Revolt Was Pre-Planned— China's Charge

Tokyo

CHINA claimed today that the Tibetan army began its preparation for revolt three years ago with a secret written oath "to work with one mind and one heart, share each other's destiny and never go back on our pledge."

The Chinese, in a dispatch by the *New China News Agency* carried by Peking Radio, also stated that the Tibetan army had been clandestinely built-up from its initial strength of 1,400 officers and men in 1951, soon after the Communists took over Tibet to more than 3,000 by last March, when rebellion flared up briefly there.

These were the first official figures on the size of the Tibetan forces which rose "en masse" against the Chinese rulers two months ago and continued to resist in remote areas.

"For eight years," said the NCNA report, "the upper strata reactionaries of Tibet, far from reorganising the former Tibetan army into the People's Liberation Army as required by the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, used this army to back their traitorous

scheme and their opposition to the People's Liberation Army."

The Chinese did not explain how the Tibetans were able to double the size of the army under the very nose of the Peking military commander. But they indicated that the Tibetans, planning to make an all-out fight to rid themselves of Communist rule, had sworn themselves to secrecy.

The Tibetan Government secretly convened a conference in April, 1956, of high and middle echelon officers of the six "Depon," or regimental units, the Chinese said. The conference adopted a pledge to resist the Communist reforms endorsed that same year by the Dalai Lama and his colleague, the Panchen Lama.

The pledge declared "all barracks should keep our action secret. Whether among ourselves or in dealing with others, we would not fear sacrifices."

At this time, it revealed the flag of "the Independent State of Tibet," a lion against a snow-clad mountain.

The Government then furnished more arms and ammunitions, and a hard core of 312 new men, to strengthen the Army, the Chinese said. All its equipment, they added, "came from the British and other imperialists," and its officers gave their commands in English.

They described Khemey Sonam Wongdui, Commander-in-Chief of the army, as British-trained and a "jackal of British imperialism."

—Times of India, Bombay, May 22

V

INDIA CONDEMNS
AGGRESSION

Tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose, charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with the northern neighbour.

—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

INDIA CONDEMNS AGGRESSION

India Condemns Aggression

MANY people in India were puzzled and unhappy when Prime Minister Nehru on March 17th in reply to questions in Parliament stated that the situation in Tibet, 'was more a clash of wills at present than a clash of arms or physical bodies.' The statement had failed to reflect the strong feelings in the country. People's misgivings were further deepened when he later added: "We have no intention of interfering with the internal affairs of China with whom we have friendly relations." There were indignant protests both in and outside Parliament. The country was shocked by the blatant violation of Panchshila to which China was a signatory. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan asked India to put on record her clear verdict that aggression had been committed against Tibet and the freedom of a weak nation had been "snuffed out by a powerful neighbour." There was an angry outburst in Parliament when the Chinese alleged that Kalimpong was "the commanding centre of the rebellion," thus suggesting Indian complicity and the Indian Communists dutifully repeated the charge. The Chinese accused India of harbouring imperialist ambitions and expansionist aims, and complained that reference to Tibet in the Indian Parliament was an interference in its internal affairs. Mr. Nehru refuted in strong language the baseless charges of Peking and gave up his attitude of a helpless and troubled onlooker. The press and political parties in India except the Indian Communists censured China for trying to suppress the Tibetan people's desperate fight for political and religious freedom.

Mr. Nehru announced that the Dalai Lama had entered India and had been given asylum. Thousands of Tibetan refugees poured into the country unhindered.

The Chinese then claimed that the Dalai Lama was detained behind barbed wire in India. Mr. Nehru invited the Panchen Lama or any other Chinese official to visit Mussoorie and see for himself. The anti-Indian tirade however continued unabated. Mr. Nehru indignantly complained that the Chinese were using the language of the cold war, regardless of truth and propriety. His dignified but devastating rebuttal of the Chinese Communist allegations was welcomed both in the United States and Britain and

there was a greater appreciation of India's extraordinarily difficult task of dealing with the Tibetan crisis.

The West, too, disapproved India's tardiness in condemning the Chinese aggression in Tibet and many distinguished Indians showed impatience over India's cautious foreign policy. There were meetings all over the country calling for condemnation of China. Mr. Asoka Mehta urged China to recognise Tibet's autonomy. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan wanted India and other Asian and African countries to proclaim with one voice that Tibet should be an independent country. India does not like to be called "neutral" but as "uncommitted" in the cold war. India was reminded that she was vitally committed on the great issue of democratic freedom and was against communist dictatorships.

Nehru Expresses Concern

New Delhi, March 23

IN a brief statement on Tibet in the Lok Sabha today the Prime Minister expressed his anxiety about the "difficult situation" of our Consul-General and his staff in Lhasa.

He took the occasion to send them the nation's best wishes. The House acclaimed his message with cheers.

Mr. Nehru said that fighting broke out suddenly between Chinese troops and Tibetans on March 20. There was firing near our consulate; some stray bullets hit the building.

All our staff and their families, numbering about 100, were safe. The situation had somewhat quietened.

He made the disquieting disclosure that on March 21, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa called on the Consul-General and suggested that for the better protection of himself and his staff they should move into the Foreign Bureau.

India had turned down the suggestion. The Prime Minister said it would not be right or proper for our Consul-General to leave the consular premises. In accordance with international law and usage the Consul-General, his staff and our records and properties were entitled to the fullest protection. He had no doubt the Chinese would agree.

Answering a question, the Prime Minister said he did not know where the Dalai Lama was, but he hoped he was safe.

Nehru's Statement

The following is the text of Mr. Nehru's statement: RECENT reports about happenings in the Tibet region of China have naturally aroused a great deal of interest in the country. The sequence of events is not clear to us. But I should like to make a brief statement on the principal facts in so far as we know them. Last week, on March 17, in the course of the discussion on the demands of the Ministry of External Affairs, I referred briefly to the tense situation there. I mentioned that there had been a clash of wills although no major violence had occurred recently.

We have since received fuller information from our Consul-General in Lhasa. It appears that various rumours in regard to the Dalai Lama caused excitement in Lhasa. About two weeks ago, a large crowd of Tibetans entered the premises of the Indian Consulate-General. They spoke to our Consul-General about the rumours and their apprehensions.

Three days later, a large number of Tibetan women came to our Consulate-General and requested our Consul-General to accompany them to the Chinese Foreign Bureau and be a witness to their presenting certain demands.

Envoy's Stand

The Consul-General told them that this was not proper and he could not accompany them or associate himself with any demonstration. The Consul-General brought these incidents to the notice of the Chinese Foreign Bureau at Lhasa. He had rightly decided not to interfere in these internal affairs.

On March 20, fighting suddenly broke out between the Chinese troops and Tibetan elements. There was firing in the vicinity of our Consulate-General and some stray bullets hit our building. For some time, it was not possible for the Consul-General to go out of the premises. All our staff and their families are safe and no significant damage to property has been reported. Apparently, the situation in Lhasa has somewhat quietened down.

There are about 30 members of our staff in the Consulate-General at Lhasa. Together with their families, the number is about 100. There are about 16 other nationals in the Lhasa region about whom we have no full information at present.

Request to Chinese

As soon as the fighting broke out in Lhasa, we requested the Chinese Government, through our

Ambassador in Peking and the Chinese Ambassador here, to ensure the fullest protection to our personnel and properties in Lhasa and they promised to do so. On March 21, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Bureau in Lhasa called on our Consul-General and suggested to him that for the better protection of himself and his staff, they should move into the Foreign Bureau. We have instructed our Consul-General to inform the Foreign Bureau that it will not be right or proper for our Consul-General to leave the premises. A large number of Indian nationals are involved, including the families of our personnel, and there are valuable properties and records within our premises. In accordance with international law and usage, our Consul-General and his staff and our records and properties are entitled to the fullest protection and we have no doubt that the Chinese Government will see the reasonableness of our request.

FRAGILE
To Be Handled Carefully



New Development

This outbreak of violence in Lhasa itself is a new development. Previously, there had been conflicts in various parts of southern Tibet between the Khampas and the Chinese forces. But the Lhasa region had remained quiet.

The House will appreciate that this is a difficult and delicate situation and we should avoid doing anything which will worsen it. We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of China with whom we have friendly relations. In 1954, the Sino-Indian Agreement was concluded. It was in this that, for the first time, the principle of Panchshila was stated.

There is a long tradition of cultural and religious ties between India and the Tibet region of China. In this region lie many places of pilgrimage which are considered holy by both Hindus and Buddhists and large numbers of our people visit them every year. The Dalai Lama, whom we had the honour and pleasure of receiving in our country in 1956-57, is held in high veneration by our people and we hope he is safe. We earnestly trust that the present troubles will be resolved peacefully.

Our Consul-General at Lhasa and his staff are in a difficult situation for reasons beyond their control. I have no doubt that the House will wish me to send our best wishes on this occasion to him and to our other representatives in the Tibet region.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi

Washington View

Washington

THE State Department said today that it had evidence that "Tibetan resistance to Chinese Communist repression has erupted into an open revolt."

"The extent of this revolt and its chances against the armed and ruthless power of the Chinese Communists are as yet unclear," the Department spokesman said in a prepared statement.

The spokesman, Mr. Joseph Reap, said his information was considered reliable. He declined to say where it came from, but said it was independent of Press reports.

—A Reuter Message, March 23

Special Prayers in Ladakh

Srinagar

SPECIAL prayers are being organized in Buddhist monasteries all over Ladakh for the safety of the Dalai Lama and for peace in Tibet, Kushak Bakula, the Head Lama of Ladakh, who is also Kashmir's Minister of State for Ladakh, said today.

—A P.T.I. Message, March 23

Red Roots Abroad

New Delhi,

Attempts made by the Communist Party of India to draw a parallel between Tibet and India's handling of the Naga problem were deprecated by Mr. Nehru at his press conference.

He explained how the Government of India did not resort to a shooting war merely because of the Naga National Council's demand for independence.

Punitive action was taken only when the hostiles had brutally killed some Naga leaders and officers.

He recalled the Lok Sabha scenes on Tuesday to show how every party, except the Communists, had been vastly exercised over the Tibetan issue and brought out their deep-rooted sentiments that over-rode even party boundaries. The Communist Party had uprooted itself from such matters and felt differently.

It had no kinship with the national sentiment but had roots in a different way of thinking. The debate demonstrated how the deep-rooted sentiment of the Indian people had been hurt by the Communist Party's statement.

When Mr. Nehru's attention was drawn to reports in the Communist Party organ, alleging that the spy-ring was not confined to Kalimpong but also covered Calcutta, Bhutan and Sikkim and accusing some Indian political officers of complicity, Mr. Nehru expressed indignation.

He said that it showed a certain absence of balance of mind, absence of decency and national loyalty. "They cease to be Indians if they behave in that way," he added with considerable heat.

Amplifying his reference to Kalimpong as a nest of spies, Mr. Nehru said the Communist spies could be balanced with those in their opposite camps.

—Indian Express, Bombay, April 5

Jayaprakash: Call for a Clear Verdict

Patna

MR. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Sarvodaya leader, said India should put on record her clear verdict that aggression had been committed against Tibet and the freedom of a weak nation had been "snuffed out by a powerful neighbour....."

"From the time Red China decided to gobble up Tibet, our policy in regard to it has been marked by prevarication," Mr. Narayan said.

He added: "We began by describing the Chinese advance on Tibet as aggression but immediately after recognised Chinese suzerainty over that unfortunate land."

"Tibet has never been a part of China, except by conquest when Lhasa paid tribute to Peking. But there was also a period when Peking paid tribute to Lhasa. The Tibetans are not Chinese and there is no evidence in history that they ever wanted to be a part of China....."

"The question," Mr. Narayan said, "is what can we do to help the Tibetans. It is true, as the Prime Minister said in Parliament in 1950, that we cannot, like Don Quixote, go about fighting everything. No one expects India to go to war with China for the sake of Tibet. But every upright person, every freedom-loving individual, should be ready to call a spade a spade. We are not serving the cause of peace by slurring over acts of aggression. We cannot physically prevent the Chinese from annexing Tibet, but we can at least put on record our clear verdict that aggression has been committed and the freedom of a weak nation has been snuffed out by a powerful neighbour."

Mr. Narayan said: "In Tibet we see at this moment the workings of a new Imperialism which is far more dangerous than the old because it marches under the banner of a so-called revolutionary ideology. Tibet may be a theocratic rather than a secular state and backward economically and socially, but no nation has the right to impose progress, whatever that may mean, upon another nation."

—Times of India, Bombay, March 27

Nepal Asks India to Interfere

New Delhi

A JOINT appeal by India and Nepal to the People's Republic of China for a peaceful settlement of the Tibetan unrest and ensuring of the hill state's autonomy was proposed by the Nepalese Government, diplomatic sources stated here today.

Nepal is of the view that China is bound to respect the autonomy of Tibet "morally and legally", in view of her earlier assurance to the Tibetan people.

The proposal for a joint appeal comes in the wake of the reported "requests" by the Chinese Army authorities in Lhasa to all foreign embassies there that interference by "foreign nations" in Tibetan affairs should be avoided, and such interference would not be tolerated.

According to reports reaching here, the Chinese authorities have told the Nepalis living in Tibet to get themselves registered as Chinese forthwith or leave Tibet.

Nepal and India are perturbed over the large issue of repercussions of the Tibetan developments. The immediate problem faced by both the Governments is the influx of refugees.

It is learnt that the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa has conveyed to Delhi the approximate number of Tibetans who might want to seek political asylum in India.

Though Nepal, with its nearness to the "Roof of the World" has been urging a joint diplomatic move, India, it is stated, may refrain from making any direct commitment individually or jointly on the matter.

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, March 27

Foreign Missions Warned

Khatmandu

THE Chinese military headquarters in Lhasa have requested all foreigners and members of Foreign Missions in Tibet not to get involved directly or indirectly in the current unrest in Lhasa or in any other part of Tibet, according to reliable reports reaching here.

(India and Nepal are the only two non-Communist countries having Consulates in Lhasa).

Veiled Threat to India

Hong Kong

Something more than a veiled threat to India that if she expresses support to Tibetan autonomy, China too could do so in regard to "one of India's States or one of India's national minorities is contained in "Observer's" commentary in the authoritative "People's Daily" of Peking.

Pointing out that "some Indian friends" have shown "great enthusiasm for Tibet's autonomy" the "People's Daily" says, "It cannot be considered appropriate for any outsider to advocate vociferously this or that on the issue (of Tibet's autonomy) any more than it is appropriate for any country to raise a hue and cry on the policy of the Indian Government in relation to any of India's States or one of India's national minorities.

This sentence is a clear hint to India that New Delhi, too, has skeletons in the cupboard—Kashmir and the Naga problem, for instance—and if India should prove to be too difficult to deal with on the question of Tibet, Peking can help rattle the skeletons.

—Sudhakar Bhat in the Times of India, Bombay, April 16, 1959

Borders Sealed

The reports also said that Chinese soldiers had been ordered to seal Tibet's borders with Nepal, India, Sikkim and Bhutan to prevent Tibetans escaping from the autonomous region. Chinese soldiers of all ranks had been authorised to shoot to kill any one crossing the borders without a special permit, the reports said.

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, March 27

Chiang Offers Aid

Talpeh

KUOMINTANG sources here stated today that the K.M.T. Government had decided to give aid to anti-Communist elements in Tibet.

Premier Chen Cheng said in a statement in reply to press queries last night that the K.M.T. Government was maintaining close contact with Tibetan anti-Communist organisations.....

Meanwhile, the Legislative Yuan (Parliament) following President Chiang's statement yesterday promising to grant Tibet independence after overthrowing the People's Chinese Government today urged the K.M.T. Government to send regular troops to aid the "Tibetan revolutionaries."—

—Reuter Message, March 27

Indian Congress Shows Concern

Bombay

THE Tibetan situation was causing much concern to the Congress and to her—she knew the Dalai Lama well—said Mrs. Indira Gandhi, President of the Indian National Congress, here this evening.

She added that despite historical, religious and cultural ties binding India and Tibet, this country could not do anything to help her neighbour in her present predicament.

Mrs. Gandhi was speaking at a reception held in her honour by the Press Guild of India at the Ambassador Hotel, Churchgate.

The Congress President said that if any refugees entered India from Tibet, shelter would be given to them under International law.

She knew the Dalai Lama as being a young man of intelligence and vision and she was sure that he would guide Tibet along modern lines without prejudicing his country's religious and cultural development.....

—Bombay Chronicle, Bombay, March 28

Jan Sangh Demonstration

New Delhi

ABOUT 400 members of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh today staged a demonstration outside the Chinese

Embassy here to protest against the "violation of Tibet's autonomy" by China.

The demonstrators, who earlier passed in a procession through the streets of New Delhi and Old Delhi, shouted slogans like: "Down with Communist imperialism," and "Long live Tibet's independence."

They were carrying placards bearing slogans like, "Communist China, hands off Tibet." "Tibet's autonomy is India's security."

The procession, which started from the Ajmeri Gate was led by Mr. Attal Behari Vajpayee, M.P., and Prof. Balraj Madhok, President, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Delhi.

—Indian Express, Bombay, March 30

Tibet Day Observed

New Delhi

"TIBET DAY" was observed here today by the Praja-Socialist Party by organising a public meeting to condemn 'Chinese colonialism' in Tibet.....

Shri N. G. Goray, the General-Secretary of the P.-S.P. said: "We have faith that whenever liberty is threatened, whether by the Western imperialists or the Eastern, whether it be in Asia or in Africa, the voice of our people will not falter."

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, March 29

Black Flags in Bombay

Bombay

THE Chinese Consulate in Bombay remained closed on Monday morning as over 200 supporters of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh staged a black-flag demonstration in front of the building shouting "Hands off Tibet" and "Down With Red Imperialism."

After an unsuccessful attempt to get inside the Consulate, whose main gates were closed, leaders of the Sangh tied to the gate a copy of the memorandum which they wanted to submit to the Chinese Consul.....

—Indian Express, Bombay, March 31

They have Donned Coat of Buddhism!

"As Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, I have the right to say that the Chinese people have complete freedom of religion and that our Government has consistently carried out the policy of protecting religion. The rebellious elements in Tibet have donned the coat of Buddhism. They have not only violated the law but turned against the tenets of Buddhism. Putting down the rebellion not only safeguards the law but also Buddhist tenets."

—Shirob Jalso, interviewed by NCNA, March 29, 1959

Chinese Suggest Indian Complicity

New Delhi

AN official news communique on the revolt in Tibet issued late tonight by the Chinese authorities here has named Kalimpong as "the commanding centre of the rebellion."

It also names "the dismissed" Silum Lokongwa Tsewongrounten—a former Prime Minister of Tibet from 1949 to 1954 and head of the Tibetan delegation at present in Delhi—as the leader of the rebellion.

The news communique reiterates that the relations between China and its neighbours "to the south-west," especially India, must be "persistently" guided by the Panchshila.

It adds that Chinese Government quarters welcome the statement of Mr. Nehru in Parliament on March 23 "on non-intervention in China's internal affairs" and "considers this statement to be friendly."

Significantly, the communique goes on to state that "on the part of China, there has never been interference in the internal affairs of India or discussion of the internal affairs of India at the sessions of the National People's Congress or its standing committee. It considers such discussion of the internal affairs of a friendly country to be impolite and improper....."

In this context, a renewal of this charge, by Peking almost suggests Indian complicity. This view is strengthened by further reference to the psychology of the rebels who are stated to believe that if the revolt fails, "we run to India". India has sympathy for us and may help us.....

The news communique is also interesting for the following further information it contains :

(1) Of the six kaloons (or ministers) of the Tibetan Kashag (Cabinet) only two supported the Chinese while, of the other four nationalists, one—Yuto Chahsidong Chu—fled to Kalimpong after 1957.

(2) The base of the rebellion to the south of the Tsang-po, received air-drop supplies from Formosa on a number of occasions. A radio station was also set up by the "imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique" in this area.

(3) Between May and June, 1958 "on the instructions of the Tibetan Local Government (now dissolved and the upper strata reactionary clique", the rebels "intruded into Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka and destroyed communications, ravaged the people by plunder, rape, arson and murder; and attacked agencies and army units of the Central People's Government there."

(4) The Dalai Lama was desirous of suppressing the rebellion but was "abducted" from Lhasa.

(5) The rebels number about 20,000 men.

(6) Military control (presumably martial law) has been declared in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet. The tasks of the military control committees are to suppress the revolt; "protect the people and the foreign nationals who observe the laws of China," and set up administrative bodies at various levels.

(7) No military control committee is to be set up at Shigatse "which is under the leadership of Panchen Erdeni (the Panchen Lama) and "where it is not necessary to set up one."

(8) The Tibetan Army (which has turned rebel) is to be replaced by "self-defence armed forces of patriotic Tibetans."

(9) As soon as order has been restored, local administrative bodies will be set up at all levels to "exercise the functions and powers of autonomy." At present, "autonomy and military control by the People's Liberation Army are simultaneously in force."

(10) The revolt has "strengthened the consolidation of national unification, accelerated the doom of the reactionary forces in Tibet and pushed forward democratisation in Tibet." (This might imply the the policy of "no change for six years" until 1962, previously enunciated, is to be abandoned in favour of a policy of immediate reform and "democratisation" of Tibet).

—*Times of India, Bombay, March 28*

CPI Repeats Charge on Kalimpong

New Delhi

THE secretariat of the national council of the Communist Party of India today issued a statement on the happenings in Tibet. Echoing the charges levelled by the Chinese Government, the statement blames "reactionary elements and foreign imperialists" for the Tibetan rebellion.

In spite of Mr. Nehru's emphatic denial, the statement persists in repeating the Chinese allegation that Kalimpong is the "commanding centre" of the rebels and demands an "immediate investigation."

It concedes that the "ancient land of Tibet with which our people have long and abiding ties has recently seen much loss of life and destruction of property."

The statement takes the Praja-Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh to task for raising the Tibetan issue and accuses them of "attempting to whip up anti-Chinese feeling."

"The Government and Mr. Nehru have, however, taken a proper attitude on this question," it says.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 31*

British Denial

London

A BRITISH Foreign Office spokesman said here today that there was "no foundation whatsoever" for allegations that Britain had in 1949 plotted to colonize Tibet.

The *Red Star* in an article quoted by *Tass* today said: "In summer 1949, when the Chinese People's Army was completing the liberation of the country, the imperialist circles in the United States and Britain worked out plans to grab Tibet and turn it into their colony."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 31*

Plea for a Firm Stand

Bombay

Mr. Asoka Mehta appealed to Mr. Nehru on Wednesday to take "a firm, friendly and clear-cut stand" on the Tibetan issue.

He told a public meeting organised by the Committee for solidarity with Tibet at the Sunderbai Hall, Bombay: "If we fumble today, we will weaken ourselves....."

He said the Chinese action could not be dismissed as a purely domestic affair of that country. If that argument was correct, India would not be justified in raising the question of racial discrimination in South Africa or of Goa's liberation.

Mr. Mehta pointed out that the Prime Ministers of India and China had accepted the principles of Panchshila while agreeing to the autonomy of Tibet. Non-interference in the affairs of China also included respecting the autonomy of Tibet. Now, the autonomy as well as the distinctive personality of the Tibetans were being destroyed by China, Mr. Mehta said.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 1*

India's Close Ties with Tibet

New Delhi

MR. U. N. Dhebar, former Congress President, has said that India and Tibet were bound by such close ties that "it is extremely difficult to reconcile ourselves with any thought of any harm coming to the people of Tibet."

—*A.I.C.C. Economic Review, April 2*

Red Agents in Kalimpong

New Delhi

Mr. T. Lawang, President of the Association of Indian Tibetans, told reporters that the deputation of Tibetans from Kalimpong "wholeheartedly welcomes the statement made by Prime Minister Nehru to-day in Parliament repudiating the Red China charge that Kalimpong is the centre of the Tibetan rebellion."

Mr. Lawang said, "The fact is otherwise. There are some active agents of Red China at Kalimpong. It is these people who spread all sorts of rumours to give a bad name to Kalimpong."

—*A.P.T.I. Message, April 2*

Tibetan Deputation Meets Mrs. Gandhi

New Delhi

A 13-MAN deputation of Tibetans from Kalimpong and Darjeeling now here, met to-day the Congress President, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to appraise her with the recent developments in Tibet.

The deputation, which was led by Mr. Lukhangwa, former Prime Minister of Tibet, handed to her a memorandum on lines similar to the one they had presented to the Prime Minister two days ago.

The deputation conveyed to the Congress President its "gratitude and appreciation" for the "sympathy the people and the Government of India are showing to Tibet."

—*A.P.T.I. Message, April 2*

Tibet Compared to Nagaland

Bombay

MR. P. C. Joshi, prominent Communist leader, has exhorted the people to "foil the attempts of Western imperialists" to exploit the present situation in Tibet for weakening the bonds of Sino-Indian friendship.

It was the "reactionary elements" who had risen in revolt in Tibet, he declared, adding that those elements were similar to the ones that had raised the slogans of "Azad Kashmir" and "Azad Nagaland."

Stating that the disturbances in Tibet could be termed "a national uprising" only if the troubles which had occurred in Naga areas in India could be called as such, he said that the measures taken by the Chinese Government since 1951 in Tibet were not even as severe as those adopted by the late Sardar Patel to achieve the integration of the princely States in India.

All that the Chinese had wanted was that some of the Tibetan Ministers should discontinue their relations with the imperialist nations like the U.S.A., Britain and Formosa, Mr. Joshi said. "But those

Ministers not only had continued those relations but had, under the instigations of the imperialist nations, ventured to attack the Chinese Army and officers."

—Indian Express, Bombay, April 3

Kalimpong is not Commanding Centre — Nehru's Refutation

New Delhi

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, reiterated in the Lok Sabha today that the Chinese allegation that Kalimpong had been the commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion was untrue.

But, he added, "I cannot say—how can I— that nobody in Kalimpong has indulged in espionage against the Chinese Government or any other Government? I can't say somebody has not whispered in somebody's ears."

Mr. Nehru said that Kalimpong had been a centre of trouble. It had been described as a nest of spies—spies of innumerable nationalities, spies from Asia, spies from Europe, spies from America, Communist spies, anti-Communist spies, white spies, red spies, blue spies and pink spies.

The Prime Minister gave details of the repeated complaints made by China during the last few years in respect of Kalimpong and of the action taken by the Government of India.

About the propriety of the circulation of the article by the Chinese Embassy after the Prime Minister's previous statement repudiating the Chinese allegation, Mr. Nehru said: "There is no question of breach of diplomatic privilege. But it depends, of course, on how it is done. It may be an impropriety. It may not be the right thing to do it. It is very difficult to draw the line. We have been trying to impress on various embassies here that we do not approve of the cold war attitude being brought to India.....".

About the statement of the Communist Party (*inter alia* asking him to investigate the Chinese charge about Kalimpong), Mr. Nehru said, "Many people come here in various guises, sometimes as technicians, sometimes as bird-watchers, sometimes as geologists, and sometimes as journalists. Naturally, we have taken interest in this. We have to. I cannot say that we know exactly everything that takes place, but broadly we do know. And repeatedly we have taken objection to that, and pointed this out to the persons concerned or the embassies. We have even in the past hinted that some people had better remove themselves from there. They have removed themselves. There is no doubt that so far as Kalimpong is concerned, there has been a good deal of espionage, counter-espionage, a complicated game of chess by various nationalities, by various numbers of spies and counter-spies there....".

Mr. Nehru said that after the Chinese Government had drawn India's attention to activities in Kalimpong, special inquiries, apart from normal ones, had been made. The Communist Party's statement asked him to make an investigation. "Well, in so far as espionage activities are concerned, we have investigated several times. One can't investigate them in any other way except through intelligence methods. That is being done. We have fairly full reports about them."

Mr. Nehru recalled that a protest from the Chinese had come three or four years ago. Inquiries were made and action was taken. Sometimes the facts stated by the Chinese did not have a particular basis. For instance, they would say a particular organisation in Kalimpong was doing something. But it was found that there was no such organisation there at all. There were, of course, in Kalimpong certain emigrants from Tibet. They had been there for a generation or more, "but whose feelings may be against the Chinese Government." India could not do anything about it, "but we made it perfectly clear to them that they must not indulge in any propaganda activities and much less, of course, any subversive activities. In the nature of things, they could not do much, even if they wanted to, in Tibet except—I cannot guarantee—sending messages which we cannot stop."

Once or twice a leaflet or a document was issued. The moment that was issued, action was taken. Those who issued it were told that this should not be done. This happened three or four times. The last protest received from the Chinese Government was in August last year when the Indian Government again took particular care to make inquiries. There had been no complaints since then.

He could not conceive, Mr. Nehru said, that Kalimpong could be what the Chinese had described as the "commanding centre" without the Indian Government not knowing about it. Some odd message could go (across) and come—that was possible. To imagine that the Tibetan revolt was organised from Kalimpong seemed to him to be a statement which could not be justified. When in 1956-57 the Chinese Prime Minister had come here, he had mentioned the subject to him (Mr. Nehru). He had replied that India did not want her soil to be used for any subversive activities against a friendly country. But he had also pointed out the obvious limitations under the law.

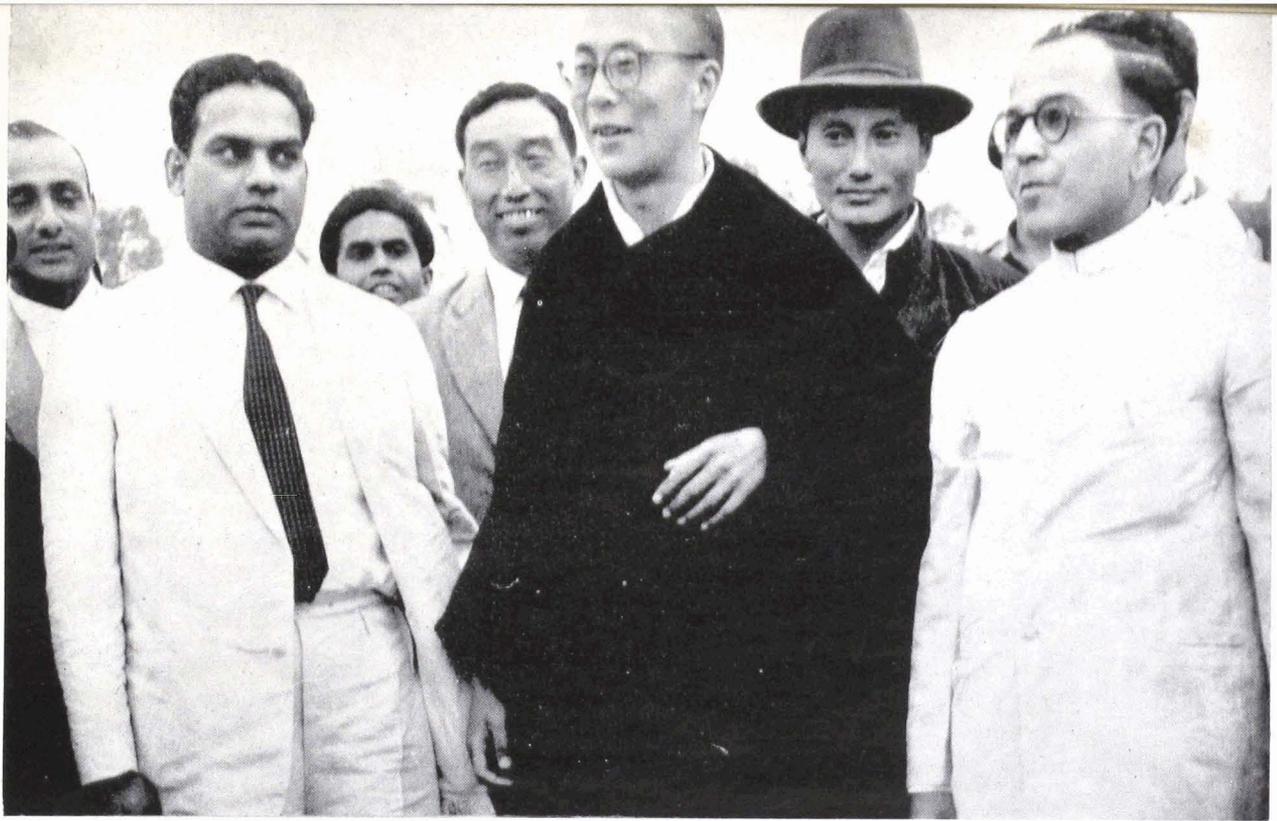


INDIAN DEMONSTRATORS IN FRONT OF THE CHINESE EMBASSY, NEW DELHI



KHAMPA WARRIORS

(Associated Newspapers Ltd.)



DALAI LAMA AT TEZPUR

(United Press International)

TIBETAN REFUGEES ON THE MARCH





TIBETAN REFUGEES IN NEW DELHI

(Keystone Press Agency Ltd.)



LHASA AFTER THE REVOLT
(P.A.—Reuter Photos Ltd.)

NEHRU PRESENTS SCARF AT MUSSOORIE

(Punjab Photo Service)





REFUGEES DEMONSTRATING BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS BUILDING

A year and a half later, the same matter was mentioned to the Indian Ambassador in Peking. A photo copy of a pamphlet circulated in Kalimpong was sent to the Indian Government. No doubt the pamphlet was anti-Chinese, but on inquiry it was found that there was no such association as had been described in the pamphlet. The pamphlet itself was "ancient," having been issued in the autumn of 1956.

Mr. Nehru said that there were two associations in Kalimpong—the Tibet Association, which had been in existence for 25 years, and the other, the India-Tibet Association, brought into being in 1954. The office-bearers of some of these associations were prominent emigres. Neither of these associations was supposed to be engaged in political activities. The Government had inquired into the activities of some persons named by China which had said they were indulging in subversive activities. It was found that those persons held views which might be said to be anti-Chinese but "we could not get any information of any activity, propagandist or subversive."

Mr. Nehru then said that the charge had been made that they (these persons) were in collusion with the U.S. and the Kuomintang authorities in Formosa or their representatives. Some of the prominent emigres in Kalimpong had previously been to the U.S. and had lived there for some time. He had no doubts that they had their contacts there. He had no doubts about their views.

"But we had made it perfectly clear to them even when they settled down in India that we do not wish Indian soil to be used for any subversive activities." All the persons mentioned in the Chinese Note were given a specific warning on August 14, 1958, through the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. To his knowledge, they had not done so; "I cannot guarantee any secret thing."

Mr. Nehru said the Chinese Note had also mentioned three other organisations—the Tibetan Freedom League, the Kalimpong Tibetan Welfare Conference and a Buddhist association—which were alleged to be engaged in collecting intelligence in Tibet. The Government could not trace any of these associations and so far as it knew they were not in existence.

Another objection taken by the Chinese was to the "reactionary views" of a monthly called *Tibetan Mirror*, published in Kalimpong. It was edited by an Indian national of Ladakhi origin. A warning was issued to the editor, but it was also pointed out to the Chinese that many newspapers in India were far more anti-Government of India and it was not possible to take legal action against them.

Another Chinese allegation was that agents and saboteurs had been sent to Tibet and arms smuggled to Tibetan rebels. "There is no evidence of that. We are not aware of a single case. It is not an easy matter to cross the border between India and Tibet. Nobody can guarantee about an individual going across but to take arms was exceedingly difficult, practically impossible without our knowledge."

Minor Activities

Mr. Nehru said: "In spite of the presence of (these) people in Kalimpong to whom the Chinese Government might object because they were opposed to the Chinese Government's policy and to all kinds of other people, spies indulging in espionage and counter-espionage, I cannot conceive how these minor activities could be made the basis of that statement that Kalimpong was the commanding centre of the Tibetan rebels....."

As for the article in the Peking *People's Daily* circulated by the Chinese Embassy, Mr. Nehru said, "It is not for us to object to any article that appears in a newspaper in Peking." The only point was whether the circulation of it here was proper or improper. The article appeared in Peking before the Chinese had any report of his earlier statement in the Lok Sabha. Even if they had this report, they had the right to write as they liked.....

Although anybody could have his opinion about whether the circulation by the Chinese Embassy of the article in question was proper or not, Mr. Nehru said he would like to draw attention to the phrase about Kalimpong in that article. He added that it was slightly different from the phrase in the earlier statement of the Chinese Government. In this article it was said reactionaries in Tibet "utilise Kalimpong which is in a foreign land as a centre for collusion with imperialism". This was slightly different from saying that Kalimpong was the commanding centre. "Collusion" might be explained by saying "somebody whispering something to somebody.....".

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 2*

India's Sympathy Assured

Indore

THE Congress General Secretary, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, said here that the Congress would not hesitate to announce to the world that China was perpetrating atrocities in Tibet.

Though under the suzerainty of China, Tibet was an autonomous country. India had full sympathy for Tibetans in their righteous cause, she said.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 5*

Democracy Was Murdered

Bhopal

THE Working Committee of the Madhya Pradesh Socialist Party (Lohia group) at its meeting here yesterday passed a resolution demanding that Chinese forces should be immediately withdrawn from Tibet and general elections conducted in that country under the supervision of the United Nations, reports PTI.

A resolution expressed concern over the developments in Tibet and said that in that country democracy was being "murdered" with the aid of the army. "The indifference shown by the Government of India over the affairs of Tibet has not only exposed the borders of the country to aggression, but has also exposed the hollowness of the so-called policy of Panchshila."

"The false allegation made at this critical hour by the Communist Party regarding Kalimpong has proved that the party is the enemy of democracy," the resolution added.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 5

Delhi Meeting Condemns Chinese Imperialism

New Delhi

THOUSANDS of Delhi citizens passed by acclamation a resolution expressing grave concern over "Chinese imperialism" in Tibet at a public meeting held at the Gandhi Grounds today.

This was the first public meeting held in the capital on the Tibetan issue. The tone for the rally was set by banners which asked "Communist China" to "restore the liberty of Tibet" and "honour Panchshila."

Cries of "shame" rent the air when leaders of all the major political parties, except the Communists, strongly condemned the Chinese "repression" and "atrocities" in Tibet. They demanded that China keep her word by respecting Tibetan autonomy.

The resolution added that the people of India "cannot but share the anxiety and agony of those suffering in Tibet" in view of the "immemorial cultural ties" between both these countries. The Tibetans could count on India's sympathy and goodwill. The meeting expressed the hope that every Tibetan, who was forced to leave his country, would find asylum in India.

"National Revolt"

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, P.-S.P. leader, who presided over the meeting, said that the uprising in Tibet was a national revolt. He added: "If we fail

to recognise the true nature of the struggle, we shall stand condemned before the impartial opinion of the world."

The Acharya said that India must freely state her opinion on this issue without any inhibition. Uncommitted countries in Africa and Asia counted on our moral support. But the people would hardly give credit to our "pious assertion of impartiality and justice" if we did not raise our voice "when the independent existence of a small and peaceful nation was threatened by an intoxicated Power.....".

Mr. U. N. Dhebar, a former Congress President, said that China would be branded imperialist if she did not come to an agreement with Tibet soon. He appealed to China to heed the voice of the African and Asian countries raised at the Bandung conference against imperialism.

The action of China, he added, had considerably embarrassed India which had been fighting for her admission to the United Nations.

Mr. Asoka Mehta, M.P., urged Mr. Nehru, to convene a meeting of the Colombo Powers to discuss the Tibetan question. These Powers, he added, must press China to retrace her steps.

He also appealed to the Government not to prevent Tibetan refugees from voicing their feelings.

Mr. Minoo Masani, M.P., quoted from Mr. Nehru's *Glimpses of World History* in which Tibet had been described as an independent country. Tibet, he added, also participated as a free country in the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi in 1946. In no case should her freedom be allowed to be snatched away, he demanded.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 5

Reds Criticise Premier

COMMUNIST circles in the capital reacted rather sharply to what they described as the "uncalled-for" remarks of Mr. Nehru at his monthly press conference denouncing the C.P.I. and vehemently repudiated them.

The C.P.I. it was asserted, was always guided solely by the national interest whatever its "detractors might say."

Such "wild remarks", from Mr. Nehru about a political party were not expected, these circles said, particularly at a time when the country was faced with difficult and delicate questions.

Mr. Nehru's statement may be formally considered at a meeting of the secretariat of the Central Party some time next week.

—Times of India, Bombay, April 5

Nehru Denounces Communists

New Delhi

Indian Communists were denounced in the most angry terms by Mr. Nehru at his press conference today for their stand on the Tibet issue.

"They are not Indians if they talk in this way," he said when his attention was drawn to the latest issue of the party organ, "New Age", which has repeated the allegations of anti-China activity on Indian soil and has named the Indian Political Officer in Sikkim, Mr. Apa Pant, in this context.

Earlier Mr. Nehru himself referred to the "enormous feelings" aroused over Tibet among all parties and people in India except the Communists. This showed that the Communist Party of India had "uprooted itself from national sentiment" and showed no "kinship" with it. Communist thinking had different roots.

"If the C.P.I. goes about naming our Principal Political Officers (alleging collusion with anti-Chinese elements), it shows a lack of balance of mind and total absence of feelings of decency and nationalism. What they are I do not know. They cease to be Indians if they talk in this way."

Mr. P. C. Joshi now alleges in the "New Age" that, apart from Kalimpong, the anti-Chinese espionage ring also covers Bhutan, Sikkim and Calcutta. "Are we wrong when we demand that this serious matter be properly investigated," asks Mr. Joshi in the article.

India's 'Meek' Policy

New Delhi

A RESOLUTION, adopted at the annual conference of the Delhi Socialist Party on Sunday criticized the Government of India for its "submissive" policy towards the Tibetan happenings.

The resolution said that China's action in Tibet was similar to Russia's in Hungary and her advance in Tibet was a "direct threat" to India.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 5

Security of India, Major Factor—

Tibet Presents a Difficult Choice

New Delhi

MR. NEHRU told his monthly press conference here today that it was not the Government's intention to put what might be called undesirable curbs on the

Dalai Lama when he was in India, but he was sure that he (Dalai Lama) would not like to take any steps which "embarrasses us and him.....".

A correspondent asked how the news that the Dalai Lama had crossed the Indian frontier was announced by Peking before it was announced in New Delhi.

Mr. Nehru replied: "I am afraid I cannot answer that question. We could have announced it certainly a day or a day and half before. But there were other reasons, one reason being security. We wanted to make adequate arrangement for security before we announced it....."

Asked how the Chinese news agency got the news about the crossing and *Reuter* quoted a diplomatic source for this news, Mr. Nehru said: "I think these are vague guesses based on intelligent anticipation of what is likely to happen. I believe *Reuter's* first message was that the Dalai Lama had gone to Bhutan. It was obvious he was coming in that direction....."

Asked whether the Dalai Lama could associate himself with any political activity while on Indian soil, Mr. Nehru said: "Any person in India (like him) is not expected to function on a political plane....."

Ques: If political activity must be ruled out does that mean that the Dalai Lama will not be allowed to make a statement explaining facts?

Mr. Nehru: I cannot tell you exactly what the position might be. We have to consider it because, as you know, quite apart from political and other reasons, he (the Dalai Lama) is a person who is greatly revered in India and certainly among all Buddhists and even non-Buddhists, and it is not our intention to put what might be called undesirable curbs on him. But we shall have to discuss this matter with him and I am sure that he (Dalai Lama) will not like to take any steps which embarrasses us and him.....

Ques: When you spoke in the Lok Sabha, you referred to the exchange of letters between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Military Governor in Tibet and said: 'I would like to have greater confirmation about them.' Have you got any confirmation about them? Why did you doubt their authenticity?

Mr. Nehru: The statement that the Dalai Lama was being compelled to do something—the Dalai Lama complaining about his own people who revered him so much—seemed to me a very odd statement. Whoever else might be against the Dalai Lama I should have thought the great mass of the Tibetan people are not against him. They are devoted to him. Therefore, I could not understand that.

Ques.: Do you think that China has observed Panchshila scrupulously in regard to Tibet?

Mr. Nehru: I do not think the question of Panchshila directly arises in this connection. You may disapprove of what one country has done. There is hardly any country which you cannot criticise on the ground that the principles of Panchshila have not been observed. But in this particular matter I do not quite see how that particular thing arises.....

Mr. Nehru said: "What has happened in Tibet is related to an agreement between Tibet and the Chinese authorities in 1950. Both sides there have stated that that agreement has ended or broken up. There is no doubt about that as both sides say so and events also indicate that. That is an important fact.

The agreement was based on two factors, the recognition of the sovereignty of China over Tibet and the autonomy of Tibet. These are two major factors and they have broken down. It is not possible for me to give a precise account of what happened in Tibet. But it is well-known there have been conflicts and it is obvious that at present, since this uprising, there is no autonomy of Tibet. It is an obvious fact whatever the background may be.....

Answering further questions, Mr. Nehru said that there had been no correspondence between him and the Dalai Lama except that the Dalai Lama sent him a message on his arrival on the Indian soil and he sent him a brief message of greetings.

Mr. Nehru said that the Government of India would be 100 per cent. responsible, for the personal safety of the Dalai Lama.

Replying to further questions, Mr. Nehru referred to Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to India and the conversation he had with him with regard to Tibet and said "Mr. Chou En-lai laid stress first of all that Tibet was and had always been a part of the Chinese State, part of the larger family of China. Then he (Mr. Chou En-lai) said that Tibet was not a province of China.

It was different from China proper and he recognised that and therefore we consider it as an autonomous region of the Chinese State. The Chinese people are called Han people. The Tibetans are not Hans. Tibetans are Tibetans.

Ques.: Just as the autonomy of the States is defined in India, in what respects is Tibet autonomous?

Mr. Nehru replied that the autonomy which States in India enjoyed was different from the autonomy which Tibet enjoyed. There were other factors also. From the social, religious and economic points of view there was considerable difference between Tibet and many other parts of China proper. Tibet had been cut off from the world practically for a long time.

Economically speaking she was backward. The impact of vast changes taking place in China must produce tremendous reaction.

Answering further questions, Mr. Nehru said that he imagined that the various constituent units of the Soviet Union including the autonomous regions were more or less wedded to a certain policy of what might be called the Communist policy. "While Tibet is not Communist the mere fact that the Dalai Lama was the religious head and till recently the political head under the Chinese umbrella itself shows that it was very different."

A correspondent asked Mr. Nehru to define the term "suzerainty."

He replied that it was for jurists to define it and two jurists might differ. But he said "suzerainty" was obviously less than sovereignty.

Mr. Nehru was asked: How far does the disappearance of the agreement between Tibet and China affect our agreement (on Tibet) with China?

Mr. Nehru replied: "The disappearance of that (Chinese-Tibetan) agreement does not affect it, but I do not know what the consequences of the development in Tibet might be."

India's agreement with China over Tibet, Mr. Nehru recalled, was over withdrawing certain small forces which India had in Tibet. The agreement, for the rest, related to pilgrimage, trade and trade routes, and to certain passes over which the trade routes passed.

Apart from the Buddhists, thousands and thousands of Hindus also went to Tibet, to Mansarovar and Kailash and in the agreement arrangements had been made for them.

There was another matter, Mr. Nehru said, which was not directly mentioned in the agreement but was indirectly there. That was about the Buddhists in Ladakh who used to go to Tibet for training in Buddhist scriptures.

Hundreds of them were supposed to be there now in Lhasa who had not taken the trouble of taking the normal travel papers or passports etc.

"How far all these will be affected, I cannot say," Mr. Nehru added.

When a questioner asked: How are we (India) politically concerned by events in Tibet? Mr. Nehru replied: "We are obviously concerned and interested in what happens there and what political developments take place there. We cannot ignore them or look away from them. What we do about them is another matter. But I would like to put it to you that apart from purely political considerations, there are other considerations which move people powerfully."

"We have had no desire, ever since we became independent, to interfere in the slightest degree in Tibetan affairs. But we cannot give up our interest—call it sentimental interest—apart from politics. You can observe for yourself the enormous feelings aroused in India by the recent developments in Tibet, about the Dalai Lama. All these touch our sentiments although it has little to do with politics.

Mr. Nehru drew the correspondent's attention to the strong feelings aroused in the Lok Sabha three or four days ago "when members of every group and every party, except the Communist Party, were vastly exercised over this question. It brought out very markedly and prominently how some matters are so deeply rooted in national sentiment that they over-ride even party boundaries."

Mr. Nehru added: "It also brought out how the Communist Party has uprooted itself from these matters and feels quite different. I am not talking about politics or economics, but of what is called national sentiment which has deep roots in the country. We saw that there (in the Lok Sabha), that marked distinction of people, who, however they differ among themselves, had a common bond, a strong national tradition and sentiment.

The Communist Party in India had no kinship with that sentiment. It had its roots in different thinking and that became clear when they issued the statement and exhibited that entirely different approach from the point of national sentiment and the strong reactions of members of Parliament and others outside. It had nothing to do with factual statements. It had nothing to do with parliamentary privilege. It had to do basically with the deep-rooted sentiment of the Indian people so hurt by this (C.P.I.) statement.....

Mr. Nehru said he was not aware that there had been any correspondence with China over the Tibetan affairs in the last few years. Of course when the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, was here, last time, he had discussed many matters with him including Tibet. The Chinese Prime Minister had explained the Chinese attitude to Tibet and pointed out that they (China) "respect and wanted to respect the autonomy of Tibet and that they had no desire to push Communism in Tibet for the major reason, he (Chou En-lai) said, that Tibet was as far removed from Communism as any country can be and that it (Communism) cannot be pushed and imposed in this way and it was for the people of Tibet themselves to grow up economically and socially....."

Replying to another question, Mr. Nehru said that the MacMahon Line was accepted by Tibet as the border and parts of the MacMahon Agreement (relating to this border) had not been questioned even by China.

A correspondent drew his attention to an article in the current issue of the Communist Party weekly, *New Age*, in which, he said, it was alleged that there was collusion between India's political officers (on the border) and anti-Chinese spies in Kalimpong, Calcutta, and nearby places. Mr. Nehru said: "The Communist Party of India goes about naming our principal officers. The Party shows more than we suspect, a certain lack of balance of mind and a total absence of feeling of decency and nationalism. What they (Communists) are, I don't know. They cease to be Indians if they talk in this way."

Mr. Nehru recalled that in the Lok Sabha he had talked about Kalimpong as a nest of spies. He had indicated that there were spies of every kind, Communist and anti-Communist. In a great city like Calcutta there were people of every shade and colour.

Mr. Nehru said that in this connection he also wished to draw attention to a statement reported to have been made by Prince Peter of Greece. He had stayed in Kalimpong and was described as an international authority on Tibetan affairs. He had said that the Indian Government had given assistance to the Chinese invasion of Tibet (in 1950) for fear that Tibet might fall under British or American influence.

He had said that the Chinese Army was receiving military supplies through trucks rolling on the road to Tibet. "I have never heard a more despicable and fantastic lie," Mr. Nehru said, and added that he had enjoyed the hospitality of India and the fact that he dared to say this now showed the atmosphere of Kalimpong. How could trucks go to Nathula in 1950?

Lot of Small Nations—Bhave

Bhivani

Acharya Vinoba Bhave said here to-day, that small nations like Tibet would have no chance of survival in a world threatened with nuclear weapons. The ideal of Sarvodaya and Ahimsa alone was the hope of humanity.

Addressing a gathering of about 10,000 Acharya Bhave said that man to-day was not afraid of wild animals, but of his own species. Cold war between the U.S. and Russia had created a sense of fear among the common people of one country against the common people across the border although the masses lived and loved each other everywhere, in a like manner.

He declared that the race for armaments was vicious and would lead to violence and destruction. The only way open to mankind was to call a halt to this mad game and adopt methods of peace and goodwill. Love and not arms would disarm the other party.

—Hindu, Madras, April 6

Explaining the despatch of some supplies to Tibet Mr. Nehru said that in 1954 or 1955, there was famine in Tibet and India agreed to send some rice there, perhaps about 20,000 maunds. It was a terrible job to send this. A large number of mules were required. It took seven or eight months for these mules to take rice supplies to Nathula.

When his attention was drawn to a report that the Chinese had hoped that the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa would take an objective view of the Tibetan situation, Mr. Nehru said, amidst laughter: "He takes an objective view. He sits near a window and looks at Lhasa. I think all these days he has been sitting there and taking this objective view....."

"Every Government's first duty is to protect its country in every way. The second factor is our desire to have continued friendly relations with China. The third factor is our strong sentiments about the developments in Tibet. Sometimes there are certain contradictions in these. Inevitably one has, therefore, so far as one can, to balance, and adjust and, sometimes to make a difficult choice."

Asked if he was satisfied that the Dalai Lama left Lhasa of his own free will, Mr. Nehru said: "I should imagine so. I cannot conceive of the Dalai Lama being pushed about by his own people."

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 5*

Extreme Form of Neutralism

Rangoon

THE Burmese Press this morning featured Mr. Nehru's announcement in Parliament that the Dalai Lama had arrived safe in India and he would receive "respectful treatment."

The English daily, *Nation* in an editorial said the Indian Government had shown "remarkable restraint and dignity" over the developments in Tibet and "therefore nobody, not even China, has the right to question India's right to harbour the Dalai Lama."

The paper, which has been critical of India's policy in regard to Tibet, said: "Recent happenings in Tibet had pained the free conscience of India; yet Indian leaders avoided doing anything. For practising this extreme form of neutralism India got no thanks from China but insulting insinuations."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 5*

A Clash of Wills in Tibet

New Delhi,

THE Prime Minister is reported to have told the Congress Parliamentary Party today that the grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama was not an unfriendly act towards China under international law and that he hoped that Sino-Indian relations would continue to be maintained on the basis of friendship.

The three considerations by which India stood on the Tibetan issue, Mr. Nehru said, were: The protection of our national interests, the maintenance of friendship with China and support for the autonomy of Tibet.....

Mr. Nehru said that there had not been any movement of Tibetan refugees to India. He, however added that India could not in any case accept an "open door" policy in respect of any possible refugee movement.

He explained that such a course would not be in the interests of Tibetans themselves. It might create complications for them and deprive them of leadership. This had happened in east Pakistan on account of large-scale refugee movement to India.....

Mr. Nehru said that the trouble originally started when the Chinese began to introduce various reforms, including land reforms in the Khampa area in China proper. This created a certain amount of resentment among the Khampas, who began moving westward into Tibet proper right up to Lhasa.

In Tibet itself there was a clash of wills between the spiritual and conservative traditions of the people and the temporal, radical and proselytising philosophy of the Communists. Conflict developed. Ultimately, local discontent together with the Khampa movement produced a national uprising.....

Mr. Nehru said that in deciding upon its attitude towards the Tibetan issue, India had to be guided by principles of universal friendship and refusal to compromise on principles.

Reviewing the course of events in Tibet he said that some of the Khampas who had opposed the Chinese methods fled to Tibet and the Anti-Chinese feelings created by them in course of time reached Lhasa. This clash of wills of two extremes had been there for some time and he had sensed it while in Bhutan recently.

In this atmosphere, when the Dalai Lama was invited to tea by the Chinese Commander, people got the impression that the Chinese might take him to Peking and there was a very big demonstration. The demonstration, he is understood to have said, was in the nature of an expression of the national feelings and sentiments of the Tibetans.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 9*

Fear of Extension Upset Tibetans —Nehru

New Delhi

MR. NEHRU is reported to have told the members of the Congress Parliamentary Party that it was a

feeling of apprehension among the Tibetans that what had happened to the Khampas might happen to them also, that made them openly revolt against the Chinese.

The Peking Government had not tried to interfere with Tibet's autonomy nor to impose land reforms which they had introduced in the rest of China. But the Chinese authorities little realized that the imposition of land reforms in the Khampa area, which was legitimately under their jurisdiction, might have an adverse effect on the Tibetan territory under the Dalai Lama.

But this was exactly what had happened. There was a dominant Tibetan population in the Khampa area. For three years they resisted the introduction of land reforms, but when they found that there was no escape, many of them fled to Tibet.

The infiltration of the Khampas into Lhasa set in motion a feeling that before long Tibet would also be brought under Communist reforms.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 9*

Burma Invites Dalai

New Delhi

U Nu, former Prime Minister of Burma, said here this evening that his country had invited the Dalai Lama to spend his exile there.

Demonstrations before Chinese Consulate

Bombay

THE Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Workers' Party on Wednesday morning held a demonstration in front of the Chinese Consulate on Bomanji Petit Road, Bombay, protesting against the Chinese aggression in Tibet.

The gates of the Consulate were heavily guarded and the demonstrators after shouting anti-Chinese slogans for about half an hour, tied a copy of the memorandum to the gates.

Later, meetings were held in front of the Consulate and at Gowalia Tank maidan which were addressed by Mr. S. S. Mani, Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers' Party and Mr. N. Karunakaran, Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 9*

Calcutta Protest

Calcutta

A MEETING organised by the West Bengal Praja-Socialist Party at Raja Subodh Mullick Square, Calcutta, on Friday afternoon, adopted a resolution

expressing its solidarity and deep sympathy with the Tibetan people in their struggle for political autonomy and cultural freedom.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 4*

The Only Solution

Madras

Mr. NEHRU said in Madras today that while India stood by her acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, she certainly hoped that the Tibetan people would be able to maintain and enjoy their autonomy. "I hope that they will not be oppressed and suppressed by others."

The Prime Minister was unveiling a statue of Mahatma Gandhi on Marina Beach.

Mr. Nehru said that Tibet was a complicated question and he did not propose to discuss it in detail at the meeting, but, as he had already stated in Delhi, they had to bear in mind three factors when tackling the question. As a government they had always to bear in mind the security of India. "I do not mean to say that our security is now challenged or is in immediate danger. But we have to think of what might happen in the future."

The second factor was their basic policy of friendship with other countries, and particularly with China. Thirdly, there was a feeling of sympathy for the Tibetan people. This sympathy went deep down in the Indian people.

They had hoped that the problem of Tibet would be solved on the lines laid down in various treaties, that is to say, the suzerainty of the Chinese over Tibet and full autonomy for the Tibetan people. "I cannot imagine any feasible, or practical, or happy solution without autonomy for Tibetans," he said.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 10*

Tibetans Will Fight On

Patna

Dr. Satyanarain Sinha, a former member of Parliament, who claimed to have returned to Patna today after a fortnight's visit to the southern regions of Tibet, said, "My impression is that the Tibetans will fight to the end for freedom from the Chinese regime."

Dr. Sinha, who declined to name the actual places trekked by him on the ground that it might embarrass his hosts, said that he travelled mostly in the Khamba region which comprises one-third of Tibet. He said he was told that no Chinese had so far entered this region.

"I came to know from the Khambas themselves," he said, "that they arranged for the Dalai Lama's escape by circulating false rumours that he would be coming to India by the Lhasa-Gyantse-Yatung-Gangtok trade route. As diversionary tactics they cut off all communications of the Chinese between Yatung and Lhasa.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 11*

The P.S.P.'s Rejoinder

New Delhi

SHRI Gangasaran Sinha and Shri N. G. Goray, the Chairman and General Secretary, respectively, of the Praja-Socialist Party, to-day expressed surprise "at some of the statements made by the Peking *People's Daily*" about the P.-S.P.'s reaction to developments in Tibet.

The *People's Daily* was reported to have said, "No one seems to have come out more outrageously than the Indian Praja-Socialist Party in criticising Chinese action in Tibet."

The P.-S.P. statement said: "The Praja-Socialist Party's attitude on Tibet has been grossly misunderstood and its concern over the development in Tibet characterised as 'outrageous'. We have been described as functioning in a manner incompatible with Sino-Indian friendship.

"To put the record straight, we would like to point out that our Party had warmly welcomed the revolution in China in 1948 and we were the first to demand the seating of the People's Republic in the United Nations.

"That cannot mean that we should be indifferent to the fate of the Tibetans. It is surprising to find the *People's Daily* asserting: 'Since Tibet is part of China, the political system of Tibet is naturally the Chinese people's own affair.' We had thought, as Mr. Chou En-lai himself had admitted, during his visit to Delhi, that the Chinese Government recognised the autonomy of Tibet, and that the political system inside Tibet would be the affair of the Tibetan people.

"The *Peoples Daily* reiterates the baseless allegation that the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India and is under duress and once again describes Kalimpong as the base of rebellion engineered by imperialist elements. The categorical denial by Prime Minister Nehru is dismissed by saying, 'Our Indian friends may not be aware of it, but this does not warrant the conclusion that we too are surely not aware of it.' If this is the way China places reliability on our most authoritative sources of information, we are not surprised at the assessment given of our Party."

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 16*

Call for Better Relations

THE General Council of the Peasants and Workers' Party, which met in Bombay on Tuesday called for efforts to improve relations between the Chinese People's Government and the Dalai Lama.

In a lengthy resolution on Tibet, the Council said that the task to be faced in Tibet was the abolition of backwardness and establishment of democracy and socialism. In this context, the resolution said co-operation between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama, now in self-imposed exile in India, was in the best interests of the people of Tibet.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 15*

Give More Than Lip Sympathy, Says Asoka Mehta

New Delhi

Mr. Asoka Mehta, P.-S.P. leader, said that India should not be satisfied by merely granting political asylum to the Dalai Lama but should allow him to carry on his fight for freedom from here in a dignified manner.

If India was to restrict his freedom and treat him only as a pampered pensioner, her sympathies for the Tibetans would be considered lip sympathy, useless and ineffective.

The right to political asylum and then to carry on one's fight was an accepted international practice. Britain, the United States and Switzerland had granted asylum to men like Marx, Lenin and Mazzini. They functioned freely in these countries. Was India going to deny such freedom to the Dalai Lama? he asked.

Mr. Mehta was addressing a discussion meeting on Tibet organized by the Delhi Committee for Tibetan Affairs. Representative leaders of various parties addressed the largely attended meeting held in Sapru House. Mr. H. N. Kunzru, M.P. presided.

Mr. Kunzru pointed out that Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, had accepted the autonomy of Tibet only two and a half years ago when he visited India. Everyone had expected that this autonomy would be recognized in a more sympathetic manner...

Urging China to follow the British example of granting independence to India, Pakistan, Burma and others, he said, if the Tibetans were granted full autonomy they would certainly be able to manage well, and this would be to the credit of China too.

Mr. Tricumdas said that according to Tibetan leaders the 1951 treaty, by which China assumed sovereignty over Tibet, was signed under coercion,

But even under this treaty Tibet's autonomy was recognized, which was now being denied to it.

Mrs. Kripalani said the Tibetan issue was a matter of human rights. The Tibetans were a harmless and freedom-loving people who were forced to bow before the strength of China under the 1951 treaty.

It was difficult to say what was happening in communist countries, she said. But in regard to Tibet, one inescapable conclusion was that China had failed to win the emotional allegiance of its people.

The Tibetans must have a right to live their lives the way they wanted. She appealed to China to restore peace in Tibet.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 17*

Reds See no Aggression

Bombay

THE Chinese action in Tibet was defended by speakers at a public meeting organised by the Communist Party of India at Nare Park in Bombay on Friday.

Shri Shrinivas Sardesai, the Secretary of the Maharashtra Committee of the C.P.I., said that there was no aggression on the part of China. It was not an invasion of Tibet that happened there, he said.

Religious heads and priests, landlords and hooligans had created chaotic and lawless conditions in Tibet and China had only crushed those lawless activities and restored order.

He traced the work done by the Chinese Government in Tibet. As the Chinese Government were building roads, schools and hospitals for the people of Tibet, the priest class and the landlords got panicky that their traditional privileges would be affected by those reforms. Consequently, they took to lawlessness, he said.

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 17*

Nehru's Policy on Trial

London

LAST night India's foreign policy was the subject of discussion in the B.B.C. programme 'Matters of Moment.'

Mr. G. V. Hodson, editor of *The Sunday Times*, and former adviser to (the late) Lord Linlithgow, Mr. William Clarke of *The Sunday Observer* and Mr. Raghava Ayer, Professor of History at Oxford, were the panel which discussed India's foreign policy.

The point was made last night in the B.B.C. discussion that the situation in Tibet now menaces the security of India, and it is calculated to bring

about a change in the foreign policy of Prime Minister Nehru. At the same time it was recognised that the predominant purpose of Mr. Nehru's policy is the preservation of peace.

The question, which is now awaiting an answer from Mr. Nehru may therefore be stated to be this:

"Will Prime Minister Nehru choose to accept the Chinese occupation of Tibet as the price of peace, or take a stand upon the autonomy of Tibet like that of the United States in regard to the rights of the Western allies to remain in West Berlin?"

If Mr. Nehru succeeds in bringing about restoration of the Dalai Lama by peaceful means, he will have revolutionised the relations of the Western Powers with the Soviet Union and China.

—*Sunder Kabadi in Indian Express, April 17*

Tibet is a Warning

New Delhi, April 17

THE national executive of the Praja-Socialist Party passed the following resolution on Tibet:—

"The executive looks upon the recent events in Tibet as a warning to all who cherish the right of a people to shape their own destiny. No people should be forced to choose between liberty and good relations with mighty neighbours.

"The executive extends respectful welcome to the Dalai Lama and assures through him the people of Tibet of our profound sympathy with the Tibetans struggling to safeguard their ancient heritage and their distinctive way of life. The executive recognizes the Tibetans' right to self-determination and extends to them its support.

"The executive is confident that Tibetans needing asylum will be welcome in India, our traditional hospitality and friendliness being assured to them. It hopes that the heroic determination of Tibetans and the deep sympathy evoked by them in Asia and the world will help to end their travail and restore to them the opportunity to shape their destiny."

Bevan Supports Indian Stand

London

MR. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary, said yesterday he was sure Parliament shared the British Government's concern about Tibetan autonomy.

A Labour member, Mr. Philips Price, had asked in the House of Commons if the Foreign Secretary would reconsider the question whether Chinese suzerainty in future should be recognized in Tibet at all "in view of the fact that under the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was recognized on condition that China respected Tibetan autonomy."

Mr. Lloyd said he was not yet in a position to make a statement about Tibetan refugees.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan said: "In view of the very difficult and perplexing situation which prevails in that part of the world, where precise information is difficult to obtain, we on this side of the House feel that we can tentatively support the position taken up by the Indian Government, which has much more knowledge of the situation than the Foreign Secretary has."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 16*

Dalai Lama's Privileges

New Delhi

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told the Rajya Sabha today that he presumed that it was the Chinese intelligence agents in Kalimpong who were sending reports to the Chinese Government that Kalimpong was the commanding centre of the Tibetan revolt.....

The Prime Minister said that the Dalai Lama would be free to carry on his religious activities in India. "But political activities are not carried on from one country against another," he added.....

Asked why no direct communication had been sent to the Chinese Government, Mr. Nehru said, "When the time comes it will be done in the course of other statements." The Prime Minister recalled that originally this had been raised in a Chinese press article. He had given an answer to it in the Lok Sabha and had later elaborated his reply. He had then pointed out the difference between spies functioning in Kalimpong and calling it a centre of rebellion. "I do not deny that there are spies in Kalimpong. In fact, I presume that it is the Chinese intelligence agents there who sent these reports."

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon told Mr. J. H. Joshi that since March 1, 1959, 93 Tibetans had entered India. The Dalai Lama had entered with a party of 86 persons, and apart from this party, seven other Tibetans had come into India.

The Prime Minister, intervening, said that there were no proposals to put a limit on the number of Tibetans who might enter India. All these questions (about putting a limit or otherwise) were based on the presumption that large numbers of persons were trying to push into India.

Mr. M. H. Samuel asked whether the Tibetans who had come to India and had been granted asylum had given an assurance that they would not do anything to embarrass India's relations with China.

Mr. Nehru: That is expected.....

Mr. Rohit Dave asked whether the Government's attention had been drawn to the statement of the Dalai Lama from Tezpur in which concern had been

shown for the propagation of his religion and the freedom of his country. Would the Dalai Lama be given reasonable facilities to carry on his activities?

Mr. Nehru said that if it was meant by this as to whether the Dalai Lama would be given freedom to carry on his religious activities, the answer was "Certainly, yes." "But political activities are not carried on from one country against another," he said.

Dr. Kunzru said that in England, where asylum was granted, the refugees were allowed to carry on normal propaganda in favour of their views. They were only not allowed to collect arms or make war preparations.

Mr. Nehru: It is difficult to draw the line. It would be permitted to some extent and it would not be to another extent.

Dr. Kunzru: Has the Government of India, apart from asking these people to refrain from collecting arms to be sent to Tibet or doing anything calculated to be a war-like act against China, prevented the Tibetan refugees from giving expression to their views with regard to the future of Tibet or stating matters of fact whenever they feel it necessary to do so as to clear up the position?

Mr. Nehru: The Hon'ble member might have noticed that we have given a fairly large measure of freedom for expression of views to the people. The Dalai Lama himself made a statement in Tezpur. We have not come in the way of his making a statement. As to what we expect the people to do depends upon many other things. It is not a question of the Dalai Lama. But all manner of forces have come. The Dalai Lama is a responsible person acting in a responsible way. But there are so many others. We do not know how they might function. It is the ordinary right of any country, including England, to limit the functioning of foreigners who create difficulties with other countries. The rule of law is that a country has the right to limit such activities—to what extent and in what manner is a matter of circumstance and situation.

—*Times of India, Bombay April 20*

Bid to Drag India into a War

Raipur

MR. U. N. DHEBAR criticised the Communist Party of India, specially its policy towards India's sympathetic attitude on the Tibetan issue, and said that if their propaganda was allowed to go unchecked, they might drag India in a war.

Mr. Dhebar said that on the Tibet issue certain Indian leaders have been dubbed agents of the imperialists, though throughout our life we have struggled against imperialism. The Communists are

annoyed with us only because we took an independent stand on the Tibet issue. It is high time the people become aware of the Communists' trap to get India involved in a war.....Denying China's charge that India was interfering in their internal affairs, Mr. Dhebar asserted, "India has not done so, nor is she anxious to do so. Our policy is very clear. Despite our sympathies with the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet and our stand that Tibetans must have their own say, we do not want to disturb our centuries-long friendship with China."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 28*

Narayan: Proclaim Tibet's Independence

Bombay

MR. JAYAPRAKASH Narayan, the Sarvodaya leader, asserted in Bombay on Wednesday that India and other Asian nations should proclaim with one voice that Tibet should be an independent country.

Addressing a public meeting at Shivaji Park held under the auspices of the Indian Committee for Solidarity with Tibet, Mr. Narayan pointed out that India was the only country which could give a lead, among other nations, to bring about peaceful changes in the present disturbed Himalayan kingdom.....

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan hoped that the question of Tibet would be raised in the United Nations and, if it materialised, India would play its proper role in awakening world conscience against the aggression by China.....

Mr. Narayan said that India should not have accepted the suzerainty of China over Tibet. India should have held the view that both Tibet and China were independent countries and they were neighbours, and that it could have used its good offices to bring these countries closer to each other.

The Sarvodaya leader further pointed out that India had not only committed this mistake but went to the other extreme of giving its moral support to China's claim over Tibet. This moral support helped China in its "imperialistic designs" of expansion, he added.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 23*

Panchen Lama Can Visit India—Nehru's Offer to Peking

Mussoorie

THE principal events leading to the Tibetan crisis were revealed to Pressmen by Prime Minister Nehru after a four-hour talk he had with the Dalai Lama here this afternoon.

Mr. Nehru said that on the one side the Dalai Lama desired, from the beginning, to avoid a break with the Chinese and was hoping until the last moment, that something might happen to prevent the worsening of the situation. On the other, the Dalai Lama was pulled by Tibetan feelings. In other words he was endeavouring to exercise a moderating influence.

Mr. Nehru said that the Dalai Lama, in answer to a question from him, acknowledged having written letters to General Tan for two reasons. One was that he was disturbed by the highly troubled times. Secondly he did not want to break with the Chinese. The Dalai Lama was hoping until 4 p.m. on March 17, that something might happen to avoid a break with the Chinese. But the mortar shells which fell on the palace at 4 p.m. had a powerful effect on the minds of the people. The Tibetans thought that all efforts had failed and they decided to quit and six hours later, at 10 p.m. the Dalai Lama and party left Lhasa. Mr. Nehru said that they had not brought even their clothes with them.

Asked whether any solution of the Tibetan problem emerged as a result of his talks, Mr. Nehru said solutions could not come out of a hat. It would be correct to say that they had discussed the possibility of creating an atmosphere which might lead to a solution.....

The pronouncements on Tibet made by Mr. Nehru in Mussoorie to-day are interpreted in informed circles as an invitation to the Chinese Government to take the initiative and reach an understanding directly with the Dalai Lama.

Reacting politely but firmly to the Panchen Lama's provocative references to India Mr. Nehru said: "What the Panchen Lama has said does not do justice to India or China or Tibet or even to himself." Mr. Nehru invited the Panchen Lama to come and meet the Dalai Lama and ascertain the truth for himself and offered him a courteous reception befitting his position. Mr. Nehru added that if the Panchen Lama could not come, he could send others including the Chinese Ambassador in India to meet the Dalai Lama.

The questions put to Mr. Nehru at the Press conference covered two aspects of the situation. The Indian correspondents sought Mr. Nehru's reaction to the Chinese outburst against India. A section of the foreign correspondents questioned the need for elaborate security measures taken by the Government to protect the Dalai Lama and particularly the restriction imposed on visitors desirous of meeting the Dalai Lama. One question by a foreign correspondent in effect suggested that the Government of India were keeping the Dalai Lama under duress.

Mr. Nehru gave the impression that he did not notice the insinuation behind the question and proceeded to explain the general position. He stated that the question of visitors meeting the Dalai Lama depended on many factors. So far as the Dalai Lama was concerned he did not wish to muzzle him (Dalai Lama) in any way. But at the same time "we do expect him to keep in view the difficulties of the situation and speak accordingly. After all I take it that the Dalai Lama is more interested in a peaceful solution of the Tibetan problem and in the termination of the present conflict than in giving Press interviews." Mr. Nehru added that if an emissary of the Chinese Government cared to see the Dalai Lama the door was open to him.....

Mr. Nehru said. "We would like this, as well as other matters, not to become subjects for heated exchange and debate but to be considered quietly with a view to preventing the situation getting worse." After a tremendous journey the Dalai Lama required rest and freedom from constant worry.

Asked whether he realised the diplomatic and other implications of India's Prime Minister meeting the head of the Tibetan Government in exile. Mr. Nehru said that he had established personal contacts with the Dalai Lama when he was in India three years ago. "To us therefore the Dalai Lama is not a vague mystical figure but a human being." Mr. Nehru added that but for the engagement he had accepted more than two months ago to inaugurate the conference of Indian Travel Agents he might not have rushed up to meet him. He came to the conference little realising that he should have to meet a big traveller here.

Mr. Nehru's observations were explained by a Foreign Office spokesman to imply the embarrassing situation in which India found herself. On the one side the Chinese Government was attacking the Government of India for providing facilities to the Dalai Lama to make statements from Indian territory and to the world's Press to cover them. On the other side, Pressmen from the free world were critical of the Government of India for not according to them free access to the Dalai Lama and his party.

Mr. Nehru's remarks made it clear what policy the Government of India proposed to pursue in the matter. He declined to comment on the Chinese criticism of India's expansionist tendency and said that he would refer to them in the appropriate place. But he added that it was obvious he could not agree with the Chinese criticism. He said that he found Peking reports saying that the Chinese were

very much influenced by the past history of Tibet when there was no doubt that the then British Government in India acted in that way towards Tibet. The present Chinese attitude was a hangover from the old time. Mr. Nehru categorically stated that "India's interest in Tibet principally is historical, sentimental and religious, not essentially political. When the people here react they are not thinking in terms of politics but the common bonds of religion and culture....."

Asked whether in the face of the Chinese attitude a peaceful settlement of the Tibetan problem was still possible, Mr. Nehru gave an emphatic "yes". He could not say how long it would take to reach a solution though it may not be quick. He hoped the Dalai Lama would return to Lhasa sometime or other and "I do not want this tremendous tension to continue."

A foreign correspondent asked whether the statement of the Dalai Lama that he was not under duress and the fact that he was surrounded by barbed wire, sentries and guards were not irreconcilable. Mr. Nehru said, "You are mixing up the two things. It is patently not so. He has come here on his own. For security and other purposes we have to make certain arrangements. It is quite a different matter."

"I do not know how the situation will develop, whether the large number of people who are with him will continue to be with him: But, if I may say so, if any emissary comes to see him, it will be open for the Dalai Lama to see him."

He said what the Panchen Lama had said was "in a state of high excitement".

Asked whether in the face of official and non-official comments from Peking he was optimistic about a peaceful solution of the Tibetan problem Mr. Nehru said. "Well, of course, however, long it may take—it may not be quick—one always tries for that."

Asked if he had taken up the matter diplomatically with Peking, Mr. Nehru said, "No, except of course, for the first time when the Dalai Lama entered and asked for asylum, we informed them".

Asked whether the Dalai Lama wanted reforms in Tibet, Mr. Nehru said: "The Dalai Lama told me that he wanted reforms in Tibet when he came here two or three years ago. He told me that Tibet was a spiritually advanced country but socially and economically it was a backward country. He had told me that and repeated it to-day."

—Hindu, Madras, April 24

Back Tibet's Demand for Freedom

Bombay

THE Indian Committee for Solidarity with Tibet in Bombay on Friday viewed the statement made by the Panchen Lama that some Indians were harbouring expansionist ambitions, as "a gross libel on our country."

In a statement to the Press, the Committee pointed out that independence was the only solution that could satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people of Tibet.

The Government and the people of India must champion the demand of the Tibetan people for national independence and the right of self-determination, the statement said, adding that Asian nations must, in particular, be awakened to the enormity of the "crime" that is being perpetrated in Tibet and to demand with one voice the withdrawal of China from Tibet.

The statement further said that China not only did not give up her privileges but was seeking to expand them by the complete absorption of Tibet. "This and other remarks of the Panchen Lama and other Chinese leaders are also a reflection on the honour and integrity of the Government of India," the Committee observed.

The Committee also released a telegram sent by the Union of Refugee Hungarian Students in Vienna to Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Sarvodaya leader, requesting him to do everything possible to help "our Tibetan brothers who resist Communist tyranny to the limit of human endurance."

The union also expressed its willingness to help the Tibetans in any way possible.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 25*

Nehru Regrets Peking's Anti-Indian Tirade

New Delhi

MR. Nehru told the Lok Sabha on Monday that he was distressed at the charges which responsible people in China made against India. They had used the language of the cold war, regardless of truth and propriety, he said.

The Prime Minister, in a statement on his meeting with the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie, said that India had conveyed to the Chinese authorities her views, more especially on the speeches made in the Chinese Parliament.

Mr. Nehru said:—

I have made several statements in the House in regard to the developments in Tibet. The last statement was made on April 3, in which I informed the House that the Dalai Lama had entered the territory of the Indian Union with a large entourage. I should like to bring this information up-to-date and to place such additional facts as we have before the House.

A few days ago, the Dalai Lama and his party reached Mussoorie, where the Government had made arrangements for their stay. I have had occasion to visit Mussoorie since then and have had a long talk with the Dalai Lama.

In the course of the last few days, reports have reached us that considerable numbers of Tibetans, numbering some thousands, have recently crossed into the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency and some hundreds have also

entered the territory of Bhutan. They sought asylum and we have agreed to this. Such of them as carried arms were disarmed. We do not know the exact number yet. Temporary arrangements are being made in a camp for their maintenance until they can be dispersed in accordance with their wishes and the necessities governing such cases. We could not leave these refugees to their own resources. Apart from the humanitarian considerations involved, there was also the law and order problem to be considered. We are grateful to the Government of Assam for their help and co-operation in this matter.

So far as the Dalai Lama and his party are concerned, we had to take adequate measures on grounds of security and also to protect them from large numbers of newspaper correspondents, both Indian and foreign, who, in their anxiety to obtain first-hand information in regard to a matter of world importance, were likely to harass and almost overwhelm the Dalai Lama and his party. While we were anxious to give protection to the Dalai Lama and his party, we were agreeable to giving these newspapermen suitable opportunities to see him. I had received an appeal from nearly 75 representatives of news agencies and newspapers from Tezpur requesting me to give them such opportunities. A senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry was, therefore, deputed to proceed to Tezpur in advance to deal with the Press representatives and photographers who had assembled in that small town of Assam. This officer made the necessary administrative arrangements to

meet, as far as possible, the wishes of newspapermen to see the Dalai Lama and to photograph him. Soon after entering India, the Dalai Lama indicated his wish to make a statement. We were later informed that this statement would be released at Tezpur. Our officer made arrangements for the distribution of a translation of the statement to the newspaper correspondents.

In view of certain irresponsible charges made, I should like to make it clear that the Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for this statement as well as a subsequent briefer statement that was made by him from Mussoorie. Our officers had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of these statements.

I need not tell the House that the Dalai Lama entered India entirely of his own volition. At no time had we suggested that he should come to India. We had naturally given thought to the possibility of his seeking asylum in India and when such a request came, we readily granted it. His entry with a large party in a remote corner of our country created special problems of transport, organization and security. We deputed an officer to meet the Dalai Lama and his party at Bomdila and to escort them to Mussoorie. The particular officer was selected because he had served as Consul-General in Lhasa and, therefore, was to some extent known to the Dalai Lama and his officials.

The selection of Mussoorie for the Dalai Lama's stay was not finalized till his own wishes were ascertained in the matter and he agreed to it. There was no desire on our part to put any undue restrictions on him, but in the special circumstances, certain arrangements had necessarily to be made to prevent any mishap. It should be remembered that the various events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and entry into India had created tremendous interest among the people of India and in the world Press.

After arrival in Mussoorie, steps were taken to prevent the Dalai Lama from being harassed by crowds of people trying to see him as well as by newspapermen. Apart from this, no restrictions about movement were placed on him. He has been told that he and his party can move about Mussoorie according to their wishes. It should be remembered that the Dalai Lama has recently not only had a long, strenuous and dangerous journey, but has also had harrowing experiences which must affect the nerves of even a hardened person. He is only just 24 years of age.

These are some bare facts, but behind these facts lie serious developments which may have far-reaching consequences. Tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose,

charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with our northern neighbour. I am sure that the House will agree with me that in considering matters of such high import, we should exercise restraint and wisdom and use language which is moderate and precise. In these days of cold war, there has been a tendency to use unrestrained language and often to make wild charges without any justification...I regret that occasionally there have been lapses from this on our side. In particular, I regret that grave discourtesy was shown some days ago to a picture of the head of the Chinese State, Mr. Mao Tse-tung. This was done by a small group of irresponsible people in Bombay. In the excitement of the moment, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept away into wrong courses.

It is not for me to make any similar appeal to the leaders, the Press and the people of China. All I can say is that I have been greatly distressed at the tone of the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China. They have used the language of cold war regardless of truth and propriety.

The charges made against India are so fantastic that I find it difficult to deal with them. There is the charge of our keeping the Dalai Lama under duress. The Chinese authorities should surely know how we function in this country and what our laws and Constitution are. Even if we were so inclined, we could not keep the Dalai Lama under some kind of detention against his will, and there can be no question of our wishing to do so. We can gain nothing by it except the burden of difficult problems.

In any event, this matter can be easily cleared. It is open to the Dalai Lama at any time to go back to Tibet or wherever he wants to. As the Panchen Lama has made himself responsible specially for some strange statements, I have stated that we would welcome him to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama himself. Should he choose to do so, every courtesy will be extended to him. I have further said that the Chinese Ambassador or any other emissary of the Chinese Government can come to India for this purpose and meet the Dalai Lama. There is no barrier for anyone to come peacefully to India, and whether we agree with him or not, we shall treat him with the courtesy due to a guest.

Another and an even stranger allegation has been made about "Indian expansionists" who, it is alleged, are inheritors of the British tradition of imperialism and expansion. It is perfectly true that British policy was one of expansion into Tibet and that they carried this out by force of arms early in this century. That was, in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to

the Tibetans. As a result of that the then British Government in India established certain extra-territorial rights in Tibet. When India became independent, we inherited some of these rights. Being entirely opposed to any such extra-territorial rights in another country we did not wish to retain them. But in the early days after independence and partition, our hands were full, as this House well knows, and we had to face very difficult situations in India.

We ignored, if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative to continue at Lhasa. Later on, an Indian took his place. Soon after the Chinese armies entered Tibet, the question of these extra-territorial rights was raised and we readily agreed to give them up. We would have given them up anyhow, whatever developments might have taken place in Tibet. We withdrew our army detachments from some places in Tibet and handed over Indian postal and telegraph installations, and rest houses. We laid down the Five Principles of the Panch Sheel and placed our relationship with the Tibet region on a new footing. What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade. Our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently in regard to Tibet is proof enough of our policy and that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet. Indeed, even from the narrowest practical point of view, any other policy would have been wrong and futile. Ever since then we have endeavoured not only to act up to the agreement we made, but to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese State and people.

It is, therefore, a matter of the deepest regret and surprise to us that charges should be made which are both unbecoming and entirely void of substance. We have conveyed this deep feeling of regret to the Chinese Government, more especially at the speeches delivered recently in the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

I stated some time ago that our broad policy was governed by three factors: (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China; and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. That policy we shall continue to follow, because we think that a correct policy not only for the present but even more so for the future. It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia—India and China—which have been peaceful neighbours, for ages past, should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy, but we hope that China also will do likewise and that

nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The five principles have laid down, *inter alia*, mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of cold war used.

I have already made it clear previously that the charge that Kalimpong was a centre of the Tibetan rebellion, is wholly unjustified. We have a large number of people of Tibetan stock living in India as Indian nationals. We have also some Tibetan emigres in India. All of these deeply respect the Dalai Lama. Some of these have been exceedingly unhappy at developments in Tibet; some no doubt have anti-Chinese sentiments. We have made it clear to them that they will not be permitted to carry on any subversive activities from India and I should like to say that by and large they have acted in accordance with the directions of the Government of India. I cannot obviously say that someone has not done something secretly, but to imagine or say that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organized a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on the imagination and to slur over obvious facts.

The Khampa revolt started in an area of China proper adjoining Tibet, more than three years ago. Is Kalimpong supposed to be responsible for that? This revolt gradually spread and no doubt created a powerful impression on the minds of large numbers of Tibetans, who had kept away from the revolt. Fears and apprehensions about their future gripped their minds and the nationalist upsurge swayed their feelings. Their fears may have been unjustified, but surely they cannot be denied. Such feelings can only be dealt with adequately by gentler methods than warfare.

When Premier Chou En-lai came here two or three years ago, he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. We had a frank and full talk. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of the Chinese State, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper, just as in other autonomous regions of the Chinese State the people were different, even though they formed part of that State. Therefore, they considered Tibet an autonomous region which would enjoy autonomy. He told me further that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet. Communism could not be enforced in this way on a very backward country and they had no wish to do so even though they would like reforms to come in progressively. Even these reforms they proposed to postpone for a considerable time.

About that time, the Dalai Lama was also here and I had long talks with him then. I told him of Premier Chou En-lai's friendly approach and of his assurance that he would respect the autonomy of Tibet. I suggested to him that he should accept these assurances in good faith and co-operate in maintaining that autonomy and bringing about certain reforms in Tibet. The Dalai Lama agreed that his country, though, according to him, advanced spiritually, was very backward socially and economically and reforms were needed.

It is not for us to say how far these friendly intentions and approaches materialized. The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society; on the other, a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile, change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently, the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed.

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

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

When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with

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

Meeting with Dalai

As I have said before, I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama three days ago at Mussoorie. He told me of the difficulties he had to face, of the growing resentment of his people at the conditions existing there and how he sought to restrain them, of his feelings that the religion of the Buddha, which was more to him than life itself, was being endangered. He said that up to the last moment he did not wish to leave Lhasa. It was only on the afternoon of March 17, when, according to him, some shells were fired at his palace and fell in a pond nearby, that the sudden decision was taken to leave Lhasa. Within a few hours the same day he and his party left Lhasa, and took the perilous journey to the Indian frontier. The departure was so hurried that even an adequate supply of clothes, etc., could not be brought.

When I met the Dalai Lama, no member of his entourage was present. Even the interpreter was our own. The Dalai Lama told me that the two statements which had been issued were entirely his own and there was no question of anybody coercing him to make them. Even though he is young, I could not easily imagine that he could be coerced into doing something he did not wish. All my sympathy goes out to this young man who at an early age has had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face tremendous responsibilities. During the last few weeks he has suffered great physical and mental strain. I advised him to rest for a while and not to take any hurried decisions. He felt very unhappy at conditions in Tibet and was specially anxious that fighting should stop.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 27*

Nehru Has Risen in Stature

London

THE *News Chronicle* and the *Yorkshire Post* to-day warmly praised Prime Minister Nehru for his speech yesterday to the Indian Parliament on the Tibetan crisis.

Reports of the speech were given considerable prominence in British newspapers here this morning:

The *News Chronicle* said that his speech had increased his stature as a statesman and diplomat.

The *Yorkshire Post* commented: "Mr. Nehru has replied with dignity to the ridiculous accusation, which the Chinese Communists are making against his country. The restraint he has shown hitherto gives added weight to his present statements."

In an editorial headlined "a statesman speaks," the *News Chronicle* described Mr. Nehru's speech as "a model of dignified restraint" and added it was all the more effective for its moderation and his obvious wish not to worsen the situation.

Referring to Mr. Nehru's statement that some thousands of Tibetan refugees had crossed the frontier into India and had been given political asylum, the paper said, "It is not easy for a poor and overpopulated country to make room for refugees, and the Indian Government deserves great credit for putting its humanitarian principles before considerations of interests."

"The Indian Government has an extraordinarily difficult task in dealing with the Tibetan crisis," the *News Chronicle* said.

As Mr. Nehru had said, India's policy was based on preservation of the security and integrity of India, her desire to maintain friendly relations with China and her deep sympathy for the people of Tibet.

"It is difficult to reconcile these three principles, but Mr. Nehru has—for the time being at least—succeeded," the newspaper added.

—*Hindu, Madras, April 28*

Tibetan Issue Handled Well

London

WHATEVER the long-term impact of the Tibetan tragedy on Sino-Indian relations, Mr. Nehru's skilful handling of the current crisis has certainly enhanced his stature as a statesman and diplomat in Western eyes.

The Prime Minister's latest statement on Tibet in Parliament has been described as a model of dignified restraint, and is regarded as all the more effective because of its tone of moderation.....

Some commentators here have been describing in eloquent terms how Sino-Indian relations have almost completed a full circle in the past ten years since the Communists came to power in China. In 1951, when Mr. Nehru protested against the Chinese invasion of Tibet, Peking Radio denounced him as a "running dog of imperialism." Then followed the phase of "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai" in the wake of the Korean war and the wave of Sino-Indian

enchantment reached its emotional peak during the visit of Mr. Nehru to China and that of Mr. Chou En-lai to India.

The inevitable ideological race between the two political systems naturally led to some cooling off of the "Bhai-Bhai" spirit and in the process Panchshila lost some of its lustre. Now China has come out with charges of Indian intervention in her internal affairs and "expansionist aims" harboured by Indian ruling circles as Peking Radio switched from cajolery to veiled threats in its references to India.

The general impression here is that this phase of Sino-Indian discord will end soon, but the relations between the two countries will not be the same again for a long time to come.

—*G. K. Reddy in the Times of India, April 28*

Devastating Rebuttal of Communist Lies

New York

THE impact of Tibet on Sino-Indian relations is being closely watched here and Mr. Nehru's latest statement is regarded by American observers as one of the most important international pronouncements of the past 10 years. They expect it would have a strong bearing on the future course of events in Asia particularly and the world in general.

The *New York Times* carried almost the full text of the statement, while the rest of the Press published long summaries.

In an editorial to-day, the *Times* says no one who has followed Mr. Nehru's policies can believe it was easy, or pleasant for him to make his latest statement. "He has based his foreign policy on the conception, that friendly, peaceful co-existence with Communist nations, specially that powerful neighbour of India's, Communist China, was both possible and desirable.....The depths of Mr. Nehru's disillusionment are only thinly hidden by the carefully chosen words he used before India's Parliament. It is a devastating rebuttal of Communist lies Mr. Nehru has issued and it will be accepted as such by the free world."

Regret at Tone of Speeches

New Delhi

The Government of India's deep regret at the tone of some of the speeches made in the National People's Congress of China criticising India's stand on the Tibetan situation was conveyed through the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi, Mr. Pan Tzu-li who was called to the External Affairs Ministry yesterday, it was learnt.

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 27*

The paper adds: "In the past, many people in Asia have scoffed at Western warnings that Communist imperialism was a new menace. Tibet has vividly confirmed those warnings as has the unbridled violence of the Chinese Communists' orgy of anti-Indian vituperation. Is it too much to hope that Mr. Nehru and others in positions of responsibility in neutralist nations, will learn the full lesson of Tibet and adjust their policies accordingly?"

The *Herald Tribune* regards Mr. Nehru's statement "as one of the most important of his career. Here is a man slow to anger, who has kept his nation apart from the cold war's turmoil, seemingly convinced that the neutral path is the only path to peace. He has also shaped this philosophy indirectly for other uncommitted lands of Asia, which look to him as the voice of a prophet. To the United States and her Allies, which have long been committed to the defence of freedom, which have no record of Communist promises made and broken, of countries like Hungary butchered, and of disarmament efforts balked, Mr. Nehru's attitude has seemed exasperating. Still, none doubts the sincerity of that attitude, or denies his right to it. But, in Monday's speech, the signs of a change were clearly visible.....Mr. Nehru's rebuttal of various charges was literate and civilised. He emphasised he would continue to work for friendship with China, but obviously the tragedy that has been enacted in Tibet, as he called it, has shaken his old views.....Throughout Asia the tide of outrage has suddenly turned against Peking. If Mr. Nehru is turning with the tide, however slightly, that is big news."

Describing Mr. Nehru's statement as a "shrewd and telling reply to Peking's spate of self-justifying charges about Tibet", the *Christian Science Monitor* says, "In effect, Mr. Nehru called attention to Peking having chosen a bayonet as its weapon, then ostentatiously chose a pillow as his. When full combat is precluded by circumstances, the pillow can be very effective against the bayonet.....The internal attacks on Mr. Nehru for his initial hesitation to criticise Peking has helped to focus Asian attention on China's role in Tibet. Now, Mr. Nehru's pillow technique—and Peking's continued broadside attacks—should keep that attention rivetted on the bayonet for some time to come."

—K. Balaraman in *Hindu*, Madras, April 29

Panchen Lama Rejects Nehru's Invitation

Peking

THE Panchen Lama, addressing the closing session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, rejected Shri Nehru's "invitation" to

go to India to meet the Dalai Lama, and said, "The Tibetan question can be solved only in Tibet".

He questioned Shri Nehru's statement that India's interest in Tibet was "historical, sentimental and religious and not essentially political".

Shri Nehru's statement, the Panchen Lama declared, "cannot explain the recent words and deeds of certain political figures in India in intervening in our internal affairs".

Later in his speech, the Panchen Lama said, "I myself and the people of Tibet hope the Dalai Lama will be able to return to the motherland at an early date to see that his long cherished wishes for Tibetan reforms are being realised smoothly....."

The Panchen Lama said his recent speech before the Congress had evoked hatred and revilement from certain Indian newspapers and journals.

"When the internal affairs of my motherland are being frenziedly interfered with by foreigners, it is not only absolutely just for me, but it is also my duty to give solemn warning in the interests of upholding the unity of the motherland and in the interests of the friendship between India and China...."

The *New China News Agency* quoted the Panchen Lama as saying about his visit to India :

"During the visit, some Indian officials often showed a certain discrimination against me in arranging receptions. My entourage had to sleep on the trains sometimes because they were not provided with housing.

"The Indian people, of course, did not know about this. I thought this might not be the arrangements arranged by the Indian Government, but this could not but make an impression on me....."

The *New China News Agency* also reported the Panchen Lama said that Buddhism once was popular in India, and there were many sacred Buddhist spots in that country, but during his visit to India in 1956 he saw for himself that the famous stupa at Sarnath and quite a number of other monasteries were in a poor state.

"We are aware that there are now few followers of Buddhism in India," the Panchen Lama went on, "but is it not strange that those people who care so little for Buddhism in their own country yet talk so much about their concern for Tibetan Buddhism and culture?"

"We are faithful religious believers but we resolutely oppose activities of intervention in another country's internal affairs conducted by any person under the pretext of religion....."

—*Free Press Journal*, Bombay, April 29

In Defence of Peking

New Delhi

MR. B. T. Ranadive, a member of the eight-man Secretariat of the Communist Party of India has attacked the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and his Government for the "sharp deterioration" in Sino-Indian relations, for charging a friendly country with "deception" and attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of China.

In a strongly-worded article published in the latest issue of the party's official organ, *New Age*, Mr. Ranadive challenged Mr. Nehru's latest statement on Tibet that China was primarily responsible for the present situation. Mr. Ranadive said :

"Private organisations and individuals are no doubt at liberty to express their opinion on world events but no Government can hail a rebellion in a friendly country as a national revolt and escape the charge of intervention in internal matters.

"And with whom are we sympathising? We sympathise with Lamaism against land reform. We sympathise with superstition against science, with serfdom against socialism—all in the name of national revolt and religion. Nasser attacks Communism in the name of Islam: We decry the march of socialism in Tibet in the name of Buddhism—we, whose country has suffered so much due to the wanton intrusion of religion into politics....."

It was plain, he said, that the Dalai Lama could not be permitted to use Indian soil to preach disintegration of Chinese territory. The sooner the thing was made clear to him the better.

In these circumstances, Mr. Ranadive argued it would have been less than human for the Chinese to swallow this without a reply. If Indians felt hurt at the charge of expansionism levelled at a few among them, should not the Chinese feel hurt when their Government was attacked as an aggressor and charged by the Prime Minister of India with deception?

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 30*

Chinese Urged to Study Nehru's Statement

Hong Kong, May 1

THE Peking *People's Daily* today urged all Chinese to give "close attention and serious study" to the statement on Tibet by Mr. Nehru, which the newspaper yesterday published in full and without comment.

A note by the newspaper's editorial board, as quoted by the *New China News Agency*, said the statement "fully expressed the views and attitude of the Indian Government towards the rebellion in Tibet."

The *People's Daily* asked: "Is the truth of the rebellion in Tibet really as Nehru put it?..... This is a vital matter for the Chinese people. We are bound to pay great attention to this matter.

"We propose that all factories, mines, enterprises, people's communes, schools, Government institutions, the armed forces, democratic parties, people's organisations and others study Mr. Nehru's statement carefully and discuss it."

The newspaper promised a detailed commentary in a few days.

—*Reuter*

"China Wants to be Friendly"

London, May 2

M. TIBOR Mende, a French writer who recently returned from a two-month tour of China, said in a B.B.C. interview last night that he believed China wanted to keep "on the best of terms with India".

M. Mende said that from the conversations he had had with Mr. Chou En-lai he was impressed by the Chinese Premier's extremely friendly references to India. M. Mende said he met the Chinese Premier in March—before the crisis in Tibet.

M. Mende said he had been told by certain Asian observers that the present attacks on India were probably largely for China's home consumption, to keep in line with her propaganda on Tibet.

—*Reuter*

Dalai Lama is A "Free Agent"

Khatmandu

If the Dalai Lama "can really return" to Lhasa that would be good for all concerned, Prime Minister Nehru told a group of Nepalese journalists in an interview yesterday on the banks of the Kosi.

The Prime Minister was talking to correspondents from Khatmandu after his meeting with King Mahendra at Birpur on the India-Nepal border.

Mr. Nehru is reported to have said that the Chinese were asking that the Dalai Lama should return to Tibet and they believed that his return would help.

He declined to comment when asked whether he personally thought that the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet would help ease the situation there.

Answering a question whether the Dalai Lama's going to Nepal could help, the Prime Minister is reported to have said that the Dalai Lama was absolutely free to go and stay anywhere he liked.

"HE IS A FREE AGENT AND CAN EVEN GO BACK TO TIBET."

He added that it would of course, be good for all concerned "if he can really return to Tibet."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 1*

Chinese Find it Distorted

Hong Kong

THE *New China News Agency* reported yesterday that Peking citizens, who studied Mr. Nehru's Tibet statement in Parliament on April 27, had decided that the Indian Prime Minister "distorted the facts of the rebellion in Tibet."

"After studying and discussing the statement for the past few days, they also generally agreed that it "openly supported the Tibetan traitors and directly defended the vicious activities of the Indian interventionists," the agency said.

Mr. Nehru's Speech, in which the Prime Minister expressed regret on the use of "cold war language" by Chinese leaders and the Press against India over Tibet, was also discussed in Shanghai, where many speakers had claimed that the statement violated the five principles of co-existence, N.C.N.A. said.

A number of Shanghai citizens had also alleged that Mr. Nehru was "distorting the facts" by saying that the Tibetan rebellion was founded on "a strong feeling of nationalism," the agency added.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 5*

Mr. Nehru Hurt and Shocked by Chinese Charges

New Delhi, May 4

MR. NEHRU today firmly declared that India would continue to hold on to the principles of the Panchshila and non-alignment despite developments in Tibet, but admitted that the Panchshila had "suffered considerably in people's minds".

Mr. Nehru was intervening in a two-hour discussion in the Rajya Sabha on the situation arising out of Tibetan events on a motion by Dr. H. N. Kunzru.

In a dignified and restrained but firm speech, the Prime Minister once again rejected Chinese charges against India which, he said, would not stand "the slightest scrutiny." He confessed to a feeling of "hurt" and "shock" that such serious charges should be made in such an irresponsible way by the leaders of a country which was "particularly advanced in culture, politeness and the gentle arts of civilisation."

Underlining the freedom enjoyed by the press, individuals and parties in a democracy, Mr. Nehru suggested that probably some of the Chinese reactions were due to unfamiliarity with these. He gently chided the Chinese for disbelieving Indian versions of facts and events in India, saying, "We ought to know better about things in India than someone in Peking who gets his information from intelligence agents in Kalimpong or somewhere."

"It is different here from what it is in China. I am not saying it is better, but it is different. Even in their language, the criticisms in China have an amazing unanimity and similarity. Their slogans coming from various quarters show an amount of uniformity which is truly formidable," Mr. Nehru stated.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had referred to a very unfortunate incident which happened in Bombay where Chairman Mao Tse-tung's picture was shown grave discourtesy. "I should like to refer to that to express my regret again for it and at the same time to say that the facts of the incidents as I know and know them correctly—we can know them a little better than people sitting in Peking—our version of these facts is not wholly accepted by the Peking Government. It is surprising.

"However, it was a very regrettable incident. Obviously the Government had nothing to do with it. The party which organised it is not represented in this House even. But what is not realised is that in the city of Bombay, pictures even of Mahatma Gandhi have been burnt by some groups or others two years ago. My humble self also has been treated in that way in Bombay and elsewhere. We take that in our stride.

"A few years back President Eisenhower's effigy had the honour of being burnt in the Ochterlony Monument (Calcutta). I regret all these cases. But these things happen in a country like ours because of our laws etc. They are grave breaches of decency. We regret it, but people outside the country do not realise it and seem to imagine that somehow or other the Government or some Government officials must have connived at it. Or they think we should take the people who have done it by the scruff of the neck and throw them in a dark dungeon....."

Why "God King"

New Delhi

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, advised the Indian press today not to use the expression "God King" to refer to the Dalai Lama.

Mr. Nehru, who was speaking on the developments in Tibet in the Rajya Sabha, ended his speech with what he called "A word to the press".

Mr. Nehru said: "I do not broadly fancy this sensational way of referring to the Dalai Lama as 'God King.' In fact I do not think he likes it either. It is not an Indian way but a foreign way of doing things. I hope it will not be used."

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 4*

First of all, Mr. Nehru said, "We must realise what we are aiming at. We are not merely aiming at denouncing somebody, some Government. There has been too much denunciation and slogan-baiting, I regret to say, in China recently. Some of the slogans have been quite extraordinary, but I do not think we should be so thin-skinned as to be upset in the excitement of the moment. We must not be led off the main path because that has considerable consequences in the future."

Mr. Nehru said, "Some people asked: 'After all that has happened, do you still stand by them?' It is a curious question. If those principles are right we hold to them and we should hold on to them even though nobody in the wide world likes them. We cannot live in isolation, but a principle should be acted upon even though somebody else does not act upon it. So I should like to assure members opposite that so far as the Government is concerned—I cannot speak for every individual in India—we hold to those principles and we should endeavour to act upon them whatever other countries may or may not do....."

The Prime Minister hoped that the present difficulties which they had to face in relation to the happenings in Tibet would gradually pass. "But it is a tragedy, not only to Tibet but a deeper tragedy for many of us that something we had laboured on for all these years, which may be somewhat said to be enshrined in the Panchshila or Bandung (Declaration), has suffered very considerably in people's minds. I may say I hold on to it. But in people's minds there is that crack, suffering, that uneasiness that something they valued might slip away.

"I have come more and more to believe that means are even more important than ends. They shape ends. That is why I have been grieved beyond measure at these various recent developments and what has been said in China, charges made against India.

"But Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had not a word to say about all this, not a word.

"What have we done about this matter of Tibet apart from speeches and odd things?" The Prime Minister asked, and added, "We have received the Dalai Lama and party. Subsequently we have received some thousands of refugees. We have given them asylum and it is admitted that as a sovereign country we have every right to do so and no one else can be a judge of that except ourselves." (Cheers).

"Is it suggested that we should have refused to give asylum to the Dalai Lama when he asked for it? If it is suggested by someone outside India I can tell them that—I do not know about all—out of 400 million people I doubt if even a few thousands

would have agreed with that policy. Hundreds and millions of Indians would have become angry at that action of ours if we had refused asylum to the Dalai Lama and his party. It was an impossible policy and an utterly wrong thing for us to do—political, humanitarian, anyway you like. That is what we have done.

"Of course we are charged with having connived at Kalimpong being a commanding centre of the revolution in Tibet. Now it is said that the commanding centre has shifted to Mussoorie. I know words have lost their meaning. I find it very difficult to deal with these charges. Why has the commanding centre gone to Mussoorie? Because the Dalai Lama is there and because a brother of the Dalai Lama who lives in Darjeeling went there, met him and afterwards went back to Darjeeling or Kalimpong.

"Thus very serious charges against a country or a country's leaders are being made irresponsibly in this way by the leaders of a people whom we have not only honoured and respected, but whom we consider to be particularly advanced in culture, politeness and the gentle arts of civilisation. It has been a shock to me beyond measure. Because I have looked up to the Chinese, and look up to them still because of their great accomplishments, their great culture and all that, it has been a shock to me that this kind of thing should be said and done in the excitement of the moment. I hope that excitement will pass."

Mr. Nehru then narrated to the House the chronology of the trouble in Tibet as it came to India's knowledge.....

"It was at this time, speaking in the Lok Sabha, that I said that there was a clash of wills in Lhasa—whether it was a correct description or not I do not know. There was no actual fighting going on at that time. That came a few days later on March 20. How it started I do not know nor does our Consul-General know.....

"Then the question came before us about the possibility of the Dalai Lama coming here and we decided we should receive him if he came. As the House may know, I resisted when I was asked repeatedly, 'Are you going to throw your doors open to refugees?' I resisted all that, although in my mind I knew we could not refuse asylum to people coming here in grave difficulty. But I did not want to say it and invite people to rush into India. That is the story of what has happened and what we have done.

"Now we are called expansionists, imperialists and what not. All kinds of phrases, which I suppose do not make any real difference to what we are but

nevertheless coming from those whom we consider and considered friends, it hurt us."

The Prime Minister recalled India's memorandum to the Chinese Government in 1950 and said that the Chinese reply was not very polite. These things were now being referred to in the Chinese press. It was said that India wrote that memorandum after consultations with the British Government, "that although we called ourselves independent, we were acting as tool or stooges of the British Government. This was completely wrong and untruthful. There was no question of consulting the British Government—our view was different from that of the British Government."

The Prime Minister said he had been greatly distressed to read the statement of the Panchen Lama (in reply to Mr. Nehru's suggestion in Mussoorie that the Panchen Lama was free to visit India and meet the Dalai Lama.)

"I was rather distressed that such a statement should be made, so lacking in generosity and dignity, by a person who had been our honoured guest." Mr. Nehru said that he did not know about the "petty things" that the Panchen Lama had said about his entourage not having proper accommodation. In Aurangabad or somewhere there might have been some difficulty because the entourage was rather big and it had not been always possible to make as good preparations as were desired.

Influx of Refugees

About the refugees from Tibet, Mr. Nehru said that according to the latest reports some 6,500 refugees were on the way down to the plains through the Kameng division of NEFA, 1,500 refugees were coming through Bhutan and some 300 or so had come into Sikkim. The Bhutan Government had asked the Government of India to receive the refugees coming through its territory and this had been agreed to. There were nearly 9,000 refugees in all for whom India had made itself responsible and had to make some kind of arrangements.

The Prime Minister said that broadly speaking they did intend to allow the refugees to earn their own living. It was not intended to keep them in camps and as a burden on the Government. In fact they had instructed their officers to tell these people at the borders that the Government of India would not assume responsibility for their indefinite upkeep.

Mr. Nehru said that Mr. Shiva Rao had said something about China's admission to the U.N. "Obviously our policy in regard to the entry of the People's Republic of China into the U.N. remains as it was. That is based on certain facts. It does not

mean that because we get angry with something that has happened in China we change our policy. That will mean we have no firm policy, but are deflected by temporary happenings in the world."

"National Uprising"

Referring to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's objection to the use of the words "national uprising" in regard to the events in Tibet, Mr. Nehru said: "I do not know exactly what happened in Tibet. But as I said in my previous statement even according to the Chinese accounts this was a fairly big affair, a very large-scale affair. Also, looking at the surrounding circumstances as well as the past history of Tibet one can very well imagine that apart from such so-called people representing vested interests, it has affected large numbers of Tibetan people.

"I cannot say whether they are in a majority or a minority, but large numbers are affected even to the extent of their taking this step which was very dangerous. No one does that unless one feels strongly about it. But anyhow so far as we are concerned we have not interfered in it either in Kalimpong or Mussoorie or elsewhere."

Mr. Nehru refuted the remarks in a foreign journal that the Dalai Lama was being kept behind barbed wires and said that the security authorities had put barbed wire round the bungalow before the Dalai Lama's arrival in order to keep out all sorts of people. This was for purposes of protection and security.

Mr. Nehru recalled his statement (at Mussoorie) that he would be happy if the Dalai Lama went back to Tibet and said the press had very much sensationalised this. "I did say something in reply to some question. Naturally I would be happy if he went back with dignity. But that does not mean that I am going to push him out or put him in any embarrassing position or situation. It is entirely for him to decide."

—P.T.I.

Chinese Charges Anger M.P.s

New Delhi

A POINT of order on the constitutionality of discussion in the Rajya Sabha of a motion on Tibet was today ruled out by the Chairman, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Dr. Kunzru then formally moved his motion and said that the Prime Minister had dealt with some of the most important issues arising out of the situation with admirable restraint and dignity.

He had set an example which, he hoped, everyone in the House would follow during the discussion. None could deny that the reaction in India to the situation arising out of events in Tibet was strong and swift.

In Parliament all parties except the Communists had expressed their concern. Similarly all except Communists had received with joy Mr. Nehru's statement about the entry of the Dalai Lama in India.

Dr. Kunzru then briefly referred to various charges made in China against India. He said that the responsibility for the events in Tibet had been placed on shoulders that could not be justifiably expected to bear. He was reminded (by the Chinese statement about the Tibetan upper strata being responsible) of the situation connected with the Hungarian revolt when it was tried to be made out that the revolt was due to the actions of capitalists, imperialists and others.

But a little later it became clear that the revolt was a national revolt. Everybody would agree with the Prime Minister that the revolt in Tibet could not be as easily explained away as the Chinese authorities had tried to do. The revolt was due to a national upsurge, and it would be good for China and the whole world if this fact were frankly recognised.

Dr. Kunzru greatly regretted the words used by the Panchen Lama and the manner in which facts had been twisted in order to bring accusations against India. The charge of discourtesy had been brought nearly three years after the event.

"I am in a position to say that he was treated with every mark of respect and that the hospitality shown to him could scarcely have been improved upon."

Dr. Kunzru said that another charge was that Tibetan leaders, including one of the Dalai Lama's brothers, had moved from Kalimpong to Mussoorie and there was every reason to suspect that Mussoorie would become a new commanding centre of the Tibetan rebels.

"I am sorry to say it is clear that no accusation is too fantastic to be brought against India by interested parties.

"The Prime Minister had made it clear that the Government of India which has not allowed the Tibetans at Kalimpong to indulge in anti-Chinese activities will not permit anyone in Mussoorie to prejudice the relations between these two countries in this crisis. Statements like this show how desperate is the position of those who want to accuse India directly or indirectly of complicity in the Tibet revolt." Referring to the charge of India interfering in China's internal affairs by discussing them in Parliament Dr. Kunzru said that policies of other countries in respect of the manner they treated their colonies had been criticised in Parliament.

French policy in Algeria and British policies in Kenya and the Central African Federation had also been criticised. India had recognised Chinese suzera-

inty over Tibet subject to Tibetan autonomy. The Prime Minister would have failed in his duty had he not expressed his own feelings and those of the whole country with regard to the Tibetan upheaval.

Dr. Kunzru added: "It is no pleasure to me to appear to disagree with Chinese policy in regard to Tibet. But situated as we are, considering the centuries-old connections between India and Tibet, the ancient relations and cultural ties that bind the two, was it reasonable for anyone to expect that we would maintain silence at this juncture?"

Dr. Kunzru said the Chinese Prime Minister has referred in the National People's Congress to the undetermined boundary lines between China and certain neighbouring countries in South-East Asia and had said "these boundaries could be reasonably settled through peaceful negotiations."

China's claim to any territories controlled by other countries raised a serious question. But in any case "I venture to think that the time chosen by him to refer to this question was scarcely opportune.

"I fervently hope that he did not want to make India aware of the existence of a new frontier in the north-east."

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta (Communist - West Bengal) said: "I submit that what happened in Tibet was an armed rebellion of some people, vested interests and reactionary circles with a view to preventing the march of history and social reforms. It seems they profit by obscurantism, extreme backwardness and dark superstition."

The Tibetan Government, he said, had revoked the 17-point agreement with China on March 12, a week before the incidents of March 17 (when the Dalai Lama left Lhasa). The Tibetan Government had "clearly violated Articles 1, 3 and 12 of the 1951 agreement," he added.

Mr. Gupta said he felt "upset" when a learned historian and scholar like the Prime Minister characterised the situation as a national uprising.

Mr. Gupta was frequently interrupted by the P.-S.P. member, Mr. R. P. Sinha, to give the Communist reaction instead of giving world reactions.

Mr. Gupta said that it was the same Western Press which had painted Prime Minister Nehru in the darkest colour when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested in 1953 and had criticised the Indian Government in connection with the Naga rebellion that had now described the Tibetan rebellion as a "freedom struggle."

Stating that there was "some deterioration" in the situation (Sino-Indian relations) Mr. Gupta said that the situation must be faced realistically. A

majority of people in this country were interested naturally in overcoming the difficulties, setting matters right and developing, mending and strengthening relations with China.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 4*

The Original Mistake

Trivandrum

MR. JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN said here today that he was "not fully satisfied" with the handling of the Tibetan issue by the Government of India.

The Sarvodaya leader, addressing a news conference said, the Government went wrong at the very start. He did not think that it was right for the Government to have agreed to the suzerainty of China over Tibet. The present "inadequacy" of the Government policy was due to that original mistake, he said.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 14*

Reds Resent Freedom to Rebels

New Delhi

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India declared here today that the Tibetan

rebellion had nothing to do with the interests of the Tibetan people.

It attacked the P.-S.P. and "some others" for distorting and exploiting the situation to disturb Indo-Chinese relations and undermining panchshila and India's foreign policy.

The Committee fervently appealed to the nation to grasp the real significance of the Tibetan events and to defend Indo-Chinese friendship and India's foreign policy in the interest of not only the two countries but of all Afro-Asian peoples and world peace.

In a 1,500-word resolution on "strengthening friendship between India and China", the Central Executive blamed the "imperialists" for advancing their "intrigues and aggressive plans" against Indo-Chinese friendship which progressively isolated and pushed back the "instigators" of the U.S.-Pak pact and SEATO from the Afro-Asian countries.

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 13*

NEHRU: A Few Home-Truths for the Chinese

New Delhi, May 8

PRIME Minister Nehru to-day called for a halt in the use of the "cold war" language against China. He said that the cold war technique would only widen the gulf between the two countries and lessen the possibility of India rendering any help in finding a solution of the Tibetan problem. Mr. Nehru was speaking in the course of the debate on Tibet in the Lok Sabha.

Lest his appeal for restraint should be construed as weakness, Mr. Nehru reiterated his Government's stand on Tibet even more firmly and pointedly than in the past. He listed in precise terms the reasons for his and his Government's irritation against the Chinese.

He said that the persistent publication of Chinese maps showing large areas of Indian territory as belonging to China had been a factor for creating continual irritation in the minds of the Indian people. He found it difficult to understand why the Chinese Government failed to remove the error in spite of repeated reminders. The retention of an old map on the ground that it was the legacy of a former regime could not be justified. Mr. Nehru said that naturally the Chinese attitude roused misgivings....

Mr. Nehru made several remarks to-day which went to confirm that, recently, the Chinese have begun to entertain a high opinion of themselves, and that they did not bother about the feelings of other friendly countries. In one place while recalling Tibetan history, Mr. Nehru said that the Chinese

always looked down on Tibetans and regarded themselves as overlords of Tibet from the time of Chengiz Khan right down to Chiang Kai-shek and the present Communist Government in Peking. He added, "The Chinese looked down on everyone else as lesser than themselves and considered themselves as a celestial race." Mr. Nehru said that if some people in China thought they could frighten India they were entirely wrong. Again, he said, if the Chinese started telling him what he should or should not do, it was bound to irritate him. At another place he said that though China may be strong, he would say that even from the Chinese viewpoint it was not a good thing to have a hostile India. He added he was not talking in the Military sense. Of course, by way of balancing things, he conceded the right of the Chinese to react in exactly the same way as he did.

Mr. Nehru traced the Chinese tendency to use irresponsible and sweeping allegations to her being part of a military block system. He said that China was intimately connected with the cold war and got used to expressing herself in a language which was not right in dealing with international politics. Mr. Nehru repeated that the cold war technique was not good and India would always react strongly against it. The use of soft and friendly language did not denote weakness at all. Again, while reaffirming India's sympathy with the Tibetans, "who are being oppressed and sat upon", Mr. Nehru said that the cold war methods had so changed the ways of

thinking, that there was divergence in regard to the meaning of even commonly understood terms. For instance, the Chinese had been repeatedly saying that they intended to maintain Tibet's autonomous character. But while normally autonomy conveyed a certain meaning, the Chinese interpretation seemed to be quite different. Again, the Chinese had stated publicly and privately that it was not their desire to force the pace of reforms in Tibet. But what had actually happened was that the Tibetan society, which had been completely isolated for hundreds of years has suddenly been thrown into the cold war.

He said that the forcible uprooting of established society was a painful thing and changes could only take place effectively with the consent of the people themselves with help and advice from friends. Mr. Nehru reminded the Chinese that even a good thing, if it was imposed would produce a bad reaction. To the Communist theory that the Tibetan revolt was confined to a handful of feudal landlords Mr. Nehru effectively pointed to the ten thousand Tibetan refugees now in India and asked whether they were all landlords. He did not think that in the whole of Tibet there were 10,000 feudal landlords. Mr. Nehru agreed that Tibet could not long remain static and said that the Dalai Lama also held the same view.

‘Born in Sin’

Mr. Kripalani, recalling his speeches made in the last ten years, maintained that he had consistently disagreed with Mr. Nehru's appraisal of the Chinese Government and the people. He maintained that the Panch Sheel conceived in the context of Tibet, was "born in sin". He was emphatic, "China will never be friendly to India. I have never believed in the Chinese professions and promises". He said that recently China, besides becoming supersensitive to criticism, had developed an attitude of indifference towards her neighbours.

He asked how else one would explain the manner in which China was alienating the friendship and wounding the sentiments of the entire South East Asian countries.

A part of the debate turned out to be an inquisition of the Indian Communist Party's conduct in the Tibetan episode. Mr. Kripalani posed numerous questions for a straight answer from Communists and he was supported in his demand by Dr. Subbaroyan, who spoke for the Congress Party.

Mr. Dange's Admission

The Communist leader, Mr. Dange, said in plain terms that the Chinese accusation against Mr. Nehru and his Government as being expansionists was

incorrect. He said that the Chinese had in mind only the Tibetan rebels and not the Government of India when they referred to the Dalai Lama being held under duress. About China's maps which included large Indian territories Mr. Dange said that if it was so the error must be rectified by the Chinese. He did not mind asylum being given to the Dalai Lama and his followers though he would not like them to cause friction between India and China by their speeches and activities.

Mr. Nehru turned down Mr. Vajpayee's proposal that the Dalai Lama should be given full freedom to organise a movement in India for the independence of Tibet and allow Indian volunteers to help him in this task.

"I should like to make that perfectly clear. I may say in passing that we have laid no limitations on the Dalai Lama, except limitations of good sense and propriety of which he (the Dalai Lama) himself has to judge. But for the member (Mr. Vajpayee) to suggest that we should allow him (the Dalai Lama) to do something which he (the Dalai Lama) himself has not suggested, that is to make India the headquarters of some kind of a campaign (to liberate Tibet) and allow the member (Mr. Vajpayee) or members of his party (Jan Sangh) to join the campaign, is something which seems to me so odd, so remarkable an utterance that I cannot imagine how he (Mr. Vajpayee) could have made it himself if he (Mr. Vajpayee) had thought about it. It has no relation to facts in the world or India or China or anywhere else...."

"If we accept Mr. Vajpayee's statement, we should more or less prepare for armed conflict on this issue. It is an absurd situation. I take it that we aim at, whatever problems may arise, a peaceful solution of these problems. These solutions are not brought about by warlike speeches and approaches."

Mr. Nehru said that China herself being part of a military bloc system was intimately concerned with the cold war and they had got used to ways of expressing their opinion in cold war language. Personally he did not think that the cold war technique was right....

Mr. Nehru said that India should pursue its present policy because of its inherent rightness. "May be we are swept away, but we think calmly and coolly. We must adhere to that policy."

Mr. Nehru said that, according to Mr. Dange, it was the feudal landlords who were being suppressed, while others held it was the common people who were suppressed. "I have no doubt in my mind that it is difficult to draw a line in such cases between the top feudal elements and others. They all got mixed together and as a result for the moment they

are all uprooted. Where a society had existed for hundreds and hundreds of years, the change should be slow. It could be rapid if there was a measure of co-operation but any kind of forceful uprooting must be painful."

Mr. Nehru turned down a suggestion that the Tibetan problem could be solved by summoning a conference of all countries. He did not think that it could be solved in that manner....

Referring to the inclusion of Indian areas in Chinese maps, Mr. Nehru said that there was no doubt that "this continuance of what are called old maps in China which show certain very large areas of Indian territory as if they belong to the Chinese has been a factor of creating continual irritation in the minds of people in this country".

It had been difficult for the people of India, naturally, to understand why that kind of thing continued indefinitely year after year. It was not a question of some odd little pocket, here or there. There were two such areas about which there was going to be discussion. The maps were factually untrue and could hardly be justified on the ground that they were included during the Chiang Kai-shek regime or previous regimes.

Dalai Lama's Residence

Mr. Nehru denied that the Dalai Lama had been accommodated in any big palace at Mussoorie. It was an exaggeration to say so. The accommodation was not the choice of the Dalai Lama. The residence chosen for him at Mussoorie was slightly bigger than a normal house at the place. It was chosen because accommodation had to be found for a number of people.

Refer Tibet Issue To U.N.—Convention Plea

Jullundur

AN all-party Tibet convention today expressed concern over the recent developments in Tibet and urged the Government of India to refer the issue to the United Nations.

The convention, presided over by Mr. Virendra, MLC (Punjab), was of the view that the Chinese Government by its armed intervention in Tibet had flouted the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 1951 and damaged the spirit of Panch Sheel. It looked upon the Tibet episode as a "warning to all who cherish the right of the people to shape their destiny."

The convention asserted that reconciliation between Tibet and China, on the basis of unequivocal recognition of the Tibetan right of self-determination, was essential.

The convention resented the "violent, virulent and false propaganda" going on in China against

Mr. Nehru said that nobody was prevented from meeting the Dalai Lama except of course newspapermen. He said that newspapermen who had come from other countries in search of a sensation were not welcome because "we do not like this occurrence to be kept at a sensation level. We are not at all anxious that so many correspondents should go there and besiege him."

Acharya Kripalani: Why not allow some Communist friends to go and see him?

Mr. Nehru: We shall allow both our Communist friends and P.-S.P. friends to go and see him.

Mr. Nehru said that Mr. Dange had explained that the shelling of the Dalai Lama's palace at Lhasa might be due to bad marksmanship. "It is not bad marksmanship," he said, "but they (shells) were deliberately sent there as a kind of warning."

After Mr. Nehru had concluded his speech, Mr. T. K. Chaudhuri referred to the Dalai Lama's election as a Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and asked whether the Chinese Ambassador in India would be permitted to see the Dalai Lama. He asked whether India had been informed officially about the Dalai Lama's election as Vice-Chairman.

Mr. Nehru replied that Government had not received any information, but as he had stated previously, it was open to the Chinese Ambassador to see him.

Dr. Sushila Nayar asked whether there were any feudal lords among the 10,000 refugees to which Mr. Nehru replied that he could not give any description of all of them "but it is hardly likely that Tibet will produce 10,000 landlords".

India. It held that "the fantastic allegation of expansionism against our country, disparaging remarks against some of our national leaders and veiled threats expose the Communist technique of vilification and intimidation."

It warned the Chinese authorities that "the slanderous language of cold war cannot deter India from expressing her solidarity with the freedom-loving Tibetans...."

Mr. Ganga Saran Sinha, chairman of the Praja-Socialist Party, said that the Government should bring international pressure to get the right of self-determination for Tibetans....

Master Tara Singh said that no country had the right to interfere in the affairs of Tibet. China's "aggression against Tibet has brought the cold war to our doors. Our Government, through the policy,

of non-alignment, is trying to keep the cold war away but people should prepare themselves for all eventualities....."

Mr. N. G. Goray, general secretary of the Praja-Socialist Party, said that there was no need of holding a plebiscite in Tibet as Tibetan refugees crossing into India in thousands had "voted with their feet....."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, May 10*

Indians Cold-shouldered

Darjeeling

A RELIABLE account of the recent happenings at Gyantse can at last be gathered from a source who was there during the uprising. According to him, it can be said without exaggerating that certain Indian officials posted in Tibet have received a cold-shoulder from the Chinese.

An aura of suspicion surrounds all talks between Indians and influential Tibetans—be they Government officials, businessmen or lamas. Any Tibetan seen talking earnestly to Indian officials is subjected to questionings and made to understand that such behaviour is frowned upon by the Communist officialdom.

When a certain Indian mission urgently required oxygen for an employee who was critically ill, supply from the Chinese hospital was put off under many pretexts till the mission was forced to indent from a neighbouring Indian mission the supply, which eventually arrived too late. It is under such difficult conditions that some Indian missions in Tibet are now working.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, May 11*

11,500 Cross Over

New Delhi

THE total number of refugees who have so far crossed the Tibetan border is nearly 11,500. These include 1,500 who have crossed into Bhutan and 200 to 300 into Sikkim.

The first batch of 200 refugees is expected to reach Misamari camp tomorrow and will be received, among others, by the Finance Minister of the Dalai Lama's Cabinet who has gone from Mussoorie for the purpose.

One of the 13 dignitaries among the refugees who have crossed into India is the chief monk of the Kundling Monastery.

While arrangements are being completed to accommodate the refugees in various camps, it is not yet possible to say whether the influx has ended.

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 12*

Refugees Urged to Return

Calcutta

THE Chinese want Tibetan refugees in Bhutan to return, according to a reliable source in Gangtok.

It is stated that the Chinese authorities have sent a letter to the refugees in Bhutan assuring them that all would be well if they return and that no action would be taken against them.

Nearly 1,500 Tibetans have so far crossed the border and entered Bhutan.

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 12*

Reds Disapprove India's Tibet Policy

New Delhi

IN a 1,500-word resolution, innocuously styled "strengthening friendship between India and China," the Central Executive of the party has taken the Prime Minister to task for describing the Tibetan revolt as a "national uprising."

The Executive has rebuked Mr. Nehru for having "permitted himself" on several occasions in recent weeks "to take positions and make utterances which cannot be reconciled with his own foreign policy and its guiding principle, the Panch Sheel, on whose basis alone India's relations with the Republic of China can be upheld and carried forward."

It reminds him: "Tibet is an integral part of China. Developments in Tibet are therefore, an internal affair of the Chinese People's Republic. Any tendency to forget this basic fact or minimize its significance cannot but create grave complications, give rise to misunderstanding and weaken the bond of friendship between India and China."

The resolution insinuates that the Government have been subjected to a "very powerful pressure from certain reactionary quarters" in pursuing their present policy on Tibet. These quarters, the resolution says, still dream of Tibet as a buffer State under their influence.....

The resolution repeats the charge of "interventionism" against Indian political parties. The parties named are the Praja-Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha with whom "some prominent Congressmen have also joined hands to damage the cause which their leader, Mr. Nehru, has advocated....."

It however, confesses that events in Tibet have been responsible for "damaging and disturbing" this "friendship." The entire blame for this is laid at the door of India.....

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, May 31*

India's Stand Maintained with Dignity and Restraint

Gharlabad

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, today referred to the attacks made on India by the Chinese press and leaders over the Tibet issue and said that, in spite of this, India had continued to maintain her stand with restraint and dignity.

The Prime Minister said that the reason why India did so was not because she was afraid of anybody but because, "We think that this is the sensible course."

Mr. Nehru was addressing a largely-attended public meeting here. . . .

Referring to Tibetan refugees coming to India, Mr. Nehru said that about 12,000 of them had arrived. It certainly meant a burden on the country, "but we are not going to throw them out."

It had been the tradition of India, said Mr. Nehru that whosoever came to her door for refuge had been welcomed and made a friend of the family. "When we receive these Tibetan refugees and look after them, it is in the best traditions of our country."

—Times of India, Bombay, May 15

"Autonomy Under Reds A Myth"

Poona, May 21

MR. N. G. Goray, M.P. and General Secretary of the Praja-Socialist Party, said here today that "the

tragedy of Tibet" had once again proved that autonomy under a Communist Government was "an empty myth."

Speaking on "the problem of Tibet" under the auspices of the Spring Lecture Series, Mr. Goray said that the Communists have liquidated the Lama rule on the plea that it was feudal and anti-progressive, but when they liquidated the Nagy regime in Hungary, which was admittedly communistic, the reason given was that it was playing into the hands of Western imperialists.

Tibet now Permanent Threat to Nepal

Khatmandu

REGARDING the Tibet situation there is identity of views, if not of assessment, between the Government of India and Nepal. The present Nepal Government's assessment of the situation seems to be that the liquidation of Tibet's autonomy poses a permanent threat to her security. This may not be by any direct attack but by using certain elements in Nepal for subversive purposes.

It is also feared that the presence of Chinese forces on the frontiers might be a source of pressure on Nepal. Nepal, however, is determined to follow the policy of neutrality.

This assessment is understood to have been conveyed to Mr. Nehru.

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 13

A Buffer State

Madras

The crux of the Tibetan problem is that Tibet is a buffer state between India and China, and we should never have allowed the independence of Tibet to be destroyed without protest, said Acharya J. B. Kripalani at a Press conference here today.

Recognition of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet by Prime Minister Nehru and his Government was an error, he declared.

Suzerainty in ancient times, Acharya Kripalani remarked, signified a mere formality and a courtesy—the receiving of a few presents now and then. The independence of the State over which the so-called suzerainty was supposed to be exercised was always left intact.

So far as India was concerned Tibet was fundamentally a political problem. Tibet was a buffer between India and China and its status as such had to be preserved in the interests of India's security, he said. . . .

—Indian Express, Bombay, May 18

India will not Raise the Issue in UN

Khatmandu, June 14

PRIME Minister Nehru told a Press conference here today that India did not intend taking the Tibetan question to the United Nations.

Mr. Nehru said that he did not envisage any threat to the Indian frontier because of Tibetan developments.

A correspondent asked if the Dalai Lama's stay in India would help to solve the Tibetan question. Mr. Nehru said, "I cannot say that. A wound of heart takes time to heal. Moreover, a solution does not depend on top men. There are so many factors involved."

To a question whether the Tibetan situation warranted reconsideration of the defence system of Nepal and India and whether he thought the present system adequate, Mr. Nehru replied that if the question suggested any threat from the North then "I do not envisage any such threat."

Indians will Help Tibet— Jayaprakash

Raipur

SPEAKING at a public meeting Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan urged the Dalai Lama to make clear, in the meantime, his future programme regarding Tibet at his proposed Press conference. He told him that the people in India were willing to help Tibet to the maximum but they would go only to the extent the Dalai Lama was willing and no further.

Mr. Narayan pointed out that it was the greatest blunder in Mr. Nehru's foreign policy to have recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. While he wanted friendly relations with China, the Sarvodaya leader feared that our neutrality was violated when we did not boldly point out mistakes committed by that country. He urged the people and the Government of India to create strong world opinion in favour of Tibet, which should condemn Chinese aggression and demand the right of self-determination for the people of that country.

Mr. Narayan characterized Chinese action in Tibet as "daylight dacoity and robbery." He demanded the future of Tibet to be decided under some recognized international body like the UN, followed by the withdrawal of the Chinese army....

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, June 18*

Plan to Disperse Refugees

Tezpur

....It is learnt that the Government as well as the Dalai Lama's advisers do not desire that Tibetans should live in Misamari permanently or even till such time as conditions in Tibet might develop favourably for refugees (including the Dalai Lama)—in view of the hot and malarious climate prevailing here most of the year. Besides N.-E.F.A., Assam may retain a small number of Tibetans, suitable hilly and cold areas being available there.

Thus dispersed, all Tibetans will be completely taken out of the Misamari camp by the end of September, according to the present estimate.

A certain American non-official organization offering relief to Tibetan refugees has also desired to take out a limited number of educated young men

having a working knowledge of English for training for higher education in the United States, but this offer has not yet been accepted by the Foreign Office. It is further understood that refugees (including the incarnate Lamas) who desire to continue adherence to Tibetan Buddhism and to study Tibetan scriptures will be granted all facilities in any monasteries in India, Sikkim or Nepal.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, June 19*

Support Tibet's Right to Self-Determination— 'Jayaprakash Narayan's Call

Mussoorie

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, who had a three-hour meeting with the Dalai Lama this afternoon, said in an interview that he agreed with the view that, with Saturday's press conference, the Dalai Lama had burnt his boats as far as the Chinese were concerned.

But, he declared, there was need for the Tibetan issue to be taken up at the international level. In particular, the Afro-Asian nations should declare themselves openly on behalf of Tibet's right to self-determination—a principle which even Mr. Nehru had proclaimed when the question was first raised in 1950 following the Chinese invasion of Tibet....

With regard to the possibility of the Tibetan question being raised in the United Nations, he recalled that Mr. Hammerskjold, Secretary-General, had already been talking about it. World opinion was a great force now, he said. Even the Chinese might not prove as immune to it as was generally thought....

He stoutly defended the stand taken by the Dalai Lama in demanding the reversion of Tibet to its pre-1950 status. The Sino-Tibetan treaty had been given a fair trial and found unworkable, he said.

Asked if it would be correct to describe the former status of Tibet as independent and sovereign, as claimed by the Dalai Lama, he said that while, before 1950, Tibet's autonomy was real and Chinese sovereignty nominal, under the Sino-Tibetan treaty, the position had been reversed....

—*Times of India, Bombay, June 22*

VI

CHINA REPLIES

"The victorious proletariat can force no blessings of any kind upon any foreign nation without undermining its own victory by so doing."

—FREDERICK ENGELS

"If Finland, if Poland, if the Ukraine break away from Russia, there is nothing bad about that. Anyone who says there is, is a chauvinist. It would be madness to continue the policy of Tsar Nicholas. . . . No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations."

—V. I. LENIN

Quoted in PETER FRYER, *Hungarian Tragedy*
(Dobson), London, 1956

Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will threats of "halter" intimidate. For, under God, we are determined that wheresoever, whensoever, or however we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.

—JOSIAH QUINCY

CHINA REPLIES

Chinese Mission to Tibet

Khatmandu

THE Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has sent a five-member mission to Lhasa with instructions to carry out a programme of weeding out "reactionaries" in Tibet who "stand in the way of modernizing Tibet on Socialistic lines," according to a report reaching here.

The despatch of the mission followed a request from Tibet's 10,000-strong Communist Party which complained of the "lukewarm" attitude of the Tibetan authorities towards the Lamas whose opposition forced the authorities earlier this year to abandon the Socialistic programme in Tibet including nationalization of monastery properties, the report said.....

The Tibetan Communist Party at its first session in September 1956 called upon the Lamas to agree to nationalization of monastery lands and a system of allowance "to keep up the traditional standard" of the Lamas.

Later, however, the Chinese Chairman himself had declared that no drastic socialization programme would be undertaken in Tibet within the next six years.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, Jan. 1, 1958*

Peking's Plan for Tibet

Washington

RECLAMATION of virgin land, construction of railways, highways, and factories form part of a 7-point programme for 1959 in Tibet, according to a Peking radio broadcast.

The announcement, listed the programme as follows:

(1) To carry out intensively and on a large scale propaganda and educational work on patriotism and socialism to consider the restoration and establishment of social education classes in Lhasa and other places.

(2) To cultivate and train cadres systematically and on a rational basis to organise cadres in groups to visit and to practise in various minority areas in the interior in 1959. In addition, to the establishment of Tibetan area cadre schools, and primary and secondary schools, and short-term training classes in Lhasa.

(3) To reclaim virgin land and to plant trees in both urban and rural areas.

(4) To energetically support the construction of railways, highways and factories.

(5) To carry out public health and sports activities.

(6) To consolidate the working system of various government offices to raise work efficiency.

(7) To appropriately organise cadres to participate in manual labour.

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, Dec. 31, 1958*

Chinese Break Ground

THE Communists have not given up their dream of communising Tibet, but having once burnt their fingers rather badly they do not want to force the pace of the change. That is why they have left the Lamas comparatively alone and have not compelled them to adopt the policies which have altered the face of the countryside over the rest of the country.

The Communist strategy in Tibet, however, is not to just bide time but to prepare the ground carefully for far-reaching political and economic changes. The new network of roads which they are building will make even the remotest part of Tibet more easily accessible. The new network of schools and dispensaries will moreover increase the popularity of the regime among the common people. Such measures as reclamation of waste lands and adoption of new farming techniques wherever possible will be equally popular.

—*Times of India, Bombay, January 26, 1959*

"Suppression of Buddhists"

Jammu

HUNDREDS of telegrams have been received from Ladakh by Kushak Bakula, Head Lama of Ladakh and Kashmir's Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs drawing his attention to "Chinese Communist suppressions" of the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhists, according to members of the State Legislature from Ladakh. Kushak Bakula is now on a visit to Delhi.....

—*Hindu, Madras, March 26, 1959*

Chinese Invoke Panch Shila

Hong Kong

THE Chinese Communist party newspaper *People's Daily*, in a long editorial quoted by the *New China News Agency*, said a "reactionary clique" of Tibetans had used Kalimpong, in Eastern India, as "a centre of collusion with imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries" to recruit "rebellious bandits" in Tibet.

The editorial referred to a joint declaration by the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, in June 1954. . . . and said, "we are very glad to know that after the Tibetan rebellion, Indian Prime Minister Nehru issued on March 23 a statement on non-interference in China's internal affairs. We believe that the Chinese and Indian Governments will continue to observe Panchshila faithfully and will not permit the friendly relations between our two countries to be damaged," the editorial said.

—*Hindu, Madras, March 31*

Chinese Profession of Religious Tolerance

Tokyo

COMMUNIST China is desperately trying to repair the serious damage done by the Tibetan revolt to her widely-advertised claims of religious tolerance and freedom.

The Communists are pouring out a torrent of words to justify their military action against the freedom seeking monks and abbots of that lofty Himalayan land. . . .

During the past ten years the Chinese have ushered a succession of Asian religious leaders and politicians through Christian churches, Buddhist temples and Muslim mosques, all open and apparently flourishing. Many of their guests have returned home to say that religion is free in China. Persecution of Catholic and Protestant missionaries took place, the Communists blandly explained, because they insisted on being agents of foreign powers. . . .

"The units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet will continue in their consistent policy of respecting the religious beliefs and customs and habits of the local people, protecting the lamaseries, relics and historic places," the Peking *People's Daily*, which speaks for the Communist regime, has said.

Besides issuing this order, the Communists broadcast statements by Tibetan laymen and ecclesiastics, Chinese religious and civilian groups purporting to support the military action they had taken.

First reactions in Asia, however, leave little doubt that the picture of Communist China as a champion of freedom of worship has been obscured.

In Tokyo, where an Asian conference has brought together representatives of millions of Buddhists, Mr. Nalinaksha Dutt, of India, said the Chinese espousal of religion was "a hoax" and predicted that under Communism Tibet's Buddhism would suffer. . .

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 9*

Propaganda Drive in Tibet

Khatmandu

AT a meeting last week in Lhasa and areas around it, leading pro-communist Lamas condemned the "rebellion" and "abduction" of the Dalai Lama, authoritative reports available here said.

At least five such public meetings, heavily guarded by Chinese troops, have been held so far, the reports added.

According to these reports, the Lhasa Radio broadcasting in Tibetan told the people that rebels not only attacked the Chinese Liberation Army garrison but also made attacks on the religion of the people. The broadcasts urged them to give full co-operation to the Panchen Lama.

The Lhasa Radio is also reported to be constantly broadcasting the contents of the three letters allegedly written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese Central Government representative and political commissar on March 11, 12 and 16. . . .

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 9*

Charges Against Rebels

Khatmandu

THE *New China News Agency*, in a dispatch from Lhasa, said "a Lama of the Potala Palace, who had just escaped from the rebels gave an eye-witness account here of the looting, raping, sacrilege and other crimes committed by the rebels."

The news agency said Lozong Ringchin, who managed to get back to Lhasa on April 4, told a meeting of Lamas and laymen in front of the Potala Palace the next day that "these rebellious bandits who put on the cloak of protecting religion are in fact a pack of beasts with no likeness to human beings."

The Panchen Lama told the Lamas of the ancient Jokhan monastery in Lhasa on Monday that the Chinese Communist Party and Government had "all along respected the religious beliefs of Tibet."

The Panchen Lama urged the Lamas to "observe the various policies of the Central People's Government and be always loyal to the motherland and the people."

—*P.T.I. & Reuter*

Panchen Plans to Crush Rebels

Hong Kong

THE Panchen Lama, Communist-backed acting Chairman of the Tibetan Preparatory Committee, declared yesterday at the Committee's first meeting since the Khampa revolt that he would "strive to put down the rebellion thoroughly."

"I hope to unite the people in Tibet still more closely," he said, according to the *New China News Agency*.

The Preparatory Committee took over the function and powers of the local Tibetan Government which was dissolved by the Chinese after last month's revolt.

The Panchen Lama praised the Communist Chinese for the progress made in all fields since they "liberated" Tibet, and said their work "has received the warm support of the Tibetan people."

"But most of the members of the Tibetan local Government as well as the upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet have gone against the will of the Tibetan people, sold out our national interests and destroyed the unity of our motherland," he added.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 8*

Plan of Revolt—Chinese Version

Hong Kong

THE Tibetan revolution was plotted by the local Government in 1952, the *New China News Agency* said to-day in a report from Lhasa.

The agency carried a statement by Chang Kuo-hua, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet autonomous region...

Chang said that the former Government and the "upper strata reactionary clique" has worked in collusion with "imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries."

He said the "counter-revolutionists" had ravaged the people, abducted the Dalai Lama, torn up the 17-article agreement between Tibet and China of 1951 for the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet, and had openly launched a general armed offensive against units of the Chinese "Liberation Army" in the country.

The movement began, according to Chang's statement, in 1952 when a group of Government reactionaries organised a "people's conference," which campaigned for withdrawal of Chinese forces from Tibet.

He said the Government took no measures to check the rebels, but came out more and more in support—even when they were "looting, raping, burning and killing everywhere they went."

The Peking Government, Chang said, attempted to educate the Government in the hope that they would dissociate with the rebels, but he declared that the local Government "all along supported and connived with them and took part in the plotting of their traitorous activities."

He said the former Government had made a "so-called decision" expelling rebel units, but in actuality had condoned and encouraged their activities.

He said the uprising came to a head on March 10 in Lhasa and that rebels had killed a "patriotic Lama," Pebala Soanam-Chiatso and "coerced the people after dragging his corpse at a parade through the streets."

Even then, Chang said, Peking held back and made last-minute efforts to restore order without resorting to force. But, he said, the traitors continued. "They forced and tricked women to go in demonstration, forced the Tibetan people to join the rebellion.... armed the Lamas, plundered the people, and destroyed highways, bridges and dams."

Finally, he said, the Peking Government was forced to act and ordered the Chinese force to "chastise the traitorous clique in Tibet, to consolidate the unification of the motherland, to safeguard national unity and thoroughly liberate the working people in Tibet."

—*Hindu, Madras, April 10*

Gradual Reform for Tibet

Hong Kong

MR. CHOU EN-LAI, the Chinese Prime Minister, said his Government believed that the ruling committee in Tibet headed by the Panchen Lama would quickly "bring about national autonomy in Tibet."

He was speaking at a banquet welcoming the Panchen Lama, acting Chairman of Tibet's Preparatory Committee....

According to the *New China News Agency*, Mr. Chou En-lai said: "We believe that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and with the help of the Military Control Committees in various places in Tibet, the Preparatory Committee for the autonomous region of Tibet (of which the Panchen Lama is acting Chairman) will certainly fulfil its glorious tasks excellently and quickly bring about national autonomy in Tibet."

"Now while we are having this get-together here, the Dalai Lama is being held in duress by the rebels and is outside our country."

"From the three letters written by the Dalai Lama to General Tan Kuan-shan, the acting representative

of the Central People's Government, we can sense his grief and worry and the plight he is in....

"In the interest of national solidarity and taking the specific conditions in Tibet into consideration, the Central People's Government has been following a policy of slowing down the pace and patiently waiting as regards reform in Tibet.

"However, the obstinate reactionaries in Tibet, courting self-destruction, chose the path of betrayal of the people of Tibet and the motherland. In so destroying themselves they have in fact created extremely favourable conditions for the democratisation of Tibet.

"We believe that from now on the people of Tibet will gradually free themselves from poverty and backwardness and advance to the bright road of prosperity and happiness."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 14*

Peking Press Accuses USA

Hong Kong

THE Peking *People's Daily* today accused the United States of America of trying to split India and China over events in Tibet.

An article, quoted by the *New China News Agency*, said: "All who take a keen interest in peace in Asia and the common interests of China and India will in no way allow United States imperialism to undermine it by making use of the Tibet rebellion."

Madam Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of the First Chinese Republic in 1911, said in an article here today that the Tibet rebellion was an example of imperialism's unrelinquished aim of destroying the "socialist camp".

Madame Sun, writing in the Communist Party newspaper, *People's Daily*, said: "Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, imperialists and the Formosa counter-revolutionaries have been doing their best to provoke a riot in Tibet.

"We must once again warn these adventurers—China is no longer the country which was once weak and ineffective. There is no chance of success for your wicked plots."

Madame Sun, sister of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the Chinese K.M.T. leader, is a Vice-Chairman of the Chinese National People's Congress which is scheduled to meet here this weekend.

—*Anrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, April 16*

Peking Unleashes Propaganda Barrage

Hong Kong

THE Chinese Communist Army is now in complete control of the entire India-China frontier north of the Himalayas....

Simultaneously with the occupation of all strategic points along the Himalayan frontier, Peking opened an unprecedented propaganda attack against India. Both Radio Peking and the *New China News Agency* have, in the past few days, carried on an intensive verbal offensive against India, designed, it would seem from its tone and content, to bring pressure to bear on New Delhi to compel the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet.

The propaganda was further intensified yesterday and today when Radio Peking devoted almost all of its English language broadcasts beamed to South-East Asia to quoting extracts from "speeches" delivered by Tibetan "deputies" to the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

These speeches were replete with invective against "Indian expansionist elements" who were equated with Indian Government officials who are supposed to have collaborated with the Dalai Lama in drafting his statement condemning Chinese atrocities in Tibet.

—*Sudhakar Bhut in the Times of India, Bombay, April 23*

Storms of Slander !

Tokyo

CHINA'S official newspaper, the *Peking People's Daily*, charged today that Sino-Indian friendship was "being destroyed from the Indian side" because of India's sympathy for the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan uprising.

It also charged that the Tibetan God-King's statement released at Tezpur, after he fled from his revolt-torn kingdom, was timed deliberately by Indian officials to coincide with a speech made by the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, before the Chinese People's Congress.

The Dalai Lama, in his statement, refuted the Chinese contention that he had fled Tibet under duress and sharply attacked Chinese control of his homeland. Mr. Chou repeated the claim that Tibetan rebels had kidnapped the Dalai Lama.

The *People's Daily* article was broadcast by Peking Radio and monitored here.

The *People's Daily* said: This statement distributed by Indian Foreign Office officials is a serious matter. It shows that some people with power in India mistakenly believe that this is the time to exert pressure on China by attacking China with the Tibetan independence scheme.... "The expansionists of India should know that the sovereignty of China cannot be violated. Interference in the internal affairs of China will not be tolerated. The people of China are not to be treated lightly...."

It accused Indian newspapers and magazines of creating a "storm of slander" against China.

In a separate broadcast Peking Radio charged that India's Praja-Socialist and Congress parties were attempting to undermine Sino-Indian friendship by "slandorous attacks on China."

Peking also charged that "Thailand Government circles" had abandoned an earlier more conciliatory tone and were "more and more openly using the rebellion in Tibet to slander China and call for intervention in China's internal affairs."

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 23*

Peking Angry With India

Hong Kong

SHORT of attacking the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, himself, China's official information and propaganda media today criticised his Government, his daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and his sister, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

The official *New China News Agency* said this, among other things, of Mrs. Gandhi, President of the Indian National Congress: "She even went so far as to deny China's sovereignty over Tibet and allege that the Tibet region of China is a country. She said she was concerned that in the present situation India was unable to extend much help to the 'country' of Tibet. According to international law, India would grant 'asylum to any refugee' from Tibet."

Others whose statements were quoted in a sarcastic vein by Peking were Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, Pandit Pant, the Home Minister and Mr. U. N. Dhebar, a member of the Congress Working Committee.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 24*

Direct Attack on Nehru Government

Hong Kong

In the first direct attack on the Nehru Government, Chinese newspapers and political leaders today charged that it "practically openly encouraged" Indian statesmen and the press in their demands for Tibetan independence....

The Peking *People's Daily* declared: 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 propagandising 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."

Speaking of demands in India for Tibetan independence, the daily asked: "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 Indian official circles will, from now on, perpetually intervene in China's internal affairs? What are the Indian official circles thinking of?"

In another article, concerning Mr. P. N. Menon, the daily said Mr. Menon had lied to newsmen who had asked him why the Dalai Lama had used the third person in denouncing China at Tezpur on April 18.

The *New China News Agency* called the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement a "fake" on the ground that he normally uses the first person in official declarations.

Mr. Menon told newsmen afterwards that the Dalai Lama alone was responsible for it.

"Menon's lame denial," the daily said, "failed to convince even the Western correspondents in Mussoorie, who asked him why the Tezpur statement used the third person."

"He answered that it was 'possibly the traditional Tibetan form'. But evidently on second thoughts that this was too big a lie, he backed down and said that it is up to him (the Dalai Lama) to explain."

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 24*

Heirs To Imperialists

Hong Kong

Two of China's leading Communists, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo and Mr. Liu Ning-yi, joined today in the growing campaign against Indian newspapers, political parties and "expansionists."

Mr. Kuo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, told a Peking rally: "A small number of expansionists in India, even certain Indian statesmen, have openly supported the armed rebellion in Tibet, interfering in China's internal affairs in an attempt to separate Tibet from China in disregard of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence and the Bandung spirit. This is to inherit completely the old practice of the British imperialists. Such intrigues are doomed to failure."

Mr. Liu, President of China's Labour Federation and a member of the Communist Central Committee, said: "The Indian expansionists, heirs to the British imperialists, have come out openly in support of the rebellion. It is proof that they have ulterior motives about Tibet."

Mr. Tan Kah-kee, who is concerned with overseas Chinese affairs, charged that "some aggressive elements in India have been steadily instigating reactionaries of the Tibetan upper stratum to betray the motherland. These reactionary plotters include not only imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek elements but also certain Indians."

He said: "They pretend to be honourable gentlemen and speak nicely about not wanting to interfere in China's internal affairs, but, after all, the so-called 'statement of the Dalai Lama' was distributed to the public through Indian diplomatic officials."

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 24*

Indo-Chinese Relations

Peking

THE *People's Daily*, the official organ of the Chinese Government, carried an observer's commentary, saying, China and India's friendly relations must not be allowed to be injured.

The following is the text of the commentary:

After the shameful defeat of the armed rebellion of the reactionary clique in Tibet, the imperialists who have long schemed and supported the rebellion can no longer conceal their downheartedness and hatred. Now they openly side with the criminal rebels and slander the Chinese People's suppression of the Tibetan revolt, and act of safeguarding the unification and security of the fatherland, as "suppression of freedom, destruction of religion, annexation, expansion," and so forth, usual about such commonplace comments from the imperialists and their spokesmen. What is noteworthy is the fact that they are setting up their propaganda machinery to make naked attempts to create discord in the relations between China and the neighbouring countries on her south-west borders—in particular, between China and India. They nonsensically said that China's putting down the Tibetan revolt seems to be "for the purpose of clearing the way for southward expansion" and "strategically pointing at India." The intentions of the imperialist provocateurs are very obvious. Under these circumstances the efforts made by the Chinese and Indian peoples, as well as by the statesmen and the public opinion of both countries to protect and solidify the friendly relations between the two countries are naturally of great importance.

It is to be regretted that recently in India a lot of talk has gone on that is completely out of company with the friendly relations which exists between China and India. Some of the people openly called the Chinese People's suppression of the revolt within their own territory, Tibet, as "intervention" and "invasion," and the Indian Praja-Socialist Party seems to top the list of the "brave ones." Leaders of this party organised a demonstration to "support the Tibetan people" and were most active in the Lok Sabha in demanding a debate on the question of the Tibetan revolt, which is purely an internal affair of China. Kripalani, one of the leaders of this Party said that China's territorial sovereignty over Tibet "had no historical basis," that the Chinese Govern-

ment's suppression of the revolt is "an act of aggression, and an act of naked imperialism." Asoka Mehta, leader of this Party, even said that the "relationship between India and Tibet was one of mother and child" and that it is wrong to consider the Tibetan question as completely an internal affair of China. It is inevitable that people will ask if it is "correct" to consider the relationship between India and Tibet as "one of mother and child" like Mehta did.

Further Action Demand

But this is not all, some people have gone to even further extremes. They openly stated that China's suppression of the Tibetan revolt has already "threatened" the security of India and other nations and contended that the Indian Government should take further action.

The *Indian Express* in its editorial on April 2 describes China's Tibet as a "buffer State" between China and India and says that "threatening of the buffer State is the greatest prelude to a clash between two neighbouring countries." This paper was by no means satisfied with the policy enunciated by the Indian Prime Minister Nehru in his March 30 speech. It said that "Nehru was generous with his bouquets, bestowing them with his right hand on Tibet and with left on China. Doesn't the Premier even know that this is an act of treating the aggressor and the victim of aggression without discriminating between them." This paper continues: "Premier Nehru expresses great sympathy for the Tibetan people on the one hand, but wants to explain the importance of maintaining friendly relations with the People's Republic of China on the other. Apparently, it must be very difficult for him to maintain this subtle two-sided equilibrium in the Lok Sabha." The *Indian Express* then demands that the Indian Government adopt a "more resolute attitude."

Evidently, if things were done according to the ideas of these people, the result would be that China-India relations would be impaired, which is just what the imperialists are hoping for, day and night. Reporting on the attitude of the United States, the correspondent of the *Times of India* said that Washington circles are hoping that "China-India relations may become very tense." The United States "hopes to

prove the uselessness of neutralism through sympathizing with India."

Basic Facts

Of course these irresponsible utterances cannot be regarded as based on facts and reasons. For one thing, Tibet is not an independent country. Furthermore, it is not a part of India, but is Chinese territory. The putting down of the rebellion in Tibet by the Chinese people is completely China's internal affair. This fact, nobody in the world can deny.

In all his statements made after the rebellion in Tibet, Prime Minister Nehru reiterated that India has always recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet. As to the allegation that, by putting down the rebellion China would threaten the security of India this especially is altogether groundless. Ever since its founding, new China has unswervingly carried out a foreign policy of peace and has never threatened or committed aggression against any country, nor will it ever do so. The protracted criminal activities of the rebels in Tibet precisely constituted a detriment to the friendship and security of China and India. Therefore, putting down of the rebellion can only be in the interests of guaranteeing the common security of China and India, and be beneficial to the elimination of factors that create controversy between them, and thus strengthen their friendly relations.

Naturally, we must point out that there are only a small number of people in India who are like those mentioned above, who repeat the slanderous utterances of the imperialists and intentionally try to ruin the friendly relations between China and India. Many Indian friends understand that Tibet is part of China, realize that China's internal affairs should not be interfered with and insist on the importance of friendly relations between China and India. However, these people, while having the above-mentioned understanding, simultaneously express enthusiasm over the autonomy of Tibet and seem to feel that it was the Chinese Government's violation of Tibet's autonomy that caused the revolt. They mistake a small group of rebellious elements for the entire Tibetan people; thus they express sympathy with the rebels and feel uneasy over the extinction of the Tibetan autonomy. These Indian friends put themselves in a welter of contradictions in connection with this problem.

First, if Tibet is part of China, the political system of Tibet is, of course, an affair of the Chinese themselves. Any foreigner's propaganda on this or that portion of this question is as improper as another nation's clamour about the Indian Government's policy on a certain province or a certain minority race.

Second, the Chinese Government has been, in fact, in accordance with the constitution, advocating

regional autonomy for Tibet. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan autonomous region was formed as early as in April 1956, but little preparatory work could be done because of the impediments erected by the Tibetan reactionary clique. What the reactionary clique wanted was not regional autonomy but so-called "independence of Tibet," which the imperialists had engineered for many years. In doing so, they in fact wanted to throw the Tibetan people into the abyss of imperialist enslavement. How these traitorous elements have been condemned by the broad masses of people in Tibet. Following the quelling of the rebellion in Tibet, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan autonomous region, which did not do any work in the past two or three years, held its first plenary session on April 8 under the chairmanship of Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Committee, and adopted a resolution to implement the order of the State Council, support the People's Liberation Army in speedily putting down the rebellion, and build a new Tibet. We can say with certainty that when the rebellion in Tibet is completely put down, regional autonomy in Tibet will be speedily realized, and the Tibetan people will step into a broad road of prosperity and progress. Some people have expressed sympathy and uneasiness for the Tibetan people at a time when the Tibetan people are celebrating their rebirth. This may be compared to the singing of a requiem when people are celebrating a happy event. How can we say that this is a wise action?

—Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 23

India's Stand Resented

Peking

CHINA today showed signs of getting tough over India's sympathy for Tibet's anti-Peking rebels.

Speakers at the second National Congress—China's Parliament—spoke about the "slanders" against China by some Indian newspapers and political leaders in their utterances about Tibet.

China's New Reason

New Delhi

The Communists today put forward a new reason why it was important for China to control Tibet—the fear of Americans poisoning the waters of China's great rivers which rise in Tibet. The party organ, "New Age", reproduced an article from Peking by Anna Louise Strong, which said: "While Tibet will long be an economic burden, it holds the sources of China's great rivers. Chinese read the papers and know all about the poisons made in America and Britain which can kill all the world with a few ounces. They will not leave their water supply in the hands of nations like that."

—Times of India, April 18

One speaker asked if it was "friendly" for Indian officials to issue a statement in the name of the Dalai Lama.

Another speaker warned Indian "expansionist elements" that China "will not let anyone inherit the British imperialists' legacy of aggression in Tibet."

—A Reuter Message, April 22

Peking Attacks U.A.R. Pamphlet

Tokyo

CHINA said today that the United Arab Republic's Information Department and newspapers under its direction had launched "scurrilous attacks" on China and tried to alienate her from other Asian countries.

It particularly attacked a pamphlet published by the Information Department entitled "The Tibetan Revolution" and its statement that Tibet was "an Eastern version of the Hungarian revolution," and that Nepal and India would be the next victims of Communism.

A Peking Radio broadcast stated: "The pamphlet tried to incite South Asian countries against Communist parties and China."

—Times of India, Bombay, April 24

Chinese Tirade

Hong Kong

It is becoming increasingly obvious—judging from Chinese press reports and comments—that Peking is bringing considerable pressure to bear on India to persuade the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet....

Peking has now altered its allegation that the Dalai Lama is being held under duress by the Tibetan rebels into the more serious charge that he is being "held under duress" by India.

Peking foreign affairs journal, *Ta Kung Pao*, in an article said: "Since the Dalai Lama is being held under duress and a strict security cordon has been thrown around his Mussoorie residence anything can be done in his name...."

Quoting an article in a Peking newspaper today, Radio Peking referred to Indian leaders who have been advocating Tibetan independence and said: "There are Tibetans living in the Ladakh area (of Kashmir State). It does not mean that Ladakh should also be independent."

Reuter adds: The article in the Peking newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, said schemes afoot in India could be summarised as seeking a fresh agreement which should fully safeguard the autonomy of Tibet; that the relationship between Tibet and China should be the same as that between Bhutan and India; and

that the arrangements for the new state of affairs should be made through consultations between Peking, New Delhi and the Dalai Lama.

"In a word," the article said, "India should come forward directly to meddle with China's internal affairs."

It said the plan in reality is to carve Tibet out of Chinese territory and make it a vassal state of India. "This is the current working plan of the Indian expansionists for interfering in China's internal affairs and having a finger in Tibet."

The article quoted the *Hindustan Standard* as saying that China must understand that it could not very well ask India to relinquish completely its "interest" in Tibet's "autonomy" just because India "respected" China's sovereignty over Tibet.

Ta Kung Pao, said there was an ulterior motive behind the "perverted interest," which was disclosed by the General-Secretary of the Indian Praja-Socialist Party, Mr. Asoka Mehta, when he said that the relationship between India and Tibet was that of mother and child.

Other Indian politicians had also claimed that the Tibetan region of China was a "country" and that the Tibetans were not Chinese....

—Times of India, April 25

How to Attack a Friend

Singapore

Peking recently issued instructions to all its official newspaper and news agency editors and staff on the methods of disseminating information and propaganda in the specific context of developments in Tibet, the source stated.

These instructions stated in effect: "If you must attack a friend, do not criticise him directly. Wait until what he said has been endorsed by someone else whom you can freely condemn. And if the cap fits the friend whom we wish to criticise, he will wear it."

(It may be noted that there was a concrete instance of this specific directive being followed. When the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, invited the Panchen Lama to India to meet the Dalai Lama, Peking remained silent. And when The Times of India carried the report of Mr. Nehru's invitation in appreciative terms, China's official news agency, Hsinhua, described it as "a crude trick on the part of a reactionary newspaper." It did not brand Mr. Nehru's invitation to the Panchen as "a crude trick" directly.)

—Sudhakar Bhat in Times of India, May 10

Peking Press Attack On J. P. Narayan

Hong Kong

AN article by Ting Ling-wei in today's *Kwangming Daily*, condemns the clamours of Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan as "a vain attempt" of the Indian expansionists "to claim the monopolistic rights to enslave and plunder Tibet and to turn Tibet into an Indian colony," the *New China News Agency* reported.

The article entitled "disciples of the British Colonialists" says that by his clamours Mr. Narayan admitted that Indian expansionists have inherited the legacy of British imperialism. He even went beyond this. He said India had committed mistakes in the past and that "one such mistake was India's acceptance of China's suzerainty over Tibet." The article points out that it appears that the Indian expansionist elements "excel their master, the British imperialists, in aggressive ambitions."

An article by Sheng Liang in *Ta Kung Pao*, denounces Mr. Narayan's allegations as "utterly absurd and fantastic." Mr. Narayan clamoured that India should proclaim Tibet as "an independent country" that "autonomy" for Tibet "has no value" and that India was the only country among the Asian nations which "could help to bring about peaceful changes in Tibet."

"Mr. Narayan not only ignores China's sovereignty over Tibet but shamelessly presents India as a protector of Tibet," the article points out.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 26*

Asoka Mehta Attacked

Peking

THE *China Youth Daily* today attacked a recent statement by Shri Asoka Mehta that the relationship between India and Tibet was "one of mother and child."

The newspaper said that in making Tibet a part of India instead of a part of China, Shri Mehta's statement showed "the greed of the Indian expansionists."

There was, however, a "mother and child" relationship between the Indian expansionists and British imperialism—Indian expansionists were "the British imperialists" hideous offspring....."

—*Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 26*

Peking Attack On Press And People of India

Hong Kong

THE Peking *People's Daily* said today that the Dalai Lama's admission that he had written the contro-

versial letters to a Communist Chinese commander "confirms the fact that the Dalai Lama is held under duress."

The *People's Daily* said: "It follows then that the rebellion unleashed by the reactionary clique of the Tibetan upper strata runs counter not only to the will of the Tibetan people but to the will of the Dalai Lama and their so-called national independence. Full autonomy, or religious freedom are mere deceptive trappings."

The "mud-slinging campaign against new China, by some Indian politicians and newspapers had been based on the assertion that the Dalai Lama left Lhasa of his own free will."

"Now" the *People's Daily* said, "all pretexts used by the Indian expansionists have fallen flat."

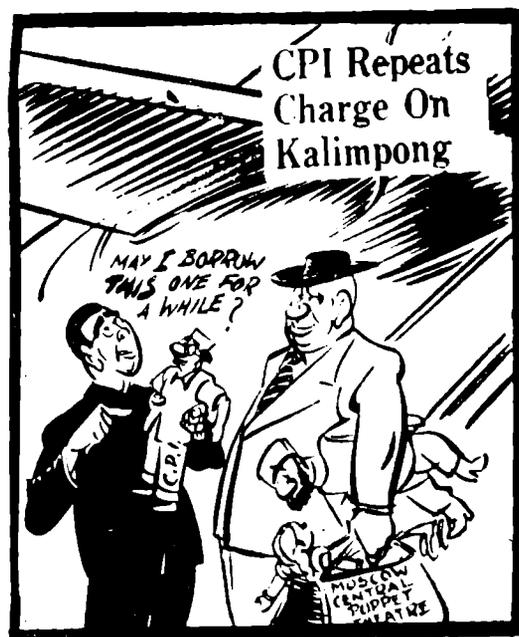
The Peking newspaper, *Ta Kung Pao*, also quoted by the *New China News Agency*, said today that Indian newspapers and politicians who tried to interfere in China's internal affairs "inherited an infamous legacy from the British Imperialists."

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 26*

Anti-Indian Letters In Chinese Press

Hong Kong

TODAY'S Peking *People's Daily* devoted an entire page to readers' letters under the banner headline of "Indian expansionists heed the warnings of the Chinese People" the *New China News Agency* reported.



Other Peking papers also gave considerable space to such letters against foreign interference, the Agency added. . . .

N.C.N.A. quoted a letter from a Peking resident, Mr. Hsu Kai-Wang in the same paper which said: "The insult of our leader by a handful of Indian 'demonstrators' is a serious political provocation. More serious still, 80 of the 'demonstrators' were members of the Praja-Socialist Party that holds seats in the Indian Parliament. The demonstration was an organised political action. It is intolerable that the Indian police worked hand-in-glove with this demonstration. The Indian Government cannot shun responsibility."

Hsin Uua store workers wrote to the Peking *People's Daily* saying: "We demand that the Indian Government stop all interference in our domestic affairs and punish the reactionaries who insulted our leader and give assurances that there will be no recurrence of such an incident."

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 26*

Dalai Will Return, Says Red Organ

Peking

THE Chinese Communist Party newspaper, *People's Daily*, said today:

"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 and that such determination is endorsed by the Indian side."

An article in today's *Kwangming Daily* said: "Judging from the ravings and the vicious attacks against China launched by the Indian Press and expansionists, it is true that they enjoy great and unlimited freedom."

Several incidents might serve to show this freedom, it said. "Someone gathered a group of over 100 ruffians outside the Chinese Consulate in Bombay and held a demonstration."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 27*

Protest Sent To Peking

New Delhi

India's deep regret at the tone of some of the speeches made in the National People's Congress of China criticising India's stand on the Tibetan situation was conveyed through the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi, Mr. Pan Tzu-li, who was called to the External Affairs Ministry on Sunday.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 28, 1959*

Chinese Protest

New Delhi

CHINA has formally drawn the attention of the Government of India to the Bombay incident in which discourtesy was shown to a picture of Mr. Mao Tse-tung.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, referring to this matter in the Lok Sabha yesterday expressed regret at the "grave discourtesy shown some days ago to a picture of the head of the Chinese State." This, he pointed out, was done by a small group of "irresponsible people" in Bombay.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 28*

'No Foolish Hogs In Our Garden'

Hong Kong

DEPUTIES of China's National People's Congress now meeting in Peking today continued their criticism of "Indian expansionist interference" in China's internal affairs, the *New China News Agency* reported.

One, an international law expert, said: "The backing and encouragement certain Indian politicians gave to the rebellious clique in Tibet and the issuing of the so-called statement which was imposed on the Dalai Lama constitute a barbarous act of interference. Chinese people who value Sino-Indian friendship cannot keep silent over it."

Shao Li-tzu, member of the Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, warned India: "You have made wrong calculations. Though they love peace and cherish friendship, over 600 million Chinese people are not at all weak."

"They will never allow foolish hogs to poke their snouts into our beautiful garden."

Another deputy alleged that the "so-called independence for Tibet" was a British imperialist plot and another name for colonization. "Now Indian expansionists are playing the old tune of the British imperialists," he said.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 27*

China Heaps Abuse On Bombay Papers

London

THE *New China News Agency* (*Hsinhua*) yesterday accused some Indian newspapers of "deliberate slandering of China and its Government leaders" over the Tibetan issue.

The agency accused *The Times of India* of "maliciously twisting facts to shift on to others the conspiracies of the Indian expansionists to split up China's territory of Tibet."

The agency said *The Times* had used this "crude trick" on Saturday in a commentary on Mr. Nehru's statement in Mussoorie in which the paper said Mr. Nehru had put the Tibet question on the level of practical politics and the next move lay with the Chinese.

Hsinhua continued: "Just when public opinion in all countries is exposing the ugly countenance of the Indian expansionists, the paper, to cover itself, suddenly writes hypocritically that Prime Minister Nehru was virtually inviting the Panchen Lama or any Chinese dignitary to come over and discuss matters with the Dalai Lama, trying to pull the problem out of the hopeless morass.

"But public opinion has pointed out that this intrigue by *The Times of India* is only a copy of the 'Simla Conference' directed by the British imperialists in the past to interfere in China's internal affairs over Tibet... This new trick can only lead to further embarrassment," the agency said.

The agency said, *The Free Press Journal* also in an editorial had "wantonly attacked and slandered the Panchen Lama's speech at the National Peoples Congress last Wednesday."

The agency said a *Press Trust of India* political correspondent's "commentary" on the Tibetan question last Thursday had taken "great pains to cover up the Indian expansionists' arrogant sabotage of the Sino-Indian friendly relations."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 27*

Chinese Iron Fist

Peking

The Peking branch of one of China's non-Communist "democratic" parties today demanded that India should return the Dalai Lama and surrender "the Tibet upper strata traitors" now in India.

In a letter published in the Communist party newspaper, the "People's Daily" the branch expressed anger at what it described as "Indian interference in China's internal affairs."

The letter said: "We give warning to imperialists and Indian expansionists. You must stop at once, otherwise you will all be crushed to pieces under the iron fist of 650 million Chinese people."

It was signed by all delegates who attended the recent conference of the Peking Municipal Committee of the Chiu San Society. This is a political party composed mainly of intellectuals in culture, education and science which follows the policy of the ruling Communist party.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 29, 1959*

Peking Radio Drops Anti-Indian Tirade

Hong Kong

Mr. Nehru's statement that Peking is using "cold war language regardless of truth and propriety" apparently has had a salutary effect on Chinese propaganda media.

Today Radio Peking's English language broadcast beamed to South-East Asia did not repeat the accusation that the Dalai Lama is being held under duress in India—a baseless statement which had been broadcast over and over again almost every day since March 31 when the Dalai Lama crossed over into Indian territory.

The false charge that Indian officials had drafted the Dalai Lama's statements at Tezpur and Mussoorie was also not repeated.

If today's milder tone of Peking's propaganda agencies is any indication, Peking will taper off its tirade against India and shift to the diplomatic level the problem of Tibet vis-a-vis Sino-Indian relations.

Mr. Nehru's invitation to the Panchen Lama to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama evidently has cut the ground from under Peking's feet for if the invitation is accepted, the truth as stated by Mr. Nehru will be known—as they must be fully aware of it already—to the Chinese authorities.

Radio Peking and the *New China News Agency*, however, repeated the allegation that Kalimpong in India is the commanding centre of the Tibetan revolt.

In substantiation of this charge Radio Peking said today that two documents captured at Kungtehlin monastery were addressed by Tibetan rebels to Tsepon Shagobpa, head of the Tibet welfare association in Kalimpong.

Incidentally, the text of the documents quoted by Radio Peking confirms earlier reports that "an independent state of Tibet" was in fact proclaimed on March 10 by Tibetans who are resisting Chinese rule.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 28*

Warning To India

Tokyo

CHINA's National People's Congress today unanimously approved the suppression of the Tibetan rebellion and bluntly warned India not to interfere in what it considered an internal affair.

"The rebellion of the handful of Tibetan reactionaries and its suppression are wholly an internal affair of China which does not permit of any interference by foreigners," said a resolution of the People's Congress....

The resolution said "it notes with regret that certain people in Indian political circles have recently made extremely unfriendly statements and committed extremely unfriendly acts which interfere in China's internal affairs."

"These statements and acts do not conform to the common interests of the peoples of the two countries. They only conform to the interests of their common enemy, the imperialists," the resolution said.

The Congress warned that neither rebellion nor "intervention by any foreign force, no matter under what pretext or form, can prevent" the communisation of Tibet. Intervention, the resolution added, "can only rouse the Chinese people of all nationalities, including the Tibetan people, to wage a patriotic struggle against intervention."

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 28*

It Might Have Given Lie To Peking Charge . .

Hong Kong

PEKING seems to be opposed to a meeting in India between the Dalai Lama on the one hand and the Panchen Lama or any Chinese official on the other as has been suggested by the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru.

A meeting between the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama or any Chinese leader might give the lie to Peking's charge that the Dalai Lama was abducted and was remaining in India against his will. If the Panchen Lama or any Chinese official were to meet the Dalai Lama, the latter might lay down conditions for his return to Tibet, including the safety of his person, and if these conditions were not fulfilled he might refuse to return to Tibet.

This would be a bigger rebuff for Peking than the one it suffered in the Dalai Lama's providential escape from the clutches of the "People's Liberation Army," which, informed sources say, had instructions to the effect that the Dalai Lama dead was better than the Dalai Lama alive in a foreign country.

Peking today issued what virtually amounts to an ultimatum both to the Dalai Lama and the Indian authorities who have given him asylum.

In effect the ultimatum—contained in a verbose commentary by an "observer" on Prime Minister Nehru's statement in Mussoorie on April 24—said that if the Dalai Lama did not return to Tibet within a reasonable period of time, he would no longer be regarded as the head of the Tibetan region of China.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 28*

China Will Suffer More

Hong Kong

IMPARTIAL students of India-China relations feel that China is the biggest sufferer because of the impairment of Sino-Indian relations over the Tibetan affairs.

If Peking has stopped its tirade against India it is as much in deference to Mr. Nehru's dignified protest, as it is in anticipation of the continuing of Indian sponsorship of China's interests in international affairs.

The tragedy of Tibet will be more or less forgotten during the weeks ahead but the problem of Taiwan and China's membership of the United Nations are extremely live issues from Peking's point of view. And in promoting China's cause Peking will always need New Delhi's support.

—*Sudhakar Bhat in Times of India, April 29*

Indoctrination of Tibetans In A Big Way

Gangtok

REPORTS reaching here show that Communist indoctrination of the Tibetans has started in a big way.

Under the guise of reforms, the Chinese are trying to strip the monasteries of all authority and power. They have already put a ban on the drafting of Tibetan children into the monasteries. The next move will be to confiscate their property and grab their treasure.

It is feared that a liquidation list has been prepared, which includes rich merchants, landlords and leading nationalists.

If as the surmise is, the Dalai Lama eventually returns to Tibet minus members of the Kashag, he will find a changed country.

Meanwhile, much anti-Indian propaganda is being worked up in Tibet. There are reports of "spontaneous demonstrations."

Chinese broadcasts say that the Dalai Lama is confined in a concentration camp, surrounded by barbed wire, and is a virtual prisoner of the rebels and Indian "expansionists".

May Day celebrations were held in important towns and there were "demonstrations against India's imperialist and expansionist designs" on Tibet.

In Gyantse, loudspeakers blared out vitriolic anti-Indian propaganda and even warned that there was a possibility of a Sino-Indian clash.

On April 29, 14 rich merchants were arrested in Gyantse and taken to the Chinese Dzong. They were handcuffed and paraded through the town.

Another report says that flanked by thousands of troops, equipped with bren and sten guns, about 2,000 people, mostly Chinese, demonstrated for 50 minutes before the Indian Trade Agency at Yatung yesterday morning. They shouted anti-Indian slogans. Chinese troops guarded the Agency's officer.

Earlier reports said that the Chinese had been making elaborate preparations for demonstrations on May Day. Lamas from the neighbouring monasteries of Donkar and Kargue were asked to send 50 monks each for the demonstrations.

Most of the Tibetans, it is said, declined to shout anti-Nehru slogans. Compulsion was used. Nepalese traders were also asked to join the anti-Indian demonstrations, but in spite of tremendous pressure they refrained.

Among the slogans shouted were: "India quit Tibet; Nehru is a double-faced person; American, British and Indian imperialists are siding with the rebels."

There were rumours that effigies of the Indian Prime Minister and other prominent leaders, draped in British, Indian and black flags, were to be carried in procession and publicly burnt. Perhaps, as a last-minute act of grace, this demonstration did not take place.

—*Statesman, Calcutta, May 2*

Chinese Scientist's Warning

MR. KUO MO-JO, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, today hoped that influential Indian political figures would "recognise the grave damage to Sino-Indian relations caused by the Indian expansionists' interference in China's internal affairs and support of the Tibetan rebels," the *New China News Agency* reported.

Declaring that Tibet had been Chinese territory since the 13th century, Mr. Kuo sharply said, "History in the past 40 years has proved quite clearly that when the Chinese people were still not very strong, they could smash the imperialist rule in China," he said.

"Can it be expected that the 600 million people of China, completely emancipated and exerting their utmost energy, would now quail before intervention by any outside force?"

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 3*

Indian Expansionists Blamed

Tokyo

CHINA continued today to hurl charges at what it said were "Indian expansionists" who had "instigated" the rebellion in Tibet and had "openly shouted their support" of the rebels.

Peking Radio, quoting Mr. Hu Yoa-pang, First Secretary of the Communist Youth League of China's Central Committee, said, "This kind of wild clamouring was continuing up to the present moment."

Mr. Hu said that "like the upper strata reactionaries of China's Tibet, the Indian expansionists were only a tiny number from the Indian upper strata."

He was careful in pointing out that "Indian expansionists" did not represent the "mass of Indian people who like the 650 million people of China cherish the friendship between the two countries."

"The Indian expansionists," Mr. Hu said, "have alleged that their 'sympathy' with the Tibetans derived only from 'humanitarian' principles."

Peking Radio said Mr. Hu then asked: "Were you not in sympathy with the 17-article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet? Why have you changed your mind now and sympathise with those who sabotaged the agreement?"

"Why do you not sympathise with more than 1.1 million people of Tibet who have suffered for centuries, rather than with the 20 odd thousand rebels?"

—*A Reuter Message, May 3*

Nehru Accused of Distorting Facts

Hong Kong

THE *New China News Agency* today quoted a number of letters written to the press saying India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, was "turning the facts upside down" when he described as a tragedy "the suppression of a handful of Tibetan upper strata reactionaries who betrayed the Motherland, ravaged the people and are the mainstay of the darkest and most brutal serfdom."

The letters, published in the official Communist Party newspaper, the *Peoples' Daily*, and the *Youth Daily*, followed the publication, in full, here of Mr. Nehru's statement accusing the Chinese of using "cold war language, regardless of truth," against India over Tibet.

A group of Tibetan students had written that they would never allow "a handful of brutal and rapid traitors to be confused with the Tibetan people."

A demobilised Chinese armyman of Tibetan nationality had pointed out that any attempt to use the flag of nationalism to sow discord between the Tibetan people and the Central People's Government would certainly fail.

The Agency said that a 30,000-strong rally in Peking today heard speakers condemn "Indian expansionists" for supporting the Tibetan rebels.

—*A Reuter Message, May 3*

Full Steam Ahead



Singapore

CHINA regards her agreement with Tibet for the latter's "peaceful liberation" and the subsequent decision to postpone the introduction of "reforms" until the end of China's Second Five-year Plan (1962) as a dead letter, an unimpeachable source originating in Peking disclosed today.

Consequently, Peking is going full steam ahead with the institution of Communist "reforms" in Tibet. China had foisted the blame of tearing up the 1951 agreement with Lhasa on Tibet and the Dalai Lama, who is now in India.

Peking's recent statement that the Tibet region of China cannot be regarded as a buffer between India and China is considered in Peking's diplomatic circles as a clear indication that the communisation of Tibet is now under way, the source revealed....

—Times of India, Bombay, May 10

“Tibet Cannot be Even Half-free”

Hong Kong

THE official journal of the Chinese Communist Party, the Peking *Peoples's Daily*, today ruled out the possibility that Tibet would be given "any status of semi-independence."

Such a status, it said in a lengthy article quoted by the *New China News Agency*, "would be detrimental to the Tibetan people, to the Chinese people, to the Indian people, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Asian peace."

Tibet was definitely no protectorate, nor a buffer-state, but an autonomous region under full Chinese sovereignty.

The article regretted that the "argument" between China and Mr. Nehru had been "a bit sharp", "but hoped it would in substance help relations between the two countries. We will certainly not forget our common interests and fall into the trap of our common enemy."

The article said the rebellion had in the main been quelled, and Tibet was now facing a "peaceful revolution." It said Mr. Nehru had been "pushed" by the West into an important role in their "so-called sympathy-with-Tibet movement."

Mr. Nehru had made a "most deplorable error" in denying that a handful of reactionaries were responsible for the rebellion. In fact, without the Khampa tribesmen who formed a third of the rebels, only

a little over one per cent. of Tibet's population were involved, the article claimed.

Although there were obvious contradictions in Mr. Nehru's thinking, there was no need to discuss them. "Both our households have plenty to do.... Why should either of us poke his nose into the other's business?" it asked....

"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 Mr. Nehru himself mean giving a welcome to and holding a meeting with the leader of a rebellion in a friendly country?"

The article accused Indian "expansionists" of using the language of the cold war in attacks on China. Denying that China had interfered in India's internal affair, it said, "it was only after a large volume of slanderous utterance had appeared in India that the Chinese people began to hit back...."

—Statesman, Calcutta, May 6

Buddhism Will Not be Destroyed

Moscow

THE Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, had given solemn assurances that China was not going to destroy either the Buddhist regime or Buddhist shrines in Tibet, the Honorary President of the World Buddhist Fellowship said today.

Mr. G. P. Malalasekera, who is the Fellowship's President and Ceylon's Ambassador to Russia has just returned from a two-week stay in China during which he said he had a 90-minute talk with Mr. Chou....



The Ambassador said that he was assured that the palace of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa was not damaged by artillery as reported by fugitives. Chinese forces were directed not to fire at the palace and they obeyed, Mr. Malalasekera was told.

Mr. Chou admitted that a number of lamas were killed by Chinese troops in battle, the Ambassador said, but the Chinese Premier insisted that a great many lamas were truly warriors recruited as such and that they participated in the uprising as warriors.

He told Mr. Malalasekera that while he would not destroy Buddhism or attempt to replace it with Communism, he would revise land holdings.

The Ceylonese Ambassador said that his own acquaintance with the Dalai Lama had convinced him that he was liberal and he seemed inclined to believe the Chinese story that the Dalai Lama was forced to flee by reactionary landlords who opposed Chinese reform proposals....

"He is a deeply religious man," the Ambassador said, "while the Panchen Lama is a politician."

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 15*

China Accuses Tibet of Breach

Tokyo

PEKING Radio today broadcast what it claimed were "some facts" on how the former Tibetan Government violated an agreement on absorbing the Tibetan Army and making it part of the Chinese Communist military force....

Peking charged, "for eight years...the former Tibetan Local Government...illegally expanded the army, both in number and equipment and used this army as a tool to oppose the Central People's Government and the People's Liberation Army."

The broadcast said the "former Tibetan Army totalled only 1,400 officers and men in 1951 when the Communists took over. By March 10 this year the number had exceeded 3,000."

It claimed that during this period the Tibetans "brought in arms and ammunition from abroad, mostly automatic and heavy arms. In four years from 1954 to 1958, the amount of equipment was more than doubled."

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 23*

Unfertile Soil for Communism

Tokyo

PRODDED by a bloody rebellion, Red China has at last begun the seemingly hopeless job of planting the seeds of Communism in Tibet.

Since they entered Tibet eight years ago, the Chinese have recognised that the towering and backward Himalayan land is considerably less than fertile soil for their Marxist ideas.

After a series of initial failures, they turned over the task of preparing Tibet for Communism to the ruling hierarchy of Lamas and nobles.

But the Tibetan aristocracy, both civilian and religious, preferred freedom to Communism, their enormous privileges to Communist-style reforms which would take them away.

When the Chinese insisted on trying to break through the stone wall of passive Tibetan opposition, the March 10 uprising resulted. After it was over, the Communists awoke to the hard fact that if they wanted Communism in Tibet, they would have to introduce it themselves.

Peiping has insisted that remaking Tibet into a full-fledged Communist satellite will be gradual. It could hardly be otherwise: lost in the ice and clouds at the top of the world, Tibet's link to the 20th century is a faint and tenuous one at best. Its society,

rooted in feudalism and fed by religious superstition, will not readily budge from its rigid patterns.

The Communists have begun to marshal a small army of youths, many of them Tibetans studying in China, to lay the groundwork for the first red reforms. Peiping has reported that the first 150 of them, "singing boisterously," have left for Lhasa. They are to be followed by 1,100 others soon and countless thousands of young Chinese students thereafter.

Their first big job will be to teach the 1,500,000 almost totally ignorant Tibetans how to read and write. This will take many months.

Their next assignment, and probably the toughest will involve persuading the landlords to give up to co-operatives parcels of their land and portions of their flocks of yaks, goats and sheep.

The Chinese ran into their first big trouble three years ago when they tried to get the Khampa tribesmen to pool their vast herds of yaks. Rather than do so, the Khampas raised the banners of a still-continuing revolt.

The landlords and nobility are not the only ones who will give the reds a headache. Life in the 18,000-foot mountains of Tibet is both cruel and capricious. A falling stone, a missed step, a sudden freeze may

spell the difference between life and death. This kind of existence has turned the Tibetan into a supreme individualist, often unfeeling at the sufferings of others, inclined to a selfishness based on the stark need for preservation.

He is one of the least likely persons to find anything attractive in the community projects and forced teamwork of Marxism.

Hoping for the co-operation of the Lamaist monks who make up a sixth of the population, the Communists will put no obstacles in the way of the Buddhist faith in Tibet. They will insist, however, that the lamas show themselves "patriotic", that is, sympathetic to Chinese objectives. Without them, the Communist campaign which already is beset by enormous difficulties would be a failure.

—*Times of India, Bombay, June 2*

Rebels Wiped Out—Panchen Lama

Hong Kong

THE Panchen Lama, Chinese-backed head of the Tibetan Government, said today that the Tibetan rebels had been virtually wiped out, and that the people were now living peacefully and working happily, a Chinese news agency report from Lhasa said.

The Panchen Lama, who recently returned to Lhasa from Peking, said in a message to Chinese Communist Party leaders: "The Tibetan people have begun to free themselves from the criminal shackles of feudal serfdom and have embarked on the new road of becoming masters of their own homes."

—*Statesman, Calcutta, June 19*

VII

THE WORLD CONDEMNS CHINESE AGGRESSION

*Tibet has been a lesson to Asian fellow-travellers
as Hungary was to those in the West.*

—VERNON BARTLETT

*The U.S. was saddened by the suffering of the
Tibetan people "and yet we see in their resistance
efforts the more heartening example of the indomitable
spirit of man."*

—CHRISTIAN HERTER,
the U. S. Secretary of State

*Freedom is an indivisible word. If we want to enjoy
it, and fight for it, we must be prepared to extend it to
everyone, whether they are rich or poor, whether they
agree with us or not, no matter what their race or the
colour of their skin.*

—WENDELL LEWIS WILKIE

WORLD CONDEMNATION

Heroic Tibet

WHEN the Communists of Mao Tse-tung invaded Tibet in 1950 on the pretext of liberating it, they solemnly declared that they would respect religious freedom and would grant the country a large measure of autonomy under the direction of the central government. Naturally these promises were not kept and in fact the Chinese began to transform the economic structure of the region by bringing in vast numbers of people from outside, and by a series of administrative measures. The progressive reforms of Peking came up against such desperate resistance from the Tibetans that even in 1956, at the Bandung Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister stated that it would take fifty or perhaps a hundred years to communize Tibet.

An authoritarian regime, however, must obey the iron laws which stem from its very being—in this case, the laws of violence. The Chinese therefore had to return to the methods so natural to them, to extermination and terror.

There are reasons why the Chinese Government attaches so much importance to extending the domination over this vast almost forsaken plateau and they are strategic, economic and demographic reasons. The old saying "He who holds Tibet, holds all Asia" still rings true today, in an age where domination in the air is a fundamental factor of the power of States. With its average elevation of four to five thousand metres, the "roof of the world" makes a magnificent airport from which two continents can be dominated. It is an immense natural aircraft carrier from which it is possible at any time to storm the gates of India across the buffer state of Nepal, where sixteen railway routes begin and penetrate into the great plains of India and Pakistan. By conquering Tibet, China has opened a breach in the wall which protects these plains of the Indian sub-continent from the human onrush from continental Asia. The threat of the invader from the North appears again—the threat against which the Great Moghul in his time set up a defence alone and which the English perfected with a series of buffer States, Protectorates and no-man's lands. From an economic standpoint, the resources of the Tibetan Province are invaluable for China. On the immense plateau, hemmed in and protected by the high mountains, cereals and vegetables can be grown and

unlimited pasture provided for livestock. The bowels of the mountains conceal an unexplored wealth of coal, iron, precious metals and above all, uranium. From a demographic point of view, Tibet offers ample living-space to the overflowing Chinese population. It has been said that Nehru is watching the danger threatening him with impassivity, so as not to worsen his relations with Communist China. On the other hand, what point would there be in appealing to the United Nations, whose authority China does not recognize, since she has hitherto been prevented from taking part in it? And so the world stands powerless before the crushing of the heroic Tibetan people, without realizing that, once again, the cause of freedom is in jeopardy....

—GOFFREDO RAPONI in "*La Giustizia*", Roma,
April 3, 1959

An Asiatic Hungary

Do the events which are now unfolding in Tibet, "The Roof of the World," really come as a surprise? Couldn't we have foreseen them, imagined them, feared their coming? Could peaceful co-existence between China, a dictatorial and materialistic regime, and Tibet, a theocratic and spiritual one, be anything else but precarious and deceitful?... Without wishing to feed their sentiments of malicious joy (*Schadenfreude*) it must be said that a certain number of people, myself included, have been waiting for India to find itself facing an event such as this. Since being granted its independence, India has been strutting around the international scene as a giver of good advice.... Now here is India facing the evidence on the Tibetan affair. One doesn't expect her to take up arms, but simply to make a firm gesture of solidarity: allow Tibetan refugees to enter her territory. In this respect, the dispatches remain dubious. Will India, or won't India, welcome these refugees, for alas, there is nothing else to be done for these hapless people, these Tibetans who do not wish to become—bound hand and foot—subjects of the Chinese. Two-and-a-half years ago, the West did not come to the aid of the Hungarians, but it did come to the rescue of its refugees. A tiny nation, Austria, lying within range of Russian cannons that surround her, did not hesitate to open her doors and her heart to the tens

of thousands of exiles fleeing Budapest and Russian repression, without even bothering to ask whether it pleased Moscow or not. And Moscow has many ways of applying pressure on Vienna. Will New Delhi do as much? . . .

—RENE BOVEY in "*Tribune de Lausanne*", Lausanne, April, 6

Eyes Are Opening

A MILLION men from the mountains, unarmed, certainly cannot defend for long the little bit of liberty left to them against a conquering nation of six hundred million men boasting the largest army in the world. At this very moment, it is not even certain whether these unfortunate Tibetans can screen the flight of their God to his place of refuge, the Indian frontier—and we are presuming that India will dare to open its frontiers for him—across the glaciers, the crags and the dizzy footpaths high up in the Himalayas.

The sprawling and wild terrain of their homeland could then allow them to carry on a hopeless kind of guerilla warfare, if secretly arms could be sent to them over the old smugglers' trails or daringly dropped to them from planes. But the world has given way before this event, and the world accepts it. Tibet, which has not possessed more than a few scraps of autonomy during the past seven years, has for centuries belonged to the Chinese zone of suzerainty. Thus it is classed as an "internal affair." Besides, even if we had the courage to go to her aid, there would be no way of reaching her. We can only be a witness to her agony, in the same way that we witnessed the agony of Hungary. The Chinese operation therefore was one without risks and with assured profits. No complications to fear; Tibet could not become another Korea. The stark lesson that can be drawn from Tibet is that the only way a nation, no matter where it may be located, can safeguard its liberty in the face of Communist conquest is by the willingness of great powers to protect it through their capacity to retaliate. The only surprising thing about the events in Tibet is the astonishment shown in certain quarters. Yet this affair is part of the implacable and inevitable pattern of expansion or propagation of Communism throughout the world, of a permanent and continuing war of conquest which the Communists cannot renounce unless they cease to be Communists. It is a hard and deserving lesson for the "Bandung nations," those Asian and African countries whose historical resentment of "Western colonialism" had bitterly united them in a common front against the old "imperialistic" nations of Europe and the United States. This resentment had literally blinded them to the real danger which faced them, the only danger today that menaces the independence of nations. . . . The

amazement and anger which has seized all of India and the nations of South Asia, upon hearing the news of aggression against Tibet, may entirely take away all of Peking's gains in undertaking this military operation. This could easily come to pass, for it can be the beginning of the end of the idyll between carnivorous leaders of Moscow and Peking and the young, newly emancipated nationalists of Southern Asia and Africa. Already, Mr. Nasser is biting his nails since the satellisation of Iraq, for having left his flirtation with Moscow go a little too far. It is now India's turn. Everyone's eyes are opening.

—THIERRY MAULNIER in "*Le Havre*"—*Le Havre*, April 7

The Snow Curtain

IN granting asylum to the Dalai Lama, in flight from the Chinese Communists, Mr. Nehru has ended the honeymoon which India and Red China were enjoying. To be really convinced of this fact, one has only to realise that from now on Indian or Nepalese merchants will no longer be allowed to cross the Himalayan passes to get to the Tibetan markets. Tibetan peddlars will no longer come over to India to liquidate their stocks. . . . Thus the barrier of iron, bamboo and snow which separates the two worlds that are growing steadily more apart, has been firmly lowered into place. This separation is a rude blow to the spirit of Bandung. . . . In South-east Asia the conduct of the Chinese Reds toward the Tibetan monks—and above all toward the Dalai Lama—is being severely judged. It is because Buddhists are numerous in the majority of nations in that part of the world. . . . In this part of Asia, spiritual questions are of primary importance. That is why the prestige of Peking has suffered a serious blow. . . .

—ALEX GERARD in "*Combat*", Paris, April 9

Communism in Tibet

. . . WHAT is most significant about the recent attack and occupation of Tibet by the Communists is that Mao Tse-tung should have fixed his eyes and the slogans of his justificatory propaganda on the theocratic system in an age-old region. The Communists are upset and "disturbed" by the religious exaltation of the Tibetans, considering it an anomaly and a danger for the frontiers and the new regime of the "People's" China. According to one correspondent, the tragedy of Tibet is only one symptom of the serious crisis which originated with the "people's communes." The province of Tsinghai, which was formerly part of Tibet and even has quite a large Tibetan Buddhist population, was until last spring partially able to avoid the system of "communes" for its primitive agriculture. The system brought in by violence, however, was a measure of anti-religious propaganda. The slightest opposition

to the communes was considered to be counter-revolutionary subversion. These were the methods which were later extended to Tibet and which gave rise to the first rebellion against the claims of Peking.

The Tibetans, and particularly the numerous Khamba tribesmen, continued to fight Communism in the name of their faith and their centuries-old traditions. It would be no exaggeration to say, however, that these three million followers of Buddhism fell to Communist arms. And a new curtain, that of the huge mountains surrounding the country, will fall on this bloody scene. The free countries of the world will only retain the sad memory and the bitter taste of the grief of this Asian Hungary which has been sacrificed to the terror and strength of a most terrible materialism. It has already been proved that Communism is insatiable and iconoclastic when confronted with any religious power. The Tibetan episode will be yet another to be considered when we are thinking of unavoidable sacrifices, when we stretch out our hands and imagine that Marxism pays respect to the beliefs of peoples.

—“*Eccleria*”, Madrid, April 11

Hope in Tibet

TIBET is a mysterious and withdrawn country which cannot be accused of “Westernism.” But it is a country peopled with deeply religious men who are in love with liberty. Peking thought that Tibet and communism had assimilated. Alas, how wrong they were. Marxists ought to learn a lesson from this: one cannot impose by force a way of thought and activity on a people. One day or another, all subjected people will try to free themselves. And these people will clearly realize that they cannot count on any material support from other lands. But their taste for liberty is much stronger than any reasons they can think of for abstaining from such heroic but useless opposition. Thus, the Tibetans have made it known that they would all die if necessary rather than give up their fight. The thousands of Tibetans who have fallen in this revolution have not died in vain. These martyrs all have a message for the rest of the world. They are proof of fundamental opposition of the human being to the Communist regime and they are testifying from the ruins of Marxist ideology in Asia. The Hungarians, in 1956, have already given proof of the bankruptcy of communist principles in Europe. . . .

—GUY MAGNEE in “*Gazette de Liege*”, Liege, April 10

Communism has Spoiled Its Chance

“TODAY, something much graver has occurred, the revolt in Tibet. All of non-communist Asia is anxiously watching the deployment of the Chinese armies

in Tibet. The reaction of religious orders should be just as lively. Though India is not Buddhist, she has already shown her emotion. In the Buddhist countries of South-East Asia—Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos—indignation is even livelier, even though these nations are not spiritually dependent upon the Dalai Lama. While Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Nasser are disputing, China is in the midst of destroying all the goodwill she amassed between 1954 and 1958 on the Asiatic continent. This is the moment for the West to play its trump cards, but it must do so prudently. The *Daily Telegraph*, a newspaper that has never been particularly fond of India, has justly written: “In the long run we will derive more benefits if we let the lesson of Tibet sink into the Asiatic mind without the West speeding up the process. To jump into the void where Mr. Nehru himself fears to venture is a temptation, but alas, not effective politics.”

—A.T., a Correspondent, “*Journal de Geneve*”, Geneva, April, 10

India is an Enigma

INDIA, the top-ranking of all Asian nations, has for a long time now had contact with the modern West. . . . And yet India still preserves its air of mystery. Its mystery of today—no longer that of flying carpets or the treasures of Golconde—is much more profound and distressing. At its doorstep is China, the most vast and populous nation on earth, which has taken part in the dialogue that separates the Western powers and the Marxist world. Her desire to dominate, her wish to extend her ideology can be seen by the events in Tibet. As the moral protector of the essentially peaceful and ambitionless country of Tibet and guarantor of its independence, India has just come face to face with a *fait accompli* that has stirred up the indignation of its people. Is she condemned to give way, one day, before the pressure that is coming from the north? Will she succeed in maintaining this attitude of neutrality, which is sometimes so haughty that she passes judgment on humanity from the heights of Siruis? Can she, and she alone, or with a suspecting and parsimonious external aid, resolve the gigantic problems facing her? Will she one day be the bridge upon which enemies will meet and fraternise? Will she serve, on the other hand, as a passage way for this communism which, starting out from Moscow and Peking, dreams of encircling the vast areas of South Asia and North Africa? Does she simply want to raise herself to the level of both blocs? Doesn't she fear, by inspiring herself from the methods of both blocs, of losing her unique Indian soul? The India of today is an enigma, a colossal enigma.

—“*Le Figaro*”, Paris, April 13

From Budapest to Lhasa

THE Tibetan affair brings back to us the painful memory of the suppressed Hungarian revolution, showing us that the Communist party—whether “headquartered” in Moscow or enthroned in Peking—uses the harshest and most barbaric methods imaginable to impose its law. It was in torrents of blood that the insurgents of Budapest were drowned, claiming liberty for all men and independence for their country; it is in torrents of blood that their rebels of Tibet, demanding that Communist China respect the pledge it had given, are now being drowned. . . . All those free men who opposed the assassinations and killings of Budapest and who saluted the magnificent courage of the Hungarian socialists and democrats for rising up against the yoke of a foreign power today feel the same revulsion at the crushing of the Tibetan people by the armies of the enormous Chinese empire. All human conscience which pretends to be free cannot help but protest. . . .

—ANTOINE COURRIERE, Senator, Dept. of L'Aude, President of the Socialist Group of The Senate, in “*Le Populaire*”, Paris, April, 13

A Salute to the Tibetan People

A GROUP of French personalities have, in a manifesto, branded the imperialistic cruelty of Peking. After Budapest, this is another reminder to the free world that the only things one can ever expect from communist power is oppression, genocide and deceit.

Saluting “the courageous uprising of the Tibetan people,” the signatories “demand that the United Nations condemn the Peking government for the flagrant violation of the universal declaration of the rights of man, and invite the French government to join in morally supporting the Dalai Lama in exile and the Tibetan people in their resistance to the invaders.”

This manifesto notably bears the signatures of Mme. Suzanne Labin, Maurice Schumann, Deixonne, Jean-Paul David, Claudius Petit, Georges Altman, Raymond Le Bourre, Jean Legaret, Bruyneel and General Bethouart.

—“*Le Monde*”, Paris, April 14

Tibet is Agonising and Dying in Solitude

PROGRESS in communications has torn the Roof of the World from its proud solitude. With the same blow, it has invested it with a new form of solitude, worse than its geographic isolation—the solitude drawn from an experience of unjust oppression. Red China, which pretends to champion the liberty of

people against colonialism, has invaded, crushed and subjugated it by force, transforming it into a colonial territory in order to export its surplus ideologies and population there. The conquest that was not achieved by the Sons of Heaven has been brought to a conclusion by Mao Tse-tung, the man from the Lower Depths. A free country loses its independence in the name of liberty. A Living Deity, the Dalai Lama, is chased out by new divinities from an Atheistic Pantheon calling itself production, progress and historical justice. New demons, with the faces of robots, are replacing the ancient divinities, with their faces of monsters.

The free world is assisting in the conquest with tears of convenience and rigorous groans. Even Pandit Nehru, so quick to right the wrongs of the entire world, maintains a prudent silence and circumspect attitude. This time, there is the risk that this international moralistic lesson will not be understood. We are no longer living in the days of Gandhi and his noble protestations, but in the times of statesmen and invested interests. Tibet is suffering, agonising and dying in solitude.

—BROTHER GENIEVRE in “*Temoignage Chretien*”, Paris, April 17

“It Wasn't What They Were Dreaming Of”

ONCE again, it is impossible not to admire the ease with which our Communists disguise, after their own fashion, the news coming out of Tibet.

“The Dalai Lama is nothing but an infamous tool of the reactionaries and the Right;” such language is somewhat easy to laugh at when it concerns a country such as Tibet, ruled without a change in tradition for centuries. Perhaps the accusation is a true one, after all. However, this has never prevented the Peking authorities from bestowing all sorts of honours on the nation. “It is precisely this,” replies *L'Humanité*, which shows the magnanimity of Mao Tse-tung.”

And similarly, the paper informs us that the Lama, who fled to refuge in India, is in fact a prisoner there and is, under duress, relaying to us as best as he can the nonsense being broadcast by the Chinese radio.

The Carrefour Lafayette (headquarters of the French Communist Party) is well known for its many contradictions. Compulsory education has produced, at this mid-century date, a curious specimen of newspaper reader—he obstinately resists all efforts at making him test conflicting reports. With him, it is never a question of research or thought. If, in fact, the stories about the Dalai Lama as

presented by *L'Humanité*, cause some smiles, they most certainly cause a great deal more distress.

Those Republicans who had wanted their countrymen to be able to read in order to better govern themselves certainly did not foresee this savoury result. Nor could they have predicted the existence of a press such as this, disguising events with such impudence as to do justice to Dr. Goebbels, or the other variety of press that deals exclusively in the sensational, in gore, in royal romances or the idiotic goings-on of screen stars. It certainly does not give much occasion for rejoicing. Some illiterates of yesteryear had more good common sense than quite a few of our reputedly educated people of today.

—ROGER MICHAUD in "*Force Ouvrière*", Paris, April 9

Vietnam Socialists Condemn Chinese

WITH brutally suppressive measures, the Chinese Communists are destroying the historical autonomy of Tibet, whose people wish only to be left in quiet to devote themselves to religious worship. This is a blatant violation of Communist China's solemn pledge of May 1951 guaranteeing the Tibetans political and religious autonomy. The wholesale murder of men, women, children and priests is a crime which has been internationally condemned as that of genocide. In place of the legitimate Tibetan Government, the Communists have established direct rule. The replacement of the Dalai Lama by the Peking-backed Panchen Lama has been effected by foreign intervention and without the consent of the Tibetan people. In spite of the savage suppression, the heroic resistance of the Tibetans to Chinese Communist rule is widespread and continuing. The Tibetan people's fight for freedom is part of the free world's struggle against Communist tyranny. The Vietnam Socialist Party is profoundly sympathetic with the people of Tibet in the face of the barbarous intervention of the Chinese Communist imperialists' intervention designed to deprive a proud and brave people of their cherished religious and political autonomy and to pervert their institutions to Communist ends.

The Vietnam Socialist Party calls upon :

1. The United Nations to assist the Tibetan people in realizing their own aspirations in accordance with the principle of self-determination;
2. All free nations to do their utmost to send the Tibetan people aid on a large scale;
3. All fellow Socialist Parties to help the Tibetan people by all means in their struggle against Commu-

nist despotism. The Vietnam Socialist Party warmly acclaims the Indian Praja-Socialist Party's activities on behalf of the Tibetan uprising, which can be compared with the bloody revolution of October 1956 in Hungary.

—Central Executive Committee, Vietnam Socialist Party, Saigon, April 10

The Rape of Tibet

LAST Saturday two men made pronouncements on the same subject at a distance of thousands of miles from each other and, as what they said impinged strongly on what was uppermost in the minds of people the world over, their words reverberated round the globe. Over in Peking, the suave and sophisticated Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, told the opening session of the second National People's Congress that the rebellion in Tibet was being staged by only a 'handful' of reactionaries and, by inference not reflective therefore of the feelings of the masses. Then he went on to repeat Peking's oft-reiterated claim that the Dalai Lama had been abducted out of Tibet and forced to cross the border into India, although Prime Minister Nehru himself had left no doubt in the minds of members of his Parliament that the Dalai's flight was voluntary. Even as Mr. Chou was speaking his piece to the Congress, the Dalai Lama issued a simple, dignified and most convincing communique on the events leading to his exodus from hearth and home. The Chinese, he said, had rammed suzerainty down the throats of the Tibetans in 1951 at the point of the bayonet; Lhasa was to enjoy domestic sovereignty with control of defence and foreign affairs reserved to Peking; but continuous Chinese interference had whittled away Tibetan autonomy to the point where it ceased to exist. Recounting the sequence of facts leading to his escape while the Chinese net was closing round him, the Dalai Lama unequivocally affirmed that he left for India of his "own free will and not under duress". After hearing this testimony there is no question that Peking is lying in its teeth and the truth of the Dalai Lama's assertions cannot conveniently be buried under the 20,000 words unleashed by Mr. Chou in his address to the National People's Congress. Peking welshed on its treaty with Tibet, it forced the real head of the Tibetan administration to leave his country for exile in a foreign land, and it is trying to make monkeys out of us with its cock-and-bull story of what the Chinese would like us to believe really happened. We are completely and utterly unimpressed, and to top it off we are not pleased by Peking's cruelty and duplicity towards an Asian neighbour. No amount of verbiage can explain away the rape of Tibet.

—Times of Indonesia, Djakarta. April 21

The Lesson of Tibet

"...WHAT is happening in Tibet today well serves as an object lesson to all South-East Asian countries of what to expect when the Red Chinese plans for an ultimate conquest of this part of the continent are fulfilled. A preview of things to come. And, particularly for us in Burma it behoves us now to ponder deeply on what is in store for us, since Burma is next on Red China's time-table for her own brand of imperialism. We should ponder deeply on what our Burmese comrades are letting us in for...."

—NGA PAW U in the "New Times of Burma", Rangoon, April 1

Another Hungary

DISGUST and anger at the ruthless methods resorted to by Communist China in Tibet is growing in the free countries of Asia. The Federation Foreign Minister, Dr. Ismail Bin Dato Abdul Rahman has expressed his government's strong disapproval of this suppression of freedom and the self-determination of the Tibetan people. He sternly reminded the Peking administration that as an Asian people and as upholders of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Malayan Government and its citizens deplore the use of force in Tibet and failure of the Communists to allow the Tibetans to exercise their rights and liberty....

The Peking Puppet (the Panchen Lama) has signalled his appointment by sending a telegram to the Chinese dictators by hailing the Communist take-over of Tibet as a 'tremendous victory.' To the free world in the West and the East, this suppression of the Tibetan revolt is unlikely to end the anger of the people there. Like the Hungarian freedom fighters, they may continue to harass the Communist Puppets in their country.

—The Singapore Standard, Kuala Lumpur, April 1

Under Military Control

THE *China Press* (the Kuala Lumpur Chinese daily) on March 31, 1959, in an editorial captioned "Military control restored in Tibet", said that the ruthless Communist suppression of the revolt is reminiscent of the revolt in Hungary. The paper asked the "Free world" not to make the same mistake as in Hungary but to give the Tibetans moral support, if not also military assistance.

The *China Press*, Kuala Lumpur, March 31.

Knaveish Tricks

BURMA's English daily *Nation* on June 6, in an editorial "Frustrate Their Knaveish Tricks" scathingly criticised Communist China for still continuing

its smear campaign against India and Prime Minister Nehru through surreptitiously circulating a huge number of pamphlets in the Burmese language on the Tibetan issue in Burma. The daily *Nation* said: "A vast amount of propaganda that Communist China is printing and distributing in Burmese against Mr. Nehru and India will avail them nothing because public sympathy here is with Tibet and with India."

Applauding Prime Minister Nehru's stand on Tibet and "human treatment" towards the Tibetan refugees the paper in the same connection observed: "Before the Tibetans, smarting under the Chinese yoke in the mountain country, began to flee into India in any strength, an Indian member of Parliament asked Mr. Nehru if he would admit as many refugees as came and received the reply that the Indian Government was not committing itself to any such policy. In the event, Mr. Nehru has accorded the Tibetans a very humane treatment and the Tibetans themselves have expressed their deep appreciation of the kindness and generosity with which they have been received."

"If Mr. Nehru has taken a more positive stand in regard to the Tibetans than was generally expected at one time, the Chinese are themselves to blame.... When the explanations, which he made so patiently in Parliament in an effort to soothe the Chinese fell on deaf ears, Mr. Nehru became stubborn."

"This has not helped the Communists in any way. In fact in the last few months, Communism has lost more ground in Asia than after its near defeat in Korea many years ago. Since 1951 there have been reports about the Chinese subversion in Tibet, but hitherto no one had taken serious notice of them. Then came the supreme folly of the Red Chinese in Tibet, shelling the monasteries and killing the priests. Finally they allowed the Dalai Lama to escape to India and to give the plain unvarnished truth about the Chinese atrocities to the outside world. It seems evident now that the Red Regime in China never believed that Mr. Nehru would have allowed the Lama to give out the truth so quickly and so effectively. The Chinese also seem to forget that the Indian press operates in a democratic tradition and that no one in India is big enough to be able to keep the things hidden from the public for any length of time.... Hungary was a blow to Communist prestige in the West. But here, there is not just one blow. First the Communes, then the Tibetan adventure, and lastly a quarrel with India have outraged the Asians' sense of decency. The Reds have to do something spectacular to cover the lost ground in Asia...."

Ruthless Communists

"...THE situation (in Tibet) appears to be very similar to that of Hungary. The Chinese Communists, in spite of all their professions of being a peace-loving people who support the forces of liberation, have shown once again that they can be ruthless. As an Asian people believing in the principles of the United Nations Charter, we are firmly opposed to the use of force and we must deplore the use of force in Tibet. As upholders of the United Nations Charter we must deplore the failure to allow the Tibetan people to exercise self-determination."

—DR. ISMAIL BIN DATO ABDUL RAHMAN, Minister of External Affairs, Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, March 31

Waiting for Bandung

"THE rising in Lhasa suppressed, a puppet committee installed, the Chinese Government has made its first statement on the Tibetan Revolt. It makes no bones about denying the Tibetans autonomy conceded by the Sino-Tibetan Agreement after the 1950 invasion, and it does not hide the extent of the revolt although an effort is made in the release of correspondence with the Dalai Lama to present the revolt as the work of 'a traitorous clique' which was acting in defiance of the Dalai Lama's own wishes.... These are letters of a distraught, unhappy young man, fearful for his people, striving desperately to delay the next and tragic act. How is Asia going to react to this snuffing out of the last of Tibetan independence? To believe the Peking story is to believe that India plotted with the 'imperialists' in the grisly adventure on the roof of the world.... Apart from the necessity of refuting the charge of complicity, the Indian government cannot hold its peace now. It has been confronted by this cynical betrayal of the five principles on which relations with China have been based, this ruthless obliteration of freedom of a neighbouring people. India will have to take the risk of being 'impolite'. So too will the Bandung Conference countries and the Asian-African Group, unless they subscribe to a double standard. The crushing of Tibetan freedom by Communist China is a gross betrayal of all that the Bandung Declaration represents. Here is colonialism blood-stained and rampant. Asia must condemn it."

—*The Straits Times, Kuala Lumpur, March 31*

A Red Rag to the Bull

"THE roof of the top of the world has blown off rocking the rest of it and threatening to embroil other nations.... To the Communists, peace in a country is like a red rag to the bull. What irks the Chinese Communists is that the Tibetans have

refused to knuckle down to their ideology. Now nothing enrages a red so much as being baulked in his efforts to thrust down the throat of a people the ideology that has given him political indigestion. The Chinese reds showed their true colours when having exhausted all means to make the Tibetans turn away from religion to red ideology, Peking issued the orders that led to destruction. What is happening in Tibet and in certain Chinese provinces adjacent to it may not be a rebellion. It is probably a war of Buddhism and Islam on the one side and Communism on the other, hence the report that the Chinese nearby were joining in the fray. Unless more civilised nations step in to aid the Tibetans one way or another, the trouble may even spread to Sikkim and even to the fringes of India now occupied by Chinese Communists.

—ASTER GUNASEKERA in the *Singapore Standard*, March 31

"Fire in Tibet"

"It is not easy to keep a policy of protecting oneself wisely especially nowadays when the world becomes shorter and smaller. The Himalayas can no longer protect India from entangling with outsiders.... The Communists are not satisfied with compromises. This is why Mr. Nehru has sometimes been held as the 'agent of the imperialists' no matter how he has tried to compromise with them. We know what the Indian authorities' problems are. The security of India is endangered by the following factors: 1. Communist China intentionally put a piece of Indian land in the map of Tibet, and, 2. Communist China seeks a chance to occupy outposts of India."

—*The China Press, the Kuala Lumpur Chinese Daily, March 26*

Will India be able to maintain its policy of "disengagement?" Will relations between New Delhi and Peking be modified? On the diplomatic level, this is hardly likely to happen. Politically speaking, on the contrary, a change is taking place. Mr. Nehru has succeeded in bestowing extraordinary moral credit on his country. India's prestige is considerable and she could place herself at the head of the ranks of Asiatic nations that do not wish to tie themselves either to the East or the West. Today, Mr. Nehru could welcome the Dalai Lama as the head of a persecuted country. This would affirm the fact that the government of Peking has acted in an arbitrary manner. It also confirms the existence of tension between Indian neutrality and Chinese communism.

—JEAN HEER in the *Gazette de Lausanne*

Relations Disturbed

"ONE knows how precious Indian friendship was to Peking, in order to retain the confidence of the Jakarta neutralists, as well as the other young capitals.

Now, the asylum granted to the Dalai Lama as a religious leader arises to disturb, more profoundly than is realised, the relations between New Delhi and Peking."

—*DERNIERE HEURE, Brussels*

Neutrality Collapsed

"NEUTRALITY has collapsed in India. On the moral level, Mao Tse-tung is already beaten. It is the first time since war's end that the neutralists of Asia have experienced such a profound and violent indignation against the methods employed by the Russo-Chinese bloc."

—*CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Milan*

Indian Dilemma

"NEW Delhi has, in addition, its own particular reasons for not condemning in a more vigorous and desirable manner the behaviour of Peking. For India herself has her own autonomous problems—in Bhutan, Sikkim and Assam—and certain arguments which she could invoke might well turn against her own politics."

—*J. J. CHOUET in Tribune de Geneve*

Reaction

THE condemnation of Chinese colonialism runs the risk of spreading, in the minds of non-Communist Asiatics, to all attempts at modernisation, and could therefore reinforce existing feudal societies."

—*MICHEL BOSQUET in L'Express, Paris*

Freedom Not Involved

"WE accuse the Indian Prime Minister of being weak and partial. It must be noted, however, that we know practically nothing of what exactly has happened on the "Roof of the World", nor who began the hostilities. The only thing that is certain is that this conflict has nothing to do with what we call 'democratic liberty', something which the Tibetan people have never known. It is certain that Nehru will silently and tenaciously watch over the destiny of the monastic state and its leader, even after the Western powers have stopped crying out like wounded beasts."

—*VORWAERTS, West Germany*

Taipeh Incites

"WE get our information from the radio. It is the voice of New York, saying that two million Tibetans are armed—it is the beginning of a major insurrection, the beginning of the end for the Peking regime. And the same thing again from Taipeh and New York. It is difficult to forgive them, because they know what they are doing." Referring to the men behind the scene in Tibet the commentator adds:—"For one, there is Chiang Kai-shek, urging on the Tibetans

with his ardent appeals. And yet we know that his delegation walked out of the room where the first Asiatic conference was being held in 1947 in Delhi because the large map tacked to the wall did not show Tibet as being an integral part of China."

—*DIE WELT, Hamburg*

A Salute to the Courageous

Hong Kong

FREE Chinese cultural, educational, journalistic, commercial, industrial, film and religious circles in Hongkong issued a joint statement in support of the freedom fighters in Tibet.

The statement said:

We take great pride in saluting our courageous and freedom-loving compatriots in Tibet in their present rebellion against Communist totalitarianism. Their epoch-making rebellion is giving much heart not only to us Chinese, but also, we are sure, to the whole free world. . . . The present rebellion will most certainly go down in our history as another glorious national achievement. It has proved that the anti-Communist Chinese front is a living force, and not a hopeless or losing cause as some people would like to describe it, and the National Government of China, . . . has shown its potent leadership of this front by the way it is encouraging our Tibetan compatriots with its inspiration and material assistance. . . . We would also ask that the National Government extend similar aid to our compatriots in other parts of the country to enable them to rise against Communist slavery like our Tibetan compatriots. It has also proved that the Tibetan rebellion, simultaneous with the widespread popular discontent against Communist-imposed communes which has forced the Communists to suspend or slow down their programme, is an evidence that Communist rule is not yet the accepted, established and effective authority in China that it has been taken to be by some quarters. It is our confidence that one day freedom and democracy will triumph in our country. It is this hope that has spurred our Tibetan compatriots to revolt and we feel sure in the course of time it will spur our compatriots in other parts of the country to do the same.

India Acted Correctly

THE *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* in editorials devoted to India's concern over the current Tibetan crisis, express the view that India is acting correctly in the situation, note that Peiping has acted in bad faith not only with the Tibetans but with India as well and suggest that Communist China's actions have dealt a blow to the policy of co-existence.

Naked and Unashamed

...MR. NEHRU refused to commit himself in advance (to accept Tibetans on a mass scale)... but it is easy to imagine that he fears demands from Red Chinese to close the border to escaping Tibetans or even incursions by Red Chinese troops into Indian territory "in hot pursuit". For the Peking Government has not only been brutal in its efforts to exploit the Tibetans and to suppress their natural reaction but it has also displayed consummate arrogance in dealing with the neighbour states on the issue.... It informed the Indians that any discussion of Tibetan affairs by the Indian Parliament would be "impolite and improper". Mr. Nehru rejected this contention firmly enough. "Peiping's ruthlessness in Tibet and its callous contempt for the opinion of even friendly Asians has alienated many Indians—which, in turn, will have an effect on Southeast Asia as a whole. Communist imperialism stands naked and unashamed before the Asian world and much of what Chou En-lai won at Bandung has been lost on the roof of the world."

—*The New York Herald Tribune*

In Bad Faith

"WHEN the Chinese Reds first invaded Tibet..... Peking made a formal pledge that the basic religious structure of Tibet would be respected and that its autonomy would be preserved. Presumably this was supposed to answer India's questions as well as to head off uneasiness and possible resistance in Tibet itself. Those pledges have now been discarded as worthless. The religious structure of Tibetan society has been attacked frontally and any idea of autonomy has been ruled out by the reign of the Chinese Red Army. That Peking has acted in bad faith with the Tibetans goes without saying. It is however, equally true that Peiping has acted in bad faith in respect to India and to Indian representations.

—*The New York Times*

IN the West the Indian policy in international affairs is called "Neutrality". Indians prefer to see themselves as "uncommitted." Both terms fail to acknowledge the fact that India is vitally committed on the great issue of democratic freedom against Communist dictatorship..... Mr. Nehru's treaty of 1954 with Peking on the status of Tibet was in part a recognition of a situation India could do nothing about. It was in part also an effort to prevent the full communisation of Tibet, first to retain for the Tibetans their religious institutions, second for the strategic purpose of keeping Tibet as a buffer between China and India. The effort has failed, and in failing has presented Mr. Nehru with the immense problem of direct confrontation against China..... The only

valid demand on Mr. Nehru right now is that he express moral condemnation of the Chinese for what they have done in Tibet.

—*The Baltimore Sun, April 2*

End All Illusions

"THIS creates a most embarrassing situation for Mr. Nehru. Actually he can do little or nothing to save Tibet from its fate. As we have previously noted, Chinese supervision over Tibet has long been conceded, and even if this were not so, India lacks the military power to intervene. In these circumstances, it is natural and reasonable for Mr. Nehru to avoid active involvement and to hope for a peaceful settlement. It would be foolish for Americans and Western Europeans, who found it impractical to go to the aid of Hungary in its courageous fight for freedom, to taunt India for its inactivity in the face of a still more hopeless situation in Tibet. But the friends of India throughout the free world do hope that events in Tibet will end any illusions that may have been harboured in regard to Communist China.

—*The Washington Post, April 2*

Brutal Suppression

TIBET is being brutally suppressed by Red China for seeking the autonomy which the "Citadel of Buddhism" was promised by the Communists. America's deepest feelings have been aroused because "he who lays rough hands upon the followers of Buddha lays rough hands upon all who believe in freedom of worship, independence of spirit and the dignity of man." Communist oppression in Tibet is "a repudiation by Communist China's Premier Chou En-lai of the principles of non-violence and non-intervention in other countries' internal affairs that he made at the 1955 Bandung Conference."

—*Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, April 8*

Power Policy Prevails

WHAT has happened is they have found their programme was not working in Tibet and so they took the same action there that the Soviet Union took in Hungary in 1956..... The shocking suppression shows the power policy still prevails.

—*C. DOUGLAS DILLON, Under Secretary of State, Washington, April 8*

Ruthless Suppression

THE Chinese Communists' ruthless suppression of human liberties in Tibet has demonstrated "once again the hypocrisy of the Communists." The Communists had made a "determined effort.....to destroy the religion and culture of the people of

Tibet." The American people "are saddened by the sufferings of the Tibetan people and yet we see in their resistance efforts one more heartening example of the indomitable spirit of man."

—Acting Secretary of State *HERTER*, Washington, April 4

Hungary of Asia

ONCE more has world Communism brutally and cynically revealed its true character. The ruthless crushing of the people of Tibet exposes the utter fraud of the Communists' pretensions to liberalisation and peaceful co-existence. It emphasises how worthless are the pledges of Moscow and Peiping to respect international law and elementary human decency..... From the beginning the pledge of autonomy has not been kept. The resentment at the continuous transgression of their rights has periodically driven the Tibetans into resistance against the oppressors. The resentment reached the boiling point when the Chinese Communists tried to capture the Dalai Lama.....The religious beliefs of the Tibetans have been trampled upon; some of their most sacred monasteries have been destroyed. Thousands of Tibetans have been massacred. It is to be devoutly hoped that this rude awakening which many Asian peoples have just had as to the real intentions of the Chinese Communists will not be forgotten. Once again, the conscience of the free world is being tested..... The free peoples of the world must make known their sympathy with the brave struggle of these independent and indomitable people. It is to be hoped that it will respond in more effective fashion than it did in the Hungarian case.

—*GEORGE MEANY*, the *AFL-CIO* President, Washington, April 2

Violation of a Solemn Pledge

(Following is the full text of a statement issued by the State Department, March 28, on developments in Tibet.)

THE order issued by Chou En-lai clearly reveals Peking's intention to destroy the historical autonomy of the Tibetan people. This is a blatant violation of Peking's solemn pledge of May 1951 guaranteeing the Tibetans political and religious autonomy. In place of the legitimate Tibetan Government dissolved by the order, the Communists have established direct military rule. As evidence, we note that among the five Chinese appointees on the revised administrative control committee is a deputy political commissar of the Red Chinese army. The Communists' order states that the Panchen Lama will act as chairman of the new Tibetan regime. The Panchen Lama has never been the primary religious leader of Tibet, and it is clear that the replacement of the Dalai Lama has been effected by foreign intervention

without the consent of the Tibetan people. The Panchen Lama was brought up in China and came to Tibet in the wake of the Chinese Red Army. A significant feature of the Chinese Communist statements this morning is the admission that the Tibetan resistance to Chinese Communist rule is widespread and continuing. The statements admit that the Communists have been trying to suppress by force this Tibetan resistance since last May. By their count at least 20,000 Tibetan patriots are in arms against them. They also state that the entire Tibetan army has joined the resistance movement. The United States is profoundly sympathetic with the people of Tibet in the face of the barbarous intervention of the Chinese Communist imperialists to deprive a proud and brave people of their cherished religious and political autonomy and to pervert their institutions to Communist ends.

Ceylonese Reaction to Tibetan Crisis

Colombo

WHILE officials here continue to be reticent on developments in Tibet, sections of the Buddhist clergy and the opposition Trotskyite Party have come out with conflicting views on this issue.

Commenting for the first time on behalf of the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaj Party, Dr. Colvin R. De Silva, writing in the latest issue of the party journal, *Sama Samajist* said, that it was incorrect to compare events in Tibet with those in Hungary. Whereas in Hungary, the Soviet troops acted as "plain interventionists", the presence of Chinese troops in Tibet, which was part of Chinese territory, could not be questioned he added.

He said that the revolt in Tibet was led by feudal interests. It had, nevertheless, damaged the prestige of China, especially in Asia.

"What is required is not simply military suppression of the feudal rebellion but the reorganisation of the Chinese Government policy so as to bring it into closer accord with the national aspirations of the Tibetan masses", Mr. De Silva said.

—*Free Press Journal*, Bombay, April 12

Danger to Buddhism

Colombo

THE Reverend Malewana Gnaniswara Thero, a prominent monk of Colombo and a superior of the former ruling United National Party, who convened a meeting of 600 priests on April 10, to protest against the Chinese action in Tibet, said in a statement that Tibet was not an internal question of China in as much as it presented a danger to Buddhism.

Gnaniswara Thero said that the Sangamaya which would hold its first meeting in Kandy shortly, also proposed to meet the Prime Minister,

Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, to urge diplomatic action including severance of relations if necessary to make clear Ceylon's attitude on the question.

Embassy Doors Barred

A deputation of monks sought to present a memorandum to the Chinese Embassy here after the meeting on April 10, but failed as the doors of the Embassy were barred. A spokesman of the Embassy said that the Embassy would not entertain any representation on Tibet because it was an internal matter of China and unconnected with any question of religion.

The Chinese spokesman also confirmed a local press report that the Ambassador, Mr. Chang Tsan-ming, had walked out of a cinema on April 10, when a British newsreel was screened featuring demonstrators outside the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi with placards denouncing "Chinese Imperialism in Tibet".

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 12

Yugoslav Attack On China

Belgrade

THE Yugoslav Communist Party has spoken out through its official organs for the first time in criti-

cizing the Chinese handling of Tibet and Communist policies in the Arab Middle East.

China is seen, by clumsiness, faulty interpretation of the Marxist doctrine and bad psychology, to have lost the chance to win over the Tibetans.

Borba saw Tibet as a touch-stone of China's failure to deal with the national question when by other means it might have put Tibet on the path to unhindered development. The Tibetan events had confirmed *Borba's* view that Communist parties must awaken to the "real problems confronting the Socialist world."

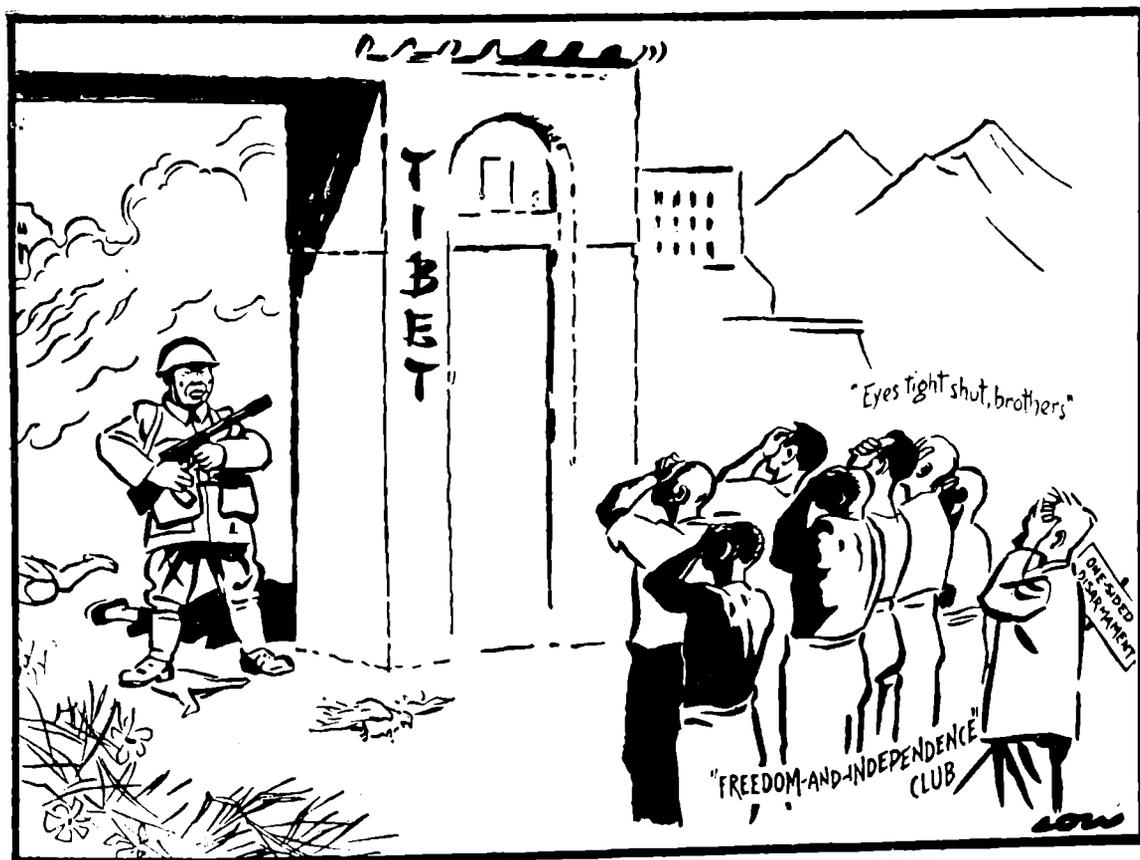
—A NAFEN Message of April 11

Keep Tibet Out of Cold War

Washington

Two former Ambassadors to India agreed in a radio programme yesterday that the United States should avoid any attempt to make cold war propaganda capital out of the Tibetan revolt.

Senator John Sherman Cooper (Republican) and Congressman Chester Bowles (Democrat) were appearing in a radio discussion on Tibet.



SHANGRI LA — UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT

Senator Cooper declared: "The worst thing the U.S. could do would be to try to place this (Tibetan situation) within the context of the cold war. If we do that it will make it very difficult for Asian leaders to speak to their own people."

Mr. Bowles said: "The worst thing our Voice of America and other propaganda organs could do would be to claim these people as our allies." He was presumably referring to the Tibetan rebels.

Senator Cooper said he was certain the Tibetan situation would be discussed in the UN, but "any initiative there should come from the Asian countries and, I would think from the Asian countries which are not connected with SEATO....."

Mr. Bowles said there was a growing awareness in Asia of the true nature of Peking's policies. Asian leaders were "beginning to learn for the first time" that imperialism could come from the East as well as the West.

Senator Cooper said the Tibetan revolt was proving a "rude disillusionment for Asian leaders. They relied upon Communist China's promises at Bandung. Now I think they can see that those promises have been broken."

Both speakers agreed that while the Tibetan rebels had little chance of ultimate success in their struggle against China, it might well be a fight.

"I think it is possible that there will be guerilla fighting for some time," Senator Cooper said.

Mr. Bowles said: "The power of Communist China would be enough eventually to bring Tibet under control. But fighting could go on for a long time. The country is very rough. I think the Chinese will have their hands full."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 11*

Hungary Draws A Parallel

Budapest

A HUNGARIAN Government spokesman told a Press conference that "the whole Hungarian people were happy to learn of the liquidation of the Tibetan revolt."

The spokesman was asked to comment on Western Press articles describing Tibet as an "oriental Hungary."

He said there was an essential common feature between the "Hungarian counter-revolution of 1956 and the recent outbreak of the Tibetan counter-revolutionary revolt."

"Both," he said, "were organized by the imperialists using the internal forces of counter-revolution and both revolts were directed against the basic interest of the people."

He declared that both the "imperialists" and "the pitiful figures of the Chiang Kai-shek clique" could not be expected to accept their defeat in Taiwan.

"They want to cause confusion and unrest in that part of the world at any price. Besides, it would be useful for them to be able to upset the relations between China and India," he said.

The spokesman did not mention the Dalai Lama by name but he said: "We are convinced that with the elimination of the reactionary Tibetan local Government and with the creation of organs of the people's own State power they (the Tibetans) have opened the way towards total liberation."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 11*

Peking Statements 'Fabricated'

Jakarta

THE *Indonesian Observer* said in an editorial that the Chinese Government's statements concerning the Dalai Lama "appear to have been all fabricated."

"The fact that the Dalai Lama has asked for and been granted political asylum proves the untruth of the Chinese claim that he went to India under duress.

"It is clear that the Dalai Lama came to India of his own free will."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 10*

'U. K. is in Touch With India'

London

THE U.K. Government has been in touch with the Indian Government on the question of Tibet. Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, disclosed in the Commons this afternoon.

But, he added, "I think I would prefer to add nothing."

Mr. Lloyd said: "Communications are extremely difficult in the part of India where the Dalai Lama and his party are. I share the general feeling of deep concern with regard to what has been happening in Tibet and about Tibetan autonomy. The whole House will sympathise with the Tibetan people in their problems."

After Mr. Lloyd stated that he had been in touch with India, Mr. Bevan, Labour's chief spokesman of foreign affairs, said the Labour Party, in the "perplexing and difficult situation," tentatively supported the position taken by the Indian Government.

—*NAFEN*

The World Condemns Chinese Aggression

NINE days after the revolt in Tibet against Chinese authority, Peking radio broadcast a long declaration on the rebellion, attributing it to 'a reactionary clique' inside Tibet and to 'imperialism'. The statement said:

The rebellious activities of the Tibetan traitors have been of fairly long duration. These rebels represent imperialism and the most reactionary big serf owners. Since 1951 they have been plotting and preparing for armed rebellion. But the rebellious conspiracy of this handful of reactionaries had no support from the Tibetan people.

The broadcast declaration also said that the rebels' 'commanding centre' was in Kalimpong (India), that the base of the rebellion had received air-dropped supplies from 'the Chiang Kai-shek bands', and that radio stations had been set up by imperialist agents and the Chiang Kai-shek clique:

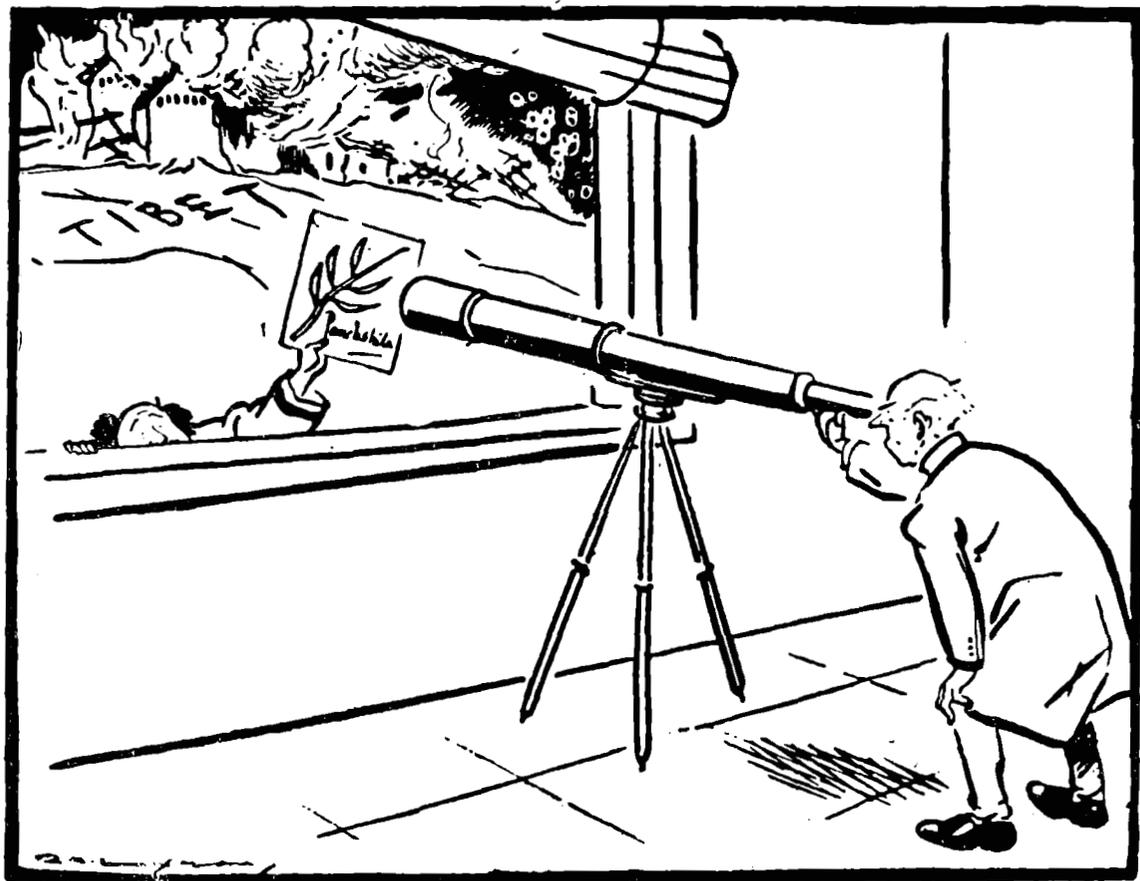
The rapid putting down of the rebellion in Lhasa showed that the Tibetan traitorous clique is certainly doomed and that the future of the Tibetan

people is bright. Primarily this is because the Tibetan people are patriotic, support the Chinese People's Government, ardently love the People's Liberation Army, and oppose the imperialists and traitors. The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsmen who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world.

Two days earlier the radio of Taipeh, capital of Formosa, had broadcast a special message to the Tibetans from Chiang Kai-shek, in which the Generalissimo said:

You are now shedding your blood in fighting against the Communist tyranny. This noble deed begins the first page of the most solemn and glorious history of the anti-Communist revolution of our compatriots on the Chinese mainland.

Considering their widespread respect for Communist China's economic achievements the uncommitted nations of Asia have reacted with surprising sharpness and indignation to the Chinese



VIEW FROM THE WINDOW

repression of the Tibetan uprising. The Indonesian radio broadcast the following comment by the *Times of Indonesia*:

We all know that the Tibetans are on the losing end in their unequal battle with the Chinese, but it is equally undeniable that Peking has caused concern and worry in many Asian countries. This Asian kicking of Asians around is not a pleasant prospect.

A very wide section of the Indian press has voiced strong disapproval of Chinese policies and actions in Tibet, and some newspapers have been critical of the Indian Government's attitude. The *Times of India*, for example, wrote that although the Chinese had scored a military victory they had suffered a political defeat.

The *Hindustan Times* called for a realistic re-assessment of Indian foreign policy and wrote:

Let us hold our heads low today. A small country on our border has paid the ultimate penalty for its temerity to aspire to independence.

The *Pioneer* of Allahabad declared that if India could denounce Western colonialism she should not remain silent over the same evil 'at its ugliest elsewhere', out of deference to Communist power.

In Burma a commentator in *The Rangoon Daily* urged the Chinese authorities to consider whether their present action in Tibet is in keeping with what they said about peaceful coexistence at the Bandung Conference of 1955. He warned them that if they do not practise what they preach the world will accept, as gospel truth, the allegations the United States have made against them. It might even dim whatever chances Red China may have of being admitted into the United Nations.

Another Burmese newspaper, *The New Light of Burma*, wrote:

The Tibetans have no desire to live under the yoke of the Chinese Communists. But none of the former revolts can equal the present one. Even though no country can intervene, it is hoped that nations friendly with Red China will advise her against exercising control over a small country which in the past enjoyed freedom as a separate entity.

—DERRICK SINGTON in *The Listener*, London, April 9 based on information collected by the B.B.C. Monitoring Service

Ceylon Crusade for Tibet

Colombo

A REPRESENTATIVE meeting of the Buddhist Sanga (clergy) in Ceylon today resolved to send a deputation of leading bhikkus to India to invite the Dalai Lama to visit Ceylon as a guest of the Ceylonese people.

It demanded that the Chinese Communists should immediately withdraw from Tibet, stop the shelling of monasteries and release monks who have been arrested.

The meeting further resolved to warn China that if she did not withdraw from Tibet "Asian Buddhists would fight the Chinese in Tibet and Ceylon Buddhists would lead a religious crusade to save Buddhism and monks in Tibet."

The Chinese Embassy in Colombo closed its gates when a deputation of ten Buddhist monks went there to hand over to the Chinese Ambassador resolutions passed at the meeting.

A reporter, who went ahead of the deputation, was ordered out by an Embassy official who said: "Please get out, this is the Chinese Embassy, you have no business here."

The protest meeting also condemned Mr. Bandaranaike's silence about Chinese aggression in Tibet.

—*Statesman*, Calcutta, Apr 10

Neutral Nations Must Take the Lead

Patna

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, British Socialist M.P., in a letter to Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, the Sarvodaya leader, has suggested that neutral nations led by India should offer their services to bring about a settlement in Tibet on the basis of self-determination.

He said: "Those of us who are opposed to colonialism must denounce imperial oppression when it is committed by Communist countries equally with our denunciation of the imperialism of the West. When we protest against what is happening in Central Africa, we cannot be silent about China's more fatal actions in Tibet. I should like to see the neutral nations, led by India, offering their services to bring about a settlement on the basis of self-determination."

—A P.T.I. Message, April 10

Old-Style Imperialism

Hendon, Middlesex

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Labour member of Parliament, said here last night, "Communist China is making brutal war on Tibet for the purpose of absorbing that country into the Chinese Communist empire.

"It is the old-style imperialism at its worst, an aggressive right-wing policy."

Mr. Morrison, former Labour Foreign Secretary, was speaking at a dinner.

—A Ruter Message, April 8

China Exposed in True Colours

Wellington

CHINA'S handling of the Tibetan uprising could have a profound effect on the SEATO area, the United States delegate, Mr. Douglas Dillon, said here today.

Mr. Dillon, Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, was answering questions at a Press conference on arrival here today.

Mr. Dillon said the Chinese action did not represent a change of policy—it is just that the policy did not work in Tibet “and they took the same action as the Soviet Union did in Hungary,” he said.

Mr. Dillon said he did not see the Tibetan situation as a sign of any Chinese offensive.

Asked whether the Communists' actions had flouted the opinions of Mr. Nehru, Mr. Dillon said: “They have tried to give the impression that they put great weight in Mr. Nehru's opinion. But they never have really worried about it very much.”

Mr. Dillon said that the action against the Tibetans could in fact have beneficial effects to the non-communist world. It could restore people in their opinions as to what Communist China stood for. This was particularly true in such countries as Burma and Malaya.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

An Eye-Opener for Asia

Canberra

THAILAND'S Foreign Minister Mr. Nai Thanat Khoman, said at a Press conference here today that the Tibetan issue was likely to have far-reaching effects in many Asian countries.

“It appears the Communists intend to tighten their grip over Tibet and possibly expand their activities still further.

“A number of delegates who are so enthusiastic about having Chinese Communist machinery in the United Nations will probably be considerably cooler on the idea now,” he said.

“They might be feeling the effects themselves of events in Tibet.”

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 13*

'Panch Sheel Bars Indian Protest On Tibet'

London

IN an editorial yesterday on Mr. Nehru's observations on Tibet at his monthly Press conference, *The Times* said that Mr. Nehru felt India had now nothing to gain by provoking China and nothing to lose from preserving the “polite fictions of neutralism.”

“In this he may be too subtle,” the paper commented.

“He referred on Sunday to ‘the larger causes that we hold dear’ and presumably these, both for himself and for the Indian people, include ending the oppression of one nation by another.

“Mr. Nehru himself may recognize the reality behind Chinese professions of goodwill, but not all the people of Asia and Africa are so sophisticated.....”

“But there is nothing Mr. Nehru can say or do to help the Tibetans.

“The five principles (of peaceful co-existence) with all their high sentiments, effectively debar him from any political intervention or protest over Tibet since this would be an interference in the internal affairs of China,” the paper said.

“In any case, a protest to the Chinese would hardly be likely to dissuade them from clamping down their rule in Tibet,” *The Times* added.

“If Mr. Nehru, with his undoubted moral authority in the neutral nations, were to tell all he knows of China's action in Tibet, and to condemn them where they have been oppressive, Asians and Africans might fall less easily for the blandishments of Chinese propaganda.

“Also, if the time ever comes when India herself has to resist a Chinese threat, the Indians would have been warned and strengthened in advance by their own leaders,” it concluded.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

U. S. 'Support' For Tibetan Rebels

Vienna

Moscow Radio commentaries are going to extreme lengths in their support for Russia's Chinese allies over the suppression of the Tibet rising. One recent broadcast for South-East Asia alleged US support for “dissident elements” in Indonesia—and even for the Naga tribes in India—in support of the suggestion that US support had also prompted recent developments in Tibet.

Moscow broadcasts in the last few days have also sought to link the Tibet situation with the question of a settlement on Germany between Russia and the West.

Radio commentaries in Burmese and Vietnamese accused the Western Powers of carrying on a “campaign of slander against the Chinese People's Republic” with a view to increasing world tension at a time when there was hope of ending the cold war.

Russian Press reports since the intensification of the anti-communist struggle in Tibet have sought to give the impression that the large-scale rising against the Chinese is in fact being engineered merely

by "reactionary Tibetan upper classes and foreign imperialists."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 7*

Attack on "Life and Soul"

Calcutta

THE recent happenings in Tibet reminded one of the uprising in Hungary. But they differed in one respect. Hungarians wanted a change from one materialistic system to another, but in Tibet the Communists wanted to bring about a change in the "very life and soul" of Tibetans.

This was stated by the Maharajkumar of Sikkim Mr. T. Nangyal, in an interview in Calcutta on Monday.....

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 7*

"India Should Have Been More Firm"

Nice

PRINCE NORODOM Sihanouk, Prime Minister of Cambodia, was "surprised that India was not more firm" over the Tibetan revolt. In an interview with the newspaper *Nice Matin*, the Prince said: "No co-existence is possible between a kingdom of divine right and a popular republic. China has for some time too easily considered Tibet as a distant province."

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 7*

Part of SEATO Tactics

Moscow

THE Soviet armed forces newspaper *Red Star* today linked the Tibet rebellion with the opening of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation Conference in Wellington, New Zealand, this week.....

"Experience shows that whenever the danger of war is stifled in one part of the globe the aggressors make it flare up in another. It is also known that SEATO sessions have always been preceded by imperialist provocations in Asia. This session too follows the reactionary rebellion in Tibet which was inspired and organised by foreign imperialists.

"Now the leaders of the imperialist bloc are trying to make use of these events for their own ends. The American Press is conducting a slanderous campaign against the Chinese People's Republic trying to poison relations between China and India."

Japanese Relief

Tokyo

THE *Asahi Shimbun* in an editorial today said that Japanese were quite relieved "by Prime Minister Nehru's statement that the Dalai Lama, the temporal and spiritual ruler of Tibet, who crossed into India, would be received respectfully."

The paper said: "With the escape of the Dalai Lama into India, China will establish a puppet government headed by the Panchen Lama in Tibet," and added "the religious Tibetans entertain historical

distrust of the Chinese and there is no guarantee that Tibetans would be obedient to any Communist Chinese policy to rule them."

The *Asahi* said: "Lamaism had so permeated the life in Tibet that it is difficult to separate politics from religion there."

The paper wondered "what policy China would adopt henceforth in Tibet."

Democracy's Citadel

New York

THE *New York Post* said today: "India is democracy's citadel in Asia. We can help Tibet and prevent more Tibets by helping India play the great role she has undertaken in the struggle for human dignity.

"Let those Senators and Congressmen and fire-breathing anti-Communists show they mean business by supporting adequate foreign aid through such a programme as the development loan fund, providing international credit to under-developed countries. The road to Tibet ultimately lies through India."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April*

Glasshouse Position

Bonn

The Western Powers are in a too transparent glasshouse to be able to throw stones at India in connection with the Tibetan situation, an article in the independent "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" said yesterday.

Referring to Prime Minister Nehru's attitude, the article said: "What more could he do? Lay accusations before the United Nations which have not even accepted Peking as a member and have produced nothing in the Hungarian question beyond declarations of principle?"

"Renounce the frontier treaty concerning Tibet, which the Chinese have not infringed and which protects India in some sensitive spots? That would scarcely gain anything for the Tibetans.

"Make representations in Peking? He has probably done that and it could only have some hope of being effective if he did not make it unbearable for the Chinese by making a public announcement.

"The Western Powers who, in spite of much greater military strength, achieved nothing in Hungary, are sitting in a glasshouse which is too transparent to allow them to throw stones at India now."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 5*

Britain Feels Helpless

London

THE uprising in Tibet has been the main topic of discussion here during the last few days, though most of the comment is necessarily inconclusive and reflects a bitter feeling of helplessness.

There is no doubt that British opinion has been deeply stirred by the news of the revolt, but since there is no question of any Western intervention—owing to military as well as political considerations—attention is focussed largely on India's reactions and Mr. Nehru's attitude in particular. His statement in Parliament yesterday has therefore been studied with great interest. It would be an exaggeration to say it has given universal satisfaction, but it is welcomed for its blunt declaration that "Our sympathies are with the Tibetans." As the *Manchester Guardian* puts it, the statement "should go far towards redeeming the honour of the Indian Government."

—K. S. SHELVAANKAR in *Hindu, Madras, March 31*

Ceylon Buddhists' Concern

Colombo

POLITICAL caution combined with deep concern among leaders of Buddhist opinion represented Ceylon's reaction to the developments in Tibet.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake, a former Prime Minister, and vice-president of the Buddhist Theosophical Society, said that the events held out two lessons: the danger of a new imperialism and the treatment of religion by Communism. He hoped that the events would not be lost on the people of Asia.

Two monks, who claimed personal acquaintance with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, deplored the reported shelling of the monasteries. The Rev. Induruwa Pannatissa Thero, head of the Buddhist Academy, said the Tibetan literature was the richest in the Mahayana section of Buddhism (as distinct from the Theravada school followed in Ceylon). It would be a tragedy if the Tibetans were forced to lose their identity.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 3*

"Repression of People"

Washington

MR. CHRISTIAN HERTER, United States Acting Secretary of State, said here to-day he was "deeply shocked" by what he called the Chinese ruthless repression of the Tibetan people.

He said in a statement that the United States was saddened by the suffering of the Tibetan people "and yet we see in their resistance efforts the more heartening example of the indomitable spirit of man."

Mr. Herter said:

"It has been only eight years since the Peking regime agreed to respect Tibet's religious and cultural autonomy."

"Evidently the Communists have broken that agreement as part of their ruthless drive to eliminate all individuality and human values within their Empire. Once again the hypocrisy of the Communists is demonstrated. They constantly charge others with aggression and interference but when a courageous people within their grasp seek liberty their answer is ruthless repression."

—*Hindu, Madras, March 26*

'Tibet is Another Hungary'

Wellington

CHINA's handling of the Tibetan uprising had shown a contempt for neutralist opinion, Maj.-Gen. Weir, chief SEATO military adviser, said here today.

In answer to a question he said: "Yes, it has shown contempt for neutral opinion—for Indian opinion."

Gen. Weir said the Tibetan situation constituted another "Hungary". He said Hungary's position in Europe had been much more sensitive but the Tibetan situation was "much the same thing."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April*

Peking Suzerainty Over Tibet: U. K. Reiterates Stand

London

THE British Government reiterated today that it recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet but only on the understanding that Tibet was regarded as autonomous.

Answering a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Robert Allan, Foreign Under-Secretary, referred to a statement in November, 1950, by Mr. Ernest Davies, then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Labour Government.

Mr. Allan went on: Mr. Davies said: "We have over a long period recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, March 25*

India Leaned over Backwards: British Press Comments

London

BRITISH public opinion, as reflected by the Press here, reacted sharply and with deep concern to reports of clashes between Tibetan rebels and the Chinese in Tibet.

Several newspapers splashed the reports on their front-pages under huge banner headlines while editorial comments drew attention to India's position in Tibet's unrest.

The *Manchester Guardian* believed that outside the Communist world, the Indian Government can do most to alleviate the situation because the Chinese Communists cannot afford to offend Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, too deeply. No doubt Indians are doing their best by diplomacy, but too much cannot be expected of them.

The *Daily Telegraph* stated that evidence that resistance to the Chinese had swelled to a national revolt may at last give Mr. Nehru the courage of his moral conviction, while the *News Chronicle* accused the Indian Government of having "leaned over backwards" to appease the Chinese.

A message in the *Daily Express* claimed that the Dalai Lama of Tibet was held prisoner by the Chinese occupation forces and that the Tibetan resistance was increasing in strength.

The *Manchester Guardian* declared: "Mr. Nehru is quickly being given an opportunity to revise his view, expressed last week, that what is happening in Tibet is 'a clash of minds rather than arms.'"

"For the past month the 'bazaar rumours' of which he was so scornful have been saying that the Dalai Lama would be arrested or taken off to Peking, and that his people might resort to violence to protect him.

"Now that has happened, and our main source of news about it is the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, usually so reluctant a witness. It is still far from clear what has been happening."

Khampa's Campaign

"We know that the Khampas, a martial people in Eastern Tibet, have been in revolt since 1956: They have done this in previous centuries when the Central Chinese Government tried to assert its suzerainty, but this time they have much more cause to fear that the invaders will bring their old way of life to an end.

"In 1957, the Chinese Communist Party decided—no doubt as a result of this and of other less violent resistance—that Tibet was not ripe for socialism and that, therefore, 'reforms' would be postponed for at least six years. It is not known here how far they have fulfilled their promise.

"At any rate the Khampas revolt continued, and last summer there were reports that it was spreading westward towards Lhasa.

"During the winter the rebels claimed various victories over the Chinese troops sent against them, and some of the 'bazaar rumours' say that they control most of the land south of Lhasa between the Tsangpo and the frontier.

"It is not clear whether these guerilla fighters were near enough to Lhasa to take part in the recent fighting, nor how the inhabitants of Lhasa themselves tried to protect the Dalai Lama.

"They cannot have much in the way of weapons' but Budapest showed how formidable an outraged people can be even against tanks.

"However unanimous the Tibetans may be in their hatred of Chinese or Communist overlordship, we in the West must inevitably feel more impotent even than when we had to watch Hungary go under.

"Chinese suzerainty over Tibet—with limitations—is generally acknowledged. We cannot even try to influence China through the United Nations—discouraging as the Hungarian precedent was—because we have foolishly not invited her to undertake its obligations.

"Outside the Communist world the Indian Government can do most—not so much because of the Sino-Indian agreement of 1954 which included the "Five Principles of Co-existence" but because if the Chinese Communists do not want to turn neutral Asian opinion against them—and it is quite probable that they do not care—then they cannot afford to offend Mr. Nehru too deeply.

"No doubt Indians are doing their best by diplomacy, but we cannot expect too much from them. They cannot threaten invasion.

"There remains a faint hope from Chinese prudence. Demonstrations such as that in Lhasa can be ruthlessly crushed by weight of arms, monasteries and other centres of resistance can be destroyed as they were in 1956.

Guerilla Country

"But Tibet is an ideal guerilla country, and even if violent resistance were to fail, it would still take a long time, outside the towns, for Chinese cadres to impose their system on reluctant villagers."

The *Daily Telegraph* commented: "Evidence that resistance to the Chinese oppressor has swelled to a national revolt may at last give Mr. Nehru the courage of his moral convictions—and of India's self-interest.

"The Tibetan appeal to them, however unrewarding in the past, is sound diplomacy. No country has greater concern for a free Tibet than has India, and Mr. Nehru does possess some leverage with China—if he cared to exert it."

The *News Chronicle* declared:

"The Indian Government has leaned over backwards to appease the Chinese. It is refreshing that reports of fighting from Indian diplomats in Lhasa

have now been made public. The Indian Press has been outspoken in its comments on Chinese colonialism.

"That is what it is. The excuses that white supremacy advocates use in Africa are used by fellow-travellers when faced with the facts from Tibet.

"Tibetans, like Africans, are backward. Their regime of a Buddhist theocracy must give way to 'progress'. Their standard of living must be raised by the benevolent, if rather rough, methods of the occupiers.

"The critics of British policy in Africa would add greatly to their support if they show as great a willingness to see through Communist propaganda as they do that of Sir Roy Welensky (Prime Minister of the Rhodesian Federation)."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, March 23*

Barbarous Intervention

Washington

THE U.S. declared today it was "profoundly sympathetic" to the Tibetan people in the face of "barbarous intervention" by China in Tibet.

The State Department said the intention of the Chinese Government in Peking was to destroy the "religious and political autonomy (of the Tibetans) and to pervert their institutions to Communist ends." This intention, the State Department said, was disclosed by China's action in abolishing the Dalai Lama's regime and imposing military rule on Tibet.

Such action "is a blatant violation of Peking's solemn pledge of May, 1951, to guarantee the Tibetans political and religious autonomy," the statement added.

—*Times of India, Bombay, March 28*

Democratic Belief Strengthened

New York

MR. Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. Ambassador to India, said today that the Tibetan revolt "strengthened Indians' attachment, belief and adherence to democracy and their determination to proceed along democratic lines."

He said that the Tibetan situation "certainly came as a great shock in India."

—*Times of India, Bombay, June 2*

China's 'Duress Myth' Exposed

London

SUGGESTIONS that the Dalai Lama was in India under duress and a virtual prisoner were finally shattered by a Mussoorie despatch to the *Manchester Guardian* today from its correspondent, Taya

Zinkin, who obtained an interview with the Dalai Lama and affirms: "Mr. Nehru's 'curtain' does not exist."

She describes a half-hour talk with the Dalai Lama, obtained after the much maligned Director of External Publicity, Mr. Menon, had been "helpfulness itself" in transmitting her request for an interview.

She found the Dalai Lama free to move about and the security measures around Birla House were reduced though the Indian authorities kept strict control over visitors, owing to the danger of assassination.

The old Tibetan tradition that his incarnation—the fourteenth—would be the last, particularly worried the Indian Government for his safety.

Mrs. Zinkin said: "Since the Dalai Lama is the symbol of temporal unity between diverse Tibetan tribes and the key figure of Tibetan Buddhism, it would suit the Chinese to get rid of him in the hope that Tibetan nationalism and Buddhist belief would both suffer severe blows and thus make the communitisation of Tibet easier."

Mrs. Zinkin had an informal and "very friendly" talk, avoiding embarrassing political questions, "more out of a sense of shyness than the fear of not getting an answer.

"The Dalai Lama made such a deep impression on my mind of serene goodness, keen intellectual curiosity, and immense *joie de vivre* that for once my journalistic instincts gave way to consideration."

They talked of Liberalism, the weather and photography, and Mrs. Zinkin judged that, in spite of his great trials, a lot of the schoolboy was left in the Dalai Lama, although he was intellectually and spiritually extremely mature for his years.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, June 2*

Clouds of Co-existence Blown Away

London

THE *Times* of London said today that Mr. Nehru had shown "good sense" throughout the Tibetan crisis.

It commented: "The crisis in Tibet and the flight of the Dalai Lama have brought relations between India and China to a new level of caution, blowing away the earlier clouds of co-existence and forcing each country to reflect on the reality of the other.

"Much may be gained from this.

"Throughout the crisis, Mr. Nehru has shown good sense and an awareness of the larger issues affected by the upheaval in Lhasa.

"He has been responsive to Indian opinion and has kept the balance between indignation and prudence...."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 7*

Bid to 'Scare' Indians

Rangoon

THE English language newspaper, *The Nation* said yesterday that the Chinese hoped that by "scaring" Indians, the Dalai Lama might be induced to return to Tibet.

In an editorial on the Rajya Sabha debate on Tibet, the newspaper said: "We must say the tones of parliamentary democracy in India contrast sharply with the shrill voice of totalitarianism in Peking."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 7*

Norway's Note

Oslo

NORWAY yesterday handed to China's Ambassador in Oslo her reply to the Chinese protest on April 27 about an article and a photograph in two national newspapers, concerning Tibet, a Foreign Department spokesman said.

The protest was lodged after the publication of a photograph in the independent newspaper, *Verdens Gang*, of Mao Tse-tung, former Chinese Head of State, captioned "Mao Lost Face," and statements in the official socialist organ, *Arbeiderbladet*, attacking the "ruthless suppression" of Tibet as an example of "Communist imperialism." The photograph caption referred to the escape of the Dalai Lama.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 7*

Soviet Press Ignores Tibet

New Delhi

THE Russian attitude to the Tibetan crisis and its consequent effect on India's present relations with Tibet is the subject of discussion here.

Officially, there is no comment. There is also no report here so far on Mr. Khrushchev's recent meeting with the Indian Ambassador, Mr. K. P. S. Menon.

But observers find it interesting to note that the Russian Press has not been giving the subject much attention.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, May 7*

The Tibet Crisis

IN a recent press conference, and subsequently in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nehru guardedly admitted that the Khampas were creating trouble for the Chinese in Tibet, though reports of it in the press were grossly

exaggerated as a rule.....India and China are of course on friendly terms, in the accepted sense. But the relation is accompanied by irritants which can assume an exaggerated proportion at the slightest hint of a crisis, and consequently become the cause of a general underlying suspicion..... No one really believes, however, that a conflagration is possible between India and China in the present circumstances, when both countries are so desperately involved in reconstruction. But when the urgency of reconstruction is over, as it must be one day, a clash of political interests is thought inevitable by many, and could lead to much unpleasantness. China's aggressive role in the history of South-East Asia does not by any means brighten the picture. The 17-point agreement between the Tibetan leaders and the Chinese government, as Mr. Nehru reminded the Lok Sabha, was basically an agreement for preserving the autonomy of Tibet, and for the maintenance of its institutions under 'the umbrella of the Chinese State'. It is considered necessary that, for the sake of future peace and goodwill between India and China, Tibet should be autonomous.

—*New Delhi correspondent of "New Statesman", London, March 28*

India And Tibet

CHINA's ruthless suppression of the Tibetan revolt probably constitutes the most critical challenge that Mr. Nehru's diplomacy has yet had to face. Ever since the cold war between the Communist and free world began, he has struggled to prevent it enveloping the Asian peoples. His consistent refusal to quarrel with Peking follows from this basic aim. To many Indians however, China's recent action suggests that his policy is no longer viable. It is possible to remain neutral about other people's quarrels, but the Tibetans, unlike the Hungarians, are not other people. They, too, are Asians. Mr. Nehru's refusal to quarrel with China over Tibet, therefore, goes well beyond cold war neutralism. To many Asians it is beginning to look like a purposeful policy of appeasement in the worst sense.....

Mr. Nehru, in short, is gambling with high stakes. Here is an issue on which free Asian opinion is clearly, deeply aroused. It would be possible, if India so chose, to use the Tibetan crisis as a catalyst around which to rally the will to resist Chinese expansionism. Chou En-lai at Bandung charmed Asia into accepting his country's basic good intentions. The charm has proved remarkably long lived, as Asian support for Communist China at each United Nations session shows. So far Mr. Nehru seems unwilling to use his present opportunity to break that charm. The next opportunity may prove too late.

—*Daily Telegraph, London, April 1*

Nehru Must Choose

....**MR. NEHRU** is known to be a sensitive man. Yet the Western Powers, and particularly those which still have imperial commitments, may be forgiven if they feel that his sense of politeness extends in an eastern direction only..... When the Soviet Union, three years ago, chose to crush a spontaneous rising by the people of a nation technically sovereign and independent, by the people of a nation, Mr. Nehru could scarcely summon a word of disapproval to his lips. As with Hungary so now with Tibet. Mr. Nehru's politeness appears to operate in one direction.

The Indian Press and informed opinion in the sub-continent have already noticed the blinkers which the Prime Minister has clamped upon Indian policy. The acid comments of Indian political leaders and of most of the influential newspapers of the country and the angry protests of the crowds which demonstrate, in New Delhi and elsewhere, in favour of 'hands off Tibet', indicate clearly that the Prime Minister and the Congress Party which he leads lag far behind enlightened opinion.

Mr. Nehru says, quite rightly, that no one should expect India to go to war with China over Tibet. Nobody expected Great Britain and her allies to go to war with Russia over Hungary. Yet public opinion in this country and throughout the free world was allowed to express its abhorrence of the methods used by the Soviet Union in crushing a small state of South-East Europe

There can be honour in neutrality, but people who truckle to bullies cannot hope to lead their fellow-men. On the contrary, it is all too likely that those who today ignore the cries of the oppression will tomorrow themselves be the victims of the evil forces which they sought to ignore.

—*Time and Tide, London, April 4*

Disaster In Asia? In Two Months We Shall Know

WITHIN two months there will be a most poignant disaster in Asia. This is the sort of gratuitous prophecy that is in general deplorable and meaningless and far from the mild observations that usually satisfy me. Here at last, however, I believe it to be true; after last week things can never be again as they were.

It is a situation familiar enough in the ordinary political world, where many an honest man has been pressed too hard, beyond endurance; there is still a singular significance about this here in Asia, where politics and religion are so inextricably entangled.

We have all of us contributed so generously to the smoke-screen of sentiment that obscures realities of the Tibetan tragedy that any one might be forgiven for believing that the only thing at stake is the survival of this peculiar dynasty of reincarnated land-owning Messiahs, and the arguable right of 3,000,000 Tibetans to live in the fourteenth century if they want to. Important though that is in a moral sense, we would be kidding ourselves if we imagined it had any meaning now.

A Crisis

Tibet, in that sense, has now gone. What remains is a most fearsome crisis in the whole aspect of India's foreign policy. Any limited rights India had in the autonomy of Tibet were ignored by the Chinese in 1950 and signed away by India in 1954. The "autonomy" of Tibet was clearly regarded all along by Peking as something to be considered after all possibility of it had been destroyed.

What does that leave now? It leaves this: the greatest international dilemma Mr. Nehru, apostle of non-alignment, has ever had to face. Mr. Nehru has been, and is, very properly anxious to keep India well out of the Cold War conspiracies, and in a sense this has not been too hard to do. But what threatens now is something quite brutally physical: 1800 miles of a dangerous frontier that never existed before.

Hitherto, India always believed they would change the maps to accord with the facts. Now she fears they may well change the facts to agree with the maps. No one would wish to be Mr. Nehru today.

People are always assailing Nehru for walking a tight rope. But walking a tight rope at this delicate moment is a great deal better than blundering into a abyss.

Already Peking has started using the phrase "Indian imperialists" which sounds an ominous note—quite apart from being some-what absurd, since however curiously the Indians may behave at home, the notion of an adventure across the Himalayas is grotesque.

It is something Mr. Nehru can hardly ignore, however, and it makes the tight rope even thinner.

It is manifestly a situation that cannot last much longer without something snapping.

—*James Cameron in "News Chronicle", April 26*

Ike Can 'Understand Nehru's Astonishment'

Washington

PRESIDENT Eisenhower told his press conference today that he could quite understand the astonishment of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime

Minister, at the increased attacks on India from Peking.

The President was asked if he had any comment on Communist China's mounting criticism of India following the events in Tibet.

The President replied that he would merely say that he could quite understand Mr. Nehru's astonishment and may be his sense of apparent indignation that these attacks would be made upon a nation which had tried so hard to be peaceful.

—*Amrit Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, May 5*

Peking's Mood

Edinburgh

THE *Scotsman* said that there seemed "little chance" of useful negotiations between the Dalai Lama and Chinese representatives to solve the Tibetan problem.

The paper also said that the prospects for Indian diplomatic mediation did not seem "bright."

"The only faint hope of India being able to help the Tibetan people depended on some recognition by the Chinese of the practical folly of the oppression, which led to the rebellion", it said, adding that such recognition would be not by public confession of error but by making evident the will to conciliate the country. This hope now seems very frail. Reports from Tibet "concur in suggesting that the Chinese intended to persevere in oppression," it said.

—*Reuter*

Scrap Old Imperialist Standards

Khatmandu

THE Working Committee of the Nepalese Congress, which won an absolute majority in the Nepalese Lower House in the recent general elections, has suggested that China should accept the Bandung Powers' good offices to solve the Tibetan problem. . . .

In a statement, the Committee said, "To argue that the Tibetan issue is China's internal problem, and as such it cannot be a matter for moral consideration by other Asian countries, is to weaken the voice of anti-imperialism."

It declared that Tibet had been an independent country at times in the past and had remained under the Chinese at other times. But this historical perspective was inadequate to determine the Tibetan solution in this age of new Asian resurgence following the Second World War.

The situation, the statement added, made reorientation of relations in Asia imperative. It was the responsibility of the greater Asian Powers today that they help to establish such relations. . . .

"Naturally, it would be reactionary if China tries to establish and maintain her sovereignty over Tibet on the basis of old standards which were used by the imperialists in the past."

—*A.P.T.I. Message, May 3*

Dalai Lama Puts Peking To Test

London

THE Dalai Lama's willingness to return to Tibet under a negotiated settlement with the Chinese will test Peking's intentions decisively, observers assessing the God-King's prospects of regaining the Lhasa throne today said.

The *Daily Telegraph's* John Ridley reported from Delhi that the Dalai Lama was trying desperately to work out a possible basis to resolve the dispute with China based on the internationally accepted position of China's suzerainty, provided the autonomy was honoured in every way.

The Dalai Lama's willingness for reforms, social and economic, might help clear the atmosphere for a possible solution. *The Times'* special correspondent in Mussoorie said Chinese response to the Dalai Lama's conditional willingness to co-operate would show how far they have been genuine up to now in their professed desire to have him back.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 27*

Burmese Monks Condemn China

Rangoon

OVER 100 Buddhist monks and laymen, meeting in the precincts of the Shwedagon Pagoda here yesterday adopted a resolution assuring support to the "Tibetans' struggle for independence."

The Reverend Mya Bon That Sayadaw said: "Burma cannot remain unaffected by what is happening in Buddhist Tibet."

"The Communist peril which overshadows the world must be pushed back through the joint efforts of the people of all religions, and all Governments concerned must be prepared to fight Communism and encourage every form of anti-Communist activity of their citizens."

Thakin Ba Sein, President of the Burma Democratic Party, said: "The Communists in China are irreligious. They have insulted the Buddhist faith and ruthlessly suppressed the Tibetan people."

—*Statesman, Calcutta, April 27*

'Tibet—Proof Of Chinese Imperialism'

Chicago

MR. Henry Cabot Lodge, chief American delegate to the United Nations, said tonight that the "un-



MEMBERS OF THE DALAI LAMA'S FAMILY ON THE ROOF OF THEIR HOME NEAR POTALA.

WITH PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD

(Photo Stores, New Delhi)



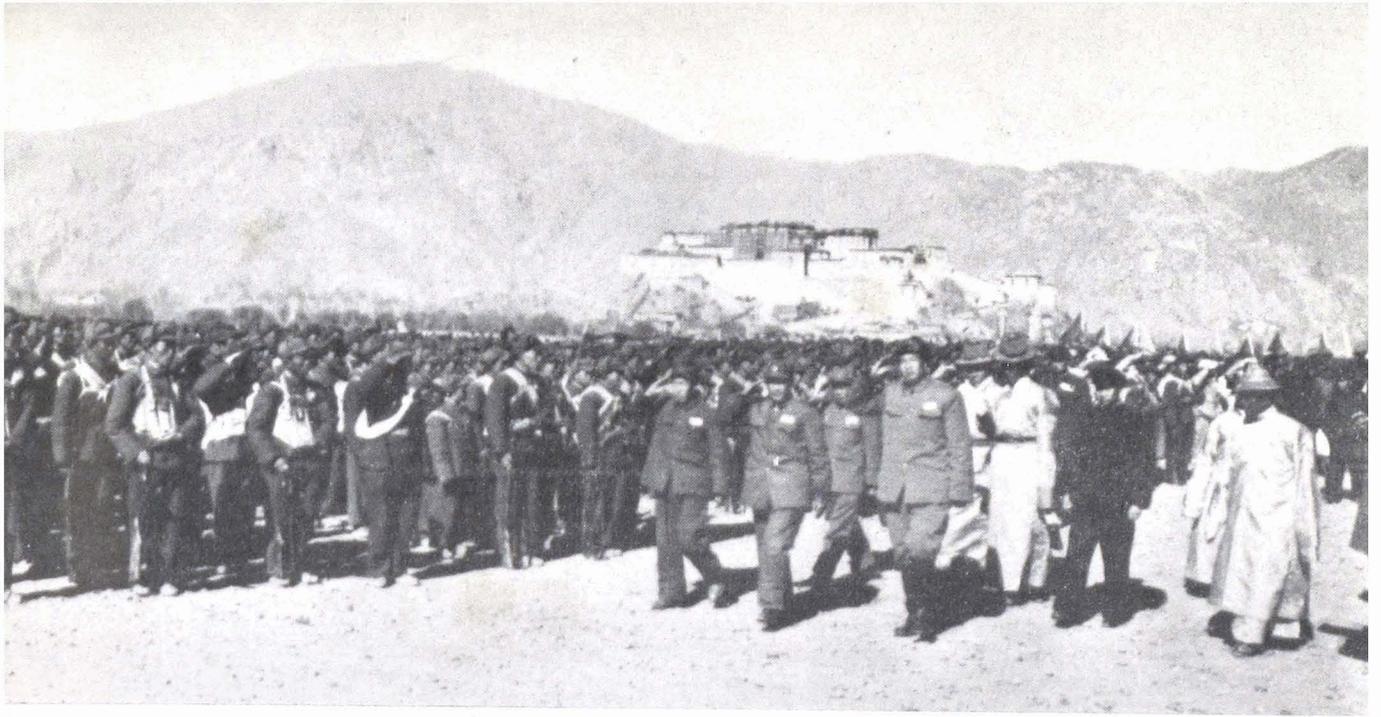


WITH CINE CAMERAS AT ELEPHANTA CAVES, 1956 (Press Information Bureau)

1951 AGREEMENT FOR THE PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF TIBET

(Eastfoto)





PEACEFUL LIBERATION! CHINESE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

A MONASTERY LIBRARY





THE CHINA-TIBET HIGHWAY
(Eastfoto)

LHASA'S POTALA PALACE



speakable brutalizing" of Tibet by the Chinese Communists "justifies everything we have done to keep Red China out of the UN."

No stone would be left unturned to maintain that policy when the General Assembly meets in September, he told the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Lodge said: "Tibet is proof to the people of Asia that there is an imperialism in Peking which seeks to enslave other Asian peoples and does not hesitate to use war and treachery in the process...."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 24*

'Chinese Reds Have Betrayed Nehru'

Cairo

THE official police magazine, *El Police*, in an article on Tibet published today described the Chinese action as a betrayal of Prime Minister Nehru.

Stating that Chinese intervention in Tibet was an "act of aggression" against India's neighbour, threatening India's own security from Communist invasion, the magazine said that despite Mr. Nehru's consistent policy "characterized by his desire for an adherence to peaceful co-existence, the Chinese Communists, who have declared their adherence to the Bandung principles, have betrayed Mr. Nehru as they did leaders of other countries."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 23*

British Press Appreciates Nehru's Hesitations

London

IN the past four weeks, the British press has, on the whole, taken a more or less sympathetic line in its criticism of India's reaction to the recent happenings in Tibet.

The Tibetan tragedy is still receiving tremendous publicity in Britain. But after the initial outburst of hostile and largely ill-informed criticism, the more responsible newspapers have gradually begun seeing some wisdom in Mr. Nehru's policy of avoiding an open rift with China over Tibet.

The Times pointed out on April 6 that "Mr. Nehru, as a statesman, must weigh the consequences; he is not free to indulge his own sympathy or that of his people. But he has left no doubt that India's interests in, and sympathy for, the Tibetans was strong." And a few days later *The Daily Telegraph* said that "Mr. Nehru's Asian critics may be unjust—at any rate, premature—in criticising him. It is possible that the Indian leader is attempting behind the scenes to save some semblance of Tibetan independence."

The News Chronicle conceded that "Mr. Nehru's hesitations are understandable. He can see indignation by itself can achieve nothing."

The Manchester Guardian, after the markedly critical tone of its earlier comments, was happy that "India has honoured herself by giving shelter to the Dalai Lama. That was expected of her. What could have not been foreseen was the warmth of India's sympathy for the Tibetans."

The Observer, in a forthright editorial on April 12, said, "it is tempting and easy to deride India in this Tibetan crisis. Yet, if India is to act as a moral force separated from the bitter commitments of the cold war, she cannot react conventionally—with rancour and an impulsive movement of her inadequate armed forces."

And *The New Statesman* echoed the same sentiments with the remark that "they are fools, indeed, whether in this country, in America or in India, who would be glad to see Mr. Nehru compelled to abandon Indian neutralism and come forth as a champion in the cold war."

The Sunday Times, *The Yorkshire Post*, *The Scotsman*, *Reynolds News*, *The Daily Herald*, *The Economist*, *The Spectator*, *The Tribune* and numerous other British dailies and weeklies have commented on the Tibetan crisis with varying degrees of sympathy with the Indian point of view.

It was left to *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Mail* to accuse Mr. Nehru of cowardice, hypocrisy and moral failure in not calling the Chinese Communist spade a spade....

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 20*

Bandaranaike Offers Help

Colombo

THE Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, told the House of Representatives last night that he was quite ready on behalf of the people and the Government of Ceylon to offer whatever good offices he could in every way to bring about a satisfactory settlement of the Tibetan problem.

In the first official statement to be made after the outbreak of the Tibetan revolt, the Prime Minister declared that he regarded the Tibetan question as an internal matter of China.

Mr. Bandaranaike said that there was no question at all that Tibet had been looked upon as part of China. For some centuries China had exercised, sometimes to a greater and sometimes to a less degree, suzerainty over Tibet—the degree depending upon the problems of China herself and the strength of her Government from time to time....

Mr. Suntheralingam: Why don't you raise it at the United Nations?

Mr. Bandaranaike: "It is really an internal affair of China. It is difficult to resist that conclusion and that is why the Prime Minister of India instructed his representative at the United Nations headquarters to say that India accepted the position that it was an internal affair of China."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, April 23*

Cairo Attack on Communism

Cairo

RELATIONS between Cairo and international Communism reached a new low today when President Gamal Abdel Nasser's propaganda machine branded Peking's bid to crush the Tibetan revolt as a prelude to "Communist expansion into Nepal and later into India itself."

Master Plan

The blast came in the form of a 60-page pamphlet published by the U.A.R.'s Information Department which is directly under the Presidency. It alleged that the Communists, in the last few months, had been working according to a master plan for staging revolutions and "coups d'etats" in various areas of the orient.

The pamphlet sought to establish a link between Communist activity in Iraq and Tibet as part of their "international design to strike at the independence of peaceful peoples and demolish bastions of positive neutrality and non-alignment."

China Has Lost Face

"Public opinion in India has been so overwhelmingly for Tibetans and against the Chinese that the more Mr. Nehru is assailed by Peking the greater will be the setback the Chinese will suffer in terms of Indian goodwill and friendship. And as Mr. Nehru has worked hard over a decade to get China out of the chancery into which she has been placed, as much by her own stupidity as by hostility of several anti-communist nations, the Indian Premier must be human enough to feel hurt by Peking's base ingratitude. It was an evil day when China felt the need to use force in Tibet, but she has compounded the evil by so assiduously embarrassing her friends. Peking must do some serious thinking if she does not want uncommitted Asia to range itself with anti-Communist nations against her and the sooner the Chinese regime grasps this fact the better it will be."

—*The Times of Indonesia*

Indian Reds

"Thus the idea of planting a Communist base in India has emerged and local Communists are being provided with money to spread propaganda against Nehru."

Hungarian Revolt

Mr. Raphael also draws a parallel between the "Tibetan revolution" and the Hungarian revolt. In the Himalayan theocracy, he says, Lamas were massacred by the thousand, monasteries were desecrated and family life was destroyed. "Tibetan children will belong to the State and there will be no special wife or son for any man," he adds. In the same manner, the author continues, Mr. Khrushchev had earlier established "co-existence in Hungary...."

K. C. KHANNA in the Times of India, Bombay, April 21

U.K. Reconsiders Issue

London

BRITAIN is reconsidering her recognition of China's right to control Tibet in the light of the Dalai Lama's statement that Tibetan autonomy has been destroyed, Government sources said today.

The British have recognised China's right to exercise general authority over Tibet provided that the Tibetan people themselves are permitted to run their own affairs.

But the Dalai Lama in his week-end statement said that China had been consistently interfering with local rule in Tibet.

Britain still regards the Dalai Lama as the head of the Tibetan Government and, therefore, accepts his account of what has been going on in Tibet as being authoritative.

The British Foreign Office today formally refused to comment on the God-King's statement.

A Foreign Office spokesman told reporters that Britain had received the full text of the Dalai Lama's statement.

He added: "We are, of course, studying the statement itself and the general situation.

"We are also in close touch with the Indian Government on the matter."

The spokesman would answer no precise questions as to Britain's attitude on future recognition of Peking's claim to authority over Tibet. It is known, however, that Britain is discussing this particular aspect of the matter with the Indian Government.

—*Times of India, Bombay, April 2*

“Guardian” Hails Indian Sympathy

London

THE *Manchester Guardian* today warmly praised the Indian Press, Parliament and public for their reaction to the Tibetan revolt and urged the Western Powers not to give Asians the impression that the Tibetan issue was being used to draw them into the cold war.

The paper said: “India has honoured herself by giving shelter to the Dalai Lama: that was to be expected of her.

“What could not have been foreseen was the warmth of Indian sympathy for the Tibetans, the frankness of the denunciation of Chinese oppression, or the unanimity among non-Communists—with which the Press, Parliament, and public have expressed their feelings.”

—A Reuter Message, April 15

‘Hostile Campaign’ by U.S.

Hong Kong

THE *New China News Agency* today accused the United States authorities of using the crushing of the Tibetan revolt to provoke a campaign of hostility towards China by her neighbours, according to reports monitored here.

The agency said Senator John Sherman Cooper (Republican, Kentucky), a former United States Ambassador to India, and the United States Information Service were among those enlisted in a campaign of “hostility towards China” which the United States was “vainly mobilising.”

But it said that despite the U.S. Government’s mobilisation of all its propaganda means in the campaign against China, “even Cooper and another former U.S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, (now a Democrat Congressman from Connecticut), have expressed doubt over the effects of this campaign.”

“They agreed that it may do more harm than good,” the agency continued.

“Bowles said that the worst thing our Voice of America and other propaganda organs could do would be to claim these people (Tibetan rebellious elements) as our allies.”

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 12

Tibetan Clash A ‘Class Struggle’

Prague

THE Czechoslovak Communist Party paper, *Rude Pravo*, said that events in Tibet were not a clash

of nationalities but a question of a class struggle within one nationality.

It said the struggle was between progress and backwardness. “All attempts to present the rebellion as a struggle for Tibetan autonomy are in vain, for this autonomy was reliably laid down in the 1951 China-Tibet Agreement and it was the rebels that violated it.”

—A Reuter Message, April 19

Save Buddhist Culture Plea

Tokyo

THE international committee of the all-Japan Buddhist Association at its meeting here yesterday criticized China’s use of force in Tibet.

The committee, meeting in a special session in Tokyo, agreed that the Chinese military action to quell the Tibetan uprising was “not desirable for the freedom of religion and world peace.”

It also agreed that Buddhist cultural assets in Tibet should be saved from destruction and that China should strictly observe the China-Tibet agreement guaranteeing religious freedom.

—A Reuter Message, April 19

Tibet Aid Committee in New York

New York

ORGANIZATION of the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees was announced today and Mr. Lowell Thomas, the news commentator, was named chairman.

Supreme Court Justice, Mr. William Douglas, a former US Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Joseph C. Grew and Congressman Walter H. Judd (Republican, Minnesota) are among the co-chairmen.

Mr. Thomas has cabled to the Dalai Lama in India offering help to the Tibetan refugees.”

Dr. Magnus Gregersen, a vice-chairman of the Committee, said in a statement: “Word has been received that the Chinese army in Tibet, unable to crush the rebellion by defeating the Tibetan freedom fighters, is contemplating large-scale repressive measures against the civilian population of Tibet. These measures will undoubtedly create refugees.”

Sponsoring members of the Committee, with headquarters on Park Avenue in New York, include Senators Thomas Dodd (Democrat, Connecticut), Paul Douglas (Democrat, Illinois), Kenneth Keating (Republican, New York), Mr. George Meany, President, American Federation of Labour Congresses, retired Admiral Arthur Redford, former US Chief of Staff; retired Generals James Van Fleet and Albert Wedemeyer; Mr. Norman Thomas,

socialist leader; Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr, theologian; and Dr. Harold Urey, atomic scientist."

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, April 12*

Peking May Not Know All—U Nu

New York

U Nu, former Prime Minister of Burma, yesterday suggested that an all-Chinese commission should look into the Tibet situation and seek "ways and means of granting independence to the people of Tibet at the earliest possible time."

Such a move was the "most sensible and permanent solution to the unfortunate developments in Tibet", he told a press conference arranged by Burma's Mission to the United Nations.

It was possible, he said in the statement, that the Central Government of China was "not fully appraised of the actual happenings in Tibet since in a vast country like China, regional authorities operate too far away from the Centre."

—*Hindustan Standard, Calcutta, April 15*

Nu Is 'Absurd'

Peking

THE Chinese Communist newspaper, the *People's Daily*, today described as "absurd" a recent statement of U Nu, former Burmese Prime Minister, that China should grant independence to Tibet.

—*A Reuter Message, April 26*

What Can We Do About Tibet

IN Tibet, the Communists have been content to tolerate the medieval theocracy that has kept the country out of the modern world, in order to prevent trouble. The question of a chance for the common people to gain anything that can be called freedom was simply never on the agenda. Certainly nothing of this kind is offered by the tribesmen—or rather nomadic highway bandits—who spearheaded the revolt, nor by the wealthy monasteries living off the backs of the Tibetan villagers. The Chinese, on the other hand, can claim little support among the people. There are no Tibetans—as there were no Hungarians—fighting on the Communist side. The "reformed" National Council apparently contains a number of non-Tibetan names. The struggle, in fact, is going on over the heads of the Tibetans, who have not yet entered on the stage of history. If there is a parallel, it is with the Indian Mutiny—when patriotic sentiment gathered round dispossessed princes asserting their ancient powers, and an outworn social system put up a futile struggle for survival. The Tibetans who want freedom will probably have to wrest it from China in the near

future. But such an aim will only be conceivable after the dead past has lost its grip over their minds and their conditions of life. As for the Western world and the United States in particular, those who exclude China from the United Nations and recognise a Government repudiated by the Chinese people have forfeited any right to protest against Chinese interference in Tibet—as well as any possibility of influencing Peking. But if this view puts events into their historical perspective, it does not excuse Chinese dictation to Tibet or the shooting down of people in the streets of Lhasa, any more than the retrograde nature of the Indian Mutiny excused British repression... If anyone can help Tibet it will certainly be a nation like India which has recognised China's place in the modern world. Nehru has to find a course between weakness and hostility; and though he has erred on the side of the former, we should remember that this a difficult course to steer.

—*Tribune, London, April 3*

A Moving Appeal

New York

"SELDOM in history has a leader made a more moving appeal on behalf of his people than that contained in the first official and personal statement of the Dalai Lama, made public on Saturday in Mussoorie, India. It is an appeal for freedom, for justice and, above all, for peace.

"At the same time it should be noted that this is a complete indictment of the Chinese Communists on the charge of genocide....

"'Complete absorption and extinction of the Tibetan race is being undertaken,' the Dalai Lama declared. That certainly puts Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai directly in the same category with Hitler and Stalin. It is the same crime committed in much the same way.

"'Forced labour and compulsory exactions,' the Dalai Lama said, 'systematic persecution of people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and the execution of certain leading men in Tibet—these are the glorious achievements of Chinese rule in Tibet.' And on top of that it was noted that even the Buddha had been named 'a reactionary element' by the Communists. It will be remembered in that connection that Peiping labelled 'independence for Tibet' a 'reactionary slogan.'

"The very least that can be done in answer to this appeal is for the free world to make it abundantly plain to Peiping that such an evil regime has no hope of entering the comity of nations until and unless this wicked wrong is righted."

—*New York Times, New York, June 22*

VIII

THE AFTERMATH

*Yet freedom! Yet thy banner, torn, but flying
Streams like the thunder-storms against the wind.*

—BYRON

*For all we have and are
For all our children's fate
Stand up and take the war
The Hun is at the gate.*

—RUDYARD KIPLING

THE AFTERMATH

Delhi Undecided on Grant of Asylum

After the ruthless suppression of the revolt in Tibet the Chinese have begun to implement there what they call "democratic" reforms.

Over 90,000 Tibetans have been killed since the uprising in 1958. However reports of sporadic fighting continue to trickle in. Resistance has not died down and the people are sullenly non-co-operating, wherever they can.

More than 12,000 Tibetan refugees have come to India and efforts are being made to rehabilitate them. More continue to come. So far Rs. 10 lakhs have been allotted for their relief. But India has not granted the emigre government status to the Dalai Lama and his ministers here. The Dalai Lama has made an appeal to the United Nation for "immediate intervention to stop Chinese extermination of the Tibetan race."

Annoyed by the Indian sympathy for the Tibetan cause China put on crippling restrictions on Indian traders and her troops have violated the Indian border at several points. These annoying tactics have antagonised the Indian people and strained the relations with China almost to the breaking point.

New Delhi

THE Tibetan situation and the Government of India's policy in regard to the Tibetan refugees continue to exercise the minds of the members of Parliament. The Independents and Socialist Party members who failed to secure the Speaker's permission to move an adjournment motion have renewed their request pointing out the urgency of discussing the Tibetan situation. They have drawn his attention to a Press report which suggested that the Government of India have closed the border against all Tibetan refugees.

Enquiries show that the Government of India are still undecided on the attitude to be adopted if the Tibetan refugees moved into India in large numbers. The problem has not arisen at the moment for immediate solution. The fighting is nearly 300 miles from the border and the transport in these mountainous regions being extremely slow, the refugees are not likely to appear, if at all they did, for another two weeks. At the moment the movement between India and Tibet is governed by the agreement reached with China five years ago. According

to this agreement, while officials should possess passport and valid visas, the traders and pilgrims should have certificates issued by appropriate authorities. These certificates are valid for one year.

Official circles are unwilling to answer the hypothetical question whether the Government of India would agree to give asylum to those escaping from Tibet. Of course if the Dalai Lama were to enter India there can be no question of the Government of India refusing permission. But a serious problem would, however, develop if a large number of Tibetans who have fought against the Chinese found it necessary to cross the border to save their lives.

The Government of India are not anxious to have large numbers of armed refugees within their territory as to create complications. The Khampas and Tibetans have been fighters though there is no regular army in service. While public opinion in India would doubtless demand the grant of asylum to all those who sought it, the Government have to bear in mind the need for maintaining friendly relations with China. Once before when India reacted sharply against the Chinese invasion of Tibet, the Chinese Government made uncomplimentary remarks on India's Prime Minister. There is a desire on the part of the Government of India to deal with the situation cautiously and carefully so as to avoid unpleasantness of any front.

—Hindu, Madras, March 24, 1959

Government and Private Agencies Help Refugees

New Delhi

LATEST reports reaching Delhi mention that nearly 7,000 Tibetan refugees have crossed into India at various points. The exact number who have taken refuge in Bhutan and Sikkim is not known, though they are expected to account for another 1,000. It is anticipated that some more Tibetans, moving along devious routes to avoid detection by the Chinese, may turn up in the next few days.

The impression here is that the peak figure has already passed and that the refugee inflow will soon taper off. The principal reason presumably is that the Chinese army is in hot pursuit of the fleeing Tibetans and is making a desperate bid to plug all

escape-routes to India. As the Chinese have been pushing reinforcements into Tibet it is natural they should fan out to occupy the strategic points along the Sino-Indian border. No precise information is available here as where, in what strength and at what distance from the Indian border there are Chinese troop concentrations.

In Lhasa itself it is believed that normal conditions are gradually returning. The Government of India has appointed Mr. B. N. Nanda, a senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry on special duty to look after the Tibetan refugees. His immediate task is to survey the problem and report immediately about the arrangements to be made. The present idea is to have a temporary camp to accommodate all the refugees at Tezpur and no one wants to believe that these refugees would be staying on in India permanently. Some Tibetan refugees have come with their families and children though their exact number is not yet ascertainable. In another week the refugees who must all pass through Bomdila in North-East Frontier Agency will be moving into the Assam town of Tezpur. An official spokesman stated that arrangements are being made to facilitate journalists meeting the refugee leaders. Offers of assistance to the refugees pouring in, from individuals and organisations, both in India and abroad, are being dealt with by the Central Tibetan Relief Committee sponsored by non-officials led by the Praja-Socialist leader, Mr. Kripalani. The moving spirit of the committee is his wife, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, who is the General Secretary of the Congress. Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani is an able organiser and has done outstanding work for the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. At the moment the magnitude of the refugee problem is still being assessed and there is no likelihood of its being taken to the United Nations or other associated organisations. The feeling in official circles is that the Government of India can manage the refugee problem.

—Hindu, Madras, May 1

Lhasa Quiet

New Delhi

THE Tibetan capital, Lhasa, is quiet and the economic life is slowly returning to normal, according to information reaching here.

—PTI

Congress Executive to Discuss

New Delhi

THE Congress Working Committee, which is meeting here on May 8 and 9, will discuss the Tibetan issue *vis-a-vis* India-China relations, it is understood.

It is taken for granted that the Congress High Command will endorse the latest Parliamentary statement of Mr. Nehru on Tibet.

The High Command is studying the resolution adopted by the Chinese National People's Congress calling for an early end to the "abnormal relations between China and India."

—Hindu, Madras, May 1

Return of Dalai Lama to Tibet

Khatmandu

If the Dalai Lama "can really return" to Lhasa, that would be good for all concerned, Prime Minister Nehru told a group of Nepalese journalists in an interview yesterday on the banks of the Kosi. The Prime Minister was talking to correspondents from Khatmandu, after his meeting with King Mahendra at Birpur on the India-Nepal border.

Mr. Nehru is reported to have said that the Chinese were asking that the Dalai Lama should return to Tibet and they believed that his return would help. He declined to comment when asked whether he personally thought that the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet would help ease the situation there.

Answering a question, whether the Dalai Lama's going to Nepal could help, the Prime Minister is reported to have said that the Dalai Lama was absolutely free to go and stay anywhere he liked "He is a free agent and can even go back to Tibet."

—Hindu, Madras, May 1

Misamari Ready for Refugees

Tezpur

THE first group of 100 Tibetan refugees will reach Bomdila, about 110 miles from here, on Saturday, according to a wireless message received by the Deputy Commissioner, Tezpur, from Bomdila late on Tuesday evening. Initially the refugees will come in groups of 100 every day.

Considering the difficult mountain road from Bomdila to Foothills, a distance of over 70 miles, which the refugees will have to negotiate, the first group is not likely to arrive at the Misamari camp before the middle of next week. Arrangements have been made for resting places en route. At Foothills a camp is being erected to provide temporary shelter to 500 before they are sent on to the Misamari camp.

The camp authorities at Misamari have decided to build a barbed wire fence and to post a strong military guard to prevent refugees strolling out or outsiders coming in without permission.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Congress General Secretary, who arrived at Tezpur this morning from Calcutta, convened a meeting of leading citizens in the evening at the Circuit House where a 21-member committee was formed to

assist the camp management in relief affairs. The committee, which will be a branch unit of the non-official central committee for relief to Tibetan Refugees, is headed by the Tezpur Municipality's Chairman, Mr. K. P. Agarwala.

At the meeting Mrs. Kripalani cautioned against possible attempts at infiltration into the committee by Communists and "fellow travellers". She said that although it was not formed on the basis of political consideration, such people should be carefully excluded because of their "distinctly different views."

It is abundantly clear from all available evidence—although there is no official confirmation—that the refugees will be housed at the Misamari camp huts, now being erected, for at least a year. The original scheme and sanction of Rs. 4.5 lakhs have been revised mainly to provide for better hospital facilities. There will be a well-equipped hospital with nine wards, including four for males, two for females, one for children and an isolation ward and one for eye surgery. The financial allocation has been increased to Rs. 5.95 lakhs.

—*The Statesman, Calcutta, May 5*

American Aid To Refugees

New York

A CALL for the United States to help those who have fled from Tibet into India was issued today by *The New York Times*.

"Time after time," said an editorial, "when the Communists have assaulted and over-run a country, there arises a problem of how to care for those who flee from the terror. There are still refugees from almost every country in Eastern Europe. There have been more than a million in Free Viet Nam, several times that number in Free Korea."

To these, it said, were now added more than 10,000 Tibetans.

"India has given them sanctuary but has not the adequate means to care for their immediate needs. Many of them are sick. Some are wounded. All are hungry. They need food, medicine, clothing and shelter....."

"Here is a striking symbol of human need. Here is a point at which help can pay a rich human dividend. One more group has been added to those who wish to remain free. We can help."

—*Times of India, Bombay, May 10*

Programme of Reforms

Hong Kong

THE programme of "democratic reforms" in Tibet announced by Mr. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, amounts to a complete reversal of Peking's earlier policy of not carrying out reforms in Tibet during China's Second Five-Year Plan period, which ends in 1962.

The text of Mr. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme's detailed report to the Preparatory Committee at its current session in Lhasa was released today by the *New China News Agency*.

In December last, the Preparatory Committee, which was then presided over by the Dalai Lama, confirmed Peking's policy of not instituting reforms in Tibet until 1962.

But, in his report to the Committee, Mr. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme said that during the first stage of the contemplated reforms (which will come into effect immediately) rebel remnants would be exterminated; the system of unpaid, forced labour would be abolished, and serfs would regain the freedom of the person. Land owned by rebellious manorial lords would be confiscated. The actual tillers of the soil would harvest this year's crop without paying any rent.

As for the land belonging to the manorial lords who had not taken part in the Tibetan revolt, rent would be reduced after consultations. The tillers would get 80 per cent of the crops as their share, with the cost of seed deducted in advance. The remainder would go to the manorial lords.

All debts owed by the labouring people to the manorial lords until the end of 1958 would be written off. But commercial loans would not be affected by this reform. A monthly interest of one per cent would be payable on loans granted to the labouring people this year by the manorial lords who had not taken part in the rebellion.

During the second stage of the democratic reforms, which will take the shape of land reforms, the Central People's Government's policy of buying out the land of the manorial lords would be pursued in the case of those who had not participated in the revolt.

"Thus, the living standards of the progressive and patriotic people of the upper strata would not be

lowered." Mr. Ngapo Ngawang Jigme said. "In addition, their political status would be cared for."

He indirectly admitted that the foregoing policy of reforms was formulated by Peking and not by the people of Tibet, by saying: "We regard this policy of the Central People's Government as entirely justified."

Reuter adds: Turning to religion, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme said the monasteries "Not only owned manorial estates to exploit the labouring people, but enjoyed all kinds of privileges to oppress and ravage them. They also violated the teachings of religion itself."

"The Tibetan labouring people believe in religion but at the same time they hate the monasteries which cruelly exploit and oppress them under the cloak of religion."

"Within the monasteries there also exists a rigid division of rank. In fact, the poor lamas are mere slaves wrapped in monks' robes."

As part of a campaign against "rebellious elements" and exploitation in the monasteries, the policy of rent and interest reduction will also apply to the land owned by monasteries which had not taken part in the rebellion. Their land also will eventually be "bought out."

These monasteries will receive Government subsidies if their revenue is insufficient to support their lamas. Patriotic lameries and "cultural relics" will be protected, as will industry and commerce.

Ngapo Ngawang Jigme did not say what would happen to those monasteries which supported the rebellion.

Under his social reform plan—a "peaceful revolution", he termed it—the present three administrative divisions of Tibet will be abolished and the country will be split into seven areas. The previous system was "feudalistic, absolutely irrational and inconvenient," he said.

—*Times of India, Bombay, July 8*

Rehabilitation of Tibetans

New Delhi

THE Government of India has already made a start with the rehabilitation of 13,000 Tibetan refugees in the Misamari (Assam) and Buxa (West Bengal) camps.

Nearly 250 refugees have reached Sikkim where they are being provided work under the Durbar's development programmes.

The question of the rehabilitation of 5,000 Khampas now in India is under consideration and it is possible that some of them will be utilised for work in the N.-E. F. A.

Children in the Misamari and Buxa camps may be sent to Tibetan language schools in Darjeeling and Sikkim.

A batch of 130 Tibetans, consisting of aged people and lamas, has reached Dalhousie where they have been given accommodation by the Government.

—*Times of India, Bombay, July 8*

Communes For Tibet Soon

Hong Kong

CHINESE-STYLE communes are planned for Tibet in the reorganised peasant economy announced to "irradiate the reactionary feudal serfdom."

The plan is part of a campaign to consolidate Communist domination of Tibetan people through promises of reform and a peaceful "democratic revolution."

Priority is given to the pursuit of the Chinese war on Tibetan rebels, whose resistance potential remains a barrier to the enforced change in Tibet's traditional domestic system.

The communes model will be applied to the establishment of peasant's associations as the basic form of an organisation through which the "reforms" and development of production will be carried out.

Land redistribution will dispossess landholders who joined the rebellion, while those who co-operated with the Communists will receive rentals but on a reduced scale.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, July 9*

Chinese Suzerainty Unacceptable

New Delhi

MR. JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN today reaffirmed his view that China's claim for suzerainty over Tibet could not "survive the assassination of Tibetan autonomy."

He made an impassioned plea for raising the issue in the U.N. and mobilising public opinion in Asia and Africa.

Mr. Narayan was speaking under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs here.

He said that the least that could be done was for countries which had accepted Chinese suzerainty over Tibet to declare that "they do not recognise the forcible annexation of Tibet by China and demand the right of self-determination for Tibet. It would be meaningless to ask for the restoration of the *status quo ante* because of the failure of China to keep her pledged word."

Mr. Narayan added that it was the responsibility of all nations to see that the 1951 Sino-Tibetan

agreement was honoured. If this was not so, what was the value of that agreement between a powerful and big nation and a weak and small one? What was the value then of any country's recognition of the respective rights and powers of both sides of the agreement?

"It is sad to reflect that, while a great tragedy has befallen Tibet and the 1951 agreement has been torn to shreds and Tibet has appealed for help and support, the world is content to look on with glassy eyes, too dazed or frightened or short-sighted to act. This can only encourage wrong-doing and lead us all nearer to the brink of danger."

Mr. Narayan said that the present situation in Tibet could be looked at from three points of view.

First, there were those who never accepted the suzerainty formula and always stood for full independence for Tibet. For them, the events in Tibet and the declarations of the Dalai Lama had come only as confirmation of their own view.

Secondly, there were some who accepted the suzerainty-with-autonomy formula. It was painful to reflect that this formula was accepted even by countries that had but recently won their own freedom. This was an age, above everything, of anti-imperialism and national freedom and the very concept of any country's suzerainty over another was unacceptable.

In any event, suzerainty was to be recognised only on the understanding that Tibet remained autonomous. Tibet was no longer autonomous. China had deliberately, and against the advice and warning of her friends, forcibly extinguished the autonomy of Tibet. China could no longer claim any suzerain powers in Tibet. "Quislings sitting in Lhasa cannot change this situation," he added.

Finally, there was the human point of view. "The miseries and misfortunes of the Tibetan people, the injustices and wrongs to which they have been subjected, the crimes and atrocities that have been committed there have all combined to lift up the issue of Tibet from the tangled domain of legal and constitutional disputations to that of simple, unvarnished humanity."

Dalai Lama's Status

Referring to the controversy regarding the Dalai Lama's status, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan said that he was sure that the Dalai Lama did not want to embarrass India, but India should appreciate his position. The Dalai Lama had not come to India for a change or to preach Buddhism. He had come here to fight for his country and his people. "Whether

he will succeed or fail is not the point. Any patriot in his position would have done the same thing."

Whether India should look upon the Dalai Lama and his Kashag as the lawful Government of Tibet in exile was also a different matter, said Mr. Narayan.

He added: "To expect that the Dalai Lama will forsake the cause of Tibetan freedom and confine himself to purely religious pursuits is to underestimate the strength of the urge of nationalism, to misunderstand the personal character of the Dalai Lama and to forget that he traditionally combines in himself spiritual and temporal powers and functions."

—*Times of India, Bombay, July 10*

Give Freedom To Refugees

New Delhi

ASKED what criticism he would level against the Indian Government, Mr. Purshottam Tricumdas said: "The Indian Government has allowed 20,000 Tibetan refugees to live in India and is doing every thing to make them comfortable. But that is not enough. I want to know on what moral or ethical ground our Government has muzzled these refugees.

"In my opinion, an opinion shared by thousands of our countrymen, including Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, these refugees must be allowed to function freely. Our Government has forgotten what our own countrymen did when they took refuge in foreign lands when they were oppressed by the British."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, July 14*

Aid To Tibetan Students

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama is taking a hand in organizing the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees. He proposes to set up a board to look after their welfare and also that of the Tibetans, numbering 8,000, who were in India when the trouble in Tibet began and have not been able to go back.

Apart from the religious education of the student lamas at the proposed seminary at Buxa, the Dalai Lama is anxious to arrange for industrial training for other young refugees.

He proposes to send 1,000 students abroad for training. Already, there are offers of scholarships from a number of countries, including Japan, Australia, Germany and the United States.

The Central Relief Committee for Tibetans also has received offers of scholarship. The idea is that on return the students will train the refugees here.

Before going abroad, the students will be given training in Government institutes or in institutes to be set up at refugee centres.

90,000 Tibetans Killed

Bhopal

MR. H.V. KAMATH, Chairman of the Madhya Pradesh Praja-Socialist Party, who recently toured Sikkim, Kalimpong and Darjeeling, alleged that over 90,000 Tibetans had been killed in various parts of Tibet since the uprising in 1958. Though regular warfare had stopped, stray fighting was still going on in Tibet, he said.

Mr. Kamath declared that the Chinese Army had adopted and was still adopting most ruthless methods such as bombing, machine-gunning and "cruel torture" of the captives in quelling the rebellion.

Mass deportation of rebellious, recalcitrant Tibetans to China is proceeding apace. Some five lakh Chinese have already been settled in various parts of Tibet, and another ten lakhs are expected in the near future. Monasteries and temples have been pillaged and their fabulous wealth removed to Peking. Anti-religious propaganda is mounting and even the Buddha is depicted as a reactionary. People are sullen, but helpless. "The entire Tibetan nation is being uprooted and Tibet reduced to colonial vassalage," Mr. Kamath added.

Mr. Kamath continued that the Indo-Tibetan trade had not yet been revived and the impression was growing in the frontier areas, and even in Kalimpong, that prosperity could return only with the goodwill of the Chinese.

He further claimed that there should be no difficulty for the Government of India to allow the emigre Tibetan Government to function on the Indian soil. He cited the case of the Provisional Algerian Government functioning from Egypt in support of his contention.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, July 19*

Implementing of Reforms

Hong Kong

"DEMOCRATIC reforms" in Tibet will be carried out in two stages, according to a resolution adopted at the second plenary session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The resolution, which was passed in Lhasa on July 17 and broadcast by Peking Radio today revealed that "remnant rebellious elements" were still active in Tibet and said they would be "wiped out".

The first stage of the reforms in Tibet, it was said, would consist in "mobilising the masses and campaigning against rebellion, unpaid forced labour and slavery and for the reduction of rent and interest.

"This would lay the foundation for the next stage—the re-distribution of land."

In the agricultural areas, the policy of "crop to the tiller" would be followed in the case of the land

belonging to manorial landlords and their agents who took part in the revolt. As regards land owned by those manorial landlords and their agents who did not take part in the rebellion, the rent would be reduced. Twenty per cent of the farm produce would be given to the manorial landlords and the remaining 80 per cent would go to the tillers.

The Nangzan (slave of the manorial landlord) would be "liberated."

In the livestock breeding areas, cattle owners who did not take part in the rebellion would retain their animals. But the livestock of those who participated in the rebellion would be given to those who used to tend the animals for the owners.

The debts of labouring people incurred before 1958 would be abolished, while those incurred this year would be reduced in the case of landlords who did not have anything to do with the rebellion.

The resolution said: "The policy of protecting religious freedom, patriotic and law-abiding monasteries and historical and cultural relics would be adhered to. A campaign would be launched in the temples and monasteries against rebellion, against feudal prerogatives and against exploitation.

"The policy of buying out would be followed in dealing with land and other means of production belonging to patriotic and law-abiding temples and monasteries. The livelihood of the lamas would be arranged for by the Government."

The Panchen Lama, who presided over the meeting of the Preparatory Committee, said: "Democratic reform is the only road to economic and cultural development in Tibet and the happiness and freedom of the people."

He said there was complete unanimity of views among those participating in the Preparatory Committee's meetings.

—*Times of India, Bombay, July 21*

Chinese Seek Asylum

The Government of India has granted asylum to the 36 Chinese who arrived in this country with Tibetan refugees. At present, they are housed separately in the two refugee camps in West Bengal and Assam. Most of them were soldiers in Tibet.

The Chinese were interrogated at length in the two camps.

It appears that they did not agree with the Chinese policies in Tibet.

—*Times of India, Bombay, July 10*

“Democratisation” of Tibet

Hong Kong

COMMUNIST China is losing no time in re-shaping Tibet's internal administration, as recent reports reaching here from Lhasa emphasize.

The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, which is now the effective government of the country, has been thoroughly purged of all anti-Communist elements since the recent rebellion, and is now well equipped to further China's plans for what is officially termed the 'democratization' of Tibet.

'Democratization' embraces the establishment of a new form of local government in the Tibetan countryside under 'Peasant Associations,' which will be entitled to effect such measures as the confiscation of land belonging to those who took part in the uprising.

It is known that the local government organizations will be staffed mainly by graduates from the schools maintained in China for Tibetans by the Communist authorities. There are five of these institutions—the Central Nationality College, the South-West Nationality College, two public schools, and the Tibetan Young Communist League School.

The Preparatory Committee has already announced that 1,200 graduates from these schools have returned to Tibet to take up government posts. There can be no doubt that all of them have been fully indoctrinated with Communist theory.

By all accounts, the majority of Tibetan students educated at Chinese communist schools are the sons of poor people such as herdsmen. The parents are persuaded to let their children leave the country by promises of free education, food and clothing, and even weekly pocket-money.

Pilgrims Harassed

Naini Tal

Khampa rebels are active in large areas of Western Tibet around Mount Kailas and Manasarovar, according to Swami Vidyanand, leader of a 36-member pilgrim party, which returned here yesterday evening after a 800-mile trek to and back from the two holy places.

In an interview, Swami Vidyanand said that the pilgrims faced more hardship this year than in the previous years. The refusal of the Chinese authorities to accept Indian currency greatly inconvenienced the pilgrims. The luggage of the pilgrims was subjected to a thorough checking by the Chinese.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 27, 1959*

Apparently the young people do not fit into the new environment very easily at first. The Chinese journal *Nationalities' Union* has reported that, when they arrive, they "do not fully understand the importance of study, love to wander about the streets, and often gather together and dance."

But they are very soon made to understand that study is all-important. They spend three years in 'general' and two years in specialized training. And, throughout the whole course, they are given intensive education in Marxist-Leninist theory and its application in connection with the 'nationalities question' By this means, as an official publication puts it, they are made to attain "the habit of caring about important events, both at home and abroad."

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, July 23*

World Jurists Call UN Intervention

Geneva

THE International Commission of Jurists today accused the Chinese Communists of systematically violating civilized behaviour by deliberately trying to destroy the Tibetan nation and the Buddhist religion.

It said that, on the basis of available evidence it would seem difficult to recall a case in which ruthless suppression of man's essential dignity had been more systematically carried out.

Appealing for a full United Nations investigation the Commission said: "What at the moment appears to be attempted genocide may become the full act of genocide unless prompt and adequate action is taken."

The Commission, a 20-nation non-governmental organization supported by 30,000 jurists in more than 50 countries associated with the United Nations, made its charges in a report published here today entitled, *The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law*.

The report, which quotes extensively from testimony by Tibetan refugees, said the evidence showed a systematic Chinese attempt to destroy religion in Tibet and that there had been widespread killing of monks and lamas.

It said the Chinese were now socializing Tibet irrespective of the wishes of its people and that the country's economy was being weakened solely to meet the needs of the Chinese in Tibet. It quoted the Dalai Lama as saying that 9 million Chinese settlers had arrived in Tibet or were being sent there.

It recommended full investigation of the "alleged deportation of 20,000 Tibetan children." In declaring that the most fundamental human rights had been

violated, the report alleged that the Chinese had violated life and liberty, inflicted forced labour on the people, tortured them, denied them freedom of expression, religion, or association, and refused them the right to an adequate standard of living.

"With violations of this gravity, it is not a question of human rights being modified to meet the requirements of local conditions," the report said: "It is a question of conduct which shocks the civilized world and does not even need to be fitted into a legal category."

The report is in four parts. The first reviews events leading to the uprising and the Dalai Lama's flight to India. The second deals with evidence of Chinese violations of international agreements and human rights.

The third explains the position of Tibet in the context of international law and the fourth sets out the treaties governing Tibet's international position and quotes statements by Tibetan, Indian, and Chinese Leaders.

The report is only a preparatory document as a fuller investigation of Chinese activities in Tibet will be made by a legal committee of inquiry now being formed by distinguished independent lawyers.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, July 24*

Tibetans Still Resisting

Vienna

MR. JIGME NORBU, the Dalai Lama's eldest brother, said in Vienna today that resistance to the Chinese in Tibet was still continuing.

Addressing a Press conference in connection with the World Refugee Year, he said guerillas in the southern Tibetan province had been practically wiped out by the Chinese, but others were still resisting strongly in the provinces of Amdo and Kham.

—*A Reuter Message, July 30*

Resettlement of Refugees

New Delhi

THE Government of India's plans to resettle the Tibetan refugees have progressed and it is expected that the two refugee camps in Assam and West Bengal will be closed in October.

About 3,000 refugees will be resettled in Sikkim, where a fairly large number have already arrived. The number of those to be moved to Dalhousie has been doubled to 600.

Meanwhile, the latest tabulation of the 12,000-13,000 Tibetans refugees shows that between 2,000 and 3,000 of them are Lamas.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 1*

More Refugees Pour In

Tezpur

SOME 2,000 additional refugees, who have entered Indian territory through the Siang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency, are to be taken care of by a joint organisation of the State Government, the Centre and an international relief body, it is learnt here.

This group of refugees will be accommodated in a new camp near Dibrugarh.

Meanwhile, Mr. J. N. Hazarika, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs, who was deputed to visit the Misamari camp, has since submitted a report to the Prime Minister suggesting more medical aid and better living conditions for refugees.

—*A NAFEN Message, August 4*

Indian Traders Harassed

New Delhi

THE Government of India is understood to have lodged more than one protest with the Chinese authorities at Lhasa and Peking regarding the flagrantly discriminatory practices adopted by the latter against Indian traders in Tibet.

The pattern of discrimination, according to reports reaching here, would appear to indicate a calculated policy of harassment, quite independent of the natural upsets to trade that might have been expected to follow the Tibetan uprising.

Stocks of merchandise belonging to Indian traders have been frozen. Other traders have had their entire stocks "purchased" by the Chinese authorities at arbitrary prices. In some areas, entire stocks of

Magsaysay Award For Dalai Lama

Manila

The Dalai Lama today was named winner of the 1959 Ramon Magsaysay award for community leadership for his role in Tibet's "gallant struggle."

The citation accompanying the 10,000-dollar award read: "In striving to retain his people's right to live and worship in their own way, the Dalai Lama has brought his appeal to men of conscience everywhere."

"Like the late (Philippine President) Ramon Magsaysay, he chose to stand where others have faltered in protection of fundamental human rights."

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 15*

Tibetan wool, which the Indians desired to buy have been purchased by the Chinese. Various payment difficulties have been created, and obstacles have been placed in the transport of goods.

The absence of security in the unsettled conditions now prevailing in parts of Tibet, together with the other factors, has resulted in a shrinkage of India's trade with Tibet.

This catalogue of discriminatory practices constitutes a clear violation of the letter and spirit of the the Sino-Indian Trade Agreement on Tibet (1954) in the preamble to which Panchshila was first enunciated.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 6*

Nepal Troops Disarm Khampas

Khatmandu

NEPALESE border forces recently intercepted fleeing Khampa remnants from Tibet and seized their arms which included sten-guns, rifles, pistols and ammunition, according to official information reaching here.

The rebels, who were apparently chased into Nepalese territory north-east of Khatmandu in the Everest region, were part of Tibetan forces whose backbone was broken by strong Chinese Army units operating across the Nepalese border.

Except for the authorized trickle of traffic, the border is virtually sealed.

The Khampas intercepted by the Nepalese forces were among those who gave the Chinese a fierce fight while covering the flight of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa.

On the southern bank of the Tsangpo from where the Dalai Lama headed south-east, Khampas covering his flight detached a unit to draw the chasing Chinese into a diversionary battle. But they were almost wiped out by the superior Chinese forces and the remnants were scattered. Subsequently, for safety, some of them recently crossed into Nepal with their arms. They were immediately intercepted and disarmed by the Nepalese forces keeping vigil on the border. It is not known whether they sought asylum in Nepal.

They agreed to go to India and were duly seen across the Indo-Nepalese border.

They were carrying valuables also and some of them had lived in the border areas for several weeks.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, August 5*

Indian Traders Not Welcome

Lucknow

DR. SAMPURNANAND, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh said in the Vidhan Sabha today that the Indo

Tibetan border trade had received a setback since the establishment of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet in 1950. The trade had been steadily declining since then.

Dr. Sampurnanand said the Bhotiyas were facing certain difficulties in conducting their normal trade with Tibetans because of the restrictions imposed by the Chinese. It was beyond him to say why the Chinese had placed those restrictions. But it was a fact that they did not like Indian traders going to Tibet and carrying on their thousand-year-old business transactions.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, August 6*

Relief for Refugees

New Delhi

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU said in the Lok Sabha today that so far 12,396 Tibetan refugees had come to India and the likelihood of their returning to Tibet in the foreseeable future was "very small."

He was replying to Mr. Shradhdhakar Supakar, who had asked whether any scheme for the permanent rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees had been prepared by the Government.

Mr. Nehru said that it should be expected that a majority of these refugees would remain in India. The Government was arranging for providing normal education to boys and young men while the type of education needed by the young lamas among the refugees was also being arranged. Apart from these, there were old lamas who had been provided for at a number of places for their own profession of lamahood in Sikkim and Darjeeling.

Mr. Nehru added that some of the refugees who had arrived in India had proceeded to Darjeeling or Kalimpong to stay with their relatives while the main body of them, the younger ones, had been given work like road-making and handicrafts.

In reply to Mr. Bhakt Darshan, Mr. Nehru said that about a week ago he had heard that about 100 more Tibetan refugees had entered Bhutan. The Bhutan Government inquired of the Government of India whether they could agree to receive them as the Bhutan Government was not in a position to bear the burden. The Government of India agreed to the request.

Dalai Lama's Expenses

Mr. Nehru told Mr. Tangamani that the Finance Ministry had allotted Rs. 10 lakhs to be spent on the refugees. The actual expenditure on the refugees was being met partly by the External Affairs Ministry and partly by the States. It was not known now how much had been spent by the States.

Mr. Nath Pai asked whether the Government was contemplating to approach the United Nations' Refugees Section and whether the Dalai Lama was contributing any money to the refugees.

Mr. Nehru replied that the Government had not thought of appealing to the U.N. about this matter. Some money and medical supplies had been received by the Central Relief Committee, of which Acharya Kripalani was chairman.

The Dalai Lama was not contributing anything for the maintenance of the refugees but was meeting to some extent his own expenses.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 11*

Tibet Must Not Be Forgotten

London

The Times of London today suggested that it was everybody's business to see that Tibet was not forgotten.

The Times also believed that the most effective curb on the Chinese Government may be the marshalling of Asian opinion against its "adventures" in Tibet.

In an editorial headlined "Tightening the Screw" *The Times* declared: "The Chinese Government's suggestion that people living in Tibet for long periods are, 'to all intents and purpose Chinese nationals' carries the process of squeezing out Indian influence from Tibet a stage further.

"That this claim ignores the fact that many of these people are of Indian origin, and that they wanted to register themselves as Indian citizens when the disturbances began earlier this year, only shows how relentlessly the screw continues to be tightened."

The paper added: "Once again Mr. Nehru has responded to acts of provocation with tact and patience.

"Mr. Nehru's hope that he might influence the Chinese Government to relax its hold on the Tibetan people must, in the light of its latest moves be regarded as forlorn. What, then, can be done ?

"In its recent report, the International Commission of Jurists recommended that there should be an urgent investigation by the UN of what it called the systematic violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet," *The Times* pointed out.

"The argument for UN action is certainly strengthened by the Commission's conclusion that Tibet has recognizably been an independent country, though it is not acknowledged as such by any other country.

"But the example of Hungary hardly lends weight to the hope that the UN could do much to rescue Tibet.

"The most effective curb on the Chinese Government's activities is still likely to be the marshalling of opinion in Asia against the adventures.

"It should be everybody's business to see that Tibet is not forgotten," *The Times* added.

—*A Reuter Message, August 18*

W.V.F. To Help

New Delhi

THE World Veterans' Federation will help rehabilitate the physically-handicapped Tibetan refugees in India, numbering about 50.

The All-India Rehabilitation Centre at Bombay has agreed to accommodate them all.

This was announced by the Vice-President of the Federation, Dr. Rex De Costa, here today.

He added that the Federation planned to rent a house in Bombay and convert it into a boarding-house for the refugees. The help of the Rehabilitation Centre, which will also render medical treatment, will be available to the handicapped refugees.

The W. V. F. is a nine-year-old organisation with a membership of 38 countries. It has a consultative status with the United Nations.

Chinese Soldiers Killed

Almora

FOUR Chinese soldiers have been killed near Mansarovar, in Western Tibet, by Khampa rebels according to a message received here.

Tibet Events A Setback To Peace: Kunzru

Warsaw

Mr. H. N. Kunzru, M.P., said here today that China's action in Tibet had "stirred India to her depths" and caused a severe setback to world peace.

Mr. Kunzru, addressing the second-day session of the 48th Inter-Parliamentary Union conference, said: "We of India, who have defended China in every way.....felt shocked when we heard of her attitude toward the people of Tibet."

"Never in my life have I seen such strong feelings in my country, such a sincere desire to bring about amicable relations between Tibet and China, as I saw when Tibet was deprived of the freedom it had been promised."

He added: "There is still time for China to rectify the mistakes she has made....."

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, August 28, 1959*

This is stated to be the first incident in Western Tibet which has otherwise remained quiet.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 18*

Tibet May Fight Again: Panchen Lama—A Suspect

Calcutta

THREE million Tibetans, who vainly rose in revolt against their Communist masters earlier this year, may yet launch another offensive to shake off the Chinese yoke, reports trickling into this city from Sikkim and Bhutan reveal.

The news from across the border indicates that the 24-year-old, Communist-installed temporal head of the mountain-girt Himalayan kingdom, the Panchen Lama, may himself supply the leadership for the contemplated rebellion.

It appears that the Red Chinese, who ruthlessly crushed the March uprising, are hazily aware of the plans. A wave of arrests has already started, and monasteries are once again the main target of Communist repression.

The Panchen Lama who, even after the outbreak of the Khampa-led Lhasa rebellion had been generally regarded as an obliging puppet of the Communists has now been placed under strict surveillance, it is gathered. His father, who headed the Chinese list of suspects, is also reportedly under house-arrest.

The unearthing of a huge arms dump in a Buddhist lamaseri recently touched off a frantic search for arms and ammunition in the possession of suspects, commoners, laymen and monks alike. Even the most primitive of weapons in this ancient land—bows and arrows—are being forcibly seized by the authorities, as well as more modern military equipment.

Indians are openly being treated as suspects, and their movements closely shadowed. The trek of fleeing Tibetans to India, Sikkim or Bhutan is being blocked by soldiers at Chinese Army posts spread all along the border.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 18*

An Appeal To The Free World

Bonn

MR. THUBTEN JIGME NORBU, the brother of the Dalai Lama, yesterday appealed to all nations of the free world to give refugees from Tibet the chance to work and make a living.

He was addressing a Press conference here during a five-day visit to West Germany.

Mr. Norbu said that altogether more than 20,000 Tibetans had fled to India. Of these, about 13,000 to 14,000 had fled during the past few months. They

were mostly young people between 20 and 30 years old, but there were also about 200 old people and about 300 children.

He said the Indian Government had set up a committee to help the refugees and many church organisations, including the World Council of Churches, had done much valuable relief work.

He said his brother, the Dalai Lama, and the Tibetan Government in exile hoped that young refugees could come to European countries to study and to learn jobs.

In reply to a question about the future plans of the Dalai Lama, he said "he will do his best in the service of his people and country."

Mr. Norbu said he hoped the Tibet question would be brought before the United Nations. "We hope the free world will do something for Tibet," he said.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 18*

News of Imperialism

New Delhi

MR. ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Jan Sangh) today moved a resolution in the Lok Sabha urging the Government of India to refer the Tibetan issue to the United Nations "to mobilise world opinion against Chinese aggression in Tibet."

Referring to the recent events in Tibet, Mr. Vajpayee said: "What is happening in Tibet is very painful to all lovers of freedom. All those who believe in human dignity are aghast at the fate of the Tibetans. Now, it is not a question of Tibet's independence or autonomy. The question is whether Tibet will remain as an entity, whether Tibet's distinct personality will survive or the Tibetan people will be annihilated.

"We are aware of what the Dalai Lama has confirmed, that a large number of Chinese are being settled in Tibet. Five million Chinese have already been settled. Four million more are in the process of being settled. Besides this, there is a large number of (Chinese) Army officials there. The whole aim of China is to reduce the Tibetans to a minority in their own country and thus to destroy the Tibetan personality. This is a new type of imperialism."

India, he added, should mobilise world opinion in favour of the people of Tibet with the same fervour with which she had espoused the cause of the Egyptian people at the time of the Anglo-French invasion of Suez.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 21*

Mass Annihilations Continue

Mussoorie

NEARLY 80,000 people were killed in the Tibetan freedom struggle and a large number deported to

China, the Dalai Lama said in a 70-minute interview here today.

He also revealed that large detachments of Chinese armed forces had entered western Tibet and were stationed along the Indian border.

The Dalai Lama said the Tibetan national struggle was still continuing and more and more people were joining the ranks of the fighters, active in the Cham Do and Gyam Da areas of eastern Tibet and in north-eastern Tibet.

There was, however, no fighting in western Tibet, but the people were greatly agitated about their helpless position, he said. Their way of life had been disturbed, their trade subjected to great restrictions, and their religious rights interfered with.

In Lhasa region, and not Lhasa City alone as reported by the International Commission of Jurists, nearly 20,000 persons were killed fighting for their country. Those sympathetic towards the freedom fighters or whose relations had shifted to India were subjected to inhuman atrocities.

Giving the latest information, the Dalai Lama said that a monk from the Serai Monastery, who recently visited him, said that in that monastery, after the disturbances in March, hardly 50 monks had been left out of over 2,000.

The Chinese acted cleverly and issued pamphlets bearing the forged seal of the monastery and forced signatures of Lamas inviting those who had left to return. These pamphlets assured that normal conditions had returned and that they would not be ill-treated. Several Lamas were thus deceived. Much to their disappointment, they found themselves in difficulties when they returned.

In the monasteries, the monks were made to sing Chinese national songs instead of their religious prayers. They were asked to assimilate Marxist ideology and indulge in community dancing and wear Chinese costumes.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 23*

Panchen Lama—A Prisoner ?

Mussoorie

The Dalai Lama said in an interview here yesterday that "there is every possibility" of the Panchen Lama having been arrested by the Chinese authorities for leading another revolt for a free Tibet.

He said that he had heard this news first from the Kuomintang Chinese Radio in Formosa.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 24*

Trade With Tibet Ruined

Almora

A BHOTIYA trader, who has returned from Ohar on the Indo-Tibetan border, disclosed here that the trading season in western Tibet this year had received a great setback.

The Bhotiya traders of Nzaon border region, he said, had reached western Tibetan mandis with merchandise worth several lakhs of rupees and latest reports received by him indicated that they were finding it very difficult to dispose it of.

The Chinese authorities in western Tibet, he added, had tightened security measures because there also the Khampa rebels were reported to be active. This had resulted in the arrival of only a very small number of Tibetans at trading centres.

He indicated that if the arrival of Tibetans in the mandis continued to be poor, the Indo-Tibetan trading season in western Tibet was bound to prove a complete failure.

The Bhotiya traders, he said, would have to bring back their merchandise to their homes which would adversely affect the economy of the whole border region. The present indications were such that this year the Bhotiya traders would hardly be able to import even raw wool for their domestic consumption.

He said that only those Tibetans who had surrendered their arms, following the order of Chinese authorities, had arrived at trading centres.

According to his estimate, Bhotiya traders of Almora District had with them merchandise worth about Rs. 20 lakhs when they left for western Tibet. Besides, they had left commercial goods worth Rs. 7 lakhs in western Tibetan mandis at the conclusion of the trading season last year.

In addition to this they had also to realise a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs from their Tibetan clients for the goods which they sold to them during the previous trading seasons.

According to another source, Bhotiya traders were not being allowed to go beyond certain areas for the purpose of trade.

The Nepalese Government has protested to China over a decree making Chinese currency the only legal tender in Tibet, it was announced here yesterday.

Officials said the Chinese had not given sufficient warning for Nepalese traders to exchange their holdings of Tibetan and Indian money for Chinese currency. They said most of these holdings were in

Indian rupees and the traders were now on the verge of ruin.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 23*

Situation in Tibet Worsens

New Delhi

VAGUE reports that the situation in Tibet is not yet normal and that Peking has failed to crush the national uprising despite the presence of "very large Chinese forces," were confirmed by the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, in the Lok Sabha today.

Mrs. Menon, who was replying to a brief discussion on a supplementary demand of Rs. 10 lakhs for expenditure on Tibetan refugees, said that the situation in Tibet was "worsening" and "more refugees" were likely to cross into India. The demand was voted in the face of Communist opposition.

Opposing a Jan Sangh adjournment motion earlier in the day, the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, confirmed that the Communist authorities in Lhasa had requested the Indian Consulate to advise Indian pilgrims against visiting Tibet as the Chinese army was launching "punitive expedition" against "remnant rebels" in Ari (western Tibet).

The reference to the launching of a "punitive expedition" in Ari is significant. According to political observers, this area lies in western Tibet a region which, for the last three or four years, has been relatively free from trouble. The rebellion has so far, been confined mainly to eastern Tibet, the Khampa area.

Pressing for the admission of the motion, Mr. Vajpayee referred to the reported Chinese order placing Indians in Lhasa virtually under "house arrest." He also stated that Indians were not allowed free access to the Consulate-General and asked if it was a fact that there was "no peace, not even the peace of the grave," in Tibet.

The Prime Minister said that he was not aware of any orders asking Indians in Lhasa to stay indoors. People were not encouraged to go out of their homes for some time when disturbances took place. However, movement, at present, was "not restricted, except outside the city."

Mr. Nehru said that it was true that some Chinese sentries were still posted outside the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa. These sentries checked people "without permits." According to information reaching the Government, these sentries had particularly stopped Ladakhi Muslims seeking to enter the Consulate.

—*Times of India, Bombay, August 24*

Chinese Bid To Isolate Tibet

London

THE *Guardian* today accused the Chinese Government of wanting to squeeze out the remaining Indian "positions" in Tibet so as to cut off Tibet from the non-Communist world.

The liberal daily newspaper was commenting on the report which quoted Prime Minister Nehru as saying yesterday that Peking's reason for asking Indian pilgrims not to go to Tibet was because the Chinese were launching a punitive expedition against rebel remnants there.

The *Guardian* said: "Early reports do not make it clear whether Mr. Nehru was quoting from the Chinese text. If he was, then the Communist Government has made a remarkable admission.

"For months it has been putting out propaganda about the eagerness and joy with which the Tibetans have been welcoming the people's liberation army on its mission to release them from serfdom."

"Now, it seems, there are still enough believers in serfdom to make it dangerous for foreigners to get in the way of bullets flying between them and their liberators."

"The Chinese Government is farther than ever from convincing the world that the Tibetan revolt was not a national uprising, and now it no longer seems to care," the paper added.

—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi, August 25*

Revolt Continues

Manila

THE Dalai Lama's elder brother, Mr. Gyalo Thondup said on arrival here tonight that the Chinese, "with their inhuman treatment, are pitilessly making the life of the Tibetan people very difficult."

'Izvestia' Reports 'Quiet In Tibet'

Moscow

A correspondent of the Soviet Government newspaper, 'Izvestia' who is visiting Lhasa, reported today: "it is now quiet in Tibet."

In a dispatch quoted by 'Tass' the correspondent added: "With the active support of the popular masses, patriotically inclined Lamas and other sections of the population, profound social reforms are being undertaken."

—A Reuter Message, August 25

In an interview Mr. Gyalo said there was still no peace in Tibet, and the revolt was "still going on."

—*Hindustan Times, August 28*

Keep Tibetans Together

London

THE Dalai Lama's eldest brother, Mr. Thubten Norbu, told a Press conference in London that the most pressing need of the 14,000 Tibetan refugees in India was education by Western standards.

It was hoped to have young Tibetans educated in Western countries in climatic conditions resembling those which they were used to.

The countries suggested included Scotland, Scandinavia, Austria, Australia and New Zealand.

"But they must be kept together in a community," he said. "Otherwise, we will be doing what the Chinese want—the dissipation of the Tibetan nation."

—*A Reuter Message, August 28*

People's Woes Mount

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama has announced that he will take the Tibetan issue to the United Nations.

In the course of a signed statement released here he has made "a personal appeal to all peace-loving, civilised and conscientious nations of the world," to lend their fullest support to the Tibetans' cause of "freedom and justice" against the Chinese.

According to him the conditions in his country have lately become "darker and gloomier, and the sufferings of my people are beyond description."

As his earlier appeal on June 20 for "peace and justice" in Tibet had not evoked any response, he had no other alternative but to appeal to the United Nations.

The following is the full text :

"On June 20 last, I was impelled by the steadily deteriorating conditions in Tibet to break my silence and to give to the world a glimpse of the dark and dismal tragedy of my people. I also made it clear at the same time that I and my Government were fully prepared to accept a just and peaceful solution of the entire problem.

"Since then, the picture of Tibet has become immeasurably darker and gloomier, and the sufferings of my people are beyond description. On the other hand, there has been no response to my appeal for peace and justice.

"In these circumstances, I have no other alternative than to appeal to the United Nations for the verdict of the peace-loving and conscientious nations

of the world. I also take the opportunity to make a personal appeal to all civilised countries of the world to lend their fullest support to our cause of freedom and justice."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 30*

Emigre Government Not Recognised

New Delhi

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU has stated here that India is not going to sponsor the Tibet issue at the United Nations.

When approached by newsmen, Mr. Nehru said that India was opposed to the proposal for taking the issue to the U.N.

He told a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party later in the day that the Government of India was not prepared to confer the status of an emigre regime on the Dalai Lama's Cabinet (Kashag).

Apart from the fact that such a status was given only rarely and that too in war-time, Mr. Nehru pointed out that it would involve a change in India's relations with the People's Republic of China.

Although it is known that India recognises Tibet only as an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China, efforts are still being made by those in sympathy with the Tibetan cause, in India and abroad, to persuade the Union Government to revise its approach.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, August 31*

Chinese Nursing A Grievance

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama, who arrived here from Mussoorie this morning, met Prime Minister Nehru and gave him his appraisal of the Tibetan situation.

The two leaders are also believed to have exchanged views on the Sino-Indian relations in the background of border incidents near the North-East Frontier Agency and Ladakh.

Mr. Nehru is believed to have utilised the opportunity to inform the Dalai Lama of the irritation which the Chinese statements had caused from time to time.

Although India had granted asylum spontaneously to the Dalai Lama and his Kashag, the Chinese are stated to be nursing a grievance on the score.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, September 2*

Inter-Parliamentary Union Concerned

Warsaw

A NETHERLANDS delegate, Mr. C. Berkhower, spoke at the 48th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary

Union here yesterday of the "utter denial of the rights of the individual to the people of Tibet."

He said they were "victims of the most criminal offences against humanity."

The report of the International Commission of Jurists gave ample evidence that Tibetans were being massacred by the internationally recognised crime of genocide, he declared.

Mr. Berkhower, a member of the Dutch Second Chamber of Parliament, was introducing on behalf of his delegation an amendment to a draft resolution on the role of Parliament in protecting the rights of the individual.

The draft resolution, introduced by a Belgian Senator, Carlos de Baeck, called on national groups to use their influence to ensure that "the final goal of their parliaments be the establishment of systems placing the individual citizen under the minimum controls compatible with the conduct of public affairs.

A British Labour MP, Mr. F. Elwyn Jones, (West Ham) said in the human rights debate that in Britain "we are not much impressed with great statements on human rights and prefer to see that there is effective machinery to ensure that the individual enjoys them".

—*Indian Express, Bombay, September 3*

Truth Shall Prevail—Dalai Lama

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama today expressed the hope that "truth will triumph," in the turmoil through which his country was passing, and that the people of Tibet would have an opportunity, "in the near future," to promote relations of friendship and amity with India.

In his first public statement since he came here on September 2, he quoted India's national motto "Satyameva Jayate," to say that although Tibet was passing through "the most tragic and sorrowful period" in its history, "I believe, and believe most firmly that ultimately truth must prevail."

He was speaking at a tea party in his honour given by the Mayor of Delhi.....

The relations between India and Tibet, said the Dalai Lama, went back to the very dawn of history, "and we Tibetans owe a great deal of gratitude to the people of India, and the inspiration and encouragement which we have derived from your culture, your religion and your tradition."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, September 4*

Tibetan Minorities Non-Co-operate

Hong Kong

ALTHOUGH the revolt in Tibet has been "thoroughly smashed," China is still having trouble with religious and racial minorities in the north-western region of the People's Republic.

Trouble broke out in Tsinghai last year, long before the Tibetan uprising occurred, and is still continuing.

Official newspaper reports from Tsinghai province indicate that the minority nationals in that "Gateway of Tibet" are refusing to co-operate with ruling party cadres of the Han (Chinese) nationality, which has always been represented by Peking as "superior" to all other nationalities of China's far-flung territories.

Official newspaper reports from China also admit that Peking's effort to control the province by means of an ambitious colonisation programme has so far met with only limited success.

Tsinghai is a vast pastoral province jutting into the north-east corner of Tibet. Roughly half of its two million population is non-Chinese—mostly Tibetans, Kazakhs, Mongolians and Huis.

A recent issue of the *Sining Tsinghai Jih Pao* complains that the Communist Party leadership in that province is still not such as "fully to meet the needs of the objective situation."

The principal difficulty, the journal complains, is that the party has been unable to develop enough cadres of minority nationalities who can assume leadership positions for want of co-operation from the local people.

The paper says that even the 3,227 minority nationals who belong to the Communist Party are both insufficient and of poor quality.

In spite of the fact that Peking has settled 53,000 Honanese "youngsters" in Tsinghai since 1956 and more are coming, the newspaper said an immediate party-led overhaul of youth farms, with emphasis on production, was necessary to tackle the problem of decreasing production and living conditions. The report indirectly admitted that the new settlers were unhappy and restive.

—*Times of India, Bombay, September 4*

Dalai Lama Pleads For Support

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama said in New Delhi on Monday that he would request the United Nations to consider the Tibetan issue again. "We are prepared to accept

any other reasonable remedy, but at the present moment no other course is open to us," he said.

The Dalai Lama was obviously referring to the complaint that El Salvador made to the U.N. in 1950 against Chinese aggression in Tibet. The complaint was later held over at the instance of Britain to enable the parties to come to an amicable settlement.

He was addressing a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs at Sapru House. Although the meeting was open only to members and not to the public the hall was filled to capacity.

He explained that China's aggression in Tibet had not come to an end. In fact, the area of aggression had been substantially enlarged. Today the whole of Tibet was under Chinese forces.

A reign of tyranny and oppression prevailed throughout the country, the Dalai Lama stated. Innocent men, women and children were being massacred daily to exterminate the Tibetan race.

Equally rampant were the crimes against religion. Thousands of monasteries had been razed to the ground and sacred images ruthlessly destroyed.

The Dalai Lama said that despite these atrocities he and his government were prepared to accept a just and peaceful settlement. But his emphatic appeal for peace and justice had evoked no response. Under these circumstances he had no alternative but to ask the UN to consider the Tibetan issue which is pending before it.

The Dalai Lama said he was not a statesman or a politician. "I am only a priest wedded to the dharma of peace and freedom, and dedicated to the cause of the welfare of my people, who have been entrusted to my care by Divine Providence."

It was their firm conviction that Tibet was a separate and sovereign State when its territorial integrity was violated by China. Several weighty arguments could be put forward in support of this contention, he said.

First, China exercised no power or authority over Tibet between 1894, when the 13th Dalai Lama assumed the Government, and 1950 when the Chinese forces marched in.

China had admitted this in the preamble to the agreement of 1951 "which was drafted by the Peking Government and thrust upon Tibet under the threat of further military action against its people," he said.

Again, the Dalai Lama said, "according to the best advice available to me," one of the essential ingredients of the sovereign status of a State was the right to conclude treaties with other nations. Tibet had entered into treaties with Nepal and Outer Mongolia.

In 1904 there was the Lhasa Convention between Britain and Tibet which clearly recognized the sovereign status of Tibet.

The Tibetan leader also referred to the Simla Convention of 1914 by which the British Government recognized the suzerainty of China over Tibet while China undertook to recognize the autonomy of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama said he would like to draw attention to what he called "an extremely important question." The Government of India contended that the boundary between India and Tibet had been finally settled according to the MacMahon Line. This frontier was laid down by the Simla Convention and the Convention was valid and binding only between Tibet and the British Government.

"If Tibet did not enjoy international status at the time of the conclusion of the convention it had no authority to enter into such an agreement. Therefore, if you deny sovereign status to Tibet you deny the validity of the Simla Convention and therefore you deny the validity of the MacMahon Line."

Therefore it followed as a logical corollary that Tibet did possess sovereign and international status at the time it concluded the Simla Convention, he added. And if it did possess sovereign status in 1914 nothing happened subsequently to impair that status in any manner.

The Dalai Lama said some people argued that China had suzerain rights over Tibet and that Tibet did not enjoy full sovereignty. But he maintained that the Chinese suzerainty legally came to an end with the declaration of independence by the 13th Dalai Lama. Even if it was accepted for the sake of argument that Chinese suzerainty survived this declaration, the Anglo-Tibetan convention completely deprived the suzerainty of China of all legal effect and consequence.

The Dalai Lama said it had been argued that their appeal to the UN might not produce any immediate or practical result. But "this does not and should not afford us justification for discarding the instrument which has been evolved by the peace-loving nations of the world."

Concluding, he said: "In these circumstances, I make an earnest appeal to you, one and all, to lend your full support to our cause. I also appeal to the peoples and Governments of all nations to come to the succour and assistance of the tortured and oppressed people of Tibet."

Earlier, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, who presided, said there was not a single patriotic Indian who did not share the sorrow at the sufferings of the Tibetan people at the hands of the Chinese.

UN Must Not Ignore Tibet

Patna

MR. J. P. NARAYAN said here it would be "an unutterable tragedy if for mere political considerations such a great human tragedy as that of Tibet was passed over unnoticed by the United Nations...."

There are two ways of looking at the UN. One way is to regard it as an arena where battles of power politics are waged. The other is to see in it the beginnings of a world moral authority. For me, it is the latter aspect of UN which is of paramount importance.

"I would, therefore, regard it an unutterable tragedy if for mere political considerations such a great human tragedy as that of Tibet is passed over unnoticed by that great world organization.

"Whether China is or is not a member of the UN is irrelevant; it is also irrelevant to ask what will be the outcome if the question is referred to it. The UN will be failing in its moral duty if it closed its eyes to the terrible events that have happened in Tibet. And all statesmen of the world who talk about liberty and democracy and human rights will have to answer for much at the bar of history."

—Hindustan Times, New Delhi, September 9

Dalai Lama Asks For UN Intervention

Washington

THE Dalai Lama's appeal to the United Nations for "immediate intervention" to stop Chinese "extermination of the Tibetan race" was received by the U.N. Secretary-General yesterday.

It was the first official Tibetan approach to the United Nations though the Dalai Lama has made public statements on the subject earlier.

The Dalai Lama has referred to his action in 1950 when alleged Chinese aggression was put before the General Assembly. It was referred to the Assembly's General Committee.

The issue was then raised by El Salvador. The Indian delegation asserted that the question could be settled peacefully. The United States and others agreed with the Indian view and it was decided not to put the matter on the agenda until the situation became clearer.

Under U.N. rules, the previous Tibetan complaint is no longer before the General Assembly which is due to meet on September 15. It would, therefore, have to be raised anew.

The Dalai Lama's cabled message to the U.N. charges that Chinese forces have occupied Tibet, which, he claims, has long been recognised as an

independent State. The Chinese, according to the Dalai Lama, are also guilty of "inhuman treatment and crimes" against his people.

Among these crimes, he mentions "measures for the purpose of sterilising Tibetan men and women with a view to the total extermination of the Tibetan race."

The Dalai Lama asked for the "immediate intervention of the U.N. and consideration by the General Committee, on its own initiative, of the Tibetan issue which had been adjourned."

The Dalai Lama also argues at some length on the thesis that Tibet had long been recognised by the world as an independent nation and was not a mere province of China.

—Times of India, Bombay, September 10

U.S. Supports Dalai Lama's Appeal

Washington

"The United States welcomes the initiative by the Dalai Lama in bringing the plight of the Tibetan people directly to the attention of the United Nations," the State Department said.

"We believe the world should hear what he has to say, for the situation in Tibet has implications for free peoples everywhere....."

A Servant of the Master

Mussoorie

Sources close to the Dalai Lama say that he wants that the conscience of mankind should be moved against the unprecedented atrocities the Chinese are committing in Tibet to exterminate the Tibetan race and destroy Buddhist religion. He hopes the Buddhist countries of Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, and Ceylon will move in sympathy with the Tibetans who are their co-religionists.

These sources, however, point to one difficulty: The South-East Asian countries, they say, have no direct religious link with the Dalai Lama because he is the head of the Mahayana School of Buddhism and Western writers have wrongly described him as "God-King" "Living Buddha (incarnation)" the titles which are not acceptable to these countries.

The Dalai Lama himself does not like the title God-King because it is not correct. He has told his visitors that he is not a "living Buddha" but a "servant of the Master."

—Hindustan Times, Delhi, August 28

Western sources are confident that not only Western public opinion but public opinion in Asia too will not understand anything less than unequivocal support for any move for an inquiry into the Dalai Lama's charges or outright condemnation of the Peking regime.

In his appeal to the United Nations for "immediate intervention of the United Nations and consideration by the General Assembly, on its own initiative, of the Tibetan issue," the Dalai Lama had stated that such intervention was warranted by the "inhuman treatment and crimes against humanity and religion."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, September 10*

Mr. Nehru Disapproves

New Delhi

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU stated in the Rajya Sabha today that the Dalai Lama had been warned not to indulge in political controversy and he had, in a large measure, accepted the advice.

He was referring to the possibility of Tibetan developments having angered and soured the mind of China, while replying to the debate on Sino-Indian relations.

Perhaps, Mr. Nehru said, the Chinese had reacted strongly to what India had done, by giving asylum to the Dalai Lama and other factors. It had to be remembered that the minds of the people of India had been stirred by the Tibetan events. Also "we respect the Dalai Lama. That does not mean I agree with him in everything."

Sometimes, he added the Dalai Lama acted wrongly; for instance, his reference to take the issue to the U.N. He had told him that it would do him no good. The Government of India had also contradicted one of the Dalai Lama's statements. At the same time, he was free to function as he liked.

—*Indian Express, Bombay, September 10*

Evidence Of Inhuman Torture

London

LAMAS crucified, tortured and subjected to indignities to mock religion, images of the Buddha machine-gunned and melted for cartridges, women and children massacred and corpses laid on public view, crude and cruel surgical operations performed to prevent progeny, abductions, extortions and forcible deportations.

These charges and more have been made against the Chinese by Tibetan refugees interviewed by the International Commission of Jurists, gathering evidence of the "rape" of the Dalai Lama's country, where Chinese actions are alleged to have involved a genocide bid.

Evidence taken at the Misamari refugee camp was reported in the *Daily Mail* yesterday.

A Monk described the brutal primitive methods the Chinese used to sterilise men and women "in a determined plan to wipe out the entire Tibetan race". Most victims died.

A Litang monastery steward vividly described how Chinese bombers, guns and grenades attacked the monastery in February 1956, killing and wounding 2,000 so that the monastery stream ran red with blood. Books, scriptures and manuscripts were deliberately defiled and images of the Buddha were shot. The Lamas who survived were confined in cells and told to "invoke food from God." Two Lamas were buried alive, some were burnt to death, and some were crucified with iron nails on crude wooden crosses.

People were told that houses, land, guns, even girls and women of their own choice, would be theirs in the Communist State if they helped achieve the Red "reform."

—*Indian Express, Bombay, November 12*

U. N. Assembly will Discuss Tibet

United Nations

IRELAND and Malaya today formally proposed that the General Assembly should reaffirm the rights of the Tibetan people to choose their own way of life.

Their mildly-worded proposal, in the form of a draft resolution to the Assembly, made no mention of Communist China or of charges that Peking brutally crushed an anti-Communist rebellion in the Himalayan kingdom this spring.

The draft refers to messages from the Dalai Lama and deplores that events in Tibet have the effect of "increasing international tension and embittering the relations between peoples."

The resolution was submitted after the Assembly decided to hold a debate on Tibet. The draft was watered down considerably from its original form, but apparently the sponsors feel that the debate itself will do more to focus world opinion on the situation than any resolution which, if too strongly worded,

may scare away Asian neutrals and prevent discussion.

Reuter adds : The 82-member world forum will consider the question in plenary meetings rather than transfer it to a committee for discussion.

The vote to inscribe the new item on the agenda was 43 to eleven with 25 abstentions.

Ethiopia and Israel were absent and India did not vote.

Negative votes were cast by Albania, Bulgaria, Byelo-Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Indonesia, Poland, Rumania, the Ukraine, Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Abstentions were by Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, the Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Peru, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, the Sudan, Tunisia, South Africa, the United Arab Republic and Yemen.

In Favour

In favour were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, K.M.T. China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Federation of Malaya, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxemburg, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, Britain, the United States, Uruguay and Venezuela.

When the General Assembly began to consider the recommendation of its Steering Committee to include a new agenda item, sponsored by Ireland

U. N. Assembly Discusses Tibet Question

United Nations

THE expected happened in the U.N. General Assembly today when Tibet provided a convenient cause for cold war blasts without making a dent in China's hold over Tibetans.

Both Russia and the United States, together with their respective followers, raked up familiar invectives as if nothing new had happened during these last few weeks.

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Vasily Kuznetsov, eager to defend China, stressed the familiar Chinese allegation that "instigation from abroad" was responsible for the Tibetan revolt.

Text-Book Phrases

Here are some more choice Communist text-book phrases which added to the heat of the debate without making a new point:

and Malaya, on the situation in Tibet, Mr. Foss Shanahan of New Zealand, the first speaker, asserted that this was an "important matter of principle."

There was a denial of human rights on a "vast scale" in Tibet, he said, and the United Nations could not close its eyes to it.

It was no answer to say that because the United Nations might not find a solution it must ignore the question.

The fact that they could not foresee a solution which would assuage the Tibetan people was not a good reason for not discussing the situation, Mr. Shanahan said.

Indonesia's Opposition

Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia opposed the inscription of the proposed new item, saying that the Assembly could not proceed to discuss conditions in Tibet in the absence of representatives of Communist China.

Mr. Kuznetsov said that in provoking discussion of the Tibetan question an effort was being made to "drag us back to the worst time of the cold war period."

He cited the bar in the Charter on the discussion here of matters falling within a State's domestic jurisdiction. It was common knowledge that from ancient times Tibet had been an inseparable region of the Chinese State, he said.

Mr. Arthayukti of Thailand, then told the Assembly that his delegation strongly supported the inscription of the item. He said the Assembly would be failing in its duty "should we ignore events in Tibet and the appeal of its people."

—*Times of India, October 13*

Bringing the question before the U.N. was a "gross attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China." Charges against China were "trumped up." Those who made them were "hypocritically donning the toga of zealous champions of human rights."

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the U.S. delegate, directed his attack solely against China and spoke movingly about its efforts to destroy the Tibetan way of life which was a crime the whole civilised world should condemn. He asked the U.N. to stand by the Tibetan people in their agony. He related the story of Chinese atrocities as recorded by the Dalai Lama and the International Commission of Jurists.

Communist speakers, including the representatives of Russia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, retaliated by recalling colonial atrocities, oppression and "bloody terror" against the Negro population of Nyasaland

Kenya, the Cameroons and other African colonies. Laos, South Viet Nam, Formosa, South Korea, the Belgian Congo and Algeria also came in for similar mention.

The Communist speakers invited the Western democracies to look into their own colonial cupboards.

Curiously China, in the bargain, acquired some support from some of these very countries including Belgium, France and South Africa whose own ugly record in Africa and elsewhere made them take the stand that Tibet was China's internal matter.

French View

France took the view that non-interference in the internal matters of nations was a fundamental principle of the U.N. Charter and could not be violated without weakening the very foundations of the United Nations.

Thus, strangely enough, there was partial agreement between Communist countries and some of The United States' allies on this question.

A.P. and *The Times of India* News Service adds: The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. exchanged verbal charges today over whether or not the U.N. should discuss the Tibetan problem.

The U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, accused the Communists of using strong words in an attempt to frighten the U.N. out of the discussion.

The Soviet Union earlier told the 82-nation General Assembly that consideration of the issue was a shameful farce that would only aggravate the cold war.

Mr. Lodge said: "We have been asked to believe that it is all right for the Chinese Communists to kill Tibetans but that it is a provocation for us to talk about it. This argument seems to us unworthy of discussion. It is an argument of intimidation by false logic."

Civil Rights

The chief U.S. delegate asked the Assembly to approve a mildly-worded Irish-Malayan resolution calling for respect for the fundamental religious and civil rights of the Tibetan people.

He acknowledged that the U.N. had no magic to save Tibet from what he called the criminal actions of the Chinese Communists. But, he added, the General Assembly, "the world's most influential body," had a solemn duty to abide by the Charter and uphold standards of decency.

"We have an opportunity to prove that the words in the U.N. Charter mean what they say and to

prove that neither violent words, nor faintness of heart can keep us from carrying out our obligations to a brave people in their moment of agony."

He recounted in detail the charges by the Dalai Lama that the Chinese were attempting to wipe out the Tibetan race and religion. He accused the Chinese Communists of being bent on colonisation and plunder in Tibet. He said this was a "crime that will not be forgotten by the civilised people of the world."

U.N.'s Legal Rights

There was no doubt of the U.N.'s legal authority to act on the Malayan-Irish resolution.

Belgium, which had already expressed reservations on the U.N.'s rights to deal with Tibet on the ground that it might be regarded as interference in internal questions, nevertheless participated in the debate. Its delegate, Mr. Walter Loidan, said that the sufferings of the Tibetan people had caused profound emotion among the Belgian people, but "despite the feelings which animate it, the Belgian delegation has no choice but one of abstention."

Pakistan declared that U.N. approval of the Irish-Malayan resolution would help alleviate the plight of the Tibetan people.

The Pakistani delegate, Prince Aly Khan said: "We believe the pending joint draft resolution clearly expresses the true feelings of the majority of our members. Such an expression of the public opinion of the world, reflected through the United Nations, must help to alleviate the plight of the Tibetan people."

"We consider that the Tibetan question raises above all a profound question of conscience for all members of the United Nations. For these reasons, we shall vote for the resolution."

The French delegate, M. Armand Berard, announcing that France would abstain on the resolution, expressed the hope that there would soon be an alleviation of conditions in Tibet and that moral force would produce results.

Australia announced it would support the resolution. The Australian delegate, Mr. J. Plimsoll charged the Chinese with having used "large-scale and brutal force to bring about changes in Tibet."

Times of India, October 30

Tibet in the U. N.

THE United Nations tonight voiced grave concern and called for "respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and their distinctive cultural and religious rights."

The resolution sponsored by Ireland and Malaya was passed after two days of debate by 45 votes to nine with 26 abstentions. Two members, Guinea and Costa Rica, were absent.

Britain and several other countries abstained, claiming that there was a legal doubt whether the Assembly was competent to deal with Tibet under the terms of the Charter forbidding interference in a country's internal affairs (China claims unrestricted sovereignty over Tibet).

Those who abstained, besides India, Britain and Yugoslavia, included Indonesia (which had voted against having the question discussed when it was submitted by the sponsors in the Steering Committee), France, Ceylon, Ghana, Iraq, the United Arab Republic, Belgium and South Africa.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, October 21*

Another Blunder

Hazaribagh

EARLIER India had abstained when the question of inscribing the Tibetan issue on the agenda came up for voting. Referring to that action Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan characterised it as "another blunder".

He told a public meeting on Sunday that the price of this "blunder" would have to be paid for dearly by the Afro-Asian nations. For, the stand taken by India would "encourage the expansionist ambitions of China and embolden her aggressive designs."

Mr. Narayan praised the "courage shown by a small Asian country, Malaya," and said it was a pity that India, a great Asian country and a close neighbour of Tibet, should have failed even to support an "innocent resolution" calling for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people.

Mr. Narayan said Tibet had been for centuries a free and independent nation having a distinct culture and civilization and a distinct political career subject only to occasional imperialist domination by China in the past. Like every other nation, in this age of nationalism, Tibet must have the right of self-determination. "Tibet has been wronged by China and it would be a great sin not to raise the voice of protest against this wrong," Mr. Narayan said.

Improved Tone

Mr. Narayan welcomed "the improved tone" of the Chinese Premier in his reply to the congratulatory

messages of Mr. Nehru and President Prasad on the occasion of Red China's anniversary celebrations. He warned Indians, however, not to be taken in by the "Chinese tone" which might not be backed by sincere intentions.

For, "while there is an improvement in the tone, they have not retraced a single step from the positions they have occupied by aggression in Ladakh and NEFA areas. We must therefore, be vigilant and prepared to make any sacrifice for the defence of our motherland."

If China retraced her steps and vacated aggression, Mr. Narayan said, it would be good both for India and China and also for the world. For, any major conflict between the two countries was likely to develop into a global war.

He, therefore, wished for a peaceful settlement of the border issues between the two countries. There might be minor adjustments along the MacMahon Line which formed the recognized frontier of India, but there could not be any compromise over the portions of Ladakh which they had forcibly occupied, he said.

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, October 21*

Abetment of Oppression

Madras

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, leader of the Swatantra Party, in a statement today characterized India's stand on raising a debate on Tibet in the United Nations General Assembly as "indistinguishable from abetment of oppression."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "With all my agreement with Mr. Nehru's foreign policy of non-alignment and the technique of peace in preference to sabre-rattling, I am unable to understand the way in which the proposition in the UN to discuss Tibet was dealt with on behalf of India.

"It appears to pass the line of non-alignment and is indistinguishable from abetment of oppression.

"Other than war, which is unthinkable, the only sanction we have for meeting international crime is in the discussion of the matter in the U.N. If this sanction is abrogated, then what poses for non-alignment and love of peace becomes passive abetment."

—*Hindustan Times, Delhi, October 21*

IX

EPILOGUE

A people which enslaves others forges its own chains.
—KARL MARX

*Evermore shall tyrant Force
Beget the greater for its overthrow*
—GEORGE MEREDITH

TIBET: THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT

By D. F. Hudson

(Geoffrey Hudson is the Director of Far Eastern Studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford)

THAT the Chinese People's Republic was able in 1951 to claim that its military conquest of Tibet was a matter solely within its own domestic jurisdiction was a consequence of the fact that Tibet, during the whole period of its *de facto* independence from 1912, never received international recognition as a *de jure* sovereign state. Tibet achieved independence six years before Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Baltic States and Finland which emerged from the disintegration of empires in Europe after the end of the First World War, but whereas those countries were received into the family of nations as sovereign states, the status of Tibet was left in such obscurity that, when after four decades China undertook a military campaign to restore the former imperial control of Peking, the Tibetans had no firm ground in international law for pleading sovereign rights against alien aggression. This situation was the outcome of a British policy which aimed at dealing with Tibet in practice as an independent state while avoiding the offence to China which would be given by formal recognition of its sovereignty. In 1913, as a result of the Tibetan revolt, there was no longer any Chinese authority at any point on the borders of India from Ladakh to Assam; it was with the Tibetan government in Lhasa that Britain now had to negotiate on any questions arising with regard to the Indo-Tibetan frontier or Indo-Tibetan trade. In view of the confusion prevailing in the new Chinese Republic it did not seem likely that the latter would be able in the foreseeable future to reimpose the control of Peking over Tibet, but for that very reason there did not appear to be any great significance in continuing to recognize a Chinese title to "suzerainty" over a country from which their garrisons and officials had been ignominiously expelled.

Britain, therefore, invited both Chinese and Tibetan representatives in 1913 to a conference at Simla, at which both the frontiers between Tibet and India east of Bhutan and the frontiers between "Inner" and "Outer" Tibet and between "Inner" Tibet and China were discussed. After prolonged negotiations a Convention was drafted which was signed and ratified by the Tibetans, but only initialled by the Chinese

delegate and afterwards repudiated by the Chinese government. Peking's refusal to accept the Convention was due to objections to the proposed boundary between Tibet and China, not to dissent from the Indo-Tibetan frontier—the so-called MacMahon Line—defined at the conference, but the fact that China did not ratify the treaty meant that the validity of the MacMahon Line henceforth rested on an agreement with Tibet without the concurrence of China. Since Communist China's recent challenge to India over the MacMahon Line, the Dalai Lama has pointed out that at least the autonomy of Tibet as a state capable of international treaty relations was the condition of India's claim to this frontier as a treaty right; with the disappearance of the Tibetan party to the Simla Convention, India was left face to face with the power which had rejected the Convention, and it should have been no surprise to Delhi when the Chinese at last declared that for them the MacMahon Line had no legal validity.

From the time of the Simla Conference on to the transfer of power in India in 1947 Britain adhered to the diplomatic formula that Tibet was an autonomous state under the suzerainty of China. As a consequence of this Tibet was never eligible to become a member of either the League of Nations or the United Nations. The British refusal to recognise its *de jure* sovereignty was decisive for its international status, for it had no common frontiers except with China, India and Nepal, and no other nation had a sufficient interest in it to make a move towards the opening of diplomatic relations. Throughout the whole period, however, Tibet as a whole was quite free from any form of Chinese control, though the eastern boundary of Tibetan-governed territory varied from time to time according to the strength of Chinese provincial governments which marched with it. In China the right of the Tibetans to full independence was never recognized by any government, but first civil wars, then Japanese invasions, then civil war again, kept the Chinese too busy with other things to spare the energy and resources required for a military expedition sufficient to achieve the reconquest of Tibet. The continued British

recognition of Chinese "suzerainty" there, nevertheless maintained a juridical basis for intervention in Tibetan affairs whenever China should again be strong enough to undertake it. Moreover, as the Chinese did not fail to point out, suzerainty was a feudal conception which no longer had a place in modern international law; what the Chinese claimed in Tibet was not suzerainty, but sovereignty, with the implication that whatever local autonomy might be allowed to the Tibetans was a matter entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of China, limited only by the temporary incapacity of the Chinese government to impose its will.

There was an instructive parallel to the case of Tibet in that of Mongolia. The Mongols, like the Tibetans, having been incorporated in the Manchu dynastic empire, broke away from China when the dynasty was replaced by the Chinese Republic. The Mongols, however, had by themselves less prospect than the Tibetans of maintaining their independence against China, for even the Gobi desert was far less of a barrier to an invading army than the great tangle of mountains between Chengtu and Lhasa. The Mongols of Outer Mongolia, therefore, sought the protection of Russia, which was given, and Peking was warned against making any attempt at reconquest. After the Russian Revolution, however, China took advantage of the civil wars in Russia to send an expedition across the Gobi and occupy Urga (now Ulan Bator), reimposing Chinese imperial control over the Mongols. But the Chinese were driven out by a "White" Russian army under General Ungern, who hoped to use Mongolia as a base for operations against the Bolsheviks. Ungern was in turn defeated by Bolshevik Russian forces, who set up in Urga a revolutionary Mongol government supported by a party affiliated to the Communist International. Henceforth Outer Mongolia was under the protection of Soviet Russia as it had previously been under that of Tsarist Russia. The Soviet government, on the other hand, did not for many years recognize the "Mongol People's Republic" as a sovereign state. In its treaty with China in 1924 it explicitly recognized Chinese sovereignty (not suzerainty) in Outer Mongolia, but China had to accept Mongol autonomy, and it was made clear in Peking that any further attempt at reconquest would be opposed by Soviet military intervention. For the twenty-one years from 1924 to 1945 China retained a purely nominal sovereignty over Outer Mongolia without having the slightest actual authority there. When in the summer of 1945, however, following the American-Soviet secret deal about China at Yalta, the Soviet government was in a position to impose on China its own terms for a treaty of "alliance", Chiang Kai-shek had to agree to recognize the *de jure* sovereignty of the Mongol People's Republic, subject to the formality of a

plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the Mongols. In their insistence on this full recognition by China of Mongol independence, Stalin was no doubt moved by the consideration that, even though the fiction of Chinese sovereignty had not for two decades made any practical difference to the *de facto* separation of Outer Mongolia from China, its continuation in the future would preserve a juridical claim which a more powerful China might one day again try to turn into a real control.

The fact that they had had to recognize legally the national independence of the Mongols—at any rate north of the Gobi—did not render the Chinese more disposed to accord a similar recognition to the national independence of the Tibetans; on the contrary, it made them all the more determined—whether Kuomintang or Communists—to make sure of those parts of the inheritance of the Manchu empire which Russia had not compelled them to give up. There has never been any evidence that the Tibetans had any more desire than the Mongols to live under Chinese rule. But the Tibetans did not have, as the Mongols did after 1945, an internationally recognized sovereignty. Britain never recognized Tibetan sovereignty or put pressure on China to recognize it; the Indian national government which took over power in Delhi in 1947 did nothing to change this policy. When, therefore, in 1950, the new Communist regime in China made its first moves aimed at the military reconquest of Tibet, it had a strong case in international law for claiming that this was a domestic matter, in spite of the fact that Tibet had been in fact an independent country for 38 years. Initially India protested at the Chinese invasion, but when Communist China refused to take any notice of the protests, the attitude of Delhi was reversed and Indian endorsement was given to the authority of Peking over the "Tibet region of China". The capitulation of the Tibetans was officially described in China as "the peaceful liberation of Tibet", and was represented as a voluntarily negotiated settlement, though it was only brought about by the victorious advance of the Chinese army, and was in fact an armed conquest. The poorly equipped Tibetans could only have continued to resist if they had had both moral support and supplies of modern weapons from, or through, India; with such backing they might have had a good prospect of holding out, for China's armed strength was for three years so fully committed in Korea and in the defence of the South China coast against possible hostile operations from Formosa that a serious military opposition making use of the great natural obstacles of the Tibetan borderland might have been too much for even the new People's Republic to overcome. But in Delhi the faction which sought to make friendship with China the cornerstone of an Indian foreign policy

acquired a political ascendancy which precluded any support for Tibetan independence.

India, nevertheless, by passively accepting the Chinese reconquest of Tibet, accepted also a transformation to her own disadvantage of the *status quo* which had for so long existed on her northern and north-eastern borders. Independent Tibet had been the ideal buffer state; it was of immense benefit to India to have this weak and inoffensive nation as a neighbour along a vast stretch of land frontier. China as a neighbour was an altogether different proposition. The most numerous people of the world, imbued with traditions of supremacy as the "Middle Kingdom" and arrogant with a newly found strength, filled with resentments at humiliations suffered over a century, intolerant with the fanaticism of a messianic ideology, and deeply jealous of India as a potential rival for prestige and influence in Asia, the Chinese were certainly not likely to be such unobtrusive company in the Himalayas as the subjects of the Dalai Lama had been. And indeed trouble was not long in coming. Within four months after the conclusion of the treaty of April 1954, which set out the famous five principles of peaceful co-existence and was regarded in Delhi as a satisfactory settlement of questions of Indian interests in Tibet, India had to complain of a Chinese intrusion across a Himalayan pass into Garwahl, and was astonished to learn that the area involved was claimed as Chinese territory. Other similar incidents followed and culminated in the building of a Chinese military road from Sinkiang to Tibet across a stretch of Indian territory in north-eastern Ladakh.

All this happened before the sequence of events leading to the flight of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa to India brought about open conflict between India and China. Down to that time the Indian government did everything possible to conceal from the Indian public and from the world the facts about Chinese border encroachments as well as about what was happening inside Tibet. The pro-Chinese faction in Delhi naturally feared that publicity for them would discredit the policy of directing all defence preparations against Pakistan and leaving all security on the Chinese frontier to a lightly armed constabulary. In his letter to Chou En-lai dated: September 26, 1959, the Indian Prime Minister declared with reference to the Chinese incursions, "Such incidents, concerning as they did the integrity of India, were very serious, but in our anxiety not to create feelings against your government we deliberately avoided giving publicity to them."

The violation of the Indian frontier in Ladakh was a direct consequence of the Chinese reconquest of Tibet because the purpose of the road was to provide an alternative supply route for Chinese army

garrisons in Tibet—and particularly in western Tibet—in place of the roads from Szechwan and Kansu which were continually being cut by the Khampa rebels. A road from Sinkiang could on paper have been constructed through northern Tibet without crossing any Indian territory, but the route actually taken across north-eastern Ladakh was less difficult than the possible routes further east, where the vast expanse of high mountains and desert plateaux presents virtually insuperable obstacles. The seizure of a piece of Indian territory thus corresponded to a strategic requirement implicit in the Chinese determination to hold down Tibet, which thus ceased to be China's internal affair even on the most favourable interpretation of her juridical claim. The existence of the road appears to have been at last discovered by a newspaper, and a sharply worded protest was delivered to Peking, but by this time the road had been in use for over a year, and the only Chinese response to the protest was to claim that the whole region really belonged to China.

With the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa the official policy of concealment over Tibetan affairs and border incidents finally broke down. Indian public opinion was deeply moved by the fate of Tibet and even more resentful when news of the Chinese encroachments on Indian territory began to leak out. The Indian government now exposed the record in a White Paper laid before parliament, and the Prime Minister, while continuing to adhere to the position that Tibet was legally a part of China, expressed sympathy for the Tibetans in terms which implied a reproach to China. This mildly critical attitude of official India, and the much more outspoken unofficial criticism of Chinese policy, provoked a furious outburst of temper in Peking and accusations that "Indian expansionists" were behind the Tibetan revolt. The Chinese from the beginning had taken the line that Tibetan aspirations to be separated from their Chinese "motherland" could not be a genuine nationalist and anti-colonial movement, but must have been stirred up from the outside. "The local government in Tibet", declared the Chinese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs in a statement to the Indian Ambassador on March 22, 1959, "under instigation and support of the imperialists and foreign reactionary elements have torn up the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet." The imperialists were presumably American or British, but as they would hardly be able to operate through Indian territory except with the connivance and support of official quarters in India, it was necessary to bring charges against India as well as against the Western powers. An anti-Indian propaganda campaign was launched inside China, and the official protests at Indian manifestations of sympathy for the Tibetan cause culminated in a statement of the Chinese

Ambassador in Delhi couched in such insulting terms that the Indian reply described it as "language which is discourteous and unbecoming even if it were addressed to a hostile country."

The development of tension between China and India arising out of the situation in Tibet inevitably became a matter of world-wide concern. In Western countries there could not but be a certain satisfaction at the spectacle of India suffering from Chinese truculence after so many assurances from Delhi of the virtuous and pacific character of the Chinese Communist regime. For Moscow, on the other hand, the conflict was a most undesirable one, both because it threatened to spoil Soviet relations with either India or China and because such a display of unreformed Communist behaviour was very inconvenient at a time when Khrushchev's policy was being directed towards convincing the Western world of his good intentions. The Indian government, for

its part, was determined to keep its quarrel with China separate from the alignments of the cold war, and for this reason refused either to contemplate joining any anti-Communist bloc or to plead Tibet's cause in the United Nations. The Tibetan question was indeed raised by others in the United Nations, but it was clear that no action in support of Tibet could be taken except through, and with the co-operation of, India. Mr. Krishna Menon rejected the idea of bringing even India's own complaint of Chinese border encroachments before the United Nations; India, he said, would settle the matter by direct negotiations with China. He did not explain, however, what position India would have for bargaining, with Chinese troops actually in occupation of some thousands of square miles of Indian territory. Unfortunately for India, the present regime in China is one which will ruthlessly exploit weakness wherever it is found.

A NEW IMPERIALISM

By Raja Hutheesing

FOR centuries the unworldly world of Tibet has remained a mystery. The precipitous barriers of the Himalayas guard its seclusion which few have attempted to intrude and fewer still have been permitted to do so. A journey to Tibet is an adventure, climbing high mountain passes, over 16,000 feet above sea-level, to reach a vast plateau, three quarters of which is above 14,000 feet high. In this rarefied atmosphere, about three million rugged and self-reliant people live a contented and deeply religious life. The desolate grandeur of the high mountains casts a spell over the daily existence of man, as if the land itself is a vast temple wherein the image of Buddha, the Protector, shields him from the furies of an unbridled nature.

The mystery of nature dominating over man's daily existence leads him to seek refuge in religion and the Tibetan is no exception. All his actions are therefore dedicated to the Buddha, the Supreme Dharma. Wealth and worldly possessions have little attraction for him, for the ultimate aim of life is to obtain the release of the soul from the cycle of birth and death. Meditation, prayers and strict adherence to religious rituals are a part of a Tibetan's daily routine and whatever be the activity in which he is engaged, he will not forget to whirl his *karlo* (Prayer Wheel), and repeat the *Manimantra* with his rosary. He chants, 'Om Mani Padma Hum' (Hail to the Buddha in our hearts)—this is his daily credo.

Brought up in the strict discipline of a monk, the present Dalai Lama is a young man of great charm and dignity. In New Delhi where I saw him, shorn of all the rituals which once accompanied such interviews, I found in him poise, an innate serenity and yet a boyish eagerness to see and learn something of this world of Science. He came into the room unobtrusively and as I apologised for not having brought the traditional scarf, he shook my hand with a friendly smile. He was wearing a plain cream-coloured sports shirt and the heavy woollen monk's robe with the sleeves tied round hung from his waist below. His full-throated guttural voice reminded me of the stories of wonderful chantings by the Lamas in the Tibetan monasteries. His bright quick eyes showed keenness and understanding. He was eager and prompt in replying to all my questions.

Yet, I felt his confusion and inability to understand why India had refused to sponsor his appeal to the U.N. In a curiously worded reply he repeated: "Those who have common frontiers with us should support our appeal to the U.N." There was perhaps the hint of the danger which now faces India.

I had heard that in his presence one must not smoke. I was therefore surprised that I was offered cigarettes. All through my interview, he sat on the edge of the sofa eagerly nodding comprehension to my questions before they were translated by the interpreter and replied to me quickly, gesticulating and nodding. There was no pose of high spiritual sanctity about him. My only difficulty was to convey to him that I searched no superficial description of the life of his people and was anxious to learn something of the mysticism and deep religious fervour which had stirred his people for centuries. I am sorry that both time and opportunity were limited. I left him after almost two hours of conversation with the feeling of having been in the presence of a significant experience. The Dalai Lama's simplicity and devoutness can, perhaps be seen from the story I heard in New Delhi. A supercilious visitor in New Delhi asked him if the Dalai Lama saw any divine purpose in the dust storms on the day he escaped from Lhasa and whether as a child he had felt any special spiritual experience that would indicate that he was the incarnate Buddha. The young Dalai Lama replied, "The dust storms are common in March in Lhasa. As a child I was perhaps more noisy than other children in my home!" The Dalai Lama is a handsome Tibetan, and like his people, despite the dark clouds which hang over him and his country, he is full of laughter and happiness, playing small jokes on his companions and scholars. At the same time, it is easy to discern his unhurried acceptance of life and events and the faith that truth must triumph and life must run its own course.

Ever since the 1951 agreement, the Dalai Lama and his Government had few illusions as to what the future had in store for him and his country. He had hoped that with India careful of her interest in Tibet, Tibet would be able to maintain her religious freedom and political autonomy. After 1954, however, there was little hope that India could exercise a restraining hand on China. In the name of Panchsheel, India

had given up her long traditional ties of religion and culture with Tibet. Tibet's sorrows had begun to pile up, and though the Dalai Lama on a visit to India in November 1956, desired not to return to Tibet, the Prime Minister of India again lent a helpful hand to the Chinese by persuading him to return to Tibet on the ground that Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, had told Mr. Nehru that China would respect Tibet's autonomy. For the Communists, words have different meaning and India realised this only after her own territories were invaded. Those who overlook the Communists' avowed aims and objectives and seek agreements with them for peaceful co-existence, are living in a world of wishful thinking. The Dalai Lama found to his cost that autonomy meant subservience. He tried his best to protect his people from the totalitarian fury. He pleaded with his people, prevaricated with the Communists and wrote the three letters in vain attempts to avoid the Communist blow. But it was all in vain.

People in India were deeply moved by these events. National interest apart, the ancient ties of religion, culture and language tied them to the people of Tibet. Thousands of common people in India who have visited the sacred places of pilgrimage for the Hindus in Tibet had made them look upon the gentle, peace-loving people of Tibet with affection and sympathy. The suppression of Tibet caused angry resentment in India against the Chinese. Perhaps with a sense of remorse, the Indian Prime Minister welcomed the Dalai Lama and offered shelter and refuge to the thousands of refugees who streamed into India. These refugees represent the poor and common people of Tibet and give a direct lie to the Chinese claim that the rebellion was engineered by a clique of upper class reactionaries.

Asians, and particularly Indians, are a religious people. They respect others who are attached to their religion. Buddhism, India considers as her own and though there are few Buddhists in India today, it has left a deep imprint on Hinduism and Indian history. It is, therefore, but natural that the Tibetan tragedy should cause such anguish and bitterness in India. Desecration of holy places, destruction of monasteries, tortures and killings of monks and lamas, all that the Tibetans value as sacred was violated and as such, the Chinese actions created a sense of personal loss and suffering to the millions of common people in India.

The violation of treaties and agreements and suppression of the peaceful and unarmed people, brought protests from all over the world and a widespread feeling of sympathy was expressed. The Dalai Lama appealed to the U.N. But the appeal to the U.N. got involved into procedural difficulties and

national policies of some states. Many of them repeated the Chinese argument that Tibet was a part of China and expressed their inability to help Tibet in a more concrete manner. All that the U.N. could do was to accept the Malayan and Irish Resolution calling for respect for the fundamental religious and civil rights of the Tibetan people. "We must recognise," said Sir Pearson Dixon, the British Delegate to the U.N., "that it is impossible for us to take measures here to help the people of Tibet."

Mr. Nehru has expressed hopes that the Dalai Lama would be able to return home one day in dignity and in peace. He has, however, no solution to offer. He believes that time and well-meaning words can solve all problems, even the problem of a small nation's right to live in freedom and peace. How futile these hopes are, the events that have followed the occupation of Tibet amply show.

It is difficult to expect any amicable settlement in Tibet within the foreseeable future. A colossal natural fortress has been subdued by Communism throwing wide open the doors to the land mass of Asia. India's acceptance of the Chinese claim that Tibet was an integral part of China and that China had sovereign rights over Tibet can at best be described as a misreading of the rights and obligations the successor Government of India had acquired. What was needed was to understand the basic policies behind these agreements and to realise that in a changed world, agreements of 1904-1914 have to be interpreted in the light of the policy behind such agreements rather than by their words. There was also the fact that the Chinese People's Republic had denounced all the old agreements which the previous Chinese Government had entered into. China claimed not to be bound by any rights and obligations or such commitments which were not in her interests. The British policy concerning Tibet and the agreement entered into as a consequence show that the control by any foreign power over Tibet was detrimental to the security of India. The recognition of Chinese suzerainty was a screen behind which all foreign intrusions into Tibet including that of China had been prevented. National interest therefore demanded that Tibet should remain independent.

Independent India has also asserted the right of all people to self-determination and freedom. India is against imperialism. The concept of suzerainty is imperialist in its origin. Besides, Tibet had declared herself independent and had functioned as such since 1913. What then prevented India from recognising Tibet's independence and extending to Tibet military and diplomatic assistance in 1950? Was it perhaps India's anxiety to avoid war with a powerful neighbour or was it yet an undefined sympathy

for Chinese Communism? It has been often asserted on behalf of the Government of India that it had no alternative but to accept the obligations and continue the policies adopted by British imperialism in India. On the other hand, Mr. Nehru has often expressed his and his Government's admiration for the Chinese. He believes that China's traditional concept of the art of living would lead them to a different path from the Western Communists who dream of world conquest. China and India have always been at peace, he claims. India is today paying the price of that sentimental misreading of history. Large chunks of Indian territory are now being claimed by the Chinese. The security and peace of the whole of South Asia is threatened.

Religion is not only a way of life in Asia, it is also a political force. Though India and much of South Asia came into contact with the West and absorbed the impact of the scientific and industrial age, they have retained the basic spiritual values. Nationalism in Asia reflects the powerful influence of religious emotionalism and men like Gandhi were able to move vast masses of people in defence of religio-political freedom. Tibet, living in isolation, escaped the impact of the industrial revolution and its materialist outlook. Tibet represents the fullest expression of that mysticism and other worldliness of a deeply felt Buddhism.

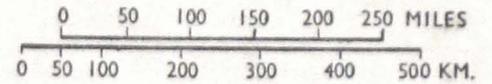
Chinese Buddhism on the other hand turned away from mysticism under the influence of Confucianism and evolved the art of pleasures in worldly life. Under the impact of the West, the Chinese civilisation crumbled. Marxism found an easy acceptance by a society which was mentally and spiritually empty. Marxism is a new faith and the Chinese Communists show all the fanaticism and missionary zeal of new

converts. It is difficult to fight politically against it in Asia, where social and economic changes are direly needed to lift up millions of people from their utter poverty and hunger. Communism can only be met by another living faith which can reveal Communism's political aims and materialistic outlook.

Chinese Communists now have overrun Tibet, a deeply religious country. From 1951 to 1959 China tried to uproot the Tibetan faith and replace it by Communist ideology through education, brain-washing and political compulsion. China, however, failed to transform the loyalty of the Tibetan people to Buddhism and to their Dalai Lama. Only through military conquest and ruthless suppression could they hope to subdue their noble spirit. The Chinese Communists appreciate this fact and are now seeking to seal off Tibet and deprive the people of all hope of assistance in their struggle.

The Chinese attack on Indian territory shows a definite policy, whereby China seeks to undermine the political independence and economic progress in the rest of Asia and thereby dominate the Continent. The softening up of the Indian frontiers will affect small countries like Nepal, Bhutan and others who depend upon the balance of power between China and India for their continued existence and freedom. China may not desire a full-scale war with India in the immediate future, but her present objectives are to consolidate her position in Tibet and to fortify and make it an impregnable spring-board for her future leap southwards. Tibet is ideally situated to dominate the whole of the land mass of Asia. For India, Tibet is the boundary between peace and war, between survival as a free and democratic country and totalitarian domination.

TIBET



- International Boundaries
- Boundaries of Tibet
- Autonomous Region
- Chinese Provincial Boundaries
- Motor Roads
- Land over 9,842 feet

