

TIBETAN SOURCEBOOK

By Ling Nai-min

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UNION RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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INTRODUCTION

The "question of Tibet" was first put before the United Nations in November 1950 — at the time when the forcible entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet had aroused world-wide attention. Unfortunately, it was overshadowed by the Korean War. The Tibet case was therefore shelved at the U.N. It was not until 1959, when the Dalai Lama escaped from Tibet, that the "question of Tibet" was again brought up and formally placed on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly. A wide diversity of opinion has been expressed on this question. It has been regarded as a question of defending human rights; a question of a country's domestic affairs; a question of international disputes; an ideological question; a religious question; a question of national independence; and a question of national autonomy. There is a wide margin of divergence between these viewpoints. Consequently, although the question was discussed, no solution satisfactory to all sides has yet been found.

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There are about 2,700,000 Tibetans in mainland China today. Historically the Tibetan people occupied an unusual position in China. According to the theory of harmony among the five races (Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui, and Tibetan) advocated by Sun Yat-sen, Tibet was regarded as a component part of the Chinese nation. In the past, the rulers of China — most of whom were Han, the race which constituted the overwhelming majority of the population of the Chinese nation — exercised their rule over the national minorities by suppressing or controlling the more important people by means of force or cajolery. They did not interfere directly with the life of the people in general or the social organization. Thus, for a long time, the Tibetans in China preserved their own calendar, had their own spoken and written languages, currency, army, government, and religious belief. They were not forced into assimilation, and the Chinese people in general knew little or nothing about affairs in Tibet.

Most of the Tibetans live in Tibet itself, while the rest live in southwestern Kansu, northwestern Szechwan, and the mountainous areas of Yunnan and Tsinghai. Tibet is a high mountainous region in the heart of Asia. The land, noted for its high mountains and deep valleys, short rivers and strong currents, maintained communications with the hinterland principally by relying on animal power. After the West extended its influence to the East, communications between Tibet and foreign countries were even more convenient than those between Tibet and China proper. The British in India, for example, built a railway leading up to the Tibetan border. However, due to the conservative and exclusionist attitude of the Tibetans, it was not easy for foreigners to obtain permission to travel in Tibet, although improved communications served to increase the number of pilgrims and speed up the transportation of goods. As a result, modern civilization had little effect on backward Tibet.

Most Tibetans are devout believers of Lamaism, which tremendously influences Tibetan society. In Tibet, where governmental power was combined with religious authority, the lamas not only managed religious affairs but also held sway over political, military, judicial and financial affairs. The monasteries, in addition to being places for pilgrimages, were also administrative and educational centres. However, due to historical factors, Lamaism was divided by many factors. The region itself was divided into many administrative districts dominated separately by these factions. Thus this religion, highly respected by all Tibetans, went through an earthly ordeal. Lamaism originated from Buddhism, and its activities are still connected to a certain extent with the Buddhist activities of Burma, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, and India. In religious terms, therefore, Tibet more or less plays a symbolic role of being a nerve centre in this area.

The mountains and topography preclude a sufficiency of arable land. This, together with the constant threat of snowstorms, has kept the country poor. However, its natural resources largely remain untapped, thus provoking the following questions: How much can modern education, science and technology contribute to an improved living standard in the region? Can Tibet be made prosperous and progressive? What is the military and economic value of such a land? What effect may Tibet have on the world situation?

* * *

The material in this monograph covers the period from 1949 to the end of 1962. Editorially, the emphasis is on several major events, such as the signing of the "Agreement Concerning Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet", the establishment of the "Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region", and the circumstances surrounding the escape of the Dalai Lama in 1959. The materials are arranged chronologically, and include "Notes" to chapters and, where necessary, "Notes" to the separate documents.

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* * *

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CHAPTER I

* * *

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS MARCH ON TIBET —1950

Notes to Chapter 1

In 1949, the Chinese Nationalist Army was defeated by the Chinese Communists. In July, the Tibetans, anxious to protect themselves, took various actions in Lhasa¹ while the Chinese Communist forces were still in Central China. The Chinese criticized these actions of the Tibetans, and as the year closed their military forces were poised on the Tibetan borderlands.

In January 1950, the Chinese Communists called a meeting in Peking of Tibetan "democratic personages" to discuss Tibetan problems and to propagandize the Communist nationalities policy as set forth in the "Common Programme" of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In February, the Tibetan local government sent a delegation to India in an attempt to contact the Chinese Communists, but the delegation was unable to proceed beyond India.² In May, Shirob Jaltso, a prominent Buddhist and Vice Chairman of the Tsinghai provincial government, in a broadcast beamed from Sian to Tibet, urged the Tibetans to send a delegation to Peking as soon as possible to start peace negotiations.³ In August, Living Buddha Ke-ta suddenly died in Chamdo, and with that the Communist attempt to send pro-Communist Tibetans to Tibet ended in failure. At about the same time, the Tibetan local government delegation in India finally succeeded in contacting the Chinese Communists in New Delhi, where the Chinese had just established an embassy. By that time, however, the Communists had already completed preparations for their invasion of Tibet. Thus in October 1950—almost simultaneously with their entry into the Korean War—the Chinese began the military conquest of Tibet.

Notes to Document 1

About 40,000 men under the command of Chang Kuo-hua marched on Tibet in October 1950. They crossed the Chinsha, Nu, and Lantsang Rivers at several points and attacked Chamdo.⁴ Local Tibetan troops, numbering about 8,000, met the Communists but were defeated. On October 19, the Communists took Chamdo by storm. Exploiting their victory, the Communists continued to advance and met with no further serious resistance. Due to the poor communications in Tibet, however, they had great difficulty in supplying their expeditionary forces in Tibet and, as a result, their advance into Tibet was slow.

Document 1

[Military Communique on Entry of Chinese Army into Tibet]
(New China News Agency, November 8, 1950, from
Jen-min Shou-ts'e, 1951, p. *wu*-25.)

The Southwest Military Command of the People's Liberation Army issued the following communique on the military expedition into Tibet and details of the result of the battle for the Liberation of Chamdo:

(A) The battle began on October 7 and was concluded on October 15 after a total of twenty engagements. The enemies who were annihilated included Ngapo Kaloon; the whole of the 3rd and the 8th *taipen** (the 3rd *taipen* consisted of the two *taipens* of Ka-ch'iung-pa and Mou-hsia); parts or large parts of the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, and 10th *taipen*; and 2,000 "militiamen". The 9th *taipen* was persuaded to come over to our side. A total of 5,738 enemy troops were liquidated, namely:

(1) 180 enemy troops killed or wounded.

(2) Captured: 501 officers and men of the regular army of the enemy and 393 militiamen, including To-tung Tseng-ssu, *Fi-t'u* commander-in-chief of the "militia" and concurrently magistrate of

* *Taipen* is a term used interchangeably to mean either a military unit approximately the size of a battalion or the commanders of this unit.

Tsokung *hsien* (who was seriously wounded and subsequently died). Also captured: Pu-erh, an Englishman in the Tibetan army; Ford, the chief of the Chamdo radio station; and Sha-no-to-chi and Sha-no-p'eng-ts'o, the Indian radio operators. Total number of prisoners taken: 898.

(3) Surrendered enemy troops including 2,317 officers and men of the regular army and 2,000 "militiamen", totalled 4,317 men. Among the enemy officers who surrendered were the following senior officers: Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, *Kaloon* and concurrently governor of Chamdo (3rd Class); K'an-ch'ieh Ch'u-yun, vica-governor (4th Class); K'an-ling T'u-teng-jo, vice-governor (4th Class); Tsə-cheng Lo-sang Chieh-Ts'un, Secretary-General (5th Class); Ka-chia Ts'o-ko-keng Teng-chu, an adjutant (4th Class); Lieh-ts'un Lo-sang Chueh-ting, an adjutant (5th Class); 3rd *taipen* Mou-hsia I-yu Lo-pen, 3rd *taipen* Ka-ch'iuung-pa I-jen Tai-chu, 8th *taipen* Chia-jih Sung-na Wang-ch'u, 10th *taipen* Hsia-chieng Hsi-pa-ngo Yu-chieh-chen (all these *taipen* were of the 4th Class); Transport officer Ch'e-la-chi; logistics officer Chiang-ch'e Feng-ch'u; Huo-ta, commander-in-chief of the "militia" of Chasya; Hsieh-ta-lao-sung; a total of twenty-two officers. In addition, Shih-lang To-chi and seven other battalion-level cadres (*jupen*), seventeen company-level cadres (*chiapen*), and eighty-five platoon-level cadres (*tingpen*) also surrendered.

(4) 343 men of the 9th *taipen* under Ke-sang Wang t'ang came over to our side (including two battalion-level cadres, two company-level cadres, and thirteen platoon-level cadres).

(B) Captured: 3 mountain guns, 7 heavy machine-guns, 45 light machine-guns, 2,969 pieces of long and short firearms (including 2,578 pieces made by the British), 271 muskets, 174 guns of other descriptions, two tommy guns, two radio stations, two electric chargers, one radio set, and a quantity of ammunition and other military supplies.

Routed and scattered enemy troops in various places are continuing to surrender to us.⁵

Document 2

[General Conditions in Tibet]

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 23, 1950)

The armed forces of Tibet: There were no regular forces in Tibet in the Ch'ing Dynasty before the 57th year of Ch'ien Lung, when the number of troops was fixed at 5,165. After the Manchu regime lost control of Tibet and in the early years of the Republic, Tibet began to set up its own modern army. Before 1946, the Tibetan Army was composed of 13 *taipen* of infantry, cavalry, and artillery troops (a *taipen* was nominally equal to a regiment but in reality was equal to a battalion, as there were only 500 or 600 men in each *taipen*), estimated at about 8,000 men. A report in the *Burma Times* of July this year stated that the Tibetan regular army numbered about 12,000 men. In reality there could not have been so many because according to a recent report (dated October 30) from Calcutta, the Tibetans in India claimed that Tibet had 14 *taipen* of troops, with about 500 men in each *taipen*, a total of 7,000 men. Chia-lo Lai-chu, the Dalai Lama's brother who recently went to Taiwan to carry out activities, told reporters in Taiwan on November 4, 1950, "We have only 8,000 militiamen." It may therefore be concluded that Tibet's official armed forces numbered only about 8,000 men. Even if they had increased following our march into Tibet, they could not have numbered more than 10,000 to 12,000 men. Of course there may be reserves, numbering between 10,000 and 20,000, but most of these would be unarmed. Privately owned firearms held by the civilian population in Tibet numbered about 10,000 pieces.

The equipment of the Tibetan army as mentioned in the statistics of the bogus Nationalist Defence Ministry in 1949 showed that there was a total of 40 machine-guns, 20 trench mortars, 20 field pieces, 6 mountain guns, 10 infantry canons, and about 30,000 infantry rifles in Tibet including those stored in arsenals (most of the guns were antiquated, and some were already unserviceable). The quantity may actually be larger, since even the Tibetan "delegation" in India did not deny that "Tibet had in fact bought arms from India." (See Agence France Presse report datelined Paris, June 4, 1950, quoting an Indian broadcast.)

Organization of the Tibetan Army: (1) "Ma-chi-k'ang", the

Defence Bureau directly under the Kashag, is the highest military organ in Tibet and has jurisdiction over all the armed forces of Tibet. There are four "*ma-chi*" (meaning commanders-in-chief, Class 3). There was only one "*ma-chi*" before 1947 when the number was increased to four. (2) "*Tai*", equivalent to a regiment, is the highest unit in the Tibetan army. Each "*tai*" is commanded by two "*taipen*" (equivalent to a regimental commander, Class 4). The designation of the regiments is arranged in the order of the Tibetan alphabet of thirty letters. (3) "*Ju*", equivalent to a battalion, is commanded by one "*jupen*" (equivalent to a battalion commander, Class 5). (4) "*Chia*", equivalent to a company, is commanded by one "*chiapen*" (equivalent to a company commander, Class 6). (5) "*Ting*", equivalent to a platoon, is commanded by one "*tingpen*" (equivalent to a platoon commander, Class 7). (6) "*Chiu*", equivalent to a section, is commanded by one "*chiupen*" (equivalent to a section commander). The section is the most basic organization.

The Tibetan army is poorly trained. In 1918 the "Tibetan government" set up a "*Chung-cha-ma-ka*" (a training corps for the nobility), which was completely under the supervision of men sent out by the British imperialists. After the death of the 13th Dalai Lama [December 1933], the "*Chung-cha-ma-ka*" ceased to exist. The British imperialists then set up an officers training corps in Gyantse to train officers for the Tibetan army. Quite a number of the sons of the Tibetan nobility were sent to England or India for their military training. Discipline in the Tibetan army is very bad. The troops often extort money from the people. However, their morale is high in attack. They rush forward in swarms as soon as they are ordered to attack, but they are easily routed when they meet a setback.

After the Communists were victorious at Chamdo on October 19, 1950, the CCP Southwest Bureau, the Southwest Military Region Command, and the 2nd Field Army jointly issued a Political Mobilization Directive in connection with the military expedition into Tibet. This directed that the Communist expeditionary forces in Tibet adopt a moderate attitude in order to dispel the fears and suspicions of the Tibetans. A proclamation was also jointly issued by the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee and the Southwest Military Region Command concerning various policies connected with the expedition into Tibet, and offering the Tibetans allegedly magnanimous treatment. In December of the same year, however, the Dalai Lama left Lhasa and took refuge in Yatung, apparently having no faith in these pronouncements.⁶

Document 3

Southwest Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, Southwest Military Region Command, and Command Headquarters of the 2nd Field Army Jointly Issue Political Mobilization Directive on the Military Expedition into Tibet.

(NCNA, Peking, November 1, 1950, from *Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao*, Vol. 3, No. 1, November, 1950)

To liberate our brothers in Tibet from imperialist oppression, and to consolidate the defences on the western frontiers of the motherland, the Southwest Bureau of the CCP Central Committee, the Southwest Military Region Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and the Command Headquarters of the 2nd Field Army have jointly issued a political mobilization directive to the armed forces who were ordered to march into Tibet.

After congratulating the honourable people's soldiers who are driving toward the frontiers of the motherland, the mobilization directive points out:

The task of marching into Tibet to liberate the Tibetan people, to complete the important mission of unifying the motherland, to prevent imperialism from encroaching on even one inch of our

sovereign territory, and to protect and build the frontiers of the motherland is an extremely glorious one.

The mobilization directive calls upon all officers and men and all Communist Party members of the expeditionary forces in Tibet to demonstrate their infinite loyalty to the revolutionary cause, to understand profoundly the great political significance of the expedition into Tibet, to prepare themselves ideologically and organizationally, and in their work to demonstrate the glorious traditions of bravery, indomitability, and ability of the people's armed forces under difficult conditions; and the spirit of class fraternity, unity, and mutual assistance, and to fulfill resolutely the task of the military expedition into Tibet.

The mobilization directive calls upon the expeditionary forces to unite themselves closely with their brethren in Sikang and Tibet to carry out faithfully and correctly the nationalities policy laid down in the Common Programme, strictly observe the three major rules of discipline, the eight points for attention, and the eight-point contract,⁷ to carry out intensive investigation, research, and propaganda work, learn the local language, understand the way of life of the local people, show concern for the sufferings of the local people, and help them actively to free themselves from their sufferings and difficulties.

Finally, the mobilization directive calls upon every officer and man to establish the idea and determination of the long-term reconstruction of Tibet; to take every care in their march forward to preserve and save manpower and materials; actively repair and build roads to develop communications and transportation; immediately after the cessation of military action, vigorously develop economic and cultural construction in Tibet; and, together with the Tibetan people, build a democratic, prosperous, new Tibet, so that the flowers of freedom, happiness, and civilization may bloom everywhere in this frontier region of the motherland.

Document 4

Southwest Military and Administrative Committee and Southwest Military Region Command Issue Notice on Various Policies Connected with the Military Expedition into Tibet.

(NCNA, Chungking, November 10, 1950, from *Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao*, Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1950)

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government and Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh of the People's Liberation Army are deeply concerned about the prolonged oppression of the Tibetan people by British and American imperialism and by Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government and have accordingly ordered our Army to move into Tibet to help the Tibetan people shake off this oppression forever.

All the religious bodies and people of our Tibet should immediately unite to give the People's Liberation Army every possible assistance, so that the imperialist influence may be driven out and allow the national regional autonomy in Tibet to be realized; fraternal relationships of friendliness and mutual aid may be established with other nationalities in the country, so that a new Tibet within the new China may be built up with their help.

Now that the People's Liberation Army has entered Tibet, they will protect the lives and property of all the religious bodies and people, protect the freedom of religious belief for all the people of Tibet, protect all lamaseries and temples, and help the Tibetan people to develop their education, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, and commerce, so as to improve the livelihood of the people.

The existing political system and military system in Tibet will not be changed. The existing armed forces of Tibet will become part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China. All members of the religious bodies of all classes, government official, and headmen will perform their duties as usual. All matters concerning reform of any kind in Tibet will be settled completely in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people and through consultation between the Tibetan people and the leadership personnel in Tibet. Government officials who were formerly pro-imperialism and pro-Kuomintang will remain at their posts and no action will

be taken concerning their past actions, provided that subsequent facts prove that they have severed relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang, and that they do not carry out acts of sabotage and resistance.

The People's Liberation Army vigorously maintains its discipline and will faithfully carry out the above mentioned policies of the Central People's Government. It will respect the religion and customs and habits of the Tibetan people, be gentle in speech, buy and sell fairly, not take a single needle or piece of thread from the people without permission, only requisition furniture with the consent of the owners and pay compensation at the market price for any damage done, pay an adequate price for the services of the men and animals it employs, and will not press people into service or seize animals. The People's Liberation Army, being the armed forces of the people of all the nationalities of China, is whole-heartedly devoted to the service of the people.

It is hoped that our Tibetan peasants, herdsmen, workers, and traders and all other people will, without exception, live in peace and follow their pursuits happily. They must not believe lightly in rumours or disturb and frighten themselves. This is an earnest and true proclamation.

Notes to Document 5

Simultaneous with the Chinese military expedition into Tibet, various messages were exchanged between the Chinese Communist and Indian Governments. The Indians were clearly disturbed by the invasion of Tibet, and just as clearly the Chinese brushed aside the Indian protestations.

Document 5

[*Exchange of Correspondence between China and India—October-November 1950*]

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, November, 17, 1950)

Memorandum on the Problem of Tibet by the Government of the Republic of India, Delivered by the Indian Ambassador on October 21, 1950

Since the Central People's Government fully understands the views of the Indian Government on the adjustment of relations between China and Tibet, it is not necessary to repeat that the concern of the Indian Government is confined only to the hope that this problem will be solved peaceably. My Government is also aware that the Central People's Government has always pursued a policy of negotiation with the Tibetan authorities. But there is information that certain military action has already been, or will soon be, taken.

The Indian Government wishes to point out that taking military action against Tibet at present will give those countries which are not friendly towards China a pretext for anti-Chinese propaganda at this moment of tense and delicate international affairs. The Central People's Government is probably aware that opinion in the United Nations is definitely inclined towards acceptance of China's application to join the organization before the conclusion of the current General Assembly. The Indian Government thinks that taking military action on the eve of the decision by the General Assembly will induce serious consequences and will give powerful support to those countries which oppose the entry of the People's Government into the United Nations and its Security Council.

At the present moment, when the international situation is so delicate, any action that may be interpreted as a disturbance of the peace will be prejudicial to China's position in the minds of the people of the world. The Indian Government is convinced that recognition of the position of the People's Republic of China and its participation in the work of the United Nations is an important condition for restoring a peaceful atmosphere. They think that at present, any incautious action against a certain matter, even if that matter is within its own sphere, will be exploited by countries unfriendly to China for the purpose of distorting the China problem in the United Nations and before neutral opinion. The Indian Government thinks it very important to settle the question of China's representation in the international organization and has consistently been doing its best to obtain a satisfactory settlement to this question. The Indian Government thinks that if, because of China's military action in Tibet, an opportunity to distort China's peaceful aims is given to those countries opposed to China's entry into the United Nations, then China's position will be weakened.

The Indian Government considers the time factor extremely important. In Tibet, there will probably be no important (or serious) military resistance. Therefore, any delay in the settlement of the question of Tibet will affect neither China's interests nor certain suitable measures for final settlement. As we have stated before, the concern of the Indian Government over this matter is only the hope that acceptance of the People's Government as a member of the United Nations will not be further delayed because of certain causes the occurrence of which can be prevented, and that if possible, a peaceful settlement should be made. Military action will induce unrest and disturbance along its frontiers.

Indian Note, October 28, 1950

We have seen with great regret the report in the newspapers of an official statement made in Peking to the effect that "People's Army units have been ordered to advance into Tibet."

We have received no intimation of this from your Ambassador here or from our Ambassador in Peking.

We have been repeatedly assured of the desire of the Chinese Government to settle the Tibetan problem by peaceful means and

negotiation. In an interview which our Ambassador recently had with [China's] Vice-Foreign Minister, the latter, while reiterating the resolve of the Chinese Government to 'liberate' Tibet had expressed the continued desire to do so by peaceful means.

We have informed the Chinese Government through our Ambassador of the decision of the Tibetan delegation to proceed to Peking immediately to start negotiations. This delegation actually left Delhi yesterday. In view of these facts the decision to order Chinese troops to advance into Tibet appears to us most surprising and regrettable.

We realise that the Tibetan delegation has been delayed from proceeding to Peking. This delay was caused in the first instance by their inability to obtain visas for Hong Kong, but the delegation can in no way be held responsible for this.

Subsequently the delegation returned to Delhi because of the wish of the Chinese Government that preliminary negotiations should first be conducted in Delhi with the Chinese Ambassador.

Owing to the lack of knowledge on the part of the Tibetan delegation on how to deal with other countries and the necessity of obtaining instructions from their Government, who in turn had to consult their assemblies, certain further delays took place.

The Government of India does not believe that any foreign influences hostile to China have been responsible for the delay in departure of this delegation.

Now that the invasion of Tibet has been ordered by the Chinese Government, peaceful negotiations can hardly be synchronised with it, and there naturally will be fear on the part of Tibetans that the negotiations will be held under duress. In the present context of world events the invasion of Tibet by Chinese troops can only be regarded as deplorable and in the considered judgement of the Government of India, not in the interests of China or of peace.

The Government of India can only express their deep regret that in spite of the friendly disinterested advice repeatedly tendered by them, the Chinese Government should have decided to seek the solution of the problem of their relations with Tibet by force instead of by the slower and more enduring method of peaceful approaches.

[*Chinese reply, October 30, 1950*]

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China would like to make it clear:

Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory. The problem of Tibet is entirely the domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people and defend the frontiers of China. This is the resolved policy of the Central People's Government.

The Central People's Government has repeatedly expressed the hope that the problem of Tibet may be solved by peaceful negotiations and it welcomes, therefore, the delegation of local authorities from Tibet to visit Peking at an early date to proceed with peaceful negotiations.

However, the Tibetan delegation, through external instigation, has intentionally delayed the date of its departure for Peking. Nevertheless, the Central People's Government has not abandoned its desire to proceed with peaceful negotiations.

But regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peaceful negotiations and whatever results may be achieved by negotiations, the problem of Tibet remains a domestic problem of the People's Republic of China and no foreign interference will be tolerated. The particular problem of Tibet and the problem of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are two entirely separate problems.

Therefore, with regard to the viewpoint of the Government of India on what it regards as deplorable, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can only consider it as having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet and therefore expresses its deep regret.

[*Second Indian note, November 1, 1950*]

India's Ambassador in Peking has transmitted to the Government of India a note handed to him by the Vice-Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China on October 30. The Government of India have read with amazement the statement in the last paragraph of the Chinese Government's reply that the Government of India's representation to them was affected by foreign influences hostile

to China and categorically repudiates it.

At no time has any foreign influence been brought to bear upon India with regard to Tibet. In this, as in other matters, the Government of India's policy has been entirely independent and directed solely towards the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the avoidance of anything calculated to increase the present deplorable tension in the world.

The Government of China is equally mistaken in thinking the Tibetan delegation's departure for Peking was delayed by external instigation. In previous communications, the Government of India have explained at some length the reasons why the Tibetan delegation could not proceed to Peking earlier. They are convinced that there was no possibility of foreign instigation.

It is with no desire to interfere or gain advantage that the Government of India have sought earnestly that a settlement of the Tibetan problem should be effected by peaceful negotiations adjusting the legitimate Tibetan claim to autonomy within the framework of Chinese suzerainty. Tibetan autonomy is a fact which, judging from reports they have received from other sources, the Chinese Government were themselves willing to recognize and foster.

The Government of India's repeated suggestions that Chinese suzerainty [over Tibet] and Tibetan autonomy should be reconciled by peaceful negotiations was not, as the Chinese Government seems to suggest, unwarranted interference in China's internal affairs, but well-meant advice by a friendly government which has a natural interest in the solution of problems concerning its neighbours by peaceful methods.

Wedded as they are to the ways of peace, the Government of India had been gratified to learn that the Chinese Government were also desirous of effecting a settlement in Tibet through peaceful negotiations. Because of this the Government suggested sending their delegation to Peking, and were glad that this advice was accepted in the interchange of communications which had taken place between the Government of India and the Government of China, and the former had received repeated assurances that a peaceful settlement was the goal.

In the circumstances, the surprise of the Government of India was all the greater when it learned that military operations had been undertaken by the Chinese Government against peaceful people.

There has been no allegation of any provocation, or any report on non-peaceful methods on the part of the Tibetans. Hence there was no justification whatever for such military operations against them. Such a step, involving an attempt to impose a decision by force, can not possibly be reconciled with a peaceful settlement. In view of these developments the Government of India is no longer in a position to advise the Tibetan delegation to proceed to Peking unless the Chinese Government thinks it fit to order its troops to halt their advance into Tibet and thus provide a chance for peaceful negotiations.

Every step that the Government of India has taken in recent months has been to check the drift towards war all over the world. In so doing they have often been misunderstood and criticised, but they have adhered to their policy regardless of the displeasure of great nations. They cannot help thinking that the military operations of the Chinese Government against Tibet have greatly added to the tensions of the world and to the drift towards general war, which they are sure the Government of China also wishes to avoid.

The Government of India has repeatedly made it clear that they have no political or territorial ambitions towards Tibet and do not seek any novel privileged position for themselves or for their nationals in Tibet. At the same time, they pointed out, that certain rights have grown out of usage and agreements which are natural between neighbours with close cultural and commercial relations.

These relations have found expression in the presence of an agent of the Government of India in Lhasa, the existence of trade agencies at Gyantse and Yatung and the maintenance of post and telegraph offices along the road route up to Gyantse over the last forty years. The Government of India is anxious that these establishments, which are to the mutual interest of India and Tibet and do not detract in any way from Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, should continue. The personnel at the Lhasa mission and the agencies at Gyantse and Yatung accordingly have been instructed to remain at their posts.

It has been the basic policy of the Government of India to work for friendly relations between India and China, both countries recognizing each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and mutual interests.

Recent developments in Tibet have affected these friendly

relations and the interests of peace all over the world; this the Government of India deeply regrets.

In conclusion, the Government of India can only express its earnest hope that the Chinese Government will still prefer the method of peaceful negotiation and settlement to a solution obtained under duress and by force.

[Chinese reply, November 16, 1950]

On November 1, 1950, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China received from His Excellency Ambassador Panikkar a communication from the Government of the Republic of India on the problem of Tibet.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in its past communications with the Government of the Republic of India on the problem of Tibet, has repeatedly made it clear that Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory and that the problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people and defend the frontiers of China. This is the firm policy of the Chinese Government. According to the provisions of the Common Programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the relative autonomy granted by the Chinese Government to national minorities inside the country is an autonomy within the confines of Chinese sovereignty.

This point was recognized by the Indian Government in its aide memoire to the Chinese Government dated August 28 this year. However, when the Chinese Government actually exercised its sovereign rights, and began to liberate the Tibetan people and drive out the foreign forces and influences in order to ensure that the Tibetan people would be free from aggression and would realize regional autonomy and religious freedom, the Indian Government attempted to influence and obstruct the exercise of its sovereign rights in Tibet by the Chinese Government. This only causes great surprise to the Chinese Government.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China sincerely hopes that the Chinese People's Liberation Army may enter Tibet peacefully to perform the sacred task of liberating the Tibetan people and defending the frontiers of China. Therefore,

it long ago welcomed the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet which still remains in India to come to Peking at an early date to proceed with peace negotiations. Yet the said delegation, obviously as a result of continued external obstruction, has delayed its departure for Peking. Further, taking advantage of the delay in starting negotiations, the local authorities of Tibet have deployed strong armed forces at Chamdo, in Sikang Province and in the interior of China, in an attempt to prevent the Chinese People's Liberation Army from liberating Tibet.

On August 31, 1950, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Indian Government through Ambassador Panikkar that the Chinese People's Liberation Army was going to take action soon in west Sikang according to set plans, and expressed the hope that the Indian Government would assist the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet so that it might arrive in Peking in mid-September to begin peace negotiations. In early and mid September, the Chinese Charge d'Affairs, Shen Chien, and later Ambassador Yüan Chung-hsien, both in person, told the said delegation that it was imperative that it should hasten to Peking before the end of September, otherwise the said delegation should bear the consequences and be responsible for all the subsequent events resulting from the delay.

In mid-October, Chinese Ambassador Yüan again informed the Indian Government of this. Yet still owing to external instigation, the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet fabricated various pretexts and remained in India.

Although the Chinese Government has not given up its desire of settling the problem of Tibet peacefully, it can no longer continue to put off the set plan of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to proceed to Tibet. The Liberation of Chamdo further proved that through the instrument of Tibetan troops, foreign forces and influences were obstructing the peaceful settlement of the problem of Tibet. But regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peace negotiations, and regardless of whatever results may be achieved by negotiations, no foreign intervention will be permitted. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the liberation of the Tibetan people are also decided.

In showing its friendship towards the Government of the Republic of India, and in understanding the desire of the Indian

Government to see the problem of Tibet settled peacefully, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has kept the Indian Government informed of its efforts in this direction. What the Chinese Government can only deeply regret is that the Indian Government, in disregard of the facts, has regarded a domestic problem of the Chinese Government—the exercise of its sovereign rights in Tibet—as an international dispute calculated to increase the present deplorable tension in the world.

The Government of the Republic of India has repeatedly expressed its desire to develop Sino-Indian friendship on the basis of mutual respect for territory, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and of preventing the world from going to war. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is exactly aimed at protecting the integrity of the sovereignty of China. And it is on these questions that all those countries who desire to respect the territory and the sovereignty of China should first of all indicate their real attitude towards China.

In the meantime, we consider that what is now threatening the independence of nations and world peace is precisely the forces of those imperialist aggressors. For the sake of maintaining national independence and defending world peace, it is necessary to resist the forces of these imperialist aggressors. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is thus an important measure towards maintaining Chinese independence, to preventing the imperialist aggressors from dragging the world towards war, and to defending world peace.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China welcomes the renewed declaration of the Indian Government that it has no political or territorial ambitions towards China's Tibet and that it does not seek any new privileged position. As long as our sides adhere strictly to the principle of mutual respect for territory, sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefit, we are convinced that the friendship between China and India should be developed in a normal way, and that problems relating to Sino-Indian diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with respect to Tibet may be solved properly and to our mutual benefit through normal diplomatic channels.

CHAPTER II

* * *

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND TIBETAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT REACH PEACE AGREEMENT—1951

Notes to Chapter 2

On April 22, 1951, the Local Government of Tibet sent another delegation, led by Ngapo Ngawang Jigme¹, to Peking via Chungking. This delegation, together with the other delegation which had been delayed in India but which finally arrived in Peking via Hong Kong on the 26th of the same month, began negotiations with the Chinese Communists on April 29, 1951 for the "Peaceful Liberation of Tibet." The talks were concluded on May 21. On May 23, on behalf of the Tibetan Local Government, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme signed the "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet."

Document 6

[Agreement between Peking Government and Local Tibetan Government on the "Peaceful Liberation" of Tibet]

(NCNA, English, Peking, May 27, 1951)

The full text of the "Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" reads as follows:

The Tibetan nationality is one of the many nationalities which has a long history within the boundaries of China and, like many other nationalities, it has done its glorious duty in the course of the creation and development of the great motherland. But over the last

hundred years and more, imperialist forces have penetrated into China, and in consequence, also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations. Like previous reactionary governments, the KMT reactionary government continued to carry out a policy of oppression and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan people. The Local Government of Tibet did not oppose imperialist deception and provocations, but adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards the great motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan nationality and people were plunged into the depths of enslavement and suffering. In 1949, basic victory was achieved on a nation-wide scale in the Chinese people's war of liberation; the common domestic enemy of all nationalities—the KMT reactionary government—was overthrown; and the common foreign enemy of all nationalities—the aggressive imperialist forces—was driven out. On this basis, the founding of the People's Republic of China and of the Central People's Government was announced. In accordance with the Common Programme passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Central People's Government declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal, and that they will establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China may become one big family of fraternity and cooperation, composed of all its nationalities. Within this big family of nationalities of the People's Republic of China, national regional autonomy is to be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated, and all national minorities are to have freedom to develop their spoken and written language and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs, and the Central People's Government will assist all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work. Since then, all nationalities within the country, with the exception of those in the areas of Tibet and Taiwan, have gained their liberation. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the direct leadership of the higher levels of People's Governments, all national minorities have fully enjoyed the right of national equality and have exercised, or are exercising, national regional autonomy. In order that the influences of the aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet may be successfully

eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished, and national defence safeguarded; in order that the Tibetan nationality and people may be freed and return to the big family of the People's Republic of China to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all the other nationalities in the country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, the Central People's Government, when it ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the local government of Tibet to send delegates to the Central Authorities to hold talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. At the latter part of April, 1951, the delegates with full powers from the Local Government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates of the Local Government of Tibet. The result of the talks is that both parties have agreed to establish this agreement and ensure that it be carried into effect.

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

2. The Local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defences.

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

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

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

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni is meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Ngoerhtehni when they were in friendly and amicable

relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will be protected. The Central Authorities will not effect any change in the income of the monasteries.

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

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

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

11. In matters relating to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the Central Authorities. The Local Government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they must be settled through consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

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

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

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

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

part in the work. Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the Local Government of Tibet, various district and various principal monasteries; the namelist is to be prepared after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and various quarters concerned, and is to be submitted to the Central People's Government for approval.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet will be provided by the Central People's Government. The Local Government of Tibet should assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchases and transportation of food, fodder and other daily necessities.

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

Signed and sealed by delegates of the Central People's Government with full powers:

Chief delegate: Li Wei-han

Delegates: Chang Ching-wu, Chang Kuo-hua, Sun Chih-yüan

Delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet:

Chief delegate: Kaloön Ngabou Ngawang Jigme

Delegates: Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdi, Khentrung Thupten Tenthar, Khenchung Thupten Lekmuun, Rimshi Samposey Tenzin Thundup

Peking, May 23, 1951

CHAPTER III

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AFTER SIGNING THE "PEACE AGREEMENT" — 1951-1956

Notes to Chapter III

After signing the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet in 1951, Chang Ching-wu, the Central People's Government Representative in Tibet, went to Tibet in July of the same year. At that time, the Dalai Lama (then only a youth of 16) was still at Yatung. Chang Ching-wu went to Yatung and persuaded him to return to Lhasa.¹ In September, under the pretext of carrying out the Agreement, the Communist forces began to march further into Tibet to take over important points.² In December, some 200 officials of the "Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee" (the government organization under the Panchen Lama) left Tsinghai for Lhasa under the protection of the Chinese Communists and the 14-year old Panchen Erdeni also returned to Tibet from Tsinghai.³

In February, 1952, the Chinese Communists set up the Military District of Tibet.⁴ In April, they experimented with agrarian reform, causing the resistance of the people of Tibet. The Chinese Communists arrested Su-ts'ao Lu-k'ang-wa an important official under the Dalai Lama, and put him in prison.⁵ In August, the Chinese Communists announced the "General Programme for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy" and set up national autonomous areas in the minority nationality districts and carried out "reforms."⁶ In October, Mao Tse-tung received the "Tibetan Delegation" in Peking and stated that local opinion in Tibet would be respected. At that time cases of resistance were occurring among the Tibetan nationality in other provinces, and the Communists probably feared that the situation might get out of control.⁷

In April 1954, the "Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between China and India in the Tibet Region of China" was signed. The Korean war was over and the Chinese Communists were anxious to win the friendship of neutral nations. In September, escorted by Chang Ching-wu, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni left for Peking to attend the First Meeting of the First National People's Congress.

In March 1955, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, then still in Peking, attended the 7th Plenary Meeting of the State Council, at which three resolutions were adopted concerning work in Tibet. After the meeting, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni returned to Tibet. When the Dalai Lama entered Tibet via Szechuan, the people of K'angpa started to resist the Chinese Communists.^a

Following are documents from the period after the signing of the Agreement between the central authorities and the Tibetans to before the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet in April 1956.

A. Tibetan Resistance

Notes to Documents 7-8

Following the "liberation" of Tibet, Chinese Communists avoided publicity regarding any incidents of resistance by the Tibetans. Yet such resistance actually existed, as is evident in Documents 7 and 8.

Document 7

Summary of Basic Experience in Promoting Regional Autonomy Among Minority Nationalities

—a resolution adopted at the 3rd (enlarged) session of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government, June 15, 1953.

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, September 9, 1953)

During the past three years, much experience has been gained in promoting the work of regional autonomy among the minority nationalities. These are the most basic experiences:

(1) Full account must be taken of every aspect of work concerning the special traits and concrete conditions of the different nationalities. The minority nationalities differ from the Han people in politics, economics, culture, religious convictions and customs. Differences exist, too, between the various minorities, and even between the tribes and religious sections within a minority nationality and between the agricultural and nomadic areas. Therefore, work among the various minority nationalities must start from the concrete conditions of such nationalities. The special characteristics of each minority nationality must be fully considered and the concrete conditions of every tribe must be given special attention when the

national autonomous policy is put into practice. The method and experience used and gained in the Han nationality region must not be mechanically applied to the minority regions. This we must bear in mind when work is contemplated in regions where autonomy is to be introduced or where it has already been introduced. Article 31 of the General Programme for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy of the Central People's Government stipulates: "The upper-level government should take full account of the characteristics and concrete conditions in the current stage of development of the various minority nationalities areas, so that the directives and orders it issues will conform with the general line of the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee and with such characteristics and concrete conditions." Experience from various places proves that when work is done according to the principle stipulated above, the necessary results are achieved and support is received from the minority nationalities. For instance, when the Tibetan Nationality Autonomous *Ch'u* in Sikang Province and that in Yüshu in Tsinghai Province were established, the principle followed was that the political, economic, cultural and religious characteristics of these districts were fully considered and unity was achieved with all leaders (including those in religious circles) who maintained good relations with the people. The result was that the broad masses of people rallied round the people's government of the autonomous *Ch'u* and social order was quickly established and the work of setting up autonomy was well accomplished.

Conversely, due to the lack of sufficient knowledge about the social characteristics of the minority nationalities and the erroneous application of the measures adopted for land reform in the Han nationality region, dissatisfaction was caused among certain minority nationalities, resulting in confusion for a while and damage to the work of regional autonomy.

As present conditions show that disregard for the special characteristics and concrete conditions of the minority nationalities and the mechanical application of the experience and methods gained and employed in Han nationality areas is a sign not just limited to a few minority nationalities districts but is rather widespread. Certain upper-level people's governments, irrespective of the local conditions existing in various places, have issued directives and orders common to all, thus damaging the work of regional

autonomy. This state of affairs merits the attention of the localities concerned and steps should be taken to prevent and rectify it.

On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the mechanical application of the experiences of the advanced nationalities and areas which disregard the actual and historical conditions is, of course, incorrect and must be opposed. But we have no objection if such experience is appropriately applied as local and historical conditions permit. As Article 34 of the General Programme for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy stipulates: "The upper-level people's government should, by adopting the appropriate form, introduce the advanced experiences and conditions concerning political, economic and cultural construction to the people of the various national autonomous districts." Experience shows that to learn and apply properly, as local and historical conditions require, advanced experience is necessary for the smooth progress and development of the various national autonomous regions. The idea and method of rejecting the advanced experiences and thus restricting one's own progress is harmful to the progress and development of the minority nationalities and the autonomous regions and must be properly corrected through persuasion.

(2) Unity must be further strengthened and consolidated both between and within the various nationalities. This is a prerequisite for regional autonomy and one of the aims of regional autonomy.

With the abolition of oppressive rule and the implementation of the policy of national equality, China's various nationalities, over the past three years, have been living in a unity unknown in the country before. In some places, the misunderstandings created by history among the various nationalities have been virtually wiped out, but in some places such misunderstandings still exist or have not yet been completely removed. The remaining influences of great nationalism or great Han-ism have been mainly responsible for the misunderstandings which still exist in many places. Of course, narrow nationalism or the remaining influences of narrow nationalism must not be overlooked. The same is true of the great nationalism that exists among some of the minority nationalities. Nationally, great Han-ism poses the principal threat in present national relationships.

The effective method of overcoming the trend towards great nationalism and the trend towards narrow nationalism is for all

nationalities to follow the principle of Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen education concerning patriotism and internationalism and educational policy, and to practise self-criticism. At the moment, it is most essential to educate the Han nationality cadres and people and lead them to carry out self-criticism in order to overcome great Han-ism and the remaining influences of great Han-ism. Great Han-ism, in essence, is an expression of the bourgeois thought of national relations. The bourgeois thought, particularly great Han-ism, must first be overcome in our nationalities work before national equality can be truly realized and the various minority nationalities effectively helped to overcome all sorts of narrow nationalism.

In the Tibetan Nationality Autonomous *Ch'u* and other nationalities districts, credit is due to the initiative of the Han nationality cadres for thoroughly discussing and re-examining, in the form of self-criticism, the thought and work style of great Han-ism; the minority nationalities cadres, deeply moved, voluntarily criticized their thoughts of narrow nationalism and asked the Han nationality cadres to help them to find the way to progress. By so doing, mutual trust took a step forward among the nationalities, and their unity increased; this led to a new development in the work of regional autonomy. Such experience is worth learning.

In the course of setting up regional autonomy, disharmony between nationalities is particularly pronounced. In certain districts, some of the minority nationalities thought that after the realization of regional autonomy, they could live separately from the Hans and get along without the Han people, while the people of the Han nationality feared that they would be "bullied or become a minority nationality" and some of them even planned to leave the region. Other minority nationalities had misgivings that after the enforcement of regional autonomy they would be discriminated against and would be unfairly treated and they began to worry. The leadership organs and personnel of the districts concerned must foresee these conditions. During the preparatory stage of setting up an autonomous area, they should proceed from uniting with the various nationalities, fully respecting their rights of equality, educating them in patriotism and internationalism, taking the initiative to dispel their misunderstandings and misgivings, and consulting with them so as to obtain their consent to the

various important projects concerning the establishment of the autonomous areas before work actually begins. In this way, the process of preparation becomes a process of strengthening and consolidating unity among all nationalities. Facts show that this has been done in the various autonomous areas and friendly cooperation achieved, making it possible for the work to be accomplished satisfactorily and for a foundation to be laid for the further solidarity of the various nationalities. Experience also shows that where this method has been followed, the work is adversely affected.

Where district autonomy has been established, that nationality is apt to disregard the interests of the other nationalities. It is essential that the people of such a nationality should guard against these shortcomings, pay constant attention to the interests of other nationalities and the Han nationality, and help the other nationalities in the area to establish their own autonomous *Ch'u*.

This is the only possible way to win the trust of the people of other nationalities in the district, to strengthen and consolidate the unity among the various nationalities and to derive benefit from the development of its construction undertakings. Any thought or work method leading to discrimination against other nationalities or disregard for the interests of other nationalities is erroneous and must be prevented and overcome.

As the work of regional autonomy is carried out, every effort should be made to strengthen and consolidate the internal unity among the nationalities. This is what should be energetically done among the various tribes, localities and religious sects of a nationality, so that unity can be achieved among them, their disputes settled and their misunderstandings cleared up, before an autonomous district is established. All important questions concerning the establishment of such districts must be considered in the light of the interests of all sides as described above. They should be called upon to achieve unity through mutual respect and consultation under the guidance of an upper-level people's government.

Over the past several years, much has been done to settle the internal disputes arising among the various nationalities in different places and great success has been achieved in unity, resulting in the elimination and amelioration of antagonisms which had existed for a long period of time among the different nationalities.

However, the further strengthening of unity among the various districts, tribes and religious sects of a nationality is still a very important task in the promotion and solution of the nationalities problem and continued efforts must be made as required by different conditions existing in the various localities.

Experience shows that in order to successfully unify the different nationalities, tribes, districts and religious sects of a nationality, attention must be given to the leadership of those prominent personages who maintain relations with the various minority nationalities. Since they are influential and enjoy a prestige among the people of their own nationality, this will facilitate the successful performance of the mass work providing they do this work well. Therefore, on all important questions relative to regional autonomy, they must be consulted and their agreement obtained. In the preparatory structure and in the autonomous organs and in other kinds of work, they must be given appropriate posts and helped to do their work and to seek progress. The leaders of the various minority nationalities must respect the will of the people; the leadership of the upper-level people's government must obtain the assistance of the Han nationality cadres, and forge ahead with maximum effort.

With aggression as its basis, imperialism has done all in its power to sabotage the unity of the different nationalities in China. Many instances have been exposed where imperialism and its lackey, the Chiang Kai-shek remnant bandits, have incited the minority nationalities to riot. Ample proof has been found of such criminal acts showing that almost every rebellion in the minority nationalities region has been instigated by secret agents and counter-revolutionaries and has resulted from senior individuals of the minority nationality having been first duped by the enemy plots. This state of affairs demands a high degree of vigilance on the part of the people as well as their leaders in the minority nationalities. Steps must be taken to expose the enemy, to penalize the counter-revolutionaries and to strengthen the education of the people towards patriotism in order to deal with these acts of sabotage on the part of the enemy.

(3) The autonomous governments should steadily become truly national in character. This is the key to the consolidation of national unity and to strengthening the ties between the government and the people.

This “nationalizing” of the local government includes, according to the General Programme for the Implementation of Nationality Regional Autonomy of the People’s Republic of China, drawing the majority of the personnel in the government from the predominant minority nationality in the autonomous region, taking a suitable number of government officials from the minor nationalities and the Han people within the region, adopting a form of self-government analogous to the will of the majority of the people and the leaders of the region, and adopting a national language common to the whole region. In exercising its power with regard to a particular nationality in the region which does not use the official language, the government should use the language of the particular nationality instead of the official language.

Following the establishment of autonomous regions, the training and growth of nationalities cadres have made much headway. The various autonomous regions already have a certain number of nationalities cadres who participate in the various kinds of work in the autonomous organs and some of them have assumed the powers of leadership. Most of them maintain close ties with the local people, know the local conditions well, have been tempered in the course of their work, and have raised their political and cultural levels and working ability to a definite level. This success is inseparable from the solicitude of the higher-level people’s government and the assistance of the Han nationality cadres. However, achievements in this work still lag far behind the progress of construction work in the autonomous regions, and greater efforts yet must be made by the upper-level people’s government in this respect so that a proper number of cadres and personnel may be trained and chosen from among the patriotic intellectuals of the minority nationalities, the activists among the masses, and those leaders who keep in close touch with the masses. It is necessary, therefore, to check up and summarize experiences, and, as local conditions permit, overcome the shortcomings which exist in training nationalities cadres.

The establishment of autonomous regions and the development of the various construction projects in such regions depends much upon the unity and cooperation between the Han nationality cadres and the minority nationality cadres. The Han nationality cadres taking part in the work of the autonomous regions mostly wholeheartedly

serve the minority nationalities and play an important role in training cadres for the various autonomous regions with the support of the minority nationality cadres. They deserve our praise. However, some Han nationality cadres still retain the bad working style of not respecting the functions of the nationality cadres and of tending to usurp their authority. This must be overcome and corrected so as to facilitate the training and growth of nationality cadres.

Concerning the national language and national style, the upper-level people's government must help those minority nationalities which as yet have no written language of their own to create their own languages; these will serve as instruments of communication and help them to develop their own culture. Where the official language is unsuitable for administering a particular nationality, the language of that particular nationality should be used. Where a spoken language already characterizes a nationality but has not yet been written down into a written language, assistance should be given to committing that language to writing. This is both a very urgent and complex problem and requires careful investigation and study. A practical plan should be formulated and implemented step by step, so that the language may become a means of communication and also help in the development of the culture of that nationality. At the moment, assistance should be given to those who wish to learn the Han language and other nationality languages, but in no case should there be any compulsion. Those nationalities which already have taken the Han language as their own common language, should be actively helped to learn the Han language. The traditional culture and art of the different nationalities should be maintained and enriched by absorbing new ideas. Our work in this respect is far from sufficient and greater attention is called for. The customs and habits of the minority nationalities should be respected. In other things, such as naming an administrative unit within the autonomous region, the nationality style should be considered. In this connection, much has been done and great success has been achieved in many autonomous regions. Apart from the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the Yenpien Autonomous District, the People's Government last year drew up plans for the development of a nationality language for other places such as the Tibetan Autonomous District in Sikang Province. The various administrative organs and the finance-economic organs have all

strengthened their personnel who are engaged in translations of the Tibetan language. The Han cadres in the region are studying the Tibetan language, and notices and propaganda materials are all prepared in both the Tibetan and Han languages. Beginning in February this year, all documents are prepared in two languages, and the Tibetan language has become the principal instrument of the people's government of the region for administrative purposes. This is gratifying. However, there are also cases where the leadership organs in certain places have not paid or have not paid enough attention to the use of the nationality language and style. In other instances, individual cadres have even forced the minority nationalities to speak the Han language and wear Han-type clothes, and even to dance to Han rice-planting dances instead of their own folk dances. All this is quite incorrect. The question of nationality style is one which relates to the rights and the development of a nationality. This is very important. Much of our work cannot penetrate deep into the masses of the minority nationalities unless it is done in the nationality style. The various nationalities have the right to preserve or change their own habits and customs as well as their own characteristics in accordance with the will of the majority of the peoples and their leaders. Compulsion is neither correct nor permissible. However, respect for nationality style does not mean the preservation of such style or form which will hinder the progress and development of a nationality or which the people and their leaders desire to reform. This point also merits our attention.

(4) The People's Government should assist the autonomous regions in exercising their autonomy. Under the unified system and plan of the country, the various autonomous regions have the right to establish their own political, economic, financial, cultural and educational systems and local armed forces. The exercise of these autonomous rights will arouse the initiative of the various nationalities at their different stages of progress to a great degree and therefore provide an impetus to the political, economic and cultural development of the regions. The autonomous rights in the autonomous regions are the rights of the minority peoples to manage their own affairs; they are, therefore, matters of the highest importance. The proper exercise of such rights depends not only upon the necessary respect of the upper-level people's government

concerned but also upon its guidance and assistance. As things stand now, it can be seen that the majority of the upper-level people's governments have made good efforts in this respect, but there are others which do not show enough respect for the autonomous rights of these regions. Still others consider the autonomous organ which is equal to the administrative district organ as the highest local organ, but orders are transmitted, not through that autonomous organ, but directly to its subordinate organs. This is incorrect. It jeopardizes the work of regional autonomy and causes dissatisfaction among the people of the autonomous regions, who complain that "things remain the same even after the establishment of the autonomous region." These mistaken ways of administration on the part of the relevant upper-level people's government must be checked and rectified.

We lack experience in exercising the rights of autonomy by the autonomous regions. What experience we have already gained has not yet been put together and studied. Therefore, our concrete measures must be subject to further study. Work in this connection is underway, and it is hoped that everybody will make suggestions so that definite measures may be drawn up at an early date.

(5) As conditions permit, tremendous efforts should be made by the People's Government to help with the political, economic and cultural work of the regions, as this is one basic way of solving the nationalities problem. The application of regional autonomy in itself will not entirely solve the nationality problem. This can only be expected when the political, economic and cultural level of the minority peoples is so developed that they can catch up with the level of the advanced nationalities. Therefore, after the autonomous region is first set up, importance must be attached to the question of political, economic and cultural development. In the preparatory stages for the autonomous region and in handling its natural composition and boundaries, the conditions for the development of the people of the autonomous region must be given special consideration.

Some minority nationality districts which are linked with the Han nationality districts, or in which the minority nationalities co-exist, embraced some cities and townships and districts inhabited by the Han nationality when the autonomous region was demarcated. This is due to economic, political and historical factors and is therefore,

permissible. These districts have already formed an inalienable part of the minority nationality district. Their inclusion in the autonomous region is advantageous not only to the development of their own peoples but also to people of the Han nationality in those districts. However, this question concerns both the people of the minority nationalities and the people of the Han nationality. It is necessary therefore to make full preparations in advance and nothing should be done in haste. On the other hand, in certain minority nationality districts, due to limitations caused by geographical, economic, nationality and cadres factors, it is not advisable to establish, or to establish at this time, large autonomous districts. If autonomous districts are established while conditions are still not mature, it would be to the disadvantage of nationality relationships and the national development.

The upper-level people's governments must concern themselves with the hardships of the people of the minority nationalities in the autonomous districts, particularly those living in the mountainous districts and those living in places where the natural conditions and production conditions are unfavourable. Since these people are already experiencing great difficulties in finding a living, the people's governments should show them special concern and help them find their means of living and production. An attitude of indifference towards these people is extremely incorrect and must be rectified. Where possible, assistance should be given, as local conditions permit, to help them develop their economy and culture and so gradually to improve their material and cultural life. At the moment, every help possible should be given towards improving and developing their agricultural and pastoral production. As to national defence and the future development of the various nationalities, certain capital construction may be undertaken as the nation's financial conditions permit, but careful investigation and study must be carried out first to determine the necessity and possibility of such undertakings, and no general demand should be made for all places. In the field of political, economic and cultural development in the autonomous districts, the various upper-level people's governments have done a good deal in the way of training cadres, developing agricultural and pastoral production, developing trade, and developing medical and health work. This has received the warm support of the minority nationalities. But in certain places, not enough has

been done and greater efforts are still required. Any lack of attention to the cultural, economic and political life of the minority nationalities is unjustifiable and must be corrected. Of course, if demands are made blindly and in disregard of concrete conditions, these would be without foundation and should not be put forward.

The economic and cultural development of the minority nationalities is inseparable from their political and social reform. The autonomous organs in the various autonomous districts should, in accordance with the will of the people and their leaders, prudently carry out such reforms at places where conditions are already ripe; this is both permissible and necessary.

The above is a summary of the basic experience gained in the implementation of regional autonomy.

Document 8

Speech of Shirob Jaltso

—delivered at the 2nd Meeting of the 1st National People's Congress

(Tientsin, *Ta-kung Pao*, July 24, 1955)

The Five-Year Plan fully takes care of the interests of the minority nationalities. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it seeks the realization of national regional autonomy, the development of economic, cultural, educational, health, and medical enterprises in the various nationalities, such as granting financial and technical help for the development of the pastoral industry in the minority areas, the construction of railways and highways in the minority areas, the development of schools, publications, broadcasting, cinema films and literary activities for the nationalities, and increased supplies of industrial products and agricultural production materials suited to the needs of the minority nationalities. In addition, provision is also made for the adequate dispersal of industrial areas, thus changing the situation wherein industry was concentrated along the coast, so as gradually to raise the economic level of the backward areas. This will prove very effective in the development of the resources of the minority areas. The abundantly rich underground resources of the Tsaidam Basin in Tsinghai form a treasure-trove for the people of all nationalities of the fatherland, and the development of these resources will be beneficial to national construction as a whole. The people of Tsinghai will most certainly apply their greatest efforts to support the State task of developing this area.

In our socialist State, capital for construction can only come from internal accumulation. For this reason we must practice rigid economy in order to accumulate capital. This has been successfully carried out by the Soviet Union during the course of its socialist construction. The State Council has now issued a call to save Yuan 2,000,000,000 during the last three years of the Five-Year Plan. This is a very wise and correct measure. We must seriously implement Chairman Mao's directive on economy, effectively establish

the system of economy, and launch a merciless struggle against all waste. At the same time, we must promote thrift and guard against extravagance in our own living, emulating the spirit of the Soviet people as shown in the past, when attending to construction under difficulties; promote our excellent traditions of diligence and thrift, and use the fruits of our construction mainly for the expansion of the national construction enterprises, particularly heavy industrial construction.

Because of the satisfactory way in which we are carrying out our construction plans, the enemy both within and outside the country has resorted to frantic acts of sabotage in various forms. In some pastoral areas, very recently we have discovered rumours spread by the enemy to the effect that "the organization of co-operatives in the pastoral areas is a disguised form of nationalizing cattle and sheep." This affected the productive enthusiasm of the pastoral folk. In my opinion, the cooperatives are seeking, on the basis of actual local conditions, to organize the scattered pastoral households properly so as to improve pastoral techniques, increase the herds, and proceed to a more prosperous and happy life. These reforms are being carried out by the minority nationalities themselves. Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i clearly pointed out that in the matter of socialist transformation, the minority nationalities must be given a longer period of time to consider their conditions, and to decide in accordance with their own wishes. Vice-Premier Li Fu-ch'un in his report also clearly pointed out: "Socialist transformation among the national minorities must be carried out on the basis of the special characteristics of the historical development of the nationalities and with full respect for the wishes of the people themselves." These statements have made clear the problem of socialist transformation in minority nationalities areas; the people in the pastoral areas must themselves distinguish between what is right and wrong, and smash these preposterous rumours that undermine their own production.

Many counter-revolutionaries are exploiting religion for sabotage purposes; instances are often found in the minority nationality areas. In certain pastoral areas of Tsinghai, for instance, there were rumours of the discovery of "heavenly edicts." The documents stated that the world would soon be destroyed, and that the people would meet severe calamities and suffering. This is a case of the

devil, ferocious and blood-thirsty, disguising himself under the cloak of Buddhism. There is not the least shred of religious sentiment in such a rumour. Those who have faith but lack wisdom and who have been beguiled by their own silly belief in religious prophecy, are prone to believe that the catastrophe will really descend upon the earth and have begun to devote all their time to chanting prayers in the hope of removing the pestilence; of course, production is affected. This is the greatest insult to Buddhism. To preserve the dignity of Buddhism and to save the masses from this deception, efforts must be made, based on the government's religious policy and the teachings of Buddhism, to smash these rumours once and for all, and to point out clearly what conforms with the teachings of Buddhism and what does not; pointing out that people who resort to these foolish acts are not real Buddhists, but are indeed bad elements with ulterior motives. In this way, the bad elements will no longer be able to exploit religion for the sake of sabotage, and the Buddhists among the minority nationalities in the frontier regions will be able to live in peace. Purging the enemy who hides under the cloak of religion is a righteous struggle entirely in keeping with the freedom of religious belief provided for in the Constitution. If they are not purged or if they are believed and allowed to influence the people, then freedom of belief will be lost. Only by fully purging these elements can we obtain real freedom of belief. All Buddhists must at all times pay attention to and prevent the activities of the devil who poses as a Buddhist in order to sabotage Buddhism.

We must be fully wide awake to the fact that, in the eyes of the counter-revolutionaries, religion is considered a "convenient place with many doors" through which it is easy to carry out sabotage activities. They are spreading the reactionary rumour everywhere that "the Communist Party undermines religion." On my recent visit to Burma I also heard this rumour. Our friends in Burma also asked about this rumour. We answered them with facts about the freedom of religious belief. There have been many instances of the reactionaries exploiting religion for sabotage. I have only referred to one or two cases. Henceforth we must regularly propagate and resolutely implement the policy concerning the freedom of religious belief so as to educate the broad masses of religious followers. The latter must themselves fully realize the policy governing the freedom

of religious belief and sincerely love their fatherland. Only then can they overthrow the counter-revolutionaries on the religious front.

The counter-revolutionaries are so blatant that we can no longer afford to ignore them. We must severely criticize the ideology of being content with superficially peaceful conditions, and strengthen our conception of the law. Those who resolutely place themselves against the people must be suppressed. If we unilaterally stress magnanimity, the situation will become like surging flood waters breaking through the dykes and inundating the land, bringing calamity and great losses to the national construction.

Thus magnanimity must be combined with suppression, counter-revolutionary cases must be seriously dealt with in order to realize the objective of not wronging a single good man, and, furthermore, of not allowing a single bad man to escape. This is to the advantage of realizing the state construction plans and is in keeping with the common aspirations and interests of the people of all nationalities. For this reason I demand that P'an Han-nien and Hu Feng's position as people's deputies to the National People's Congress be revoked, and support the action of the Standing Committee of the Congress in ratifying their arrest and placing them on trial.

As the Five-Year Plan has now entered its third year, the people of all nationalities throughout the country are exerting serious efforts and being diligent. As Chairman Mao has stated, "we are carrying out a most glorious and colossal task never before attempted. The successful consummation of this task means the realization on earth of the 'paradise of boundless happiness' " described in the Buddhist scriptures. Let us unite ourselves more closely, and, under the correct guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, strive for the realization of the socialist society the paradise on earth.

B. Mao Tse-tung's Directive on Work in Tibet

Notes to Documents 9-11

In the summer of 1952 the Local Government of Tibet sent a Tibetan delegation to Peking. On November 22, Leosha Thubtentarpa, head of the delegation (and also a committee member of the Local Government of Tibet) made a radio speech reporting the conditions he saw in the Chinese Communist-controlled areas, transmitting at the same time Mao Tse-tung's directive to the delegation. On April 6, 1953, he again made a speech over the radio on the impressions he had gained during his visits to the large cities in Northeast, North, and East China. The speech was allegedly warmly welcomed by the people of Tibet.

Following this, more groups were sent to visit various places under the rule of the Chinese Communists, including a Visiting Group from the Tibet Region; representatives of industrial and commercial circles; a delegation of Buddhists; and a Youth Visiting Group.⁹

Document 9

Radio Address of Leosha Thubtentarpa to the Religious and Secular Officials of the Tibet Local Government and the Entire Tibetan People

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 22, 1952)

To the religious and secular officials of the Local Government of Tibet and the entire Tibetan people:

Following the peaceful liberation of Tibetan on May 23, 1951, the entire Tibetan people have returned to the fold of the large family of their motherland. Thanks to the fundamental change which has taken place in the relationships of the various nationalities in China, that is, on the basis of new relations which have culminated in friendship and unity among all nationalities, the Local Government of Tibet sent us to Peking to pay our respects to

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all nationalities, and other leaders, and to visit various places which have assumed the new features of revolution and progress. Our delegation included religious and secular officials of the Local Government of Tibet, personnel under Panchen Erdeni and Sa-ch'ia, the chief representative of three large lamaseries,¹⁰ and representatives of industrial and commercial circles. We travelled in two separate groups, one group via India and the other via Sikang. With the assistance of the Central People's Government and the blessings of the Dalai Lama, no untoward events happened during our journey. We were warmly received all along the way by the leaders of the people's governments at all levels, cadres of the various organs and brother nationalities in different places. After we joined forces at Chengchow, Honan Province, our delegation went to Peking, the capital of China, on September 29. We were given a grand reception at the railway station by over 300 people, including Lin Po-ch'ü, Secretary-General of the Central People's Government; Ch'en Shu-t'ung, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee; Li Wei-han and Liu Ke-p'ing, Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government; principal priests of the Lama Temple and Kuangchi Monastery; people's deputies of the Peking Municipality, and leaders of the various brother nationalities. They all welcomed us with broad smiles on their faces and we felt extremely elated.

On the evening of the second day, the eve of National Day, we attended a banquet given by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to mark the third anniversary of the Establishment of the People's Republic of China. Also attending the banquet were diplomatic officials from various nations, the delegates of 46 nations attending the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, representatives of all brother nationalities, delegates of all public bodies, and heads of departments of the Central People's Government, totalling over 2,000 people. After all the guests had arrived, Chairman Mao entered the banquet hall and there was a roar of applause to greet him. After his speech Chairman Mao proposed a toast, saying; "I drink to the good health of you all." This was followed by wave after wave of cheers in all different languages: "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!" The sincere feelings of respect and love for the

great leader were clearly demonstrated.

On October 1, the National Day celebration was observed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the leaders of all levels, guests from foreign countries, and representatives from over 40 different nationalities of China, including the Tibetans, the Huis, the Mongols, the Uighurs, etc. Before the countless numbers of people all branches of the armed forces were paraded, including the infantry, cavalry, navy and air forces, together with trucks loaded with guns, rockets, tanks, bombers, fighter planes, jet planes and other mechanized weapons. After seeing this peerless armed strength, we brother nationalities all increased our conviction that the aggressiveness of imperialism can be overcome, and felt honoured and proud. University, middle school and primary school students, workers and peasants, the young and the old, totalling over half a million people holding colourful flags, marched forward shoulder to shoulder, shouting "Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!" and "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" They offered bouquets to the leaders, and sent doves-symbols of peace-up into the air, in addition to balloons. All this warmth and love for Chairman Mao was sincere and far from being artificial. The grandeur of such a spectacular scene and the orderly march forward was indescribable.

On October 8, Chairman Mao received us in audience and had a very close talk with the Tibetan delegates for more than half an hour. He gave us detailed but clear instructions which are mainly as follows:

1. "The Chinese Communist Party adopts the policy of protecting religion. Protection is given to all, whether one believes in religion or not, whether one believes in this religion or that religion; one's belief is respected; the policy of protecting religion is adopted today as it will be in the future,"

2. "The problem of the division of land is different from that of religion. Land has been divided in the Han nationality areas, but religion is still given protection. Whether land should be divided in the minority nationality districts is a matter for the minority nationalities to decide. In the Tibet region, the problem of the division of land does not exist now. Whether or not land should be redistributed in the future the Tibetans will have to decide by themselves; we cannot do it for you."

3. "The establishment of a military and administrative com-

mittee and the reorganizing of the Tibetan army have been stipulated in the Agreement. But since you are afraid, I have notified those comrades working in Tibet, telling them to go slowly. However, the Agreement must be implemented, although it will be postponed because you are afraid. We can put it back to next year if you are afraid this year; we can put it back until the year after next, if you are still afraid next year."

4. "Tibet covers a large area but is thinly populated. Its population should be increased from the present two or three million to five or six million, and then to over ten million. Then economy and culture should also be developed. Culture embraces schools, newspapers, cinemas, and also religion. In the past, the reactionary rulers, from the emperors of the Ch'ing Dynasty to Chiang Kai-shek have oppressed and exploited you. Imperialism has done the same to you. As a result, you are weak economically, backward culturally and your population is small. The Chinese Communists, standing for national equality, do not want to oppress and exploit you, we want to help you achieve development in population, economy and culture. The entry of the People's Liberation Army into Tibet is aimed at giving you such assistance. Not much assistance can be expected in the beginning but in three years, much help can be given to you; if not, the Chinese Communist Party will be of no use."

Chairman Mao also said: "I am so happy that you have come. You all should spend a few days in Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, and the Northeast. If more of you, religious and secular, could come to the interior of China for a visit, it would help increase the unity and brotherly love among the various nationalities of China."

All these instructions enlightened us greatly, and we felt truly grateful.

The Tibetan delegates and the delegates of all nationalities felt completely happy about the instructions received amidst an atmosphere of friendly love and solidarity, at the banquets given for us by Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh of the People's Revolutionary Military Council of the Central People's Government on October 9, by Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council of the Central People's Government on October 16, and by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on October 18.

After our arrival in Peking, the inaugural meeting of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions was held on October 2. Tibetan delegate Shirob Jaltso..... and some others of our delegation attended. The Peace Conference was brought to a successful conclusion on October 13. The great cause and the vivid features of the meeting moved us deeply. we firmly believe that this meeting is an unprecedented sign of the future happiness that will come to this world and Asia. We now make a brief report on what we saw in Peking from day to day and on the various conditions which we have seen for ourselves. The newly built section of the highway extending up to La-to-chueh-hsiung is now open to traffic. The section from there up to Chamdo is also already completed and may possibly be open to traffic. The section from Te-ke is being reclaimed and constructed; land is being reclaimed, roads are being built, schools are being set up, factories are being established, and much development and progress is evident. In Peking, electricity, supplies, printing presses, and agricultural machinery are all made locally without foreign assistance. Much progress was witnessed in methods of farming, dairy farming, chicken-raising, hog-raising, and other secular aspects of work, including even dances and music. After we have completed our visit to Peking, we will go to other provinces and we will report on them when we return.

The above is a general account of what we have so far seen for ourselves.

[NCNA Account of Tibetan Receptiveness to Leosha
Thubtentarpa's Report]

(NCNA, Lhasa, December 10, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, December 11, 1952)

The report [see Document 9] made by Leosha Thubtentarpa, head of the Tibetan Delegation, over the Central People's Radio Broadcasting Station in Peking to religious and secular officials of the Tibet Local Government and the Tibetan people, was warmly welcomed by the people of Lhasa, both priests and laymen. When the radio station announced that Leosha Thubtentarpa was to speak over the radio, the people of Lhasa went around to tell one another to listen in. All the radio receivers of Lhasa Municipality tuned in to the report. Many people even held meetings to discuss it.

Opinions were expressed by the religious and secular officials of the Tibet Local Government in support of the directive of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Living Buddha Ch'ih-chiang, teacher of classics to the Dalai Lama and an official of the Tibet Local Government opined: "Chairman Mao's directive is extremely valuable to the people of Tibet. Chairman Mao is the sun to the people of all nationalities and radiates warmth to every one of the Tibetan people." He continued, "Leosha Thubtentarpa, on behalf of the Tibetan people, visited Chairman Mao and was accorded a warm welcome by the Central People's Government and the various brother nationalities. This speaks eloquently for the great unity among the people of all nationalities of the Fatherland and is also a great honour for we Tibetan people." The living Buddha concluded, "I will transmit properly Chairman Mao's directive to the Dalai Lama." Said Kōhsu-teng-chu, official of the Tibet Local Government, "We must act according to Chairman Mao's directions and unite all the more closely with the People Liberation Army in the struggle for the realization of the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and for the building of a new Tibet within the Fatherland."

Lamas in the three big monasteries of Tibet, having heard the talk of Chairman Mao, were overwhelmed with joy. Ke-hsi-ni-

lung-teng of the Chepeng Monastery, one of the three largest, said: "I felt so happy about Chairman Mao's directive. In the past, the imperialists rumoured that the Communist Party would wipe out the Buddhist religion, but for the past year we have lived so congenially together with the People's Liberation Army that their actions have squashed the rumour completely. Now that Chairman Mao has again clearly defined his policy advocating the protection of religion, I want to express my sincere thanks to him on behalf of all the lamas in Tibet."

Many of the cultural and educational circles of Lhasa municipality spoke at the symposia, expressing their support and gratitude to Chairman Mao. Tu-teng-ni-ma, Tibetan language teacher at the cadres school of the Military District of the Tibet Region, stated: "From the radio speech made by Leosha Thubtentarpa today, I learned of Chairman Mao's directive and conditions for the construction undertaken in the interior of the Fatherland, and I can see clearly the blissful future of the Tibetan people." Cho-sang-chien-chan, a primary school teacher, said: "Every word Chairman Mao said in his directive is very dear to us. He has said what we Tibetan people cherish in our hearts."

The people of Tibet unanimously requested *Hsin-wen Chien-hsin*, the Tibetan language newspaper, to transmit the radio speech of Leosha Thubtentarpa to all the people of Tibet, so that every one of them, both religious and secular, may know the directive of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

*Tibetan Delegation Head Leosha Thubtentarpa Speaks over
the Radio on His Impressions of the Interior of China*

(NCNA, Peking, April 10, from Chungking, *Hsin-hua Jih-puo*,
April 11, 1953)

Leosha Thubtentarpa, head of the Tibetan Delegation, spoke in the Tibetan language over the Central People's Radio Station to religious and secular officials and the people of Tibet on the impressions he had gained during the past three months in the interior of China. Citing facts which he saw personally, he described the great success achieved in the political, economic and cultural fields and the blissful life of all the people. He also gave an account of the conditions where the national equality policy and the policy of freedom of religious belief were actually implemented.

He began with the conditions the delegation saw in the Huna League of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. We stated: "The people of 11 different nationalities here have exercised regional autonomy since 1947 under the guidance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party. They have since fully enjoyed the right of being their own masters and have begun to live a happy life; the different nationalities and peoples of each nationality live together like brothers. They help one another and love one another; their living has improved. In the pre-liberation days there were only half a million cattle, but now the number of cattle is 1.48 million, averaging 63 per capita. Agricultural output has increased 117 per cent. Much progress has also been made in the field of culture. In a pastoral district in one remote place called the Harlal area, there were over 600 students attending a six-year course primary school. In most places, spare-time schools and classes have been started to provide schooling for the labouring people formerly deprived of the opportunity to receive education. In the larger banners [an administrative division] kindergartens have been set up. Mobile medical teams make frequent visits to the remote pastoral districts to give medical treatment to the various nationalities there. Special health stations have been set up to treat syphilis and now the population is greatly increasing."

Dealing with the religious situation in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Leosha Thubtentarpa said: "In the Huna League there are 21 Buddhist monasteries, with over 1,500 monks. In the past, Japanese imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries stationed their troops in the monasteries, causing damage to their property, looting and forcing the young monks into military service. After the liberation, the policy of protecting religion was enforced and the monasteries gradually restored. We visited the Kanchu Monastery and the Tungpao Monastery and saw that the monks were living a bountiful life. The living Buddha and monks have not made the slightest change in their religious belief. When we presented them with pictures of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, they bowed to show respect and said prayers with all sincerity." They said, "In short, in Inner Mongolia the people, both religious and secular, enjoy equal political rights, the economy flourishes, culture and education has made much headway, unity among the people is consolidated, and a brilliant success has been achieved in all respects. All this has been accomplished under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. This has made us realize that the people of the whole of Tibet must give their wholehearted and unswerving support to Chairman Mao and the Party and take the road of the Inner Mongolian people."

Leosha Thubtentarpa, in his report on conditions in the Northeast, North and East China and on the happy living of the people and their achievements in construction, said: "In Northeast cities such as Harbin, Lushun and Dairen, large strides have been made in the fields of politics, economy and culture during the past several years. In particular, industry has made much headway. For instance, in the large Harbin Flax Factory, all the equipment is fully automatic and its products are of a very high standard both in quantity and in quality. The heavy industry of Northeast China is very well developed and produces many types of highly complex machinery which have been used to start many new factories. In the past, we were duped by imperialism into believing that machinery is a product which only foreigners could make. In a ship-building yard, in Dairen, we saw for ourselves many engines and other items of equipment for steamers which had been made in that yard. In the locomotive factory, we saw locomotives in the process of

manufacture. In the machine factories of Dairen and Shenyang many jigs and tools are made for producing machinery. These we have seen with our own eyes and our surprise was beyond description. At the same time, we saw many concrete cases of Soviet experts with their internationalist spirit contributing their share to our construction work. He pointed out: "Despite the fact that the Northeast is situated on the frontiers of China, its industry and agriculture are highly developed. This is a condition favourable for the nation's economic development and will prove of great help to the development of the minority nationality regions and also to the Tibetan people who live tens of thousands of *li* away.

Leosha Thubtentarpa said: "In the past we have heard the rumour that 'the Chinese Communist Party confiscates private capital'. Not only has private capital not been confiscated but, on the contrary, it has been restored and developed with the help of the Communist Party. The same holds true in such cities as Tientsin and Shanghai. Take the Jenli Woolen Textile Factory of Tientsin for instance: in pre-liberation days, it could only manufacture serge, but now it can make woollen blankets and carpets and earns very large profits each year. The Gold Star Fountain Pen Factory of Shanghai before the liberation could only turn out about 2,400 dozen pens a month, but now it is producing over 6,700 dozen pens and also exports them. The number of spindles in the Sen Hsin Cotton Mill at Wusih in pre-liberation days was only 70,000 but now there are 100,000. Furthermore, private capitalists are enjoying higher positions and political rights than they did before the liberation. These vivid and true facts which give the lie to all the rumours about sabotage." ¹¹

Leosha Thubtentarpa went on to report the prosperous picture he had witnessed in Shanghai, Nanking, Hangchow and other such cities. He said, "Now the population of Shanghai has reached 6 million. The labouring people are well looked after, not only in such things as clothing, but in the way of living quarters, medical and health care, culture and education. Everybody has work to do. During the seven days of our visit, we did not see a single beggar, pickpocket, loafer or prostitute. There is no stealing on the streets, and one can even recover things that are forgetfully left on public buses. Prices are reasonable in both large and small, public and private commercial stores, and there is no cheating at all. In cities

like Nanking and Hangchow, there are many beautiful parks and we minority nationalities can all go to see them whenever we like.”

After dwelling on the situation regarding the vast project on the Huai River, Leosha Thubtentarpa went on to give his impressions about the Northwest region. He said: “Like other places, this region is also making great progress. The Sian-Lanchow Railway is already complete. It cuts across the famous mountain range of Chinling, through more than 130 tunnels as the trains wind back and forth among the mountains. From the gigantic projects already completed, it is clear that railways can also be built in Tibet.” He stressed the religious situation in the Northwest. He stated: “What is most worth remembering is the pilgrimage we made to that sacred place, the Ta-erh-ssu, where we visited the monks and prayed for them. The monasteries in the Anto district deteriorated considerably during the Kuomintang reactionary rule. After the liberation, the land belonging to these monasteries was not divided during the land reform, the living Buddha was given due respect, the internal affairs of the monasteries received no interference from the government and was given help. The Northwest is closely related to Tibet historically, whether from the religious aspect or the political field. It is a great honour to be able to visit that place and we owe much to Chairman Mao Tse-tung for this opportunity.”

Concluding, Leosha Thubtentarpa stated: “After our visits to and careful investigations in the various places of China, we have reached this conclusion: Close unity among various nationalities is a prime requisite for the further consolidation and prosperity of China. The Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung have implemented the policy of equality among all nationalities, freedom of religion, respect for the traditions and customs of the people of all nationalities. This has created a genuine unity among the people of the whole country.” He pointed out, “All of the brother nationalities must strive to march forward along the line pointed out to us by Chairman Mao. In order to catch up with the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region which is already well ahead, we Tibetan people must follow the correct path taken by the people of Inner Mongolia. We must learn from the brother nationalities of the Northwest and the Southwest and correctly carry out national regional autonomy. In economic construction, we must seek the assistance of the Northeast in the fields of machinery and equip-

ment and advanced techniques, as well as the support of North China and East China. With the unselfish help of the Han nationality workers and peasants, the people of Tibet must unite together, build a new Tibet, and firmly safeguard the frontiers of China.”

C. Communications

Notes to Documents 12-16

With a view to strengthening the supply lines and relations with the interior of China, the Chinese Communists made active efforts to build highways. Both Chinese Communist troops and Tibetans took part in this work.

Document 12

[The Sikang-Tibet Highway]

(NCNA, Lhasa, November 29, 1954)

The two large armies of road builders from the eastern and western sections of the Sikang-Tibet Highway joined hands on November 27. The Paho Bridge at the junction of the two sectors was completed on the afternoon of November 26. Work on the 2, 255-kilometre Sikang-Tibet Highway from Ya-an [capital of the now defunct province of Sikang] to Lhasa is now basically completed.

Over ten days ago, while the road builders on both sides of the river were hard at work, comfort teams were organized by both sides to encourage each other, with the result that work on the final stage was completed ahead of schedule. In the course of building the highway, the builders on the eastern sector, beginning in 1950 and to the present, have completed 1,927 kilometres of the distance. On the western sector, a gang of builders and workers, including about 20,000 Tibetans, covered over 31,000 *li* on foot in the summer of 1953 and began construction of the 328 kilometres of highway eastward from Lhasa.

Document 13

[*The Tsinghai-Tibet Highway*]

(*China News Service*, Lhasa, December 19, 1954)

The Tsinghai-Tibet Highway is now open to traffic. The first vehicles reached Lhasa on the afternoon of December 15.

Over 2,000 kilometres long, the highway passes through Mongol, Tibetan, Hui and Khazak brother nationality districts, traverses 15 large mountains, including the Jih-yueh Mountains, Kunlun Mountains and Tangkula Mountains, and crosses 25 rivers, including Huangshui, Ts'umaerh, Mulanmalum etc., crosses grasslands and basins (including Tsaidam), at an average elevation of over 4,000 metres above sea level.

Document 14

Another Major Accomplishment in the Reconstruction of Tibet

By Fan Ming (范明), Deputy Secretary,
Tibet Work Committee, CCP.

(NCNA, Lhasa, October 20, 1955)

The Lhasa-Shigatse and Shigatse-Gyangtse Highways, stretching 428 kilometres across the central part of Tibet, are now open to traffic. This marks another major accomplishment in the reconstruction of Tibet following the completion of the Sikang-Tibet and Tsinghai-Tibet highways up to Lhasa.

Completion of these motor roads represents a concrete expression in Tibet of the first Five-Year Plan for the development of our national economy. These two newly-opened roads yet again indicate the concern and care which the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the great leader of the various nationalities in the fatherland, have for the Tibetan people. They also emphasize the full attention shown by the State for the needs of the Tibetan people during the period of economic and cultural construction. They further underscore the fact that at a time when national effort is being concentrated on key-point projects, an adequate

amount of manpower has been set aside to help develop the economic and cultural enterprises of the minority nationalities in an attempt to eliminate, in gradual stages, the inequalities between the nationalities left behind from the old times.

Now that the two new Tibetan highways have been opened to traffic, momentous changes have been brought to the transportation situation in Tibet. Henceforth, the link between Tibet and the hinterland areas of the fatherland will become much closer as motor cars replace the primitive means of transport between main communication points in Tibet. These two new motor roads link three principal cities in Tibet with the extensive pastureland of northern Tibet and the rich farming areas in the middle reaches of the Brahmaputra River. In the past, it would have taken more than 12 days to travel from Lhasa to Shigatse and the journey would be very uncomfortable. Likewise, vast amounts of man-power and animal power were required each year to haul surplus grain from the farming areas in the middle reaches of the Brahmaputra River to Lhasa as well as to export the livestock products and native produce from the pastureland and to move merchandise between the three cities. With these two new motor roads, it only takes two days to travel between Lhasa and Shigatse. In two days a single truck can carry goods which formerly required 60 heads of livestock more than 12 days to move. Thus, these two roads will play a fairly important part in further strengthening the internal solidarity of Tibet, enlivening the Tibetan economy and culture, tightening the links between Tibet and the fatherland and consolidating the solidarity between the brother nationalities of Tibet. In particular, this major improvement in the transportation system of Tibet has greatly shortened the distances between the principal Tibetan cities, thus facilitating the visits of people's deputies from various places to exchange views and to consult with each other. This is also conducive to the early establishment of a Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region as well as the consolidation and integration of efforts in undertaking various construction projects in Tibet towards the realization, in gradual stages, of regional autonomy in Tibet. At the same time, the new highways provide favourable conditions for the construction of additional motor roads and the exploitation of the rich resources in the middle reaches of the Brahmaputra River.

Construction of the two new Tibetan roads was specified in the decision regarding the questions of communications and transportation in Tibet reached by the State Council in March of this year. Road surveying and designing were begun in spring and construction was started at the end of May. The two roads were pushed to completion ahead of schedule in a matter of a few months. This emphasizes the concern shown by the Central People's Government for the Tibetan people, and shows how a resolution can be transformed into action.

The Lhasa-Shigatse highway extends westward from Yang Pa Ching across 247 kilometres of towering mountain ranges south of the pastureland in northern Tibet and across Tibet's largest river, the Brahmaputra at an average height of about 4,000 metres above sea level. During the construction work on a mountain over 5,300 metres above sea level, road workers as well as commanders and warriors of the People's Liberation Army, fired with a high degree of enthusiasm for building up the borders of the fatherland and helping the Tibetan people improve their living, overcome difficulties brought about by the elements and rarefied air, and succeeded in opening up a road on the frozen levels of the mountain peak.

The Shigatse-Gyangtse highway was built as a work-relief project sponsored by the State Council for flood victims last year along both banks of the Nyangchu River. Over 3,000 Tibetan workers of both sexes, grateful for the deep concern shown by the Central Government, participated in this road project. They were encouraged by the prospect of building a happy land and started labour competitions during the rainy season. They also quickly learned road work with the help of the People's Liberation Army and completed the 91-kilometre highway in 102 days, thus making it possible to tide over the flood period and basically restore production and rebuild their homes.

In the course of the road building work, the regional government of Tibet and the Panchen Council mobilized all the people along the road to support the construction project. Tibetan officials were also sent to the road construction headquarters and a large supply of food and lumber was set aside for bridge work. The broad masses of peasants and herdsmen along the two highways lined up nearly 10,000 cattle to haul construction materials and supply the road workers with fuel. The inhabitants of the northern

foot-hills of the Himalaya Mountains used manpower to haul rice to Gyantse. Cowhide rafts, loaded with wheat from regions along the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra River, kept the civilian labourers supplied with food. In building the two motor roads, the Tibetan people once again demonstrated their enthusiasm and tremendous energy for creating a happy life as well as their initiative in helping to materialize the first Five-Year Plan of the State and their common will to build up the fatherland.

Since the State Council's decision concerning various projects in Tibet was passed in March of this year and the return to Tibet from Peking of the Dalai and Panchen Lama, a new stage of developing Tibetan projects was begun. The Preparatory Committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Region was also getting set to start its work.

The several hundred Vehicles appropriated to the Road Administration for the Sikang-Tibet and Tsinghai-Tibet highways by the Central authorities have been steadily hauling industrial goods and construction supplies to Tibet from various parts of the fatherland. Surveying and charting work for various construction projects approved by the State Council will shortly be completed. Hundreds of Tibetan officials as well as youths of both sexes have proceeded to various parts of the fatherland to watch and study, while several hundred specialist cadres despatched by the Central Government have either taken up their respective posts in Tibet or are on the way to that region. Although the construction of the Lhasa-Shigatse and Shigatse-Gyantse highways has been successfully pushed through, Tibet still faces numerous difficult tasks and new difficulties in building a happy and prosperous land. We should not therefore feel complacent at the beginning of this new development. We must follow the directives of Chairman Mao and carry out the Party nationalities policy with greater effort, refraining from becoming proud and impulsive, being realistic in all kinds of tasks, respecting the wishes of the Tibetan people and serving them with devotion for a long period. We know that imperialism and its running dogs will not tolerate the victory of the fatherland and the Tibetan people. The people of various walks of life in Tibet as well as all the personnel working in Tibet must maintain a high degree of vigilance and continue to strengthen solidarity among the nationalities as well as the internal unity of Tibet, and resolutely implement

the agreement on ways and means for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and the decisions of the State Council. We should make an enormous effort to create a happy life on the plateau and build up the fatherland under the guidance of the Party, Chairman Mao and the People's Government.

*State Council's Decision Concerning the Problem
of Communications and Transport in Tibet*

—passed at the 7th meeting of the State Council, March
9, 1955.

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

The opening of the entire Sikang-Tibet and Tsinghai-Tibet Highways to traffic marks another important success in the work of construction in the motherland. It is of great significance that these two highways are open to traffic, because now the Tibet area will be able to keep in closer touch with the interior, increase the unity between the Tibetans and other nationalities and accelerate development of the economic and cultural enterprises of the Tibetan people. In order to strengthen communications and transport work in Tibet, the following decisions were made:

1. To establish a Tibet Communications Bureau in Lhasa (directly under the Ministry of Communications) to provide centralised leadership to transport, road maintenance and administration work on the Sikang-Tibet and Tsinghai-Tibet Highways and to be responsible for the study and administration of communications work in the Tibet area.

2. To set up a Sikang-Tibet Highway Administration under the Tibet Communications Bureau to take charge of transport and road maintenance work along the sector west of the Kinsha River (including the ferry) to Lhasa, and a Tsinghai-Tibet Highway Administration to take charge of similar work along the Garmu-Tibet sector of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway. The Yaan-Kinsha River (not including the ferry) sector of the Sikang-Tibet Highway will come under the control of the Sikang provincial People's Council, while the Sining-Garmu sector of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway will come under the control of the Tsinghai Provincial People's Council.

3. To meet the transport needs of the above two highways, 750 vehicles will be purchased during 1955-1956 for distribution by the Ministry of Communications. An automobile repair workshop will be set up in Lhasa, the Tsinghai Provincial Automobile Repair Plant at Sining will be enlarged, and necessary facilities will be

provided along the line for road maintenance and transport.

4. To enable the Tsinghai-Tibet and Sikang-Tibet Highways to manifest their efficiency, the Sikang-Tibet Highway should strengthen road maintenance and make key point improvements to ensure regular traffic service. The Tsinghai-Tibet Highway must carry out further repairs in a planned manner, selectively improve the sectors where traffic is difficult and build bridges where necessary. Road repairs must follow the principle of economy and utility and the policy of procuring materials locally and making improvements step by step, by sectors and at different periods must be adhered to. For the present, repairs should be carried out on the Heho-Lhasa sector of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway.

5. The Ministry of Communications is to be responsible for setting up the Tibet Communications Bureau, the Sikang-Tibet Highway Administration and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway Administration; for the building and expansion of the Sining Automobile Repair Plant; for the purchase and distribution of the equipment necessary for road maintenance and transport; and for the further repairs of the Tsinghai-Tibet and Sikang-Tibet Highways. Engineering troops will be instructed by the Ministry of National Defence to continue to take part in road repair work, and the transport troops will transfer 750 drivers to the Ministry of Communications during 1955 and 1956.

6. To cope with the needs of transport in the Shigatse district, the Ministry of Communications will be charged with building a temporary extension road from Yangpaching on the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway to Shigatse and the sector from Shigatse to Gyangtse; this is to be done in 1955. The Shigatse-Gyangtse sector will be built through work in lieu of relief, with the payments to be defrayed from the Tibet relief funds.

7. To provide the funds necessary for completing the above tasks, the Ministry of Communications will, besides defraying costs from its original investment plan for the maintenance and key-point improvement of the Sikang-Tibet Highway, be given an additional 42 million yuan as a special fund for investment in construction in Tibet. This fund will be advanced by the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Communications according to the following plan: 25,190,000 yuan in 1955, 14,450,000 yuan in 1956 and 2,360,000 yuan in 1957 [See Note 15, Chapter III].

The New Life of Tibetan Women and Children

[*Peking, Chung-Kuo Fu-nü* (Chinese Women), No. 4,
April 1, 1956].

The women of Tibet are the elite of the children of the Tibetan race in the large family of our mother country. They grow up in the hilly Tibetan Plateau, where the natural environment and living conditions are comparatively hard. From their earliest youth, they are accustomed to mountain climbing, wading through rivers, storms and blizzards, and thus become used to suffering hardships and enduring toil.

Tibetan women are the chief labour source both in society and in the family. There is a popular saying in Tibet: "Only women and yaks can carry firewood down from the mountains." For Tibet has many perilous hills which are hard to scale even on hands and feet, yet the Tibetan women can carry 70-80 catties or even over 100 catties of firewood on their backs while driving their yaks safely down from the mountains.

As soon as the snow starts to melt in the spring, the Tibetan women go to the boundless fields to dig the frozen earth with mattocks, or follow behind their husband's hand plows to break up the lumps of earth. Indeed, the Tibetan women participate in every kind of work in the field—in spring plowing, summer planting, autumn harvesting and storing up the grain in winter. After the autumn harvest, for example, the heavy labour of threshing is mostly done by the women. Meanwhile, the household chores of the Tibetan women is also heavy and complicated, including milking cows, making butter, weaving rough serge from yak's hair, and taking care of the children. They are busy all day; but no matter whether they live in small mud huts in the agricultural district or in felt tents in the pastoral area, they always keep the place in good order.

Many Tibetan women are experts at weaving yak serge and Tibetan carpets. With their skilful hands they can twist wool into threads of uniform texture, dye them different colours, and weave them into Tibetan carpets with pictures of snow-capped mountains,

grassland, birds, animals and flowers. The carpets produced in Gyangtse are extremely popular at home and abroad.

Before the liberation, the women of Tibet lived a miserable life. Despite the fact that they toiled like oxen and horses day in and day out, they never had enough food and clothing. At that time, they had to give birth in the cow pens or in the open fields, using stone slabs to cut the umbilical cord of the newborn baby. Thus, the mortality rate among infants was strikingly high. According to an investigation in Ting-ching-chung-chia-sha Village, only 21 babies were born during the ten years before the liberation, and of these 21 infants, 13 died and 3 were deformed because of congenital syphilis. Excessive labour, starvation and cold, and venereal diseases had destroyed the Tibetan women's healthy and beautiful physique.

In May 1951, Tibet was peacefully liberated under the guiding light of Chairman Mao, and the women and children of Tibet began their new life.

During the past several years, patriotic women's associations or preparatory committees for patriotic women's associations have been established in such big cities on the Tibetan plateau as Lhasa, Shigatse and Gyangtse. Tibetan women of all levels are enthusiastically studying nationality policy, the constitution of the Chinese People's Republic, and the geography and history of the fatherland.

The broad masses of the Tibetan labouring women have positively participated in the various construction projects in Tibet. Thousands upon thousands of Tibetan women have joined in the construction of the Sikang-Tibet Highway, the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway, the Lhasa-Shigatse Highway, and the Shigatse-Gyangtse Highway, struggling stubbornly against lofty cliffs, torrential currents, and muddy swamps. More than 300 women have been selected as road-building models. Several thousand Tibetan women from various villages and pastoral areas have organized themselves into auxiliary transportation teams, delivering, on time, millions of catties of provisions, materials and road-building tools to the construction sites along narrow, winding paths. During the rainy season in the Pomi district along the Sikang-Tibet Highway, the women took off their yak-serge dresses and used them to cover the grain they were sending to the road-builders. At night, they slept in caves or under the trees. Under such difficult and challenging circumstances, they re-

mained full of optimistic sentiments, incessantly singing about their future happy life. At that time, the working personnel of the Han race often commented: "The Tibetan women are marvellous; their unyielding spirit really deserves our support."

In Tibet today, Tibetan women work happily in many posts as workers, medical staff, teachers and salesgirls.

In Lhasa, a housewife named Yi-hsi-wang-mu has now become a Tibet language announcer at the broadcasting station in the city. Every day she tells the Tibetan people about the new accomplishments on the various construction fronts in the mother country. The moment you enter Lhasa, you will hear her clear voice.

In an iron and wood factory in the military zone of Tibet, there is a 24 year-old Tibetan woman named Tsai-tan-chu, who worked as a maid servant before the liberation. She came to the iron and wood factory in 1952 and now, with the assistance of the Han workers and spurred by her own zeal to learn, she can make more than 100 different delicate parts. In the beginning she could only produce 70 screws for the bridge spans; now she has raised her output to more than 420 screws a day. She has been formally promoted as a skilled worker and taken up the post as chief of the Tibetan women wrenchers in that factory.

The link between the Tibetan women and the interior of the motherland is being daily strengthened. In 1952, Tse-jen-tso-ma, sister of the Dalai Lama, visited various places of the mother country and also attended the World Peace Congress in Vienna, in which she expressed the determination of the Tibetan people to oppose war and preserve peace. In recent years group after group of young Tibetan girls have gone to the Central Nationality Academy in Peking to study. More than 100 Tibetan women have visited the interior so far.

Chairman Mao has a high regard for the women and children of Tibet. He personally received a women's delegation from Tibet. A woman member of the delegation refused to wash her hand after she had shaken hands with Chairman Mao, saying: "This is my greatest luck, my highest glory!"

In Tibet today there are more than 20 primary schools. In Lhasa alone, there are over 1,000 primary school students. Primary schools have also been set up in many remote localities.

Hygiene work for woman is being strengthened step by step.

In the past four years, the people's hospital in Lhasa has delivered more than 500 babies by the new method, and has vaccinated over 37,000 Tibetan children. Also, a children's ward has recently been added to the people's hospital at Shigatse.

The women and children of Tibet are the new blossoms in the highlands of the country. They will grow even prettier and stronger in the large and warm family of the motherland.

D. China-India Relations

Notes to Documents 17-20

Negotiations between Communist China and India on the Tibet problem began on December 31, 1953 in Peking and were concluded on April 29, 1954 with the signing of the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse in the Tibet Region of China, plus accompanying notes and communiques. As a consequence, India gave up certain rights she formerly enjoyed in Tibet.¹²

After the basic Agreement was signed, detailed trade talks began in New Delhi. On October 14, 1954, a trade pact was signed and notes exchanged. At that time, significantly, the Chinese Communists had to trans-ship via India a large amount of rice, soya beans and other commodities to meet the needs of the Chinese troops stationed in Tibet.¹³

Document 17

Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Communications Between India and the Tibet Region of China

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 30, 1954)

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India, being desirous of promoting trade and cultural intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India and of facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the peoples of China and India, have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles:

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- (2) Mutual non-aggression,
- (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit, and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

And for this purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government; the Government of the Republic of India, His Excellency Nedyam Raghavan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India accredited to the People's Republic of China, who, having examined each other's credentials and finding them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

Article One

The high contracting parties mutually agree to establish trade agencies:

(1) The Government of India agrees that the Government of China may establish trade agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong.

(2) The Government of China agrees that the Government of India may establish trade agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok.

The trade agencies of both parties shall be accorded the same status and the same treatment. The trade agents of both parties shall enjoy freedom from arrest while exercising their functions, and shall enjoy for themselves and for their wives and children who are dependent upon them for their livelihood, freedom from search.

The trade agencies of both parties shall enjoy the privileges and immunities for couriers, mailbags and communications in code.

Article Two

The high contracting parties agree that traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between the Tibet Region of China and India may trade at the following places:

1. The Government of China agrees to specify (a) Yatung, (b) Gyantse and (c) Phari (帕里) as markets for trade.

The Government of India agrees that trade may be carried on in India, including (a) Kalimpong, (b) Siliguri and (c) Calcutta, according to customary practice,

2. The Government of China agrees to specify (a) Gartok, (b) Pulanchung (Taklakot), (c) Gyanimakhargo, (d) Gyanimachakra, (e) Ramura, (f) Dongbra, (g) Pulingsumdo, (h) Nabra, (i) Shangtse and (j) Tashigong as markets for trade; the Government

of India agrees that in the future, when in accordance with the needs of trade between the Ari District of the Tibet Region of China and India, it becomes necessary to specify markets for trade in the corresponding district in India adjacent to the Ari District of the Tibet Region of China, it will be prepared to consider on the basis of equality and reciprocity to do so.

Article Three

The high contracting parties agree that pilgrimage by religious believers of the two countries shall be carried on in accordance with the following provisions:

1. Pilgrims from India of Lamaist, Hindu and Buddhist faiths may visit Kang Rimpoche (Kailas) and Navam Tso (Manasarovar) in the Tibet Region of China in accordance with customs.

2. Pilgrims from the Tibet Region of China of Lamaist and Buddhist faiths may visit Benaras, Sarnath, Gaya and Sanchi in India in accordance with custom.

3. Pilgrims customarily visiting Lhasa May continue to do so in accordance with custom.

Article Four

Traders and Pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and route: (1) Shipki La Pass, (2) Mana Pass, (3) Miti Pass, (4) Kungri Bingri Pass, (5) Darma Pass, and (6) Lipu Lekh Pass.

Also, the customary route leading to Tashigong along the Valley of the Shangatsangpu (Indus) River may continue to be traversed in accordance with custom.

Article Five

For travelling across the border, the high contracting parties agree that diplomatic personnel, officials and nationals of the two countries shall hold passports issued by their own respective countries and visaed by the other party except as provided in Paragraphs One, Two, Three, and Four of this Article.

1. Traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between Tibet Region of China and India, their wives and children who are dependent on them for livelihood and their attendants will be allowed entry for the purposes of trade into India or the Tibet Region of China, as the case may be, in accordance with custom on the production of certificates duly issued by the local government of their own country or by

its duly authorized agents and examined by the border check-posts of the other party.

2. Inhabitants of the border districts of the two countries who cross the border to carry on petty trade or to visit friends and relatives may proceed to the border districts of the other party as they have customarily done heretofore and need not be restricted to the passes and route specified in Article Four above and shall not be required to hold passports, visas or permits.

3. Porters and mule-team drivers of the two countries who cross the border to perform necessary transportation services need not hold passports issued by their own country, but shall only hold certificates good for a definite period of time (three months, half a year or one year) only issued by the local government of their own country or by its duly authorized agents and produce them for registration at the border check-posts of the other party.

4. Pilgrims of both countries need not carry documents of certification but shall register at the border check-posts of the other party and receive a permit for pilgrimage.

5. Notwithstanding the Provisions of the foregoing Paragraphs of this Article, either Government may refuse entry to any particular person.

6. Persons who enter the territory of the other party in accordance with the foregoing Paragraphs of this Article may stay within its territory only after complying with the procedures specified by the other party.

Article Six

The present Agreement shall come into effect upon ratification by both Governments and shall remain in force for eight years. Extension of the present Agreement may be negotiated by the two parties if either party requests it six months prior to the expiry of the Agreement and the request is agreed to by the other party.

Done in duplicate in Peking on the 29th day of April, 1954, in the Chinese, Hindi and English languages, all texts being equally valid.

Chang Han-fu, Plenipotentiary of the Central
People's Government, People's
Republic of China.

Nedyam Raghavan, Plenipotentiary of the
Government of the Republic of India

Note of Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in Reply to Nedyam Raghavan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of India to the People's Republic of China

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 30, 1954)

I have the honour to receive your note dated April 29, 1954, which reads:

"In the course of our discussions regarding the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India, which has been happily concluded today, the Delegation of the Government of the Republic of India and the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China agreed that certain matters be regulated by an exchange of notes. In pursuance of this understanding, it is hereby agreed between the two Governments as follows:

"(1) The Government of India will be pleased to withdraw completely, within six months from the date of exchange of the present notes, the military escorts now stationed at Yatung and Gyangtse in the Tibet Region of China. The Government of China will render facilities and assistance for such withdrawal.

"(2) The Government of India will be pleased to hand over to the Government of China at a reasonable price the postal, telegraph and public telephone services together with their equipment operated by the Government of India in the Tibet Region of China. Concrete measures in this respect will be decided upon through further negotiations between the Indian Embassy in China and the Foreign Ministry of China, which shall start immediately after the exchange of the present notes.

"(3) The Government of India will be pleased to hand over the twelve rest houses in the Tibet Region of China. Concrete measures in this regard will be decided upon through further negotiations between the Indian Embassy in China and the Foreign Ministry of China, which shall start immediately after the exchange of the present notes. The Government of China agrees that they

shall continue as rest houses.

“(4) The Government of China agrees that all buildings within the compound walls of the trade agencies of the Government of India at Yatung and Gyangtse in the Tibet Region of China may be retained by the Government of India. The Government of India may continue to lease the land within its agency compound walls from the Chinese side. And the Government of India agrees that the trade agencies of the Government of China at Kalimpong and Calcutta may lease lands from the Indian side for the use of the agencies and construct buildings thereon. The Government of China will render every possible assistance for housing the Indian trade agency at Gartok. The Government of India will also render every possible assistance for housing the Chinese trade agency at New Delhi.

“(5) The Government of India will be pleased to return to the Government of China all lands used or occupied by the Government of India other than the lands within its trade agency compound walls at Yatung.

“If there are godowns and buildings of the Government of India on the above-mentioned lands used or occupied and to be returned by the Government of India and if Indian traders have stores, godowns or buildings on the above-mentioned lands so that there is a need to continue leasing lands, the Government of China agrees to sign contracts with the Government of India or Indian traders, as the case may be, for leasing to them those parts of the land occupied by the said godowns, buildings or stores and pertaining thereto.

“(6) The trade agents of both parties may, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the local governments, have access to their nationals involved in civil or criminal cases.

“(7) The trade agents and traders of both countries may hire employees in the locality.

“(8) The hospitals of the Indian trade agencies at Gyangtse and Yatung will continue to serve personnel of the Indian trade agencies.

“(9) Each Government shall protect the person and property of the traders and pilgrims of the other country.

“(10) The Government of China agrees, so far as possible, to construct rest houses for the use of pilgrims along the route

from Pulanchung(Taklakot) to Kang Rimpoche (Kailas)and Mavam Tso (Manasarovar); and the Government of India agrees to place all possible facilities in India at the disposal of pilgrims.

“(12) The three trade agencies of each party may function throughout the year.

“(13) Traders of each country may rent buildings and go-downs in accordance with local regulations in places under the jurisdiction of the other party.

“(14) Traders of both countries may carry on normal trade in accordance with local regulations at places as provided in Article Two of the Agreement.

“(15) Disputes between traders of both countries over debts and claims shall be handled in accordance with local laws and regulations.”

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby agree to Your Excellency's note, and your note along with the present note in reply shall become an agreement between our two Governments, which shall come into force upon the exchange of the present notes.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency, Mr. Ambassador, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, People's Republic of China.

To His Excellency Nedyam Eaghavan, Ambassador Extra-ordinary and Plenipotentiary, Republic of India.
Peking, April 29, 1954.

Document 19

China-India Relations Re-established on New Basis in the Tibet Region of China

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 30, 1954)

The negotiations between the Government of China and the Government of India held in Peking on the relations between these two countries in the Tibet region of China have been brought to a conclusion, and an Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and China has been signed by the two Governments and notes exchanged at the same time.

Relations between China and India in the Tibet Region of China were remnants left by British aggression against China in the past and therefore were not the responsibility of the Government of India. With founding of the People's Republic of China, the prerogatives which the British Government had obtained by unequal treaties wrung from defunct Chinese Governments no longer existed. So it was necessary for China and India to establish their relations in the Tibet Region of China on a new basis by negotiations.

From the beginning, both the Chinese and Indian Delegations agreed that the negotiations be conducted according to the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. After full consultations an agreement has been signed by both sides. From now on, the India-China relations in the Tibet Region of China have been re-established on a new basis.

China has been developing trade and cultural intercourse between the two countries in accordance with her consistent policy of establishing good neighbourly relations and peaceful co-existence. The successful conclusion of the Agreement provides further proof of the Chinese people's profound friendship for the Indian people and their desire for friendly co-operation.

In the negotiations, the Indian Government was pleased to withdraw completely the military escorts now stationed at Yatung and Gyantse in the Tibet Region of China. Furthermore, it was pleased to hand over to the Chinese Government the postal,

telegraph and public telephone services together with their equipment in the region. This respect for China's sovereignty on the part of the Indian Government corresponds to the common interests and the traditional friendship of the Chinese and Indian peoples.

China and India are two neighbouring great powers. For many centuries a traditional intimate relationship between the traders of the two countries, the comings and goings of the inhabitants in the border districts of the two countries to visit friends and relatives or to carry on petty trade and border crossings of porters and mule-teers, have been constant and brisk.

All these traditional and normal relations have been given official recognition in the Agreement just signed and the notes exchanged. A system of reasonable arrangements has been provided for normal trade relations between the peoples of the two countries and also creates favourable conditions for developing their trade relations.

The Chinese Government, safeguarding the freedom of religious believers in Tibet and its customs and traditions, adheres to its policy on religion. Moreover, it makes the necessary arrangements for the people of India to go to Tibet for pilgrimage purposes, and concrete provisions were made in the Agreement signed.

During the period of the negotiations, the imperialists bent on sowing discord between China and India and undermining the negotiations, have time and again spread rumours to the effect that the Chinese-Indian talks would be protracted and fruitless. But owing to the sincere desire for settling questions and the friendly spirit of negotiation of the Governments of the two countries, agreement was successfully reached. The imperialists have endeavoured to alienate the Tibet Region of China from the Central People's Government. Facts prove that the Local Government of Tibet warmly supported the negotiations and the Agreement between the Central People's Government and the Indian Government. These imperialist devices entirely failed.

As Premier Chou En-lai pointed out in his greetings to Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the success of the negotiations and the Agreement will strengthen the friendship between the peoples of China and India, and also demonstrate that a reasonable settlement can be achieved for any international question through

negotiation so long as the nations abide by the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-aggression, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

The Chinese people warmly welcome the successful conclusion of the Chinese-Indian negotiations and the signing of the Agreement and firmly believe that the Government and peoples of the two countries will jointly strive to implement the Agreement so that relations between the two countries may become still more harmonious and friendly.

[Sino-Indian Trade Communique]

(NCNA, Peking, October 14, 1954)

Following is the communique on trade negotiations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India:

The Trade Agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India:

The Trade Agreement between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India, the first of its kind between the two countries, was signed today in New Delhi. Mr. K'ung Yuan, Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade and leader of the Chinese Trade Delegation, signed the Agreement on behalf of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, and Shri H. C. R. Lengar, Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of India, signed the Agreement on behalf of the Indian Government. Mr. Shen Chien, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India; Mr. Yang Lin, deputy leader, other members of the Trade Delegation of the Chinese People's Republic, Mr. Tu Tsu-i, Commercial Counsellor, and other officials of the Chinese Embassy and representatives of the Central Ministries of Commerce and Industry, External Affairs and Finance of India were also present on the occasion.

The negotiations, which led to the conclusion of this Trade Agreement were conducted in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and mutual understanding. The Agreement aims at strengthening the friendship that already exists between the Governments and peoples of China and India and the development of trade between the two countries on the principle of equality and mutual benefit. It provides for trade between the two countries to be conducted in accordance with their respective imports, exports and exchange control regulations and is valid for an initial period of two years. Thereafter, it may be renewed for a further period by negotiation.

Two schedules of commodities to be exported and imported are appended to the Agreement. The articles listed for export from India to China included rice, pulses, raw tobacco, metallic ores, vegetable and essential oils, chemicals, drugs and medicines, electrical

and other apparatus and appliances, machinery, machine tools, ferrous and non-ferrous goods, cotton piece-goods, jute goods, bicycles, motor vehicles, cement, tyres and tubes, centrifugal pumps, hurricane lanterns, sewing machines, agricultural implements, mica and Indian films. The schedule of goods available for export from China to India included rice, soya bean, machine tools, machinery, air compressors, transformers, textile machinery, medical apparatus, antimony, graphite, fluorspar, arsenolite, silk and silk piece-goods, wool, hides and skins, paper and stationery, chemicals, tung oil, cassia, menthol crystals, resins, porcelain, glass and glassware, hosiery and needles, vegetable and vegetable products, canned goods, printed matter and books and Chinese films.

Two notes had also been exchanged at the time of signing the Agreement. One of these notes sets out the details of the procedures to be adopted for transportation of certain goods of Chinese origin from China to the Tibet Region of the Chinese People's Republic through India to meet such special requirements of the Tibet Region of the Chinese People's Republic as cannot be met from India. The second note deals with certain practical problems facing India-China trade, namely, those relating to shipping, insurance, surveys, travel facilities for businessmen etc. It has been agreed by the two Governments that these problems will be discussed in detail at later date.

E. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Notes to Documents 21-22

According to Chinese Communist statistics for 1957,¹⁴ among the 2,770,000 Tibetan nationals living outside of Tibet (mainly in Kansu, Tsinghai, Szechwan, and Yunnan Provinces), 1,233,600 were engaged in animal husbandry. The Tibetan nationality is thus the largest pastoral nationality in China.

Document 21

Basic Summing Up of Animal Husbandry in the Several Pastoral Areas of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Suiyuan, Tsinghai, and Sinkiang, as Made at 3rd (Enlarged) Session of the Central Nationalities Affairs Commission (June 15, 1953)

(Tientsin, *Ta-Kung Pao*, September 9, 1953)

I. *General Conditions of Animal Husbandry in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Suiyuan, Tsinghai, and Sinkiang.*

Our country's pastoral areas cover extensive territories, of which over 90 per cent is situated in regions where minority nationalities people live in agglomeration. The minority nationalities people engaging in animal husbandry include Mongols, Tibetans, Kazaks, Kolkozoes, and Tagiks, and total about 3,400,000 people. Animal husbandry is the principal economy of the pastoral areas and the people of all nationalities there depend on it for their existence and development. It is also an important component part of our country's new democratic economy.

The development of animal husbandry is the basic content of the work of developing the pastoral areas and improving the life of all nationalities and settling the nationalities question there. It is also an indispensable part of the work of national industrialization and development of agriculture.

II. *Work Directives for Developing Pastoral Economy.*

The work directives generally observed in the development of the pastoral economy in the several pastoral areas of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Suiyuan, Tsinghai, and Sinkiang, are as follows:

(1) *The work directive of advancing prudently and steadily.* It is absolutely necessary to consider the characteristics of the social economy in the pastoral areas and stress basing the work on actual local conditions and taking account of the personal experience of the local herdsmen, and to adopt the work directive of advancing prudently and steadily, carry out the work in a well-phased manner, and oppose haste, recklessness, and coercion. As a rule, pastoral economy is an individual, private-owned economy of small producers; animal husbandry depends [for its development] on the natural multiplication of animals and is largely influenced by natural conditions (it will be affected, for instance, by windstorms, blizzards, floods, and droughts), with the result that concrete organizing and leadership work is much more difficult in the pastoral areas than it is in the agricultural areas, and incorrect measures may easily lead to losses. Animal husbandry is new to many of our cadres, and these cadres do not know or do not know fully the laws governing its development, and because prolonged national oppression in the pastoral areas resulted in complicating the nationalities relations, Therefore, the work of developing animal husbandry must be carried out in close conjunction with the work of including the people of all nationalities and all strata in the united front, the work of establishing peace and order, the work of developing medical services and trade, the work of training nationalities cadres, and the work of establishing self-government in nationalities regions. Concerning work methods, emphasis must be laid on penetrating investigations, summing-up experience, fostering typical examples, setting standards, and popularizing advanced experience and good practices in simple ways readily acceptable to the herdsmer. Constant care must be taken to prevent such tendencies as letting things follow their own course without interference, and of advancing blindly and recklessly; these are detrimental to the development of animal husbandry. In particular, we must oppose the erroneous practice of disregarding the characteristics of production and the

nationalities in the pastoral areas and of introducing methods used in agricultural areas to them without modification. Concerning the work style, emphasis must be laid on uniting firmly with the masses, preventing coercion, listening properly to the opinions of the people of all nationalities and all strata, and understanding their difficulties, sufferings, requirements, mentality, and feelings. Inspections must be made from time to time to find out whether the policies and measures are acceptable to them. Even though certain work may be to their advantage, it is better to postpone it if the masses have not yet understood it and the conditions have not yet ripened. In a few areas in the past, such directives were not properly observed and some deviations occurred with huge adverse effects on the development of animal husbandry, even resulting in losses, so that animal husbandry was not again normalized until things had been set right. It is clear from this that only the correct enforcement of the work directive in question can lead to the smooth development of the pastoral economy in these areas. In all areas concerned, party organizations and people's governments must continue to enforce it faithfully.

(2) *Development of animal husbandry is the central task in the pastoral areas.*

All other tasks must be centered around production, which is the central task, and serve its development. It should be realized that only by developing animal husbandry can the pastoral economy and improved life of the people in the pastoral areas be developed, as well as laying the material foundations for other undertakings there, and promoting the development of the national economy throughout the whole nation. The people's governments in the pastoral areas have one final goal for all their work, namely, the development of animal husbandry and an improved life for the local people. Before production can be developed, it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity among nationalities, and within each nationality, solve all the problems which are hindering the development of animal husbandry, and transform the longstanding backwardness of production techniques and methods for raising animals, haphazard production organizations, and the low resistance to natural calamities.

While the work in pastoral areas was being unfolded, a number of people evinced erroneous ideological tendencies and thought that

agriculture was more important than animal husbandry and that animal husbandry was bound to be backward. There were several causes for these mistakes. In the first place, some people mechanically thought that historically the transformation from a nomadic economy into an agricultural economy was the normal way of progress, and therefore there would be no future for animal husbandry today unless it was transformed into agriculture. They failed to understand the very minute division of labour that was being practised in the current social economy, and that as the economy developed, industry and agriculture as well as the State and the people would require large quantities of animals and animal products. Therefore animal husbandry had and would continue to have great possibilities and could look forward to being modernized. Secondly, some of the cadres working in the pastoral areas had been born, brought up, and worked for long periods in agricultural areas; therefore, as they knew little about animal husbandry, they were liable to overlook its characteristics and belittle its importance. Thirdly, it was not realized that the development of animal husbandry was essential to developing the economy and improving the life in the pastoral areas as well as to putting an end to the poverty and backwardness of the people of all nationalities there. These mistakes adversely affected the development of animal husbandry. For this reason, it is necessary to pay constant attention to criticizing erroneous thoughts and educating mistaken comrades.

(3) *Strengthening and consolidation of solidarity of nationalities.*

Enemy instigation, the presence of big-nation chauvinism and narrow-minded nationalism in the pastoral areas, and the historical feuds and conflicts of interests among nationalities have caused the apparent disunity among nationalities and even within the same nationality since the liberation and will be evident for some time to come. This has affected and will continue to affect the development of the pastoral economy. To strengthen nationalities solidarity, all areas have adopted the method of exposing enemy plots, punishing counter-revolutionaries, stepping up education on patriotism and internationalism, overcoming, in conjunction with the solution of practical problems, the ideological tendencies of big-nation chauvinism, especially big-Han chauvinism, and narrow-minded nationalism, and settling disputes by persuading the disputing parties to make self-examinations and mutual concessions. As a result, the mutual

plundering and killing among nationalities was stopped, nationalities solidarity was consolidated, and the mutual assistance among nationalities was strengthened. In this way, nationalities friendship was increased, peace was kept on the grasslands, and production was enormously developed.

The solidarity of cadres is the key to the solidarity of nationalities. Therefore all cadres working in the pastoral areas, especially Han cadres, must realize the importance of animal husbandry and get the idea of serving the people of all nationalities in the pastoral areas for long periods to build up the motherland. They must overcome such unhealthy thoughts as belittling the importance of the work of pastoral areas, finding fault with the backwardness in the pastoral areas, fearing difficulties, and failing to be contented with their assignments. They must regularly guard against such ideological tendencies as big-nation chauvinism which cause them to disregard the characteristics of the minority nationalities and the actual conditions in the pastoral areas, fail to pay attention to improving nationalities relations, and fail to respect religious beliefs, customs and habits, and the languages of minority nationalities. At the same time, they must educate minority nationalities cadres to prevent and overcome their tendencies towards narrow-minded nationalism and such narrow-minded professional views as may cause them to fail to try actively to secure the help of fraternal nationalities and cadres from outside, fail to take care to unite with them, and think that animal husbandry could be developed by itself without assistance from industry or agriculture.

(4) *Vigorously train nationalities cadres for the pastoral areas.*

It has been a long time since the people of the pastoral areas first began their animal husbandry. The people there are familiar with the laws of animal husbandry and also have deep feelings for it. Training a number of local nationalities cadres who are conversant with policies and familiar with animal husbandry and the techniques of raising animal, appointing them to leadership posts in animal husbandry, thereby making it easier to win warm support of the masses for the State policies concerning animal husbandry and for advanced and scientific methods to be combined with the existing experience of the masses is of decisive significance towards developing the economy of the pastoral areas. Nationalities cadres are growing up in all the pastoral areas at present, as a result of

the implementation of this directive.

(5) *The "prosperity of both human beings and animals" directive.*

As a rule there is no vigorous increase of population in pastoral areas. But there must be a vigorous increase of population so that animal husbandry may be developed at the same time. Therefore improving the health of the people and increasing the population are of primary importance in the work of the pastoral areas. Many measures have been adopted, such as increasing medical and health establishments, giving free medical treatment to the poor, protecting the health of women and children, and encouraging birth, for the purpose of implementing the directive. Huge successes have been achieved. In 1952, the Sinkiang Military District sent medical teams deep into the pastoral areas to cure sick herdsmen. In the six months from May to November of that year, they initially treated 63,018 people suffering from syphilis, rheumatism, intestinal disorders, or skin diseases and in addition treated another 41,269 of them. In the pastoral areas of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, treatment has been given to everybody suffering from venereal disease, and in many of these areas, venereal disease has been eradicated. Signs of vigorous increases in the population have appeared in the pastoral areas, and additional manpower has been made available for animal husbandry. At present, "prosperity of both human beings and animals" has become the slogan urging the people of the pastoral areas forward and is being whole-heartedly supported by them.

III. Policies for the Development of Pastoral Economy.

In accordance with the directives for the development of the pastoral economy and the actual conditions in the various pastoral areas, including the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region mentioned above, a number of policies have been put into practice in different ways. The following are the 11 principal methods:

(1) The policy of "no struggle, no division, and no class distinction" and of "benefits to both pastoral workers and pastoral lords" has been put into practice in the pastoral areas. The economy of the pastoral lords is preserved. The policy of "no struggle, no division, and no class distinction" was drawn up on the basis of the actual conditions in the pastoral areas and the characteristics

of the pastoral economy. The pastoral economy includes the economy of the pastoral lords. The economy of the pastoral lords depends on hired labour and is slightly capitalist in nature. However, its development is not harmful. It will benefit the new democratic national economy as a whole. Facts show that in all cases the correct enforcement of the policy in question has led to the development of animal husbandry and improved living conditions for the people. In some areas, the leadership organizations, failing to understand the nature of the economy of the pastoral lords and that its development is beneficial to the development of production and the prosperity of the economy, used methods common to the agricultural areas, resulting in deviations from the policy and damage to animal husbandry. An important question when enforcing the "benefits to both pastoral workers and pastoral lords" policy is the question of wages..... In enforcing the wage policy, two different practices have been adopted in most cases. One is signed contracts between pastoral workers and pastoral lords after joint consultation, and observance of such contracts by both parties. The other is fixing uniform wage standards for small areas with similar production conditions after consultation between representatives of the pastoral workers and pastoral lords at meetings. The experience of all areas shows that either of these practices is sound. Proper adherence to them will enable the wage policy to be enforced voluntarily by and for the benefit of both parties. Concerning wage standards, the experience of all areas shows that different development stages of production and other concrete conditions made it impossible to press for uniformity. As a rule, wage standards should not be set too high at first. They should be raised and made reasonable later on following the development of production. But the objective in improving the life of the pastoral workers and increasing their production activism and the enterprising spirit of the pastoral lords must be achieved. When enforcing the wage policy, deviations also occurred in some areas. One was setting wage standards too high, forcing pastoral lords to hire workers, and forbidding pastoral lords to use or sell their animals as they pleased. These practices violated the right of the pastoral lords to own private property and was therefore wrong. Another was failing to protect the interests of the pastoral workers and allowing the pastoral lords to lower the wages of their workers or delay wage payments to them as they pleased

and to discharge their workers at will for breach of contract. Such a practice was also wrong. These mistakes must continue to be prevented and corrected.

(2) Rationally solving the problem of pastures and grazing grounds. In the pastoral areas at present, some pastures and grazing grounds are publicly owned by the nationalities or tribes and some are privately owned by individuals or monasteries. There are also cases of pastures and grazing grounds being owned by one nationality or tribe and rented for use to another nationality or tribe. In the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, where the pastures and grazing grounds are publicly owned by the nationalities, the policy of free grazing and regulating the use of grazing grounds has been put into practice. In areas (such as Tsinghai and Sinkiang), where the pastures and grazing grounds are privately owned by monasteries or individuals, the directive of basing the work on existing conditions, considering past practice, and protecting general interests while paying attention to the interests of the minority nationalities with smaller populations, and benefiting production and the solidarity among nationalities and that of every nationality has been implemented. The practice of mutual consultation among representatives of different nationalities, and leadership personalities having connections with the different nationalities has been adopted in regulating the use of pastures and grazing grounds and settling disputes among nationalities and within individual nationalities. In Tsinghai Province alone, over 3,000 such disputes have been settled in the three years since the liberation. In the areas where there were disputes among nationalities or tribes over renting pastures and grazing grounds, rents were appropriately readjusted after joint consultation. In this way, solidarity among nationalities and within individual nationalities has been strengthened, and these obstacles to the development of production in the pastoral areas have been cleared up.

(3) The policy of aiding animal husbandry and especially aiding the production undertakings of the poor herdsmen has been put into practice. Because animal husbandry had long been neglected, the people's government tried to aid it in all possible ways, such as organizing material exchanges, granting money loans, providing production tools and fodder on loan, and providing free inoculations against [animal] diseases. As a result, animal husbandry was rehabilitated and developed rapidly. The people's government have

tried to solve the difficulties of the poor herdsmen by developing production, taking care to correct the erroneous practice of neglecting aid to them, and protecting their political rights. It has also educated the herdsmen so as to strengthen their labour outlook, rewarded those who engaged in production actively and knew how to live economically, and supported the development of their economy by organizing mutual aid in production, appropriately readjusting wages, granting loans, starting interest-free loans, and encouraging them to help one another.....

(4) Organization of mutual support among industry, agriculture, and animal husbandry, and development of trade cooperative organizations in the pastoral areas. Animal husbandry can only be developed with help from industry and agriculture and in pace with the development of industry and agriculture. Since the liberation, the Central People's Government and the people's government in Inner Mongolia, Suiyuan, Tsinghai, and Sinkiang have actively developed trade cooperative organizations in the pastoral areas. Every year, huge quantities of grain are supplied to them, with the result that the slaughtering of animals has been enormously reduced. Bean-cake and other feeding materials have been supplied to them, thereby solving the winter problem of shortages of fodder. Production tools and livelihood needs have been supplied to them, thus overcoming their many difficulties in production and livelihood. Over the past few years, the pastoral areas have supplied large numbers of animals to the agricultural areas, including draft animals needed in farming, thus contributing to the development of agriculture. At the same time, they have supplied large quantities of hides, furs, and wool as raw materials for industry..... The development of trade cooperative organizations in the pastoral areas has reduced the excessive exploitation of the herdsmen by unlawful merchants, and led to unprecedented rises in the prices of animal husbandry products. As a result, the purchasing power of the herdsmen has been greatly increased, and their living improved. In the pastoral areas of Inner Mongolia before the liberation, the purchasing power of the herdsmen was very small. In 1951, the average purchasing power of a herdsman in Inner Mongolia was raised to ¥ 433,000 [old currency], and in 1952, it was raised to ¥ 506,000. After the Tsinghai Trading Company travelling team had gone deep into some pastoral areas to work, Weimu-tsang, a

Tibetan of Kuei-te-chien-cha, said gratefully. "In the past, I carried loads of wool to Kueite and obtained in return only one load of tea. Now people from the trading company come to our tents. I can obtain one load of tea in exchange for one load of wool". But there are still shortcomings in our work. There are pastoral areas to which grain cannot be sent, and other pastoral areas from which animals and animal products cannot be shipped out. There are cases of unreasonably priced animal products when compared with the prices of industrial and agricultural products and also cases of animal products being sold at too high a price. All these deserve attention. Trade departments should give their attention to those pastoral areas where production has not yet been rehabilitated, and where the people are having difficulties in their livelihood. Under extraordinary circumstances, if justifiable, supplies should be maintained even at a loss. Appropriate help should be given to the pastoral areas in setting up fairs and trading stations; discriminating and well-planned help should be given to the masses in organizing supply and marketing cooperatives. The customary market places of the people of the pastoral areas (such as the big fair of "Nar-da-mu" and other monastery fairs) should be fully used and they should be helped. Under the leadership and with the organizing efforts of trade administrations and State-owned trade enterprises, the policy of fair and reasonable prices must be enforced. Commercial and trade relations among the people should be re-established and lawful private merchants should be included. All cheating on the part of minority nationalities people must be opposed. To facilitate the exchange of materials, all areas should make full use of existing means of communication among the herdsmen. Where conditions permit, suitable road construction should be undertaken and new communication routes should be prepared.

(5) Animal husbandry must be regarded as the more important item in the semi-agricultural, semi-pastoral areas and areas where agriculture and animal husbandry are undertaken simultaneously, and the policy of protecting grazing grounds and forbidding conversion of land into fields should be adopted. In these areas, because contradictions between agriculture and animal husbandry and disputes among nationalities have prevailed for a long time, poor communications make it difficult for grain to be shipped out, and much of the land is unsuitable for agriculture because of soil and

climate conditions. When land is converted into fields, crops are usually planted by rotation but later they are abandoned, resulting in increased wasteland. Conversion of land into fields has caused a reduction in the amount of grazing ground and led to such calamities as windstorms, sandstorms, floods, and droughts, proving very harmful to both animal husbandry and agriculture, and making it impossible for peasants or herdsmen to enrich themselves after long years of hard toil..... Forbidding the conversion of land into fields and fixing the grazing grounds is, therefore, very important. In these areas the development of animal husbandry is more profitable to the people than developing agriculture. However, the relationship between agriculture and animal husbandry and that among nationalities is complicated. In handling this problem special care must be taken, otherwise the objective of strengthening the solidarity among nationalities, strengthening the cooperation among nationalities in the development of production, resolving the contradictions between agriculture and animal husbandry, and settling the disputes among nationalities cannot be achieved. The general practice adopted is to fix the areas for fields and grazing grounds, organise mutual aid between peasants and herdsmen, and encourage the peasants to take up animal husbandry. In small fields within the grazing grounds, animal husbandry is to be developed gradually and under proper guidance in accordance with the principle of voluntariness. Where difficulties arise, governments are to help overcome them. In places where both agriculture and animal husbandry may be suitably developed, the respective areas for fields and grazing grounds are to be fixed, and both agriculture and animal husbandry are to be developed. In resolving contradictions between agriculture and animal husbandry and settling disputes among nationalities, it is necessary to understand clearly that although such contradictions and disputes were occasioned by national oppression in the past, they have as a rule become problems within the ranks of the labouring people today. Only the practice of persuasion and help should be adopted. Mutual preclusion is not permitted. It is necessary to consider the good of the whole, and especially the good of the minority. Resulting from this and from strengthening the political solidarity among nationalities, it will be possible not only to resolve the contradictions between agriculture and animal husbandry and develop production, but also to replace contradictions with mutual aid and slowly settle

all the disputes among nationalities left behind from the past.

(6) The policy of lighter taxation than that obtaining in agricultural areas and cities has been put into practice, with the result that the herdsmen have been given a chance to develop. Immediately after the liberation and in view of their difficulties, the herdsmen in all pastoral areas were exempted from paying tax to the State for fixed periods. Even after the development of animal husbandry, the policy of lighter taxation in pastoral areas than in agricultural areas and cities has been enforced. In some pastoral areas now, the policy of tax exemption points and taxable excesses on maximum accumulation has been enforced, and in other pastoral areas, the policy of proportional taxation has been put into practice. In all cases, the rate of taxation is very low. Pastoral tax is usually paid in animals, hides, wool or other simple method. In a few pastoral areas, the method of tax collection has not been simple enough, and there have been unreasonable points in the assessment of animals, hides, and wool paid as pastoral tax. Improvement is therefore called for. As a result of enforcing a reasonable tax policy, the herdsmen have kept up their enthusiasm for production, and this has been good for the development of production.

(7) The policy of steadily developing mutual aid and cooperation among the herdsmen has been enforced. The requirements for developing production include the movements for mutual aid and cooperation which have made huge developments in some pastoral areas owing to the fact that primitive mutual aid among herdsmen has been customary in the past, and also because of the leadership of the local Party organizations and people's governments. According to existing data, there are temporary mutual-aid teams for hunting wolves, gathering grass, preventing and fighting fires, and undertaking sideline production among the herdsmen in Sinkiang and Tsinghai, and there are over 1,000 seasonal mutual-aid teams for animal husbandry and for both agriculture and animal husbandry in the pastoral and semi-agricultural, semi-pastoral areas of Suiyuan. In Inner Mongolia, over 2,600 mutual-aid teams of various types have been set up. There are three principal types: the first type being mutual-aid teams for preventing and fighting calamities, delivering lambs, obtaining grass, hunting, shearing sheep, and practising "ao-t'e-erh" (that is, herding where conditions are good in respect of water and grass supplies), and undertaking sideline

production. The second type includes mutual-aid teams for collective herding; these are mutual-aid organizations formed among herdsmen in places with comparatively few animals for the purpose of saving labour and are quite popular in the pastoral areas and semi-agricultural, semi-pastoral areas. The third type comprises permanent mutual-aid teams practicing fixed divisions of labour and work according to production plans. They are mutual-aid organizations of a higher form and there are not many of them today. The practice of mutual aid in labour has solved herdsmen's difficulties over shortages of labour and lack of production tools and has given actual benefits to the herdsmen. In some areas in the past, the mistake of organizing mutual aid by force was committed. Firm steps must be taken to ensure that the same mistakes do not happen again. The movement for mutual aid and cooperation in the pastoral areas must be suited to the production needs of the herdsmen and be launched in strict accordance with the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit..... Experiments must be made in typical cases first, and the extensive organization of mutual aid and cooperation must be gradual. The mutual-aid organizations suggested at present should be temporary and seasonal ones. As for mutual-aid organizations of higher forms, they should only be experimented with by leadership departments in areas where the necessary conditions are present. It is advisable to set up only a few of them and to have these well run. It is not permissible to act recklessly for the sake of greater numbers, for this will hinder the progress of the movement for mutual aid and cooperation in the pastoral areas.

(8) Fixed dwellings with itinerant herding is advocated for areas where the necessary conditions are present. In the overwhelming majority of the pastoral areas, the herdsmen have to travel about herding their animals. There are also pastoral areas where the herdsmen have to travel about tending their animals but nevertheless they still have fixed dwelling places. Fixed dwellings and itinerant herding have their respective advantages and disadvantages. A fixed dwelling is good for the well-being of human beings, but as there are limits to the output of grass in all natural pastures and grazing grounds, it is not good for the reproduction of animals and the development of animal husbandry. Herdsmen travel about tending their animals so that they have good grass to eat all the

time. Itinerant herding is therefore good for the animals. But the fact that whole families have to move about all the year round because of the animals is extremely detrimental to the well-being of human beings. Under existing production conditions, fixed dwellings with itinerant herding has the advantage in both cases and does not have the disadvantages of either case. Hence, it should be advocated in areas where the necessary conditions are present. Some people (mainly the youths and middle-aged people) should travel about herding the animals while the rest (including the old, the weak, and the very young) should remain in residential places and build homes, including setting up health centres, growing grass, planting vegetables, and establishing school. Under conditions of voluntariness the herdsmen should be organized to practice mutual aid and cooperation. In this way, they can more effectively attain the objective of changing the appearance of life in the pastoral areas and securing prosperity for both human beings and animals.

(9) Strengthening education on patriotism, organizing competitions in the reproduction and protection of animals, fostering labour models in the pastoral areas, and encouraging working cadres and technical personnel. All the pastoral areas have taken care to propagandize and educate the masses on patriotism in conjunction with the implementation of various tasks. Experience shows that this can provide the motive power for increasing the patriotic feelings of herdsmen, raising their labour enthusiasm, and promoting the development of production. Organizing people in the pastoral areas to visit other places is a good way of educating them in patriotism, for they will be made to realize the greatness of the motherland, feel the warmth of the motherland, and thus further increase their patriotic feelings and labour enthusiasm.....

(10) Developing handicrafts and sideline production and establishing small-scale industries which are closely connected with animal husbandry. In the pastoral areas, there are already a number of small-scale industries and handicrafts, such as processing animal products, making blankets, curing hides, and manufacturing carts, and some sideline production undertakings such as transportation, the production of salt and soda, hunting and fishing and the development of industries and handicrafts is very important, as it plays a role in advancing the development of productivity in the pastoral areas. The development of sideline production can increase

the income of the herdsmen and help solve the livelihood problems of poor herdsmen.....

(11) Setting up State-owned livestock farms and livestock breeding farms. Since 1949, five State-owned livestock farms have been set up in Inner Mongolia, and to improve the breeds of horses, five stud farms have been set up. Also, in the pastoral areas in Suiyuan State-owned livestock farms have been set up. State-owned livestock farms are of the nature of socialist economy. They are very important for the development of animal husbandry. It is their task to absorb the herdsmen's experience concerning proper herding, gradually introducing scientific methods of improving the breeds of animals, improving methods of management in animal husbandry, increasing the propagation and reducing the mortality rate of animals, and setting good examples to herdsmen concerning the development of animal husbandry. In respect of the State-owned livestock farms, the directive on properly running them in all cases without exception must be firmly enforced. Some State-owned livestock farms are not being run well. The reason for this is that the leadership organizations in the areas concerned and the responsible persons at these farms have not clearly understood the important meaning of State-owned livestock farms and have acted bureaucratically in leading and managing these farms. This mistake must be overcome in the future. The method of managing State-owned livestock farms must be improved, and the political leadership over them must be strengthened.

V. Remarks on Future Work

Economic construction is now in progress throughout the nation. Animal husbandry in the pastoral areas is a part of the nation's economic construction. Therefore, the central task in the pastoral areas in the future will be to meet the requirements of economic construction throughout the whole nation, to increase the number of animals, to improve their breed, to increase the output of animal products, and to develop the pastoral economy.

To complete these tasks for the development of the pastoral economy, the above-mentioned areas must continue to enforce the directives and policies. These directives and policies are basically suited to all the pastoral areas, but they are not being completely

enforced in some of them. Experience shows that in all cases where they have been correctly enforced it has led to the development of animal husbandry; where they have been contravened it has led to mistakes in work and damage to the pastoral economy. However, when enforcing them, all pastoral areas must consider their actual conditions and carry out the work gradually and in a systematic manner in accordance with the requirements of production.....

Generally speaking in areas which were liberated earlier and where the foundation of work is sounder and production has been developed, the policies now in force must continue to be enforced. In the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, emphasis should be laid on enforcing the policy of benefits to both pastoral workers and pastoral lords, advocating and organizing mutual aid in animal husbandry in a well-guided and well-phased manner, advocating fixed dwellings with itinerant herding wherever conditions permit (advocating grazing by rotation and planting of pastures where the herdsmen have already settled), gradually introducing scientific management methods, strengthening leadership over State-owned livestock farms, and gradually transforming the backwardness of pastoral areas.

In areas where peace and order has already been established, where work has been provided with a definite foundation, and where pastoral production has been rehabilitated, the policy of "no struggle, no division, and no class distinction" should continue to be enforced. Where permitted by actual conditions, the policy of benefits to both pastoral workers and pastoral lords should be enforced after experimentation in typical cases, and work should be carried out to maintain production enthusiasm, develop medical services, trade etc. In accordance with the requirements of the development of production and possibilities, and under the principle of voluntariness on the part of the masses, some measures conducive to the development of animal husbandry must be adopted to achieve the objective of securing the well-being of both human beings and animals, increasing the numbers of animals, and protecting animals. In the areas in question, the policy of fixed dwellings with itinerant herding need not be enforced for the time being, and mutual aid in production should only be experimented with in individual cases after the existing experience of the masses has been summed up.

In areas where work has initially begun but production is

still being rehabilitated, emphasis should be laid on extensively propagandizing the policy of "no struggle, no division, and no class distinction" and other relevant directives, and all necessary and possible measures for keeping up production enthusiasm and developing medical services and trade must be adopted for rehabilitating pastoral production and providing it with a foundation for development. Other undertakings need not be started if the right conditions have not yet been provided.

Leadership organizations and work cadres in the pastoral areas must study the policies concerned with pastoral areas, learn about pastoral production, and extensively propagandize and educate the masses of all nationalities regarding the policies which should now be enforced in these areas and production knowledge.

In the pastoral areas outside the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Suiyuan, Tsinghai and Sinkiang and in some of the pastoral areas of Tsinghai and Sinkiang, the question of whether or not to enforce the above-mentioned policies and concrete measures, when they should be enforced, and how they should be enforced, must be decided according to the actual situation and concrete conditions. It is not permissible to enforce policies or measures regardless of situations and conditions, merely because they are considered good. Nor is it permissible to enforce all the above-mentioned policies and measures indiscriminately just because one or two of them have been found to be applicable.

Animal husbandry has a bright future. The achievements in the past are tremendous. Yet greater successes will be won in the future. In future work, there will be many difficulties, and shortcomings and mistakes will be inevitable. To develop the economy in the pastoral areas and improve the life of the people there, and to build up our great motherland, all the cadres and all the people of the different nationalities in the pastoral areas must make greater efforts in their work and in production, overcome the difficulties, win greater successes, and fulfill their glorious missions.

*The People of the Tibetan Nationality
in Tsinghai are Advancing*
By Chiang Shan (江山)

(*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, April 15, 1955)

Tsinghai is a multi-nationalities province. The provincial population of over 1,670,000 is made up of people of seven different nationalities—Han, Tibetan, Hui, Mongol, Sala(撒拉), T'u(土), and Kazaks. Tibetan nationals, who account for half of the provincial population, may be found in all except the northeastern parts of the province.

Under the reactionary rule of Kuomintang bandits of the Ma family, the people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai lived in utter misery before the liberation. In Yüshu area alone, bandit Ma Fu-fang carried off over 220,000 animals by force in 1941.

Since the liberation, the people's government of Tsinghai Province has correctly enforced the nationalities policy; practiced regional autonomy; rehabilitated and developed production and construction, and cultural, educational, and public health work; and enabled all the people of the Tibetan nationality in the province not only to win political equality with the people of other nationalities, but also to improve their economic and cultural life. Their religion, customs and habits have been respected.

For the past few years, the people's government of Tsinghai Province has been actively enforcing regional autonomy in the areas where people of the Tibetan nationality live in agglomeration. As early as February, 1952, the Yüshu Tibetan Autonomous District, equivalent to an administrative district, was established. Many autonomous areas equivalent to *hsien* have also been set up during this period. Following the development of other undertakings, the practice of regional autonomy was further advanced. In December 1953 and January 1954, five autonomous districts equivalent to administrative districts were set up. These were the Hainan Tibetan Autonomous District, the Haipei Tibetan Autonomous District, the Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous District, the Kolo Tibetan Autonomous District, and the Haihsi Mongol-Tibetan-Kazak Autonomous

District. As a result, regional autonomy became extensively enforced in those parts of the province which are inhabited by people of the Tibetan nationality.

Following the developments in regional autonomy, all the autonomous districts and areas achieved tremendous successes in training cadres of the Tibetan nationality. By October 1954, the number of Tibetan nationality cadres in all the autonomous districts and areas increased to over 1,500. In the Hainan Tibetan Autonomous District, 98 Tibetan nationality cadres were trained and appointed in 1954 alone. In T'ungte *hsien*, the Tibetan nationality cadres now account for 70 per cent of all the cadres. The Tibetan nationality cadres have worked actively and made a good job of uniting with the masses. They have played a positive role in propagandizing and enforcing policies. Some of them have not only taken up leadership posts in government organizations, but have also become glorious Communist Party members.

All the governments of the autonomous districts and areas regard the Tibetan language as their principal instrument in exercising power. In the provincial government and all the governments of autonomous districts and areas, there are specific cadres for translation work. All official documents use both the Han and the Tibetan languages.

In their economic life, the people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai depend mainly on animal husbandry. Since the liberation the people's government of Tsinghai Province has correctly enforced the policy of "benefits to both pastoral workers and pastoral lords" and other policies, and actively guided and aided the development of animal husbandry. In 1953 and 1954 alone, the Central People's Government granted pastoral loans amounting to over ¥14,440,000,000 (here and hereinafter, referring to the old currency) to Tsinghai Province and doled out relief amounting to over ¥16,000,000,000 in the pastoral areas of the province. These loans and relief played a huge role in helping the poor herdsmen develop production. According to incomplete statistics, 2,376 families in 13 *hsien* last year used loans to buy more than 30,000 sheep and over 1,500 cattle. In Kungho *hsien*, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous District, all the 140 families of poor herdsmen who received loans last year developed their production. To-chia, a herdsman, received a loan in 1952 and bought 80 sheep with it.

In the following year, his flock increased by 70 lambs. The people's government attaches great importance to protecting the health of cattle and sheep. During the past few years, the Central People's Government has allocated special funds to Tsinghai for the purpose of promoting this work. Animal drugs and veterinary appliances were transported by air to the Kolo area on many occasions, and in this way people of the Tibetan nationality in Kolo were helped to develop this veterinary work. Work has also been undertaken to improve the breed of animals and increase and protect animals. Peace is maintained on the grassland, and the animals are fat. This is unprecedented. Compared with 1949, the number of all kinds of animals has increased by about 50 per cent.

Following developments in production, the economic life of the people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai has been noticeably improved. They have all bought new clothes and for food they not only have *ch'ing-k'o*, but also noodles and rice shipped in from the interior. The majority of them have *fu* tea to drink. In Tsinghai Province, the total quantity of tea sold in 1951 amounted to something over 1,570,000 catties, and that sold last year to over 3,000,000 catties. The overwhelming majority of the tea sold in Tsinghai was sold in the areas inhabited by people of the Tibetan nationality. In the winter of last year, continual snow cut off communications in the Kolo area, and the people of the Tibetan nationality there had difficulty in obtaining grain. Therefore, the State Council despatched aircraft to air-drop grain and tea to them. They said gratefully, "The Communist party and Chairman Mao are kinder to us than our own parents!"

Following improvements in their economic life, the cultural life of the people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai has also improved gradually. In Hainan Tibetan Autonomous District, one middle school and 85 primary schools have been set up, and over 5,200 people are going to school. The provincial cultural and educational department has compiled and prepared translations of textbooks for junior and senior primary schools in the Tibetan language. Since its founding, the *Tsinghai Tsang-wen Pao* (青海藏文報) published by the *Tsinghai Jih-pao* Office has enjoyed consistent popularity among the people of the Tibetan nationality. The Tsinghai Provincial People's Broadcasting Station has introduced programmes in the Tibetan language and set up 63 receiving

stations in the pastoral areas. In the Yüshu Tibetan Autonomous District, a wired broadcasting station has been set up. Announcements of important news about the motherland and weather forecasts can be received in all the areas inhabited by people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai, such as around the Tsaidam Basin and on the grasslands on both sides of the Pa-yen-k'e-la Mountains. In addition, there are 21 motion picture projecting teams in the province which visit all areas in turn to present film shows. These are warmly welcomed by the people of the Tibetan nationality. Concerning public health work, during the years from 1951 to 1954, the province allocated a total of over ¥9,000,000,000 to finance free medical treatment to the peoples of all minority nationalities. The overwhelming majority of this sum of money was spent in areas inhabited by people of the Tibetan nationality. In Haian, Kungho, Chiencha, and T'ungjen, in 1953 and 1954, efforts were concentrated on eradicating venereal disease and solitary results were obtained.

Communications construction is an important condition for political, economic, and cultural development. Thanks to the concern of the people's government and the strenuous efforts made by the engineering corps of the People's Liberation Army, communications construction in the areas inhabited by people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai has developed rapidly. The whole of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway is now open to traffic, and the Tsinghai-Sikang Highway is open to traffic as far as Yüshu. There are scheduled passenger services from Sining to Yüshu, Haihsi, and Kungho. Radio-phone services between Sining and Yüshu and Tulan are in operation. In addition, postal and tele-communications services have been installed or are being developed in a number of areas.

During the past five years, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the people's government, the people of the Tibetan nationality in Tsinghai have embarked on the road to prosperity and happiness. In front of them, bright prospects have been opened up. Hard-working and courageous as the people of the Tibetan nationality are, they will win increasingly brilliant victories in the days to come.

F. Industry and Commerce

Notes to Document 23

The Chinese Communists established a branch of the People's Bank of China in February, 1952 and then the "State-Owned Tibet Trading Company Headquarters" in Lhasa. Subsequently, branch organisations were established in such places as Gyantse and Shigatse. Through them, they granted loans to Tibetans at low interest rates, collected and purchased such local products as wool, and sold to Tibetans tea, chinaware and silk products. In this way they tried to make the Tibet region economically dependent upon the interior of China and to make the "*Jen-min-pi*" ("people's currency") the legal tender. During that period the Tibetans clearly did not trust the "*Jen-min-pi*", welcoming only the silver dollar.¹⁵

Document 23

Commerce and Handicrafts Flourish in Tibet

By Ssu Hsüeh (思 雪)

(Tientsin, *Ta-kung Pao*, September 7, 1954)

Until the liberation of Tibet, all vital economic activities were controlled by the imperialists. They robbed Tibet of her wealth in wool, salt, and borax, reduced the people to a life of utter poverty, and deprived industry and commerce of vitality.

Chairman Mao and the Central People's Government are keenly interested in Tibet's industrial and commercial development. After liberation, units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet seriously observed the "Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" which provides for the "gradual development of Tibet's agriculture, animal husbandry, industry and commerce, and improvement of livelihood".

To begin with, State-owned commercial departments purchased JMP ¥60,000,000,000 worth of wool which had been unsaleable since the imperialists lowered the price of wool. In May 1952, the

State-owned Tibet Trading Company Headquarters concluded its first contract with Tibetan wool merchants, purchasing all the wool produced in Tibetan between 1950 and 1952 at a price three times higher than the market price. As a result, 400 wool merchants were provided with the money they needed for the smooth running of their business. In the wool producing areas, this increase in the price of wool meant that herdsmen could obtain a better livelihood and more of the necessities of life.

The State-owned Tibet Trading Company Headquarters aided Tibet's commerce by placing orders for goods with and on behalf of Tibet. In placing order for goods, it ensured that merchants could make reasonable profits and paid 30-50 per cent of the total cost to the medium and small merchants in advance. Besides, it purchased at reasonable prices those goods for which they could not find buyers. In this way, the business of lawful merchants was encouraged. To secure the adequate supply of tea to the Tibetan people, the trading company headquarters bought 200,000 packets of tea in Ya-an and delivered them to different parts of Tibet. It also organized merchants to ship in tea from such areas as Sikang and Yunnan. When the tea merchants needed money for the smooth running of their business, the People's Bank of China immediately granted loans to them so that money for the tea they had bought could be remitted to the interior. Last year alone, such loans amounted to almost JMP ¥1,600,000,000 representing the price of about 2,000 loads of tea which might have been purchased in K'angting.

To help the Tibetan people dispose of some of their products abroad, the People's Bank made foreign exchange available to merchants in a well-planned manner. In this way, Tibet's foreign trade was organized. According to statistics, applicants for foreign exchange in Tibet in 1953 included 815 Sikang and Tibetan merchants, 10 Peking merchants, 40 Tsinghai merchants, 10 Yunnan merchants, three Szechwan merchants, 66 Kansu merchants, 67 Hui merchants, and 42 Nepalese merchants. Remittances to the interior were also greatly increased. In 1953 merchants remitted money to the interior amounting to nearly JMP ¥50,000,000,000. These measures played an important role in facilitating the exchange of materials between Tibet and the interior. According to incomplete statistics, the quantity of tea shipped into Tibet from the interior

increased by 50 per cent in 1953 as against 1952, and the quantities of hides, wool, fur, Tibetan blankets, and other local special products shipped into the interior from Tibet also increased greatly. Other statistics show that between January and October, 1953, 578 truck-loads of goods were transported into Chamdo from the interior.

Owing to the increasing abundance of materials shipped into Tibet from the interior, a great deal of the money in circulation was returned to the State. This kept the prices of things stable and helped commerce to flourish. According to statistics, there were 1,290 shops, travelling merchants, and stalls of different lines of business in Lhasa in September 1951. They had a total capital of about JMP ¥7,000,000,000; by the end of 1952, the number of merchants had increased by 530, and the total capital by about ¥39,000,000,000. The number of Tsinghai merchants in Lhasa has increased by almost six times this year as against 1952 and before. In addition, the number of merchants and their total capital has also increased in such areas as Chamdo, Shigatse, Gyangtse, and Heiho.

Following the gradual activation of the market, the flow of commodities along all the communication lines between Tibet and the interior has been continuous. The increase in the volume of transportation this year is the biggest ever recorded in history. The varieties of commodities from the interior have also been increased. Apart from tea, chinaware, and silk products, which have always been the principal commodities from the interior, other industrial products needed by the people have also arrived in an endless stream. All the merchants who have come to Tibet from the interior are grateful to the State-owned Tibet Trading Company Headquarters and people's governments and trade organizations in the interior. This is what they say: "When procuring goods in the interior, we were given every attention."

In the winters of the past two years, transactions in local special products on the Lhasa market were particularly active. Groups of herdsmen from the vast pastoral areas of North Tibet were seen driving herds and flocks and bringing such products from the pastoral areas as lake salt, lake soda, wool, animal skin, butter, and mushrooms, to exchange for grain and other livelihood needs. Peasants also came to Lhasa from both sides of the middle reaches of the Tsang Po River and the Shannan area to sell their

farm products and such sideline products as rough serge made from yak hair, wooden bowls, Tibetan incense, and boots.

The establishment of post offices and tele-communications bureaux in Lhasa, Chamdo, Shigatse, Gyantse, Chiangtung, and Heiho; the development of postal and tele-communications services; and the radio-phone link between Lhasa and Peking and Chungking has further strengthened the ties between Tibet and the principal areas of the interior and further promoted the prosperity of Tibet's commerce. Quite a few merchants of the Tibetan nationality send cable messages to Ya-an and K'angting placing orders for goods.

Tibet's handicrafts have also been gradually activated like her commerce. These include the knitting of rough serge and woolen mattresses, sewing, hat-making, boot-making, mud-working, carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing gold, silver, and copper wares, paper-making, tanning, the making of cow-hide boats, flour milling, distilling, pottery, the making of wooden bowls and Tibetan incense, painting, and drawing. During the past few decades, owing to imperialist economic aggression-the imperialists carried off raw materials at low prices and shipped in large quantities of foreign goods-many of Tibet's handicrafts were destroyed, with the result that many handicraftsmen had to give up their trades and go elsewhere.

After the liberation, the People's Banks granted loans at low interest rates as a means of aiding Tibets handicrafts. In 1953 alone, the People's Banks in Lhasa, Shigatse, and Gyantse granted loans amounting to over JMP ¥1,300,000,000. In this way, the handicraftsmen's problem of finding the money to obtain raw materials was solved. The People's Banks are now preparing a kind of paddle wool spinning machine. Such machines will be distributed to all areas for general use. A man using one of these machines will be five times more efficient than a man twisting wool with his hands, In addition, these machines are easy to operate.

In 1953, the Central People's Government sent a number of blanket-weaving workers to Tibet. Using the workers as a nucleus, the Tibet Local Government set up a hand-weaving blanket factory in Lhasa which is now in operation. A number of Tibetan nationality workers are learning the techniques and this is how Tibet's wool-weaving industry will be improved with the help of workers from the interior.

In Gyantse, one of Tibet's well-known handicraft cities, over 80 per cent of the population are handicraftsmen. Before the liberation, the workers here lived in poverty. They had no incentive to improve their techniques or raise their productivity. In 1953, as required by the handicraftsmen, the People's Banks granted loans to them at low interest rates, and the trading company increased their sales by placing orders with them and paying them in advance. Those handicraftsmen who had been made jobless returned to their trades and began blanket-weaving competition with one another in speed and quality of weaving. In May 1953, their productivity went up by 10 per cent.

Aided by the people's government, the output from the six major trades in Shigatse, namely, the making of woollen mattresses, boot-making, the making of wooden bowls, oil extraction, noodle-making, and flour milling, increased by at least 30 per cent over pre-liberation days. Families engaged in the 14 principal handicrafts were granted loans at low interest rates by the People's Bank. These represented over 60 per cent of all households. They have purchased additional tools and expanded production. In the municipality, the number of handicraft households has been increased by 25 per cent as against the time before the liberation.

As yet, there is no modern industry in Tibet. However, since it has returned to the embrace of the big family of the motherland, modern industries will grow up gradually following the development of large-scale economic construction throughout the whole nation.

Last year, units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet set up four demonstration factories, one for making garments, one for spinning and weaving wool, one for tanning, and one for iron and wood works. The workers of both the Tibetan and Han nationalities in these factories are now making tools and appliances for the construction of the Muchao-Lhasa section of the Sikang-Tibet Highway. From December last year to February this year, the workers of the iron and wood factory made over 40,000 bridge parts and road construction tools for the Sikang-Tibet Highway project. The workers in the tannery and the wool spinning and weaving factory are rushing the manufacture of leather articles and rain-proof and warm sheep-skin blankets for road construction units. The workers of the garment factory are pushing the manufacture of bedding and clothing suitable for the climate at the road

construction sites.

The Tibet Local Government has set up a small electric power station, which is being repaired by technical workers from units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet and which will be able to supply Lhasa with some of the electricity which it needs.

G. Reports to and the Decisions of the State Council on Tibet

Notes to Documents 24-27

In September 1954, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni attended the first session of the First National People's Congress in Peking. At the close of the session, they were elected, respectively, Vice-Chairman and member of the NPC Standing Committee.

In March 1955, they attended the seventh plenary session of the State Council, at which the Decision of the State Council on the Establishment of a Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was passed. This decision to establish an Autonomous Region thus superseded the original decision to establish a Military and Administrative Committee, as provided for in 1951 (see Documents 6 and 9).

Document 24

*Report on the Work in the Tibet Area as Approved by the
7th Plenary Session of the State Council on March 9, 1955*
By Chang Ching-wu (張經武), Representative of the
Central People's Government in Tibet

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

I shall now report in brief on the work in all fields in Tibet during the three years and more since its liberation:

Under the illumination of the great nationalities policy of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the Central People's Government and the Tibet Local Government signed the "Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" in May 1951. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement, units of the People's Liberation Army and the personnel to enter Tibet did so without obstruction, energetically supported by the people of all nationalities in the nation and especially by the people of Tibet.

In this way, Tibet was peacefully liberated, and the unification of the mainland of the motherland was completed. Once and for all, the people of Tibet were freed from the fetters of slavery and the yoke of imperialism and returned to the People's Republic of China, the big family of free and equal nationalities. Like the people of other fraternal nationalities in the motherland, the people of Tibet can fully enjoy their rights as an equal nationality with freedom of worship. In the construction of the motherland, which is the common cause of all nationalities, they have gradually developed Tibet's political, economic, cultural, and educational construction and have embarked on the bright road to happiness.

During the three years and more since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Chairman Mao, the Dalai Lama, Panchen Erdeni, the people of Tibet, units of the People's Liberation Army and the personnel that have entered Tibet have united firmly together and exerted concerted efforts to implement the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. Tremendous successes were made in all fields, in strengthening the solidarity among nationalities, in consolidating the motherland's national defense, in enforcing the policy of freedom of worship, in developing the political, economic, cultural, and educational life of Tibet, in developing medical and health service, as well as training cadres of the Tibetan nationality.

Throughout the past three years and more, units of the People's Liberation Army and the personnel that entered Tibet consistently enforced the great leader Chairman Mao's nationalities policy and the policy to respect religion, as well as the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. In doing so, they have seriously respected the equality of the Tibet nationality and its religious beliefs, customs, and habits. Furthermore, in spite of great difficulties, they did their best to help the people of the Tibetan nationality to improve their material and cultural life gradually so that they might realize, from their own living experience, that the units of the Army and the personnel entering Tibet under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao did so to help them and not to oppress them, and that they considered their welfare in all cases. To help these units of the People's Liberation Army and the functionaries, the Tibetans in

many areas provided transport for them and obtained things for them in defiance of mountains and rivers and difficulties. Mutual respect and friendly cooperation have been set up between the Han nationality and the Tibetan nationality.

In the past, Tibet was not even united within. For a long time, it was in a state of disunity. This resulted from the rule of past reactionary governments and imperialist instigation. Chairman Mao's nationalities policy calls for unity not only among different nationalities, but also within every nationality. It is intrinsically different from the policies of instigation and "divide and rule" of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionary government. The Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet makes appropriate provisions concerning the question of how the internal solidarity of Tibet may be strengthened. In accordance with the agreement, Panchen Erdeni was warmly welcomed by the Dalai Lama and the broad masses of the people of Tibet, both religious and secular, and returned to Tibet without obstruction. Peace was restored between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni. After friendly consultation, Panchen Erdeni was reinstated in his position and office. Recently, the Tibet Local Government and the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee held friendly consultations and also reached agreement on the unsettled historical question. As a result, the internal solidarity of the Tibetan nationality has been further strengthened. The strengthening of the solidarity between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni and of the internal solidarity of the Tibetan nationality played an important role in the progress and development of the nationality.

In September 1954, in their glorious capacity as people's deputies of Tibet, both the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni arrived in Peking to attend the first session of the First National People's Congress and then the first plenary session of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference [in December 1954]. In accordance with the instructions of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in view of the changed situation in Tibet during the years since its peaceful liberation, Tibet no longer needed such an organization as a military and administration committee, and a united preparatory committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region which was to merge the Tibet Local Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee, and the People's Liberation

Committee of Chamdo Area, should be set up instead. This directive won the unanimous support of both religious and secular officials, the Tibet Local Government and the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee, who were in Peking, and from the representatives of the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area. It was unanimously considered that the directive was completely suited to the concrete conditions existing in Tibet at the time. A preparatory sub-committee was formed in Peking to undertake preparatory work. After full and friendly consultation, agreement was reached concerning the nature, missions, organization and work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and agreement was also reached on the "Report on Work of the Preparatory Sub-committee for the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region", which was submitted to the State Council on December 30, 1954. After the conclusion of the work in question, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni together visited a number of areas. There, they were warmly welcomed and received by people of all nationalities. They saw the development of construction in all fields in the motherland and the march of all the fraternal nationalities in the big family of the motherland along the road to prosperity and happiness.

In accordance with Article 14 of the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, which provides for the handling of all foreign affairs of the Tibet Region by the Central People's Government as the government of the whole of China, the Central People's Government set up a Foreign Affairs Office in Lhasa, Tibet, in 1952. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government, this Office has achieved definite successes in handling foreign affairs during the past few years. Peace and friendship and trade relations with neighbouring countries have been developed. On April 29, 1954, a delegation of the Central People's Government and a delegation of the Indian Government signed the "Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Communications Between India and the Tibet Region of China" in Peking. The relations between China and India as they affected the Tibet area were thus re-established on a new basis. The agreement was in accordance with the common interests of and the traditional friendship between the people of China and India. It was also in full accordance with the interests of the motherland and of the people of Tibet and

with their actual livelihood requirements. It was warmly supported by the people of Tibet. The Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni held separate forums to celebrate the signing of the Agreement.

The people of Tibet are fervent Buddhists. During the past three years and more, units of the People's Liberation Army and the personnel that entered Tibet strictly observed the policy concerning freedom of worship, seriously respected the religion of the people of Tibet and protected the lamasseries, united extensively with religious circles, and strengthened their ties with the people, both religious and secular, and with all the various religious sects. As a result of this and influenced by the interior of the motherland, where freedom of worship is respected and protected, the broad masses of the people of Tibet, both religious and secular, realized that the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government really respected and protected freedom of worship. The instigatory rumours spread by the secret agents of the imperialists and the Kuomintang over the question of religion were forcefully exposed for what they were.

Concerning economic work, people's banks and trading companies were set up in Lhasa and Shigatse. The people's banks granted interest-free agricultural and pastoral loans as well as loans to handicraftsmen and merchants at low interest rates, for the purpose of aiding the people in production. The trading companies signed contracts with Tibetan nationality merchants, purchased wool and other local special products, developed commerce and trade, strengthened communications and transport, organized the exchange of materials, and thus provided regulated supplies to meet the demands of the people. Units of the People's Liberation Army and the personnel that had entered Tibet reclaimed wasteland, engaged in production, and helped people, the Tibetans, to build water conservancy projects, popularize comparatively advanced farming implements and farming methods, improve production techniques, and increase output. They also set up experimental farms and livestock farms and played a definite role in exemplifying the improvements in agriculture and animal husbandry. These efforts played positive roles in gradually developing Tibet's agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, and commerce.

Concerning communications and transport, after several years of hard work, units of the People's Liberation Army and road

construction personnel and workers that had entered Tibet, built the Sikang-Tibet and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highways and opened them to traffic. In building these very difficult projects, they showed high patriotic consciousness and selfless revolutionary heroism. They deserve to be praised and commended. The people of Tibet have given huge support from in manpower and materiel to the road construction projects. This was very moving. Among them, countless labour models appeared. In the common work of highway construction, close fraternity and friendships were formed. The opening to traffic of the Sikang-Tibet Highway solved the difficulties of communications and transport, strengthened the ties between Tibet and the interior of the motherland, and brought about favourable conditions for the political, economic, and cultural development of the Tibet area. In Lhasa and other important cities, postal and tele-communications establishments were set up, which facilitated communications among the peoples of the Tibetan nationality.

People's hospitals and out-patient clinics were set up in Lhasa and other areas, and mobile medical teams were despatched to rural grazing grounds to give free medical treatment to the Tibetans. In this way, the broad masses of the people of the Tibetan nationality were afforded relief from their diseases. Primary schools have been set up in such cities as Lhasa, Gyantse, and Shigatse, where the spoken and written Tibetan language is used, and bursary grants are given to the poorer students. There are now over 1,000 pupils studying in these primary schools. In addition, a Tibetan language bulletin is published in Lhasa. Social education classes have been set up. Many young Tibetan men and women have thus been given the chance of going to school. All these are favourable conditions for the development of culture, education, and medical and health services in Tibet.

During the past three years and more, a number of Tibetan nationality cadres have been trained. Nearly 500 young men and women of the Tibetan nationality have been selected from the Tibetan area and sent to study in the Central Institute of Nationalities. In Lhasa, Shigatse, and Gyantse, cultural associations of patriotic youths and associations of patriotic women have been established. Many young men and women of the Tibetan nationality have joined their own organizations and are studying and engaging

in cultural and sports activities in a well-planned manner.

During the past years, the Tibet area has organized various types of delegations to go to the interior to tour the country and attend meetings. Almost 1,000 Tibetans have been members of these delegations. They saw with their own eyes the rapid development of all construction undertakings in the motherland, were warmly welcomed and cordially received by the people of all nationalities in different parts of the country, learned practical lessons in patriotism, and realized the greatness and loveliness of the motherland. After they returned to Tibet, they extensively propagandized what they had seen and learned. In this way, they increased the love of the people of Tibet for the motherland and their confidence in building Tibet.

These successes were achieved over the past three years or so because of the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, and Chairman Mao, because of the close ties between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni which actively promoted all undertakings, and because of the solidarity between the Tibet Local Government and the committee of the Panchen Kanpo Conference and among all the people of Tibet, both religious and secular, in exerting patriotic efforts. They were at the same time inseparable from the great material support, political concern and encouragement of the people of fraternal nationalities throughout the rest of the nation and also from the firm enforcement of the agreement on methods for the peaceful liberation of Tibet by units of the People's Liberation Army and the personnel that entered Tibet.

However, owing to poor communication facilities and many other factors, our help to the people of Tibet was small. The above-mentioned achievements were also small by comparison with the task of completing construction in Tibet and the task of strengthening the national defence of the motherland. We must unite together as one, refrain from conceit and haste, work practically and sincerely, and exert ourselves a hundred times harder to achieve greater success in the future.

The officials of the Han nationality who entered Tibet developed many shortcomings and committed many mistakes in their work. Vestiges of big-nation chauvinism were present to greater or lesser extents in many of them, who, for instance, did not seriously

respect the religious beliefs or customs or habits of the people of the Tibetan nationality, did not give due credit to the Tibetan nationality cadres, and failed to respect them or help them as much as they should. Secondly, some of the Han nationality cadres in Tibet did not sufficiently understand the local conditions and mechanically applied the work experience which they had gained in areas inhabited by people of the Han nationality, and tended to rush things in their work. In procurement and transport work, considerable losses were sustained by a number of people of the Tibetan nationality because of the failure to readjust prices in time. To remedy this these people were subsequently compensated. There were also individual cases of personnel breaking the laws, infringing on rules and getting things done by wrong practices. We examined and corrected these shortcomings and mistakes and gave further education on correct methods. In the future, we must prevent the same things from happening again.

There were difficulties in our work. In the past, owing to imperialist instigation and the enforcement of a policy of national oppression and disunity by the Manchu Government and the Kuomintang reactionary government, a deep gulf was created among the nationalities. In the initial stages after the liberation, the education of people to enforce the agreement on methods for overcoming shortcomings and mistakes committed in the work was developed. This aroused worry and suspicion among a number of the Tibetan functionaries, and affected the development of some undertakings. The Sikang-Tibet Highway and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway have now been opened to traffic as far as to Lhasa. This provides favourable conditions for helping to develop Tibet's construction. However, heavy tasks still remain to be carried out in the repair of road surfaces and road beds and in the maintenance of the highways. The difficulties encountered in communications and transport and in the supply of materials cannot as yet completely solved. Still more highways must be built. Also, in the economic field, many new difficulties have arisen. It is therefore not permissible to form too high an opinion or expect too much. It must also be realized that though the conspiracies of the imperialists and their jackals have been bankrupted in the face of the stronger solidarity among nationalities and within Tibet and the further advances in our work, they will not rest content with their defeat but will

continuously hatch new plots and carry out new acts of sabotage. We must maintain a high degree of vigilance against, and firmly and constantly expose and strike against, any plots and sabotage which the imperialists and their jackals may engineer.

From the above, we feel that in the Tibet area in the future, the directive of advancing prudently and steadily must continue to be enforced, the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet must continue to be observed, all work must be practical, the spirit of democratic consultation must be fully promoted, and haste and recklessness must be opposed. Things should be done only after the conditions have ripened and agreement has been reached by all. In all other cases, things should not be done, or their implementation should be postponed. The directive on "solidarity, progress, and further development" which was issued by Chairman Mao Tse-tung regarding the work in the Tibet area, must be implemented firmly, and common efforts must be made to complete the hard and glorious tasks of building a new Tibet and consolidating the national defence of the motherland. Concerning the current work of Tibet, I propose the following:

Further strengthen and cement the solidarity among nationalities and internal solidarity of Tibet, oppose imperialism, and share in the common task of building up the motherland. This remains as the central link in the work of Tibet. For this purpose, education against imperialism must be stepped up and the policy of equality among nationalities and the policy of freedom of worship provided for by the constitution must be firmly implemented. The anti-imperialist forces must be consolidated and expanded. The Han nationality cadres who have entered Tibet and the cadres of the Tibetan nationality, as well as the Tibetan nationality people themselves, must exert concerted efforts to build Tibet up in the spirit of mutual help, mutual concession, mutual respect, trust and consultation. Han nationality cadres must overcome the ideological style of big-nation chauvinism, respect the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, respect the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan nationality, learn the good points of the people of Tibet and Tibetan nationality cadres, learn the written and spoken Tibetan language, and serve the people of the Tibetan nationality whole-heartedly. As for the cadres of the Tibetan nationality they must study constantly and hard, heighten their patriotic consciousness and welcome help from

cadres of the Han nationality.

We intend to set up a preparatory committee for Tibet Autonomous Region, to make a good job of uniting the Tibet Local Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee, and the Chamdo area together, and also to undertake other necessary preparations for the purpose of providing the conditions for the future actual establishment of a united government for the Tibet autonomous region.

In accordance with the concrete conditions in Tibet, and under the guidance of State trade organizations, we must develop domestic and foreign trade, increase transportation to the interior, organize material exchange, and provide appropriately regulated supplies to meet the demands of the people. In developing trade it is necessary to unite with all the merchants in Tibet so that they may share in the common task of making the market prosperous. Aid should be given to agriculture, animal husbandry, and the handicrafts; a good job should be made of calamity relief work; and the living of the people should be gradually improved. Concerning the other construction undertaking, in accordance with the principle of considering requirements and possibilities, it will still be necessary to distinguish the important from the less important and the urgent from the less urgent, to make plans and draw up measures progressively, and not to look for results too quickly or too great in scope.

The further strengthening and consolidation of medical and health services in Tibet, the control of diseases, the improved health of the people, and the increase in the population:

To strengthen cultural and educational work in Tibet, to improve the management of schools which have already been set up, to conduct education in politics, current events and culture in a well-planned manner in patriotic youths and women's organizations, to unfold cultural, recreation, and sports activities further, and to step up the work of publishing books and newspapers written in the Tibetan language or translated into the Tibetan language.

To train Tibetan nationality cadres energetically, to continue to improve the training classes, and to select and send youths to study in the Central Institute of Nationalities. After the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region has been set up, preparations may be made for setting up a school in Lhasa for

Tibetan nationality. Those cadres of the Tibetan nationality who have taken part in work in various fields, should continue to be trained and improved patiently. This should be the duty of every Han nationality cadre working in Tibet. Leadership organizations must take care to a point and use cadres of the Tibetan nationality boldly and to correct the tendency of not trusting cadres of the Tibetan nationality¹⁶ which some cadres of the Han nationality have.

Building Tibet and strengthening national defence is a long-term and difficult task. It is our firm belief that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao, and the State Council together with the help of the people of the Han nationality and other nationalities, with the hard work of all the people of the Tibetan nationality, both religious and secular, and with the firm solidarity and close cooperation between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, we shall be able to fulfil, in entirety, the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, realize regional autonomy in Tibet, and build a prosperous and happy new Tibet.

My report is submitted as above.

Together with this report, read also the reports of Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Kaloon of the Tibet Local Government [see Document 24], and Chan-tung Jijigme, Chairman of the Fanchen Kanpo Lija Committee [see Document 25], concerning other questions on the work in the Tibet area.

Document 25

Report of Kaloön Ngapo Ngawang Jigme of the Tibet Local Government

-as approved by the plenary session of the State Council
at its seventh meeting on March 9, 1955

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

In accordance with the directive of the Central People's Government and the nationalities policy and in the spirit of the 17th article of the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, the units of the People's Liberation Army and the functionaries that entered Tibet under the leadership of General Chang Ching-wu and Commander Chang Kuo-hua, the representatives of the Central People's Government showed great respect for the existing political system in Tibet, for the position of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, and for the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the people of Tibet, and protected the lamasseries in Tibet. Concerning economic development, people's banks and trading companies were set up in Lhasa and other big cities, farms for agricultural and pastoral experimentation were established, interest-free loans were granted to handicraftsmen and merchants, help was given in developing production, and the wool which had been piling up in Tibet owing to the imperialist blockade and depression of its price, was purchased at a reasonable price. In addition, the establishment of the people's banks has brought stability to the financial field and provided better facilities for commodity dealings; in contrast, Tibet formerly bought all the things it needed thus causing serious damage to its economy.

Concerning culture, education, and public health: first of all, people's hospitals were set up in various areas, free medical treatment was given to all sick people, and preventive medicine was introduced. This has played a noticeable role in increasing the population of the Tibetans. Secondly, primary schools, schools for cadres, political classes, cultural associations of patriotic youths, and associations of patriotic women were set up, newspapers in the Tibetan language were founded, radio announcements and programmes were broadcast in Tibetan for the training of cadres, and the people

of Tibet were acquainted with the situation in China and other countries. Concerning the relations between the Tibetan area of our country and India, in accordance with the five principles underlying our country's foreign policy, new relations were established between the two parties on the basis of equity and mutual benefit. As a result of enforcing these important measures, the people of Tibet have made immense developments politically, economically, and culturally, and a foundation has been laid for their prosperity. More good has been done than can be cited here.

Above all, the Sikang-Tibet Highway and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway were recently completed. These highways are absolutely indispensable to the strengthening of the motherland's national defence, to building up a new Tibet out of the old Tibet which had poor communication facilities and backward production conditions, and to strengthening the ties between Tibet and the interior of the motherland. They will be the source of happiness for us, the people of Tibet. They have only taken a little over three years to complete. Their completion has laid the foundation for the development and construction of Tibet.

All these construction undertakings were begun after consultations had been held with the leadership personalities and the people of Tibet and after their consent had been secured. There has never been any case of coercion. However, when the work first began, some officials of the Tibet Local Government and some of the people of Tibet, both religious and secular, thought that the discussions were only held for the sake of form and therefore dared not express their opinions about them because they were still under the influence of old habits. Others thought that their opinions would not be considered seriously even if they did express them. They did not see the construction work as something that would be good for Tibet in the long run, and were not active or enthusiastic enough..... For these reasons, the results obtained were not very great or good. However, thanks to the consistent enforcement, by units of the People's Liberation Army and all the cadres, of the great nationalities policy which called for equality and solidarity among nationalities, the majority of the people of Tibet gradually healed their old wounds which had been caused by the lies of foreign imperialists, strengthened their solidarity with other fraternal nationalities, especially their solidarity with the people of the Han

nationality and their own internal solidarity, and clearly realized that the people of the Han nationality under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao were intrinsically different from the Kuomintang reactionaries of the past. As reported above, the basic situation is good. However, some shortcomings and mistakes have proved unavoidable. Because they did not understand local customs and habits and could not communicate with the local people, a few cadres and officers and men of the People's Liberation Army developed some minor shortcomings and committed some small misdemeanours in trade and transport work. But the shortcomings were immediately overcome and the mistakes corrected. They therefore did not adversely affect the solidarity among nationalities to any considerable extent. The above is a simple report on past facts.

Thanks to the above-mentioned tremendous successes achieved in the past, friendship and solidarity have appeared as they never did before among the nationalities of the motherland and especially between the Han nationality and the Tibetan nationality. Under the leadership of the Dalai Lama and Fanchen Erdeni, the leaders of the people of Tibet, almost 1,000 visitors and students from Tibet have visited Peking, the capital of the motherland, and have been especially honoured by being granted an audience by Chairman Mao, the great leader of all nationalities. This is a concrete manifestation of the unprecedented solidarity of the great motherland. Deputies of the Tibetan nationality, headed by the Dalai Lama and Fanchen Erdeni, attended the first session of the First National People's Congress [September 1954]. There, on the basis of equality among all, together with the deputies of other nationalities, great and small, they discussed and drew up the Constitution of the State and elected the Chairman of the State and the leadership cadres of the Government, showing that they had won political equality. Above all, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, a special preparatory committee has recently been formed for the formation of a united Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region which is to include the Tibet Local Government, the Fanchen Kanpo Lija Committee, and the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area. This sub-committee has submitted to the State Council its work report on which general agreement was reached. The Tibet Local Government and the Panchen Kanpo

Lija Committee requested from the State Council a plan to help them. The report of the Tibet Local Government and the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee was prepared through a thorough settlement, on a friendly basis and under the principle of voluntariness of both parties, thanks to the help and guidance of the State Council, as was the report asking for annual financial aid for the Tibet Government in issuing paper-notes and reorganizing the Tibet Army. This fully testifies to our trust in the correct nationalities policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the great leader, Chairman Mao. It is hoped that at the present State Council session, decisions will be made on these reports after discussion and amendments, and that all quarters will accord help and be concerned for us. Under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the great leader, Chairman Mao, we the people of Tibet, both religious and secular, warmly support the Constitution of our country which has been drawn up. We shall heighten our vigilance against and oppose imperialist rumours and instigations, heighten our patriotic thinking, strengthen and develop our solidarity with other nationalities, especially with the Han nationality,.....and in this way create conditions for the early establishment of autonomous power in the Tibet area. The units of the People's Liberation Army and the functionaries that entered Tibet have given great and effective help to the people of Tibet. On the basis of this, we must further depend on the help of the State Council, the cadres of the Han nationality who have entered Tibet, and the people of the Han nationality, exert efforts to develop Tibet's political, economic, cultural, and educational undertakings, build a happy and perfect new Tibet, and fully enjoy our rights as masters. The backwardness of we people of Tibet is longstanding. Our cultural knowledge and modern political experience is small. We have consequently developed shortcomings and committed mistakes in our work. In the good times of the present, with the unselfish help of the Central People's Government and under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, all the people of Tibet who used to be in the abyss of brutal oppression, backwardness, and poverty, have raised their heads and are marching confidently along the road to happiness and prosperity. However, because all the work they have done was new to them, they have unwittingly developed some shortcomings and committed some mistakes. The working

comrades who have come to Tibet to help things have had a hard time. We are well aware of the great favour. We hope that in the future they will criticize, instruct, and help us as affectionately and patiently as one member of a family may criticize, instruct, and help another member of the same family and as a teacher may criticize, instruct, and help his pupils. Because Tibet as yet does not have Tibetan nationality cadres with scientific knowledge, we hope that all parts of Tibet and the Central Institute of Nationalities will exert great efforts to train cadres of the Tibetan nationality, and that, apart from this, large numbers of cadres of the Han nationality will be sent over to help in all construction undertakings. In the various areas in the south and the north of both inner Tibet and outer Tibet, the existing communication facilities are poor. Because of this, both man and animals have to endure great hardships. We hope that things will be improved gradually. After we go back to Tibet, we shall ask all quarters for help from time to time in accordance with the concrete conditions in our work.

*Report of Chairman Chan-tung Jijigme of
the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee*

—as approved by the plenary session of the State Council at its seventh meeting on March 9, 1955

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

For a long time in the past, owing to oppression by the reactionary governments and the Kuomintang rule from within and imperialist aggression and exploitation from abroad, we the people of Tibet were in a backward state of starvation and poverty. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet and the entry of the People's Liberation Army, thanks to the leadership of the Central People's Government, Representative Chang [Ching-wu], the Tibet Military District, and the two Buddhas [Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama], and all the members of the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet firmly carried out Chairman Mao's nationalities policy and the policy regarding religion, seriously observed the Agreement on Methods for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, and enthusiastically and actively helped us through their continued efforts. As a result, in a short span of a little over three years, new signs of continuous development have appeared all over the Shigatse area. Definite successes have been achieved.

I. *The Question of Relationship with the Kasha**

In our relations with the Kasha, though some problems are longstanding and complicated, yet thanks to our joint attention and efforts, we have started negotiations on the basis of mutual respect and mutual concession. By correspondence, by sending representatives to each other, and through direct talks, we have solved many problems, such as the problem of Huochinien as a boundary, the problem of *ulag* labour service, the problem of annual funds for the maintenance of the army, the problem of legal proceedings and fines, and the problem of gold tax. Of course, some problems were not easy to solve. Shortcomings were developed by both parties. Some problems were solved only after repeated

**Kasha* is the Local Government of Tibet.

consultation, and some problems were still unsolved when we left Tibet. We have come to Feking and with the direct help of the Central People's Government, we have solved many of the outstanding cases in history. The two parties have smoothly arrived at an agreement, and both agree to the establishment of a Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region as a sound foundation for the construction of a new Tibet.

II. *Loans under Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Water Conservancy*

The populace of Tibet leads a very hard life. To start with, the area of arable land is small. In addition, the farming methods in use were backward. Therefore, only small harvests could be gathered. Above all, a great deal of land was allowed to become more barren every year because there was no means to cultivate it. Concerning handicrafts, owing to a shortage or simply a total absence of capital, there was not only failure in development, but actual daily retrogression. Concerning animal husbandry, the number of animals had been decreasing for a long time. As a result of this, commerce was also not well developed. For this reason, the Central People's Government granted us huge loans. Beginning in 1952, with the concrete help of the leading officers of the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Shigatse, the Ho-chi *tsung* (宗)* granted interest-free loans on three occasions, involving over ¥3,000,000,000 of the old currency, for agriculture and animal husbandry, and also granted loans for handicrafts. In addition, in 1953, we doled out over ¥600,000 of the old currency as relief for the calamity-stricken areas. During the past three years, as a result of continuous loans and relief work, the cultivated acreage expanded, the yield from farmlands went up, and animal husbandry and handicrafts were revitalized. At the same time, as a result of the establishment of a bank and a trading company, Shigatse became much busier and more prosperous than it had been before. According to statistics, over 100 more families opened shops and set up stalls last year. Undoubtedly, the life of the people has begun to improve.

*The *tsung*, Peculiar to Tibet, is an administrative division roughly equivalent to *hsien* in the rest of China.

At the same time, we carefully granted loans for water conservancy, involving over ¥ 400,000,000 of the old currency. Irrigation canals totalling over 3,000 kilometers were repaired and improved. Six large and small dams were built.

As a result of these measures, the populace have come to a deeper understanding of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao, and the People's Liberation Army. They say; "Chairman Mao is the sun. The People's Liberation Army is our saviour".

III. *Education and Public Health Work*

Following the preliminary development of the economy, culture and education in Tibet have also made fresh developments. In May 1953, a primary school was set up in Shigatse which now has over 300 pupils. By July, 1953 schools had been set up in Hsieh-t'u-men, Latzu, P'eng-ts'o-lin, K'ang-pa, Ts'e-ku, and Ao-pu-je. These have a total of over 400 pupils. In September 1954, a number of *tsung* and *hsi* (谿)* functionaries were detailed to form a training class for short-course education.

On May 4, 1954, a cultural association of patriotic youths was formally set up in Shigatse which has a membership of over 100. Since then, the youths have begun to have appropriate recreational activities and cultural studies. In this way, not only the solidarity among the Tibetan youths, but also solidarity between the Han nationality and the Tibetan nationality has been strengthened. Above all, the anti-imperialist and patriotic fervour of the youths of the Tibetan nationality has been increased.

Concerning medical and health work: In the first place, medical teams were set up. In 1953 alone, over 16,000 officials and ordinary people were given medical treatment. Mobile medical teams have also been established. In the spring of this year, over 22,000 officials and ordinary people were vaccinated. In this way, the suffering of the masses caused by disease has been greatly reduced, and the death rate of the population has been lowered.

IV. *Others*

(1) After thorough and repeated discussion, proposals to the representatives of the Central People's Government, and approval

*A *hsi* is an administrative division subordinate to the *tsung*.

by the Central People's Government, we formally set up the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee in March 1953. At the same time, under the direct guidance of the responsible cadres of the People's Liberation Army units in Shigatse, we organized study for officials of the sixth grade and above. This has yielded some results.

(2) After study, repeated consultation with various quarters, approval by them, and proposals to and approval by the Central People's Government, we announced in September 1953 some concrete methods for reducing or cancelling debts. In this way, we lightened the burden and suffering of the people.

(3) During the past three years and more, we, together with the Kasha, organized groups to extend our respects and visiting groups and sent youths on two occasions to study in the interior. This has produced and will continue to produce important effects on the work of building Tibet.

In addition, we have built houses to accommodate the poor and homeless, built people's hospitals and recreation clubs, and planted over 100,000 trees. In short, in the few years since the liberation, visible changes have taken place in Tibet, and it has developed in a forward direction politically, economically, culturally, and educationally. However, many shortcomings came to light in our work over the past few years:

(1) Concerning solidarity, there was a lack of the spirit of mutual respect, mutual concession, and mutual help. As a result, a number of problems arose to greater or lesser extents.

(2) Concerning the enforcement of the 17-article agreement on peace, even though we put in a great deal of work in helping the People's Liberation Army, yet, upon self-examination, we found that we did not do enough. In the future, we should do our utmost to complete our work assignments.

(3) Concerning the education and training of cadres, though we set up training classes for cadres and organized officials of the Kanpo Lija to study, we failed to attach adequate importance to the work.

Document 27

Resolutions Adopted at the 7th Plenary Session of the State Council of the People's Republic of China on Work in Tibet

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

The 7th Plenary Session of the State Council was held on the afternoon of March 9. Present at the meeting were: The Dalai Lama; Panchen Erdeni, Kaloon Sukong Wongching-Galei, Ngabou Ngawang Jigme, Leosha Thubten Tarpa, and Po-la Tu-teng-wei-teng of the Tibetan Local Government; Chantung Jijigme, Chairman, Ngawang Jimba, Vice-Chairman, Tan-lung Tsai-Jen-pan-chueh, member, Lamin Ching-Jen-pan-chueh, Deputy Secretary-General of the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee; P'ing-tso-Wang-chieh and Weisse-chien-ts'an, Deputy Chairman and member respectively of the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area; Chang Ching-wu, Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet; T'an Kuan-san and Fan Ming, Political Commissar and Deputy Political Commissar respectively of the Tibet Military District of the People's Liberation Army. Among those who addressed the meeting were the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni. Chang Ching-wu made a report on the work in Tibet, Ngabou Ngawang Jigme reported on the work of the Tibet Local Government, and Chantung Jijigme presented a report on work in Tibet covering the past several years.

After hearing these reports and speeches, the meeting adopted the following: "State Council Resolution on the Establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region", "State Council Resolution on the Problems of Communications and Transport in Tibet", "State Council Resolution on Assisting Tibet in its Construction Projects", "State Council Resolution on the Treatment of Working Personnel in Tibet". Following this, the meeting passed its "Approval of the Agreement Reached between the Tibet Local Government and the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee on Unsettled Problems", and expressed its satisfaction with the Agreement signed on January 19, 1955 by the two parties concerned. The meeting also ratified the "Report of the Dalai Lama Delegation Leadership Team on the number and proportion of members in the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and on the list of principal personnel, the Tibetan currency and the Tibetan army".

H. Science and Construction

Notes to Documents 28-31

Li P'o (李樸), a geologist of the Academy of Sciences, led a "Tibet Work Team" to Tibet in mid-1951. He was sent by the Cultural and Education Committee of the Government Administration Council (i. e., the Cabinet). The group carried out surveys in Chamdo, Pomi, Nagchuka, Lhasa, Loka, and Shigatse. In the wake of this team, the Ministries of Fuel Industry, Water Conservancy, Local Industry and Geology also sent an engineering survey team to Tibet. This survey team consisted of 41 engineers, engineering and technical personnel, and skilled workers. It surveyed and designed hydroelectric power generation, flood-prevention, and factory-building work in Chamdo, Chamu, Lhasa, and Shigatse.¹⁷

Document 28

Treasure House of the Fatherland—the Tibet Plateau

By Li P'o (李樸), Associate Researcher of the Institute of Geology, Chinese Academy of Sciences

(*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, April 20, 1956)

Everyone in our country takes pride in the vastness of the domain of the fatherland, the beauty of the landscape and the abundance of its produce.

In the southwest of the fatherland is the plateau of Tibet, a land of plenty, which rises to over 4,000 metres above sea-level. People refer to it as the roof of the world. The large rivers which originate from hundreds and thousands of tributaries flow majestically in all directions. These rivers flow across the fatherland from west to east and from north to south, and irrigate more than half of the land in China. The big rivers which flow from this plateau to the south and west make their way through the gaps in the Himalayas to our neighbouring country — India. The atmospheric circulation of this plateau affects the climate not only

of China but of all East Asia. Here is the highest and most majestic peak in the world which is beautiful as well as imposing. In northern Tibet there spread hundreds and thousands of large and small lakes like blue flowers embroidered on a white bordered yellow carpet. The river valleys of Southern Tibet are cheerful in climate. Their land is fertile, and there is an abundance of [potential] hydraulic power and mineral resources. Dense forests grow on the eastern part of these valleys.

There live the Tibetan people, who work hard and lead a simple and plain life. It is a place dearly loved by heroic fighters who are the builders of the fatherland. It is also a place that travellers, explorers and scientists especially yearn to visit.

I can also explain further why the scientists most earnestly wish to visit this place. We can see from the map how the rivers which originate from this plateau rush with force and speed through the mountains, and cut the eastern and southern parts of the plateau which rises to between 4,000 and 5,000 metres above sea-level into deep gullies with overhanging cliffs which lie at a level of between 2,000 and 3,000 metres above sea-level. In what other place can geographers discover and study the development of rivers in totality as the Tibet Plateau? Distributed among these rivers are mountain ranges traversing the area; the Kangtissu Mountains and the Himalayas with numerous peaks rising to over 6,000 metres and several dozen peaks rising to above 7,000 and 8,000 metres which are snow-capped the year round. There is also Mount Chomo Lungam [Everest] which is the highest peak in the world, rising to nearly 9 kilometres above sea-level. If we want to study the glaciers of recent periods, the glacial sediment of the quaternary or more recent periods, the rule of weathering, and the shaping of all kinds of topography, there is no other place in the world of a similar nature that can compare more favourably with Tibet.

Geologists have a boundless interest in the geological evolution of the Tibet Plateau. Not only is the geological history of the plateau an important key to solving the geological structure of the Eurasian land mass, but even more important are the potential abundant underground resources that lie in this area for the use of mankind. We may divide the Tibet Plateau roughly into zones running from south to north, and examine the geological features and the known and potential mineral deposits of each zone.

At the southernmost part of the plateau is the Himalaya zone where the ancient crystalline rock is bared. The land lying south of the Brahmaputra River is part of the folded zone of the Himalayas. There one can find the most ancient and the most recent strata of the geological age, as well as the most complex and the most recent structural phenomena. There one can trace the evolutionary history of a geosyncline over a long period. It is difficult for us to imagine that there are no mineral deposits in such an area.

To the north of Lhasa, there lies the swell of the Kangtissu Mountains. Here are developed wide-spread sedimentations of the geosynclinal facies of the Palaeozoic era as well as intense magnetic activity of the Palaeozoic era and the Cainozoic era. It was precisely the result of these volcanic activities that the different kinds of metal deposits were deposited or formed. As a matter of fact, according to available data, it is already possible to point out that there are rich deposits of iron, copper, lead and zinc there. It is also not without foundation for us to claim that there is a possibility that rare metals, rare elements, and precious metals may be found there.

The plateau in North Tibet represents the depression of the Mesozoic era. To the east, it is linked with the depression zone of Nukiang. Similarly, there are wide-spread distributions of igneous rock in this zone. In the strata of the Mesozoic era there are sedimentary iron deposits, and in the strata of the Tertiary period there is oil seepage. Buried in many lake basins is an abundance of salt, alkali, and borax. On the strength of these clues, who can still say that the Tibet Plateau cannot be transformed into an industrial base?

In the eastern part of the plateau which is more familiar to us, it has long been known that there are deposits of coal, iron, graphite, gypsum, barite, realgar, lead, zinc, and oil shale.

In short, Tibet is a treasure-house of the fatherland but it has never been opened up. It will bring unlimited happiness to the Tibetan people and provide unlimited power for the reconstruction of the fatherland.

Botanists and zoologists will also discover with enthusiasm a great many species of new fauna and flora on the plateau..... As a matter of fact, pharmacologists have found more than a

hundred different kinds of medicine on the plateau. According to the results of some analyses, it has been proved that the medicinal herbs of Tibet contain more medicinal ingredients than those produced in other places in the hinterland.

In East Tibet, there are large tracts of virgin forest which have never been systematically surveyed. The density and height of the trees is amazing. Botanists have also pointed out that there are large numbers of precious trees of economic value in these forests as well as many species of animal which will definitely arouse the great interest of zoologists.

People usually have the mistaken idea that since Tibet lies at such a high level crops can not grow there; but this is not true. Crops can be grown and grown well in Tibet. In the valleys of the Brahmaputra River and its tributaries in particular, compatriots of the Tibetan nationality have developed their agriculture for several thousands of years. After the liberation, trials with the agricultural experimentation farms set up by the People's Liberation Army in different places of Tibet produced excellent results. Many of the new strains introduced by the "August 1" Farm in Lhasa grew better than they did in the hinterland, and their yield was also higher. On the plateau, a strain of Ukrainian oats yielded 1,000 cabbies per *mow*. Tomato and the Hami strain of honey-dew thrived there, but all this is no longer news.

According to a well-known agriculturist, much work has yet to be done in order to develop agriculture in Tibet. First, zones for the development of agriculture must be demarcated to determine which places to develop agriculturally, which places should develop agriculture and animal husbandry together, and which places should develop agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry together..... Next, the acreage of arable land should be investigated, and the possibility of extending the acreage of arable land should be estimated to the full extent. With developments in agricultural production, the problems of farm irrigation, chemical fertilizer, strain improvement, introduction of new strains, water and soil conservancy, and improved farm implements must also be studied. This calls for more agriculturists, variety experts, soil chemists, and farm irrigation experts to carry out the work. As to developments in animal husbandry, since there is plenty of grassland on the plateau, it is necessary for animal husbandry experts to study ways of improving breeds and raising

pastoral output, and for veterinarians to study ways to stamp out animal pests, thus enabling animal husbandry on the plateau, which is well known for its herds, to become even more prosperous.

The hydraulic resources of the plateau have their special superiority. There is plenty of water available. The volume of flow is large, and the change in volume of flow is relatively small. The fall is great and the topography is good. The maximum effect can be realized. On the strength of the abundant water supply on the plateau, we estimate that by fully utilizing the power latent in the Brahmaputra River alone, the electrification of southern Tibet can be accomplished. In view of this, experts in the fields of water conservancy and electrical engineering must cooperate and study this problem together. This is because the problem involves a scheme for the entire basin. It involves not only the development of construction undertakings in Tibet but also the lower reaches of the river.

I dare not say that there is more interesting work in fundamental science, but there is no doubt that carrying out the aforesaid work has some close relationship with the development of fundamental science. It needs only rough surmise to conclude that people like physicists will find plenty of scope for research on the plateau. It strikes me that if it were desirable to study problems which have a bearing on physical phenomena at a high altitude, it would certainly be more convenient for this to be carried out on the plateau. If laboratories were built to study sunlight, radiation, wind force, atmospheric electricity and cosmic rays on the plateau, it is safe to say that we would be able to derive results which could not be obtained elsewhere. If our foregoing claim that the atmosphere of the plateau affects the climate of China as a whole is correct, then the establishment of an adequate number of observatories on the plateau would make our weather forecasting even more accurate. It also strikes me that because there is a vast difference in the altitude of land on the plateau, Tibet is also extraordinarily convenient for geophysicists to find out the distribution of the material composition of the earth's crust and to study the material composition and physical property of the earth's crust. The study of these problems is of great significance theoretically and practically.

We have reason to feel proud. Ours is a country with a long history. According to the historical facts already familiar to us, the

Tibetan nationality has more than 2,000 years of culture. However, up to now there is still no history of Tibet which can be read by ordinary people. In this connection, there exist on the Tibet Plateau precious data in the form of written records and cultural relics of mankind which historians, archeologists, linguists, and anthropologists would be eager to collect.

Since the liberation, the Tibet Plateau has no longer been so estranged from the people of the hinterland as it was in the past. Under the great call of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the Tibetan people are closely linked with the other nationalities of the fatherland. Today, with the development of a highway network across the plateau, the distance separating Tibet from the hinterland has been greatly shortened. From Tangkula in the north to Yatung in the Himalayas in the south, from the bank of the Chinsha River in the east to Kotako on the edge of the ridge of the plateau in the west, it has been possible to link all places by motor traffic. Our Chinese Liberation Army and road builders, with a high degree of patriotism and revolutionary heroism, have set a precedent for the scientists who fervently love the fatherland and the young people taught and guided by the Communist Party in the great work of building up the Tibetan plateau. With the great Chinese Communist Party to lead us, let us make exertions to reinforce ourselves, and in response to the call of the fatherland, take up the glorious task of building up the plateau together with the brother nationality in Tibet, thus realizing gradually the fatherland's ideal of building the plateau into a beautiful "garden on the roof of the world".

Document 29

Tibet Work Party Leaves Peking

(NCNA, Peking, June 11, from Hankow, *Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao*, June 12, 1951)

With the object of keeping the Central People's Government fully informed of the state of affairs in the fields of science, culture and social development in the Tibet Region, and thus paving the way for it to help the Tibetan nationality to develop systematically economic and cultural construction undertakings in the future, the Culture and Education Committee of the Government Administration Council specially organized the Tibet Work Team, and sent it to Tibet to carry out investigation and research work connected with science, culture, and social development. This team set out from Peking by rail on June 7.... .

This team is composed of 47 members, with Li P'o, of the Institute of Geology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, as the leader, and Fang Huang (方徨), of the Art Division of the Central Cinema Bureau, as deputy leader. The team is divided into five divisions, namely, the geology and geography division, the agricultural and meteorology division, the language, literature, and arts division, the social sciences division, and the medical division. The divisions consist of various technical personnel drafted from the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Peking University, Tsinghua University, Yenching University, Peking Agricultural University, Chungking University, the Southwest Geological Survey Institute, and from various related departments of the Central People's Government and from medical and health organs.¹⁸

Document 30

State Council Decision Concerning Assistance to Tibet in Construction

—as passed by the 7th plenary session of the State Council
on March 9, 1955—

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

In order to further the development of construction undertakings in the Tibet area, the State Council, in compliance with the request of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni and in accordance with the current needs and possible conditions in the Tibet area, decided to appropriate funds and dispatch technical personnel to help Tibet carry out the following projects in economic and cultural construction:

1. To build in Lhasa a better equipped hydroelectric power plant. At the same time, technical personnel will be sent to Shigatse to carry out a survey, and as soon as the highway reaches Shigatse, a hydroelectric power plant in Shigatse will be planned on the basis of concrete conditions. For the present, a small thermo-electric power plant should first be built in Shigatse to meet the needs of lighting and tele-communications.

2. To build a tannery in Lhasa, mainly for the purpose of processing raw hides and manufacturing some locally required products. A small iron foundry will also be built for making farm implements and spare parts for simple machinery.

3. To build dykes and dams on the Lhasa River and the Nienchu River, in order to ward off the flood menace to Lhasa and Shigatse and to solve the irrigation problem for part of the farmland.

4. To transform the existing "July 1" Experimental Farm in Lhasa into a better equipped experimental farm by supplying it gradually with additional equipment and the necessary agrotechnical personnel. Two water pumping machines will be allotted to Shigatse to experiment with the irrigation of small areas of farmland.

5. To transform the Tibet Military District Cadres School into the Cadres School for the Tibet area and to enlarge it so as to

intensify the training and fostering of cadres of Tibetan and other nationalities. The premises of the Shigatse Primary School will be extended to provide places for 500 pupils instead of the present 200.

6. To build roads each surfaced with crushed stone in Lhasa and Shigatse.

7. To build offices for the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee and a hotel in Lhasa.

8. To appropriate the sum of ¥1,000,000 to the Tibet area (the Tibetan Local Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee, and the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area) for the purchase of farm tools. The purchase will be planned centrally by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region according to concrete conditions, and the distribution of farm tools to the different places will also be made under the supervision and guidance of the Preparatory Committee.

The relevant departments of the State Council will be held responsible for carrying out the aforesaid construction and engineering projects. The Ministry of Fuel Industry will be responsible for the construction of the hydroelectric power plants, the Ministry of Water Conservancy for the building of dykes and dams, and the Ministry of Local Industry for the building of tanneries and iron foundries. These three ministries, should, in conjunction with the Ministry of Geology, organize a work team for carrying out the investigation and survey work in Tibet, so that a full range of data can be acquired, and that the work can be designed separately. The Ministry of Building Construction and the Ministry of Communications will be held responsible for the design and construction of houses and road, while the Ministry of Agriculture will be held responsible for the supply of additional equipment and the dispatch of agrotechnical personnel to the experimental farms. The above ministries should immediately organize personnel for dispatch to Tibet to fulfill satisfactorily the aforesaid construction tasks under the separate leadership of the Local Government of Tibet and the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee.

Construction in Tibet

Peking, *Shih-shih Shou-ts'e* (Current Affairs Handbook), No. 133, April 25, 1956)

Great changes have taken place in Tibet since it was peacefully liberated on May 23, 1951. Construction in various places is vigorously proceeding, laying a sound foundation for the future development of Tibet. Now, let us look at several main aspects.

The Highway Network is Being Formed

The tableland of Tibet is 4,000 to 5,000 metres above sea level. Indeed, to construct a highway leading to this "roof of the world" is a formidable engineering project seldom contemplated before anywhere on earth. Before the liberation, there was not a single decent highway here. The tableland, with overlapping mountains and crossing torrents, was almost inaccessible to traffic, and the only transportation facilities were yaks and horses.

With a view to basically changing these conditions, the Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet organized, together with workers of various nationalities, large highway construction teams to struggle courageously against snow mountains, glaciers, precipitous defiles, torrents and desolate grassland. They cut through more than 20 mountains several thousand metres above sea level, and built bridges spanning nearly a hundred rivers. Under extremely perilous natural conditions, these heroes have finally completed the highways.

At present, the highway network in Tibet is taking shape. In addition to the 3,000 kilometres of highway, the region has also over 1,300 kilometres of side-roads for slow traffic. Motor vehicles can now go from the banks of the Chinsha River in eastern Tibet to Kotako in the Ali District in the extreme west, and from the Tangkula Mountains in the north to Yatung in the Himalaya Mountains in the south. The five highway trunk lines, Sikang-Tibet, Tsinghai-Tibet, Lhasa-Shigatse, Shigatse-Gyangtse, and Gyangtse-Yatung not only link the various important cities and towns of

Tibet, but also link Tibet closely with other parts of the mother country.

In recent years, tens of thousands of tons of materials have been transported from the interior to Tibet along these highways, including generators, lathes, and various kinds of machinery; construction materials such as steel rods and cement; various tools for agricultural and pastoral production; and daily necessities. Thousands upon thousands of technicians, workers and engineering administrative cadres have arrived in Tibet via the highways to aid the Tibetan people in construction. The development of highway communications has not only facilitated the economic construction of Tibet, but also started an upward trend in the people's livelihood. The prices of daily necessities in various major cities and towns in Tibet have been reduced by an average of 15%, compared with the days before the highways were opened to traffic. In many remote localities, such as the Ali District, various daily necessities produced in the interior of the mother country are on sale.

State Council Assists Construction Projects in Tibet

In accordance with the urgent requirements of Tibet, the 7th plenary session of the State Council decided on March 9, 1955,to assist with certain engineering projects in Tibet. All the surveying and designing of various projects is now completed. Some of the projects are still in the blueprint stage, some are under construction, and some have already been completed.

The people of Lhasa and Shigatse have for many years longed for a strong dyke to protect the cities from the flooding Lhasa River and the Nienchu River. At present, with the assistance of the State Council, the construction of the semi-permanent, flood-preventing engineering projects along the Lhasa River and the dyke along the banks of the Nienchu River in Shigatse are going ahead at full speed. After completing the engineering projects, the safety of the urban areas of the two cities will be guaranteed, even in the event of fairly large floods.

In the past, Tibet never had any machine-equipped industry. The one and only small-scale hydroelectric plant in Lhasa had to stop the supply of electricity from time to time during the winter and spring dry seasons. According to the decision of the State

Council, a new 600-kilowatt hydroelectric plant is to be first constructed by the side of the old one this year, and then another larger one is to be built. The completion of these two new plants will not only satisfy Lhasa's demands for electricity for lighting purposes, but it will also supply electricity to the gradually developing industry and some of the communication facilities. Construction work on the Lhasa hydroelectric plant will be started in the immediate future; work on the thermal electric-generation plant in Shigatse has already begun.

In Tibet, hides are produced in abundance, yet they have never had a tannery. Peasants and herdsmen in Tibet require various kinds of production tools, but in the past all the tools had to be made by hand. Preliminary plans have been worked out for the tannery and a small-scale iron works to be built with the assistance of the State; after these factories are put into production, the Tibetan people's demands for hides and production tools will be met. In addition to this, the construction of the Lhasa Automobile Repair Factory, which can repair 1,000 motor cars each year, will make a tremendous effect on the development of communication and transportation enterprises in Tibet.

Gravel roads in Lhasa and Shigatse have already been completed under government sponsorship. The expansion project for the agricultural experimental station in Lhasa is in progress.

Other Economic Developments

Before the liberation, the livelihood of the Tibetan people was comparatively hard. The acreage of arable land was small; this, together with the fact that the local people had no means of cultivating the land meant that much of it lay idle. The way in which the Tibetan peasants filled their land was comparatively careless and crude, and the yield was never high. Animal husbandry also was not well developed, and, the herds of cattle were slowly diminishing in size. After the liberation, however, the people's banks in Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo and other places have for the past four years issued more than ¥1,700,000 in interest-free agricultural loans and more than ¥100,000 in interest-free pastoral loans, and various amounts of low-interest handicraft loans and commercial loans.

The people of Chamdo, moreover, obtained over 100,000 iron farm implements issued free by the Central People's Government. Between 1951 and 1953, the State-operated Tibetan General Trading Company and its subordinate organs supplied the Tibetan people with more than ¥2,000,000 worth of tea, cloth and daily necessities, and purchased large quantities of wool, hides, medicinal herbs, salt from the salt lakes, and other native products. With the help of the Central People's Government, veterinary hospitals and clinics have been set up in Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo, giving preventive injections and medical treatment to 210,000 heads of cattle over this period of three years, thus helping the peasants and herdsmen to eliminate animal diseases. Simultaneously, the PLA units stationed in Tibet and the working personnel explored the wastelands, engaged in production, assisted the Tibetan people to build water conservancy projects, promoted the adoption of more advanced farm implements and tilling methods, and set up agricultural experimental stations and animal-breeding experimental stations as examples for the peasants and herdsmen.

All this work has had a positive effect on the gradual development of agriculture, cattle-raising, industry and commerce. At present, the area of arable land has been expanded, the output of agricultural products has been raised, and the conditions concerning animal husbandry and handicraft industry have also taken a turn for the better. Many cities and towns are beginning to prosper, and the livelihood of the people has been improved in some ways.

Achievements in Cultural and Educational Work

In the pre-liberation days, Tibet did not have even one primary school. Anyone who wanted to be able to read and learn about culture had to go to the lamaseries. But now, 27 primary schools have been established, with a total enrollment of over 2,000 Tibetan students. Apart from supplying books and stationery to the students free of charge, the schools issued subsidies and living expenses to students who are really poor. About 500 young Tibetan men and women from various places in Tibet have been selected and sent to the Central Nationalities Academy [in Peking] to study. In Lhasa, Shigatse, Gyantse and other places, patriotic youth cultural associations and patriotic woman associations have been set up, so

that many young men and women can study and carry out cultural and athletic activities.

There are also 24 film projection teams, constantly showing films for the servicemen and civilians. Broadcasting stations have been set up in various cities and towns in order to enable the people to learn about current affairs, both domestic and foreign. News flashes in Tibetan have been published in Lhasa.

In order to protect the health of the Tibetan people, the Central People's Government dispatched more than 4,000 medical workers to Tibet from the interior and appropriated more than ¥5,000,000 for hygienic enterprises. People's hospitals have been built in Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo, etc., and 13 medical centres and 8 medical teams have come into being in various cities and farming villages and pastoral areas where the population was comparatively centralized. These agencies, together with the former central Chamdo nationality medical working team, have gone deeply into the villages and herdsmen's districts covering some 100 different circuits for medical treatment. Within the past four years or so, they have treated free of charge 873,000 cases and vaccinated more than 90,000 persons. In some cities and towns, the scientific method of midwifery has been adopted and popularized.

CHAPTER IV

* * *

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE AUTONOMOUS REGION OF TIBET 1955—1956

Notes to Chapter IV

In March 1956, State Council Vice-Premier Ch'en Yi led a government delegation to Tibet to attend the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. The delegation consisted of no less than 800 people. In April, the Committee was set up in Lhasa. At the inaugural meeting, the Dalai Lama, Panchen Erdeni, Ch'en Yi, and Chang Kuo-hua made speeches, in which the "reform" to be carried out in Tibet was mentioned. In May, a namelist was published of the personnel to be responsible for the various committees, departments and offices as adopted by the State Council on April 20, 1956.¹ In the same month, an air craft made a test flight from Peking to Lhasa.² In June, Ch'en Yi left Tibet, and in September, gave a "Summing-up Report" of his visit to Tibet at the 45th meeting of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress.

According to the Constitution of Communist China, "national autonomous areas fall into three categories according to size: autonomous region, autonomous *chou* and autonomous *hsien*."³ An autonomous region is the equivalent of a province, an autonomous *chou* of an administrative district, and an autonomous *hsien* of a *hsien*. Prior to the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, the Chinese Communists had already set up nine Tibetan nationality autonomous *chou* and two Tibetan

nationality autonomous *hsien* in districts inhabited by Tibetan nationalities in Tsinghai, Kansu and Szechwan.⁴

Document 32

State Council Resolution on the Establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet

—as adopted by the 7th plenary session of the State Council on March 9, 1955—

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 13, 1955)

As stipulated in the Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, a military and administrative committee was to have been set up [see Document 6, article 15]. However, a Constitution has already been promulgated in our country [in September 1954], and the various administrative areas have already abolished their military and administrative committees. In particular, marked successes have been achieved in work in all fields in the three years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, and conditions have changed. For this reason, the establishment in Tibet of a Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet instead of a military and administrative committee, fully conforms with the spirit of the Constitution and the present concrete conditions in Tibet. To this end, a preparatory team has recently been established in Peking jointly comprising representatives of the Central People's Government, the Tibetan Local Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija, and the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo area, to pave the way for the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. After full consultations, a work report was issued detailing the concrete measures taken to set up the Preparatory Committee. On the basis of the plans and views submitted by the preparatory team in its report, the following resolutions were made:

1. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet is a political organ charged with the responsibility of

making preparations to establish the Autonomous Region of Tibet and is placed under the leadership of the State Council. Its principal task is to make preparations, in accordance with the provisions of the national constitution, the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and the concrete conditions of Tibet, for the enforcement of regional autonomy in Tibet. Therefore, the Preparatory Committee must unite the people of all sectors to further strengthen national unity and the internal unity of Tibet, train national cadres, be responsible for consultations and unified planning for work relating to construction and other undertakings which should be started in Tibet, increase gradually the work responsibility, accumulate work experience, and create conditions, in the endeavour to establish a unified Autonomous Region of Tibet.

2. The Preparatory Committee will consist of 51 members: 15 from the Tibetan Local Government, 10 from the Fanchen Kanpo Lija Committee, 10 from the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area, 5 cadres appointed by the Central authorities for work in Tibet, and 11 from other sectors (including the principal monasteries, major religious sects, prominent social personages, and public bodies). The Committee will have one chairman and two vice-chairmen. The Dalai Lama will be chairman, Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng will be 1st vice-chairman, and Chang Kuo-hua, 2nd vice-chairman. The namelist of the 41 committee members proposed by the preparatory team of the Committee will be approved first and then appointed by the State Council when the other committee members yet to be named by other sectors have been submitted for approval.

The Preparatory Committee will have one secretary-general and three deputy secretaries-general. Ngawang Jigme will be the secretary-general, and one deputy secretary-general will be named respectively by the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee, the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area, and the CCP Work Committee in Tibet, for submission to the State Council for approval and appointment.

The Preparatory Committee will have a standing committee, to be set up upon the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee after approval from the State Council.

3. The Preparatory Committee will have under it the follow-

ing offices: the Administrative Office, the Finance and Economic Commission, the Religious Affairs Commission, the Civil Affairs Department, the Finance Department, the Construction Department, the Culture and Education Department, the Health Department, the Public Security Department, the Agriculture and Forestry Department, the Animal Husbandry Department, the Industry and Commerce Department, and the Communications Department.

The directors and deputy directors of the various departments and commissions will be chosen from those cadres proposed in the report of the preparatory team of the Preparatory Committee, and the ratio of the numbers of nominees will be fixed by consultation and submitted to the State Council for approval and appointment.

4. The Tibetan Local Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee, and the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area, besides putting themselves under the leadership of the Preparatory Committee in carrying out all their work as stipulated in Article 1 of the Resolutions, will continue to be led directly by the State Council in all other State administrative work. Should the above-named three parties have difficulties in their financial affairs, they may respectively approach the State Council for help and at the same time report to the Preparatory Committee for record purposes. The various enterprise organs set up by the State Council in Tibet will remain under the jurisdiction of the various responsible departments under the State Council, but they should keep in close touch with these parties so that the work may be pushed forward by joint efforts.

The Preparatory Committee should maintain close contact with the People's Liberation Army Tibetan Military District Command and should also render active assistance to the Command in the consolidation of national defence and the protection of local security. The Command should also observe and help carry out the work to be undertaken by the Preparatory Committee as approved by the State Council where appropriate.

The Dalai Lama's Report at the Inaugural Meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 25, 1956)

Vice-Premier Ch'en [Ch'en Yi], members of the Central Government Delegation, members of the Preparatory Committee, and delegates:

Under the wise and correct leadership and concern of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, and of Chairman Mao, who is the great and respected leader of the people of all nationalities in our country, the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet is now officially inaugurated. This is another brilliant achievement of the Chinese Communist Party's nationalities policy. It not only shows the greater unity within Tibet but also marks the increasing consolidation and growth of unity and cooperation among the peoples of all fraternal nationalities in the country. This is an unprecedentedly happy event of great historical significance to the political life of the Tibetan people, and also a very joyful occurrence for the peoples of all nationalities in the motherland.

At the time of the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, the Central Government Delegation headed by Vice-Premier Ch'en Yi has come here to offer his congratulations. We feel exceedingly stimulated. At the same time, we ask Vice-Premier Ch'en and members of the Central Government Delegation to give us their valuable directives and assistance.

The Tibetan people are one of the many excellent nationalities in the mother country. In the course of the common effort towards the creation and the development of the glorious history of the great motherland, the Tibetan people have fulfilled their glorious responsibility and, during the long course of the development of history, established close political, economic and cultural ties with the peoples of all fraternal nationalities in the country, so that the fate of the Tibetan people has become interwoven with the fate of the other nationalities of the motherland.

However, successive ruling classes in the past have all adopted an oppressive policy towards the people of Tibet, as well as towards other nationalities in the country. Particularly oppressive were the Manchu Dynasty and the KMT reactionary government, who cruelly subjected and exploited the peoples of the various national minorities, but who yielded timidly to imperialist aggression. Thus, the Tibetan people's historical suspicions and fears were greatly aggravated, which gave rise to thoughts and even deeds of trying to become separated from the big family of the mother country. As a result, the relationship between Tibet and the motherland became more and more estranged.

Since then, the political, economic and cultural undertakings of Tibet have for a long time remained backward and stagnant. The people's living conditions changed from bad to worse. On the other hand, the imperialists utilized the hostile feelings of the Tibetan people towards the Manchu Court and the KMT reactionary government, and carried out all kinds of inducement and instigation, in an attempt to turn the Tibetan people against the motherland and place themselves under imperialist oppression and enslavement. Just at the moment when the entire mainland was about to be completely liberated, the aggressors madly redoubled their rumour-mongering activities to slander the Communist Party, tempting the Tibetan people to obstruct the liberation. In short, in the long years preceding our peaceful liberation, the people of Tibet have had to follow a course, not only difficult, but also dangerous.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China and the Central People's Government was officially proclaimed in 1949, the Central People's Government, in accordance with the provisions of the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, has completely abolished the policy of suppression towards the nationalities, announced that all nationalities are equal within the territory of the People's Republic of China, enforced the principle of unity and mutual assistance, opposed imperialism and formed the People's Republic of China into a large family of friendship and cooperation among all nationalities.

Under the call and influence of the great nationality policy of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the patriotism of the Tibetan people began to grow. In 1951, I sent representatives to Peking to negotiate with the Central People's Government, and,

on a basis of unity and friendly love, concluded the "Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" (see Document 6). Since then, the people of Tibet have rid themselves forever of the shackles of imperialism, and returned to the big family of the motherland. Together with the other fraternal nationalities in the country, the Tibetans enjoy all the rights of equality among nationalities, have embarked on the bright road of freedom and happiness, and have begun to build up their own prosperous and happy life through building up socialism in the motherland.

The "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" was drawn up in accordance with the Chinese Communist Party policy of equality among nationalities, together with consideration for the actual conditions and requirements of Tibet. It is in full accord with the interests of the people of Tibet and also of those of the various other nationalities in the motherland. It points the road to liberation to the Tibetans and serves as their programme of work during this period. Hence, the earnest implementation of the various provisions of the Agreement is our sacred and glorious task.

Due to the common efforts of the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet and the whole body of the Tibetan monks and laymen, it can be said that many important achievements have already been attained in carrying out the agreement over the past several years. To abide by the provisions of the agreement, the local governments at all levels in Tibet and the broad masses of Tibetan people have actively supported the entry of the People's Liberation Army units into Tibet. By the end of 1951, the PLA units had peacefully entered Lhasa and other major centres of national defence. In 1952, the Tibet Military District was set up. The PLA and the Tibetan local army are now jointly and strongly defending the southwestern frontiers of the mother country.

During the past five years, the PLA units and the workers who came to Tibet have consciously followed and executed the nationality policy laid down by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao. They have dealt with the Tibetan people with brotherly affection, listened to their opinions, considered their interests in all spheres, and fully consulted the local Tibetan leaders on all matters. At the same time, the Tibetan Region has sent delegations to the interior of the country to pay their respects to their

own leader, Chairman Mao, and the Central People's Government. They also visited various places to see all the construction work that is going on in the motherland. On their return to Tibet, they reported to the Tibetan monks and laymen on the mighty strength of the mother country, and on the love and concern of the central authorities for Tibet. As a result, the broad masses of Tibetan people and their leaders have discarded their misgivings and gradually changed their historical attitude of mistrust of the Han people. Their new trust is growing every day. Meanwhile, they have also gradually eliminated their misunderstanding about the policies of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government.

Tibet is the centre of Lamaism, in which religion the whole Tibetan population has a deep belief. The Tibetan people treasure and protect their religious beliefs as they would their life. During the past few years, the People's Liberation Army units and the workers in Tibet have strictly adhered to the policy of freedom of religion, carefully protected the lamaseries, and respected the religious beliefs of the Tibetan people. They have also donated much to the Tibetan monks each year. All this has greatly helped to remove the apprehensions that previously prevailed among the broad masses of Tibetans, particularly among the lamas, as a result of the rumours and instigations made by agents of the imperialists. On this basis, the fraternal cooperation between the peoples of the Han and the Tibetan nationalities has been increased and consolidated with each passing day. Likewise, with the guidance and assistance of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the various domestic circles in Tibet have been united too.

In 1952, Panchen Ngoerhtehni returned to Tibet and was warmly welcomed by all the people of Tibet. The original position and power of Panchen Ngoerhtehni has been respected in accordance with the Agreement. My personal relations with Panchen Ngoerhtehni and the relations between the personnel under me and under the Panchen Lama have also improved considerably. The former mutual mistrust and misgivings, as well as the grievances held against each other which resulted from the instigations and estrangements brought about by the reactionary ruling class in the past, have now been reduced. Under the shining banner of Chairman Mao's nationality policy, Panchen and I have joined hands in unity, consulted with each other and made mutual concessions in

our joint efforts to build a new Tibet.

During the past few years, in the course of implementing the nationality policy of the Chinese Communist Party and carrying out the Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, great achievements have been attained in the development of Tibet's economic and cultural fields. With the positive support of all Tibetan people, monks and laymen alike, the PLA units and workers in Tibet have set up trade organs, bank, and post and telecommunications agencies in various important areas and major cities in this region. By placing contracts for orders, introducing a wholesale trade in domestic products, and purchasing native produce, the General Trading Company in Tibet and its agents have helped merchants to increase their volume of trade, and made it possible to develop trade in Tibet to some extent. This is particularly true of the purchase of wool, which is the principal product of the Tibetan herdsmen's northern district. This has alleviated the difficulties in production and livelihood formerly suffered by the herdsmen when the imperialists controlled the wool trade and forced prices down. The People's Bank and its many branches grant interest-free loans to peasants and herdsmen and low-interest loans to handicraftsmen, thus helping a number of Tibetans overcome difficulties arising from the lack or shortage of farming implements, grain seeds, and production funds.

Different-sized primary schools have been established in many places, enabling many Tibetan children to become educated. In Lhasa, Shigatse, Chamdo, and other major cities, people's hospitals have also been established. Meanwhile, mobile medical corps and teams visit the villages and herdsmen's districts to give free medical service to relieve the people from their sufferings caused by illness.

The PLA units and workers in Tibet have also actively reclaimed wasteland and participated in production, assisting the peasants to develop their water conservancy and open up agricultural and livestock breeding experimental farms, thereby playing an excellent and exemplary role in improving the technique of agriculture and livestock breeding, as well as raising the output. On the whole, all this work has laid a sound foundation for the further development of various construction projects in Tibet.

Road-building and the development of communications are particularly worth mentioning here. Very poor communications and

difficult transportation were one of the major difficulties we had to face in the past when carrying out various works in Tibet. But the PLA units and all the workers, together with the Tibetan people, built the Sikang-Tibet and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highways, and also the 600-kilometre Shigatse-Gyangtse-Yatung Highway within the Tibet Region. This has greatly improved communications and transportation between Tibet and other parts of the motherland, and also within Tibet itself, thereby providing considerable facilities for the development of the many construction projects in Tibet.

Facts show that since these highways were opened to traffic during the past year or so, the rate of development of the various construction projects in Tibet has risen several times over the previous years, and commodity prices in Tibet have begun to be stabilized. In the course of constructing the highways, the Central Government assisted by making huge investments; for this we are extremely grateful. At the same time, in helping Tibet to improve its communications, many people have sacrificed their valuable lives in the cause of construction. I wish to express here my sincere condolences to these martyrs' dependents.

In the past few years, notable achievements have also been won in training cadres of Tibetan nationality and in the furtherance of social welfare and education for the Tibetan Region. Some 600 or 700 of the finest youths among the Tibetan and Hui nationalities, of both sexes, have been sent to study in the central and southwest institutes for national minorities. Due to the concern and care of the government, these youths have been able to attend their studies without worry, and they have been very successful. The foundation has thus been laid for further training local nationality cadres in Tibet. At the same time, a social education class has been established in Lhasa, and organized youth and women's associations have been set up in different areas, giving many young men and women as well as adults the opportunity to acquire knowledge of the revolution. Many Tibetans have mastered much new knowledge further elevating their standards; they now have good prospects of being trained as cadres.

In 1952, on the basis of the Agreement, the original Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Tibetan Local Government was officially merged with the Office of the Assistant-in-Charge of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government Representative in Tibet.

During the past few years, under the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the united efforts of the Han and Tibetan workers, a foreign policy of peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries has been earnestly implemented, and considerable results have been achieved.

On April 29, 1954, the "Agreement Between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Communications between India and the Tibet Region of China" was signed in Peking [see Document 17] by the delegations of the Central People's Government of our country and the Indian Government, ending the last remaining privileges of the British and putting the relationship between our motherland and India, concerning Tibet, on a new basis. This has played a noteworthy role for the motherland in establishing conditions of fair trade and commerce between the Tibet Region of China and India on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and respect for each other's sovereignty. With unity in foreign affairs and the abolition of special imperialist privileges, the national defence of our southwestern frontiers has been further consolidated.

At the same time, much work has been done in the past few years in the Chamdo area under the leadership of the people's government of a higher level and the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area. Unity with the Han nationality has been strengthened on good terms, and outstanding achievements have been obtained in launching various construction projects in the political, economic and cultural fields. The output from agriculture and livestock breeding in the Chamdo area has shown definite growth, the number of cadres of various nationalities has increased and there will be even greater development in the future.

All in all, in the few years since the peaceful liberation, our achievements in various fields have been outstanding and many-sided; they cannot be fully enumerated. Our tasks in the fields mentioned above, as well as in other fields, have been promoted under the unified general policy of continual opposition to imperialist instigation and sabotage, strengthening of patriotism, consolidation of unity among the various nationalities and within the internal ranks of each nationality, and the consolidation of the unity of the motherland.

People of all strata and officials at various levels in Tibet

fully realize from their own experience that only by maintaining constant vigilance over, and opposition to, imperialist conspiracies of provocation and sabotage, by striving to enhance their own patriotism, by earnestly strengthening and consolidating the unification and national unity in the motherland and within Tibet, can the various work phases be really accomplished, progress and development achieved, and a prosperous and happy new Tibet built on the general lines of the socialist construction of the mother country. These are the solid, material and ideological bases on which it has been possible for us to establish the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet.

In 1954, Panchen Ngoerhteni and myself and several other delegates to the National People's Congress attended the first session of the First National People's Congress. Together with the deputies of fraternal nationalities we discussed and enacted the first People's Constitution in China's history. It clearly provides for regional autonomy in these areas inhabited by minority nationalities. After the session, in accordance with Chairman Mao's guidance, with the direct assistance and guidance of the leading cadres of the central authorities, and based on the results of the discussions held during the course of many meetings between the Local Tibetan Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija, the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area and the representatives of the Central People's Government, all maintained that, in view of the development of various work phases in Tibet over the past four years, that it was appropriate and timely to establish not a Military and Administrative Committee, but a unified Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. This, too, conformed with the spirit of the Constitution. All of us were unanimously agreed on this. Since then, the people of the various circles in Tibet have been consulted and the consensus of opinion was to support this. Afterwards, a report on the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was submitted to the State Council and a formal decision reached after discussions at the State Council's 7th plenary session [on March 9, 1955].

Shortly after our return to Tibet, assisted and directed by the Tibet Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and after consultation with all quarters, the delegates of all sections jointly organized the Preparatory Office for the Preparatory Committee

for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. After a few months of preparatory work, the Preparatory Committee is now officially inaugurated on this foundation.

Viewed from present conditions, the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet is not only timely, but also necessary. During the past few years, great improvements have been effected in the internal relations in Tibet, and all quarters have been firmly united. At the same time, developments to varying extents have been registered in the different phases of our work. With such a foundation, it is completely in keeping with the present state of development in Tibet and the long range interests of all the Tibetan people to establish a unified Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet in order to unify the leadership over personnel of all sections of the community and enable them to proceed with their work jointly and to make a thorough job of the internal unity of Tibet and formally create a unified Tibetan Autonomous Region, thus gradually ridding Tibet of its backwardness and allowing it to reach the level of the advanced fraternal nationalities for joint transition to the socialist society.

Recently, some news from neighbouring provinces and municipalities where reforms are being carried out, or are being prepared through peaceful and consultative methods, has reached Tibet and aroused suspicions and anxieties among some people here. At the same time, some people with ulterior motives state that reforms will be introduced in this area following the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. This is malicious rumour-mongering and provocation; and I wish, therefore, to express some views on this subject.

Our motherland is now engaged in socialist construction with great fanfare; all the fraternal nationalities are marching along the great road of socialism. By socialism we mean a truly happy society, and Tibet has no alternative but to take the road of socialism. The present conditions in Tibet, however, are still a long way off from socialism, and we must carry out reforms step by step. When to carry out reform and the means to reform depend on the development of the work and the practical conditions in various respects. The reform will be done through consultation by the leaders of Tibet and the broad masses of the people themselves, and not by

others on their behalf. This was made very clear by Chairman Mao in his talks to the various groups which visited Peking to pay their respects and go sight-seeing (see Document 9). In 1954, when Panchen Ngoerhtehni and myself went to Peking to pay our respects to Chairman Mao, he repeatedly told us that we should carry out the reforms slowly and with patience. At the same time, he also clearly told us that reform was aimed at improving the people's livelihood, and was not intended to degrade it. Therefore, there is no need to be apprehensive or fear reform or to worry too much. What we should consider first is how to unite ourselves and make positive efforts to carry out the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet in a satisfactory manner, and, by constantly promoting the work of Tibet, we can carry out reforms from the upper level downwards by means of peaceful consultation when the time is appropriate.

In the field of religion, the Constitution has specifically laid down provisions for freedom of religious belief. Also, Chairman Mao has clearly pointed out that the Communist Party adopts a protective policy towards religion, giving protection to religious believers and non-believers alike no matter what their religious belief may be. He has also affirmed that religions are not only protected today, but will continue to be protected in the future.

According to the decision of the State Council on the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, the tasks of the committee are:

1. Gradually strengthen its responsibility, accumulate experience in its work, and bring about the various conditions necessary for the formal establishment of a unified Autonomous Region of Tibet. The departments, committees and offices under the Preparatory Committee must be established according to actual needs and conditions, and must actively develop their work in pursuit of these ends.

2. Be responsible for arranging the unified planning and handling of the local construction work of Tibet and other matters which should and can be done. Decisions should be reached and reported to the State Council for approval and enforcement. All relevant departments should make a good job of investigation and research, giving overall consideration to construction matters and other matters which should and can be done. Detailed planning

must be carried out.

3. Unite the people of various circles to further strengthen the unity between the various nationalities and within Tibet. This is an important assurance for the smooth operation of the various tasks in the future. In all our tasks, we must fully manifest democracy, consult different quarters repeatedly, respect one another, learn from one another and help one another to oppose discrimination and oppression, so as to obtain the support and endorsement of all quarters. In order to strengthen the unity between the various nationalities, consideration may be given in future by the Preparatory Committee to organizing groups to visit other autonomous regions and autonomous *chou* and strengthen the intercourse and contact between the fraternal nationalities.

4. Organize and lead studies, raise the cadres' anti-imperialist and patriotic consciousness and their political and professional level, and actively train cadres of the minority nationalities.

5. Protect the lives and property of the various nationalities and strata of the people of Tibet according to the stipulations of the law.

6. Continue to carry out thoroughly the policy of freedom of religious belief, and protect the lamaseries.

In conclusion, I hope that in the spirit of unity and mutual aid, members of the Preparatory Committee and all the working staff will exert themselves in their study, in strengthening unity, and in uniting all religious bodies and laymen of Tibet to be vigilant at all times against imperialist plots to sow dissension and sabotage. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao and the State Council, and with the assistance of the Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the Headquarters of the Chinese PLA in Tibet, actively fulfill the various tasks mentioned above and struggle to carrying out regional autonomy in Tibet at an early date.

My report ends here. I cordially invite criticism on any inappropriate points, and I request Vice-Premier Chen to rectify any mistakes I may have made.

Long live the great unity of the people of all nationalities of the People's Republic of China!

Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party's policy of equality among Nationalities!

Long live the internal unity of the Tibetan nationality!

Long live our great and respected leader, Chairman Mao!

Panchen Erdcni's Report at the Inaugural Meeting of the Tibet Preparatory Committee

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 25, 1956)

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The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet is now established. Its inauguration is a sign that the work in the Tibetan area is about to enter a new stage. With incomparable enthusiasm we offer felicitations on its birth. The thorough implementation of the directive of the Central Government for "unity, progress, and greater development" requires that the Preparatory Committee must resolutely follow the leadership of the Central People's Government and complete all the tasks it has been given. During the past few years, from witnessing innumerable acts and events, we have penetratingly realized that the Central Government and Chairman Mao are wise and correct. As long as we act in accordance with the policies and measures directed by the Central Government, there is nothing that will not be properly done. At this moment, we must also demand that the various local organs under the Preparatory Committee strictly carry out all the decisions made by the Committee and actively attend to the various tasks they are charged with. Only in this way can we create the favourable conditions necessary for the early realization of a united Autonomous Region, and facilitate construction in Tibet.

Democratic reform is the course that the Tibetan nationality must take in marching forward and making progress during its transition, step by step, to a socialist society. This demand is also of vital interest to the broad masses of people of Tibetan nationality. If democratic reform is not taken up, the strength of the broad masses of the Tibetan people and their labour activism cannot be promoted, the social economy will not be developed, the backward situation will not be changed, and the progress and development of the Tibetan people will not be realized. This is an immutable truth which has been proved in the areas of the various advanced nationalities in our country. As to the method and time for reform, the Central Government has long since clearly provided that "Re-

form in the national minority areas must be carried out through peaceful consultation. The time for the introduction of the reform, the adoption of actual steps and concrete measures must be fully discussed with the leaders, the upper strata, the religious circles, and the masses of the national minorities. The reform must be for improvement, not for retrogression."

From this statement it is clear that the question of reform in Tibet should be determined by the people of Tibet themselves. The people's government of the upper level will only guide us and help us. It will never usurp things. But we must understand that this is for the progression and development of our own nationality and for the happiness of our descendents for generations and generations to come. We must understand that we are marching towards a socialist society together with all advanced fraternal nationalities. I hope all of you will actively support these democratic reforms. The leaders of the Tibetan area have responsibility in this respect which cannot be avoided. We must lead every lama and layman in Tibet to act accordingly. We fully believe that the Communist Party and the People's Government will consistently continue with their policy of unity and education in dealing with the upper strata of the national minorities (including the upper sections of the religious circles). This is true before reform, and it will not be changed after reform. Both during and after reform, the People's Government will produce concrete measures to ensure that their political status and living standards are not lowered. We must firmly believe in the principle of "changing for the better and not for the worse."

The policy of the Communist Party and the People's Government is one of protecting the freedom of religious belief and monasteries, that is, the established policy toward religion; it will never change. It will remain so after reform. It will continue to remain so after Tibet has entered the socialist society. The policy of freedom of religious belief enforced in the Soviet Union today will be the policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government in the future. Those who say that following reform there will be no freedom of religious belief and that religion will be abolished are only imperialist elements and Kuomintang special agents engaged in shameful rumour-mongering. We must not only refuse to listen to them, but at all times we must raise high our

vigilance and expose them.

The Communist Party and Chairman Mao have pointed a bright road to the people of Tibet. We must resolutely follow this direction and march forward. We must understand that the policy of the Central Government is consistently correct, and all their statements will be put into practice. This has been proved by the innumerable incidents so far witnessed, there is no more room for doubt.

On behalf of the leading personnel of the Kanpo Lija and all the people under its jurisdiction, I fully support the Central Government's policies and measures regarding the gradual reforms to be carried out in the national minority areas by means of peaceful negotiations from the upper levels downward. We are prepared to first carry out experiments in our area, so as to gain experience which will later be extended to the whole of Tibet. If the meeting agrees with this proposal, and the approval of the State Council is obtained, we may consider that within a short period of time to come, experiments may be started at opportune times in places where conditions are ripe. We also hope that the Central Government will send officials to guide the work, and that the local authorities of different areas will send representatives to keep a watch on progress.

Finally, I repeat my sincere thanks to the Central Government for its concern for the people of Tibet and earnest assistance given us by the Government Delegation. We have full confidence in the Chinese Communist Party. The people of Tibet will forever follow the Communist Party and will exert themselves for the realization of regional autonomy in the unified Tibetan region, in carrying through Chairman Mao Tse-tung's policy of freedom of religious belief, to keep Buddhism as believed in by all the priests and laymen in Tibet flourishing. They will also exert themselves to carry out democratic and social reforms, step by step in an effective manner, and will march forward to socialism alongside all fraternal nationalities.....

Chang Kuo-hua's Report at the Inaugural Meeting of the Preparatory Committee

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 27, 1956)

.....

Appropriate reforms within the various minority nationalities constitute a course which must be taken to promote the political, economic and cultural development and progress of these nationalities, so that they may gradually be elevated to the ranks of the advanced nationalities. This is also the road for transition to socialism, and is in full conformity with the interests and demands of the people of the minority nationalities. This has been proved by the development of the overwhelming majority of our minority nationalities. Similarly, in order to elevate the Tibetan nationality to the ranks of the advanced nationalities, to lead it to the bright and happy socialist society, the necessary reforms must be carried out by the Tibetan people on the foundation of the unity between nationalities and within the Tibetan nationality itself.

Accordingly, the question of reform in the region of Tibet must be studied at the appropriate time. This does not mean reform by a small number of people acting on the orders of the Central Government, but it must rather be based on the wishes of the majority of the people and the public leaders of the Tibetan nationality. If the conditions are not ripe, there must not be undue haste in seeking reform.

Moreover, the social and economic aspects of the Tibetan Region differ greatly from that of the areas of the Han people and other minority nationalities. The measures to be taken in the future when carrying out reforms in the Tibetan Region must also differ from those adopted in the areas of the Han people and of other minority nationalities. According to the instructions of the Central People's Government, the future reforms in the Tibetan Region must be carried out from the upper to the lower levels and by peaceful consultation, in accordance with the wishes and desires of the great majority of the people. In the course of and following the reforms, the government must take the necessary steps to ensure

that the political position and material life of the upper class people of the Tibetan nationality (including upper class people in the religious sphere) will not be reduced, and that it will possibly be better than before. That is to say, the reforms can only be for the better and not for the worse. This method will be beneficial to the aristocracy and the lamaseries and its implementation will also be to the advantage of the people. This is the established policy of the Central People's Government concerning the question of reforms in the Tibetan Region.

Some people suspect that the present cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the upper sections of the people is only an expedient for exploitation, and that after the reforms, there will be no further cooperation. This is absolutely a misunderstanding. The cooperation between the Party and the Government with the upper circles of the minority nationalities (including the upper sections of religious circles) is a long-term one, which consistently upholds the policy of unity and education. When the Communist Party says something, it does just that. It will never go back on its promises. For the object of carrying out reform is to oppose imperialism, build up a socialist motherland, and ensure the political, economic and cultural development to a high degree among the Tibetan people. Anyone, as long as he is prepared to rally round the standard of anti-imperialism and patriotism and to contribute his own ability to the development and progress of his own nationality will have our cooperation to the bitter end.

As early as 1950, Chairman Mao in his closing speech at the 2nd session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference said, "As long as anyone really works for the people, actually gives help to the people while they still have difficulties, does good deeds, and continues to do so consistently without leaving his work half-done, then the people and the government of the people will have no reason to abandon him, will have no reason to withhold from him the opportunity of living and the opportunity of giving service."

Some people worry over the possibility that following the reforms, freedom of religious belief will no longer be protected, or may even be abolished. This is baseless. In the areas inhabited by the Han and Hui nationalities, after the reforms had been carried out, those who believed in Buddhism, in Christianity, and in Islam-

ism continued to have freedom of religious belief. Though more than 30 years has passed since the Soviet Union was victorious in its revolution, yet there is still freedom of belief among the different religions. This shows that reform will not affect freedom of religious belief. It is utterly baseless to say that there will be no freedom of religious belief after reforms. The Chinese Communist Party has adopted a policy of protection towards religion, and will continue to do so in the future. After the reforms have been carried out in Tibet in the future, the religious belief of the people will remain completely unchanged.....

*Summing-up Report of Central
Government Delegation to Tibet*

By Ch'en Yi, Head of Central Government Delegation

(*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, September 15, 1956)

With the approval of the State Council, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was formally established on April 22 this year [1956]. As instructed by the Central People's Government and Chairman Mao, the Central Government Delegation left Peking on March 16 for Lhasa to attend the inauguration ceremony of the Preparatory Committee and to visit and pay welfare calls in various areas of Tibet in separate groups after the inauguration meeting.

The Central Government Delegation was composed principally of representatives of various relevant ministries and commissions of the State Council, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, various democratic parties, and national people's organizations of workers, youth, women, scientists, cultural and educational workers, industrialists and businessmen. The membership numbered 57, representing 17 nationalities. If workers are taken into account, there were about 800 persons altogether.

The peaceful liberation of Tibet has led not only to the unification of the mainland of China and to the consolidation of its national defence, but it has also brought basic changes to the relationship between the Tibetan nationality and other nationalities, particularly the relationship between the Tibetan and Han nationalities and the internal relationship within the Tibetan nationality itself, thus putting an end to the long-standing antagonism between various nationalities and divisions within the Tibetan nationality itself. For several years since the liberation, government officials and the people in Tibet, both religious and secular, in close cooperation with the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet and cadres sent to Tibet from other places, have made outstanding achievements in construction work in Tibet. Consequently, upon the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Au-

onomous Region, work in the Tibet region will now enter a new stage. The fact that the Central Government has sent a delegation to Tibet to attend the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee and to visit various places there fully shows the serious importance which the Central Government attaches to the role played by the Tibetan nationality in the big family of the mother country and the solicitude of the Central Government.

Deputy leaders and members of the delegation and myself, totalling 33 persons, delivered messages of greeting at the meeting on behalf of the Central People's Government, various democratic parties, people's organizations and various nationalities. In the course of touring the various places of Tibet, the Delegation was warmly received by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni and enthusiastically welcomed by people from all walks of life. Many government officials, both religious and secular, peasants and herdsmen walked distances of several hundred *li* to welcome us. Outstanding part-time artists among the people in Tibet were assembled to give performances in honour of the Delegation at the time of the inauguration ceremony. All this shows the support of the Tibetan people for the Central Government and the mother country and their earnest desire to be closely united with other nationalities in the big family of the mother country.

The people of various strata in Tibet have paid very serious attention to setting up the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region as evidenced by the initiative with which they prepared this conference. Those who participated in the inauguration meeting included representatives from various areas of Tibet, representing various strata, religious circles and people's organizations. This broadly representative meeting was the first of its kind ever to be held in Tibet. The representatives fully demonstrated the spirit of being the masters of their own land and that of democratic consultation, They seriously went through the main items on the agenda: the organic rules of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, work in Tibet since the peaceful liberation, and the election of the principal officials of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. They unanimously adopted a resolution concerning the organic rules of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region as well as a resolution regarding the reports made by the Dalai Lama,

Fan-chen Erdeni, Chang Kuo-hua (張國華), and Wang Ch'i-mei (王其梅) at the meeting.

In their reports and speeches, the representatives at the conference dealt with questions of democratic reform in the Tibet region. Just before this conference was held, counter-revolutionaries had spread rumours by making use of the news that the provinces adjacent to Tibet were carrying out, or were preparing to carry out, reforms; some representatives at the meeting were worried about certain concrete policies concerning reform. Thus, in their reports, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni explained the fixed policy of the Central Government toward reform in the national minority regions. We too explained to the responsible government officials, both religious and secular in Tibet, both during and outside the meeting, the various specific policies adopted by the Central Government for reform in the national minority regions.

After conducting serious discussions, the representatives at the meeting unanimously agreed that the Tibetan nationality must take the socialist road just as the rest of the minority nationalities had done, before it would be possible to guarantee a high-rate development in the economy and culture of their own nationality, and that reform was indispensable in the gradual transition towards a socialist society. The representatives at the meeting held that reform in Tibet must take the characteristics of the Tibetan nationality into account and that it should take a form compatible with local conditions. In this respect, the Delegation pointed out that reform in Tibet would be carried out in the form of peaceful consultation from the top to the lower levels. As for when the reform should start and the methods of implementing reform through peaceful consultation in accordance with the characteristics of the Tibetan nationality, decisions could be made only after sufficient discussion had been held by the local autonomous organ and with the consent of public leaders in Tibet. In principle, provisions were laid down in this regard in the Constitution of our country and in the Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. It was therefore necessary that serious and repeated consultations should be held with public leaders in various quarters and reform should be carried out only with their consent; otherwise it should be postponed.

The Delegation also emphatically explained the spirit of the Central Government towards reform. This was to the effect that

“the reform must be carried out properly,” and the fact that the result of the reform would be a gradual rise in the standard of living of the people of various strata. Both during and after the reform, the State would take appropriate measures to safeguard the political status and living standards of the nobility and lamas, and see to it that they were not lowered. The Delegation explained at the same time that the reform must be carried out by the leadership personnel and people of Tibet, that the Han cadres could only assist and not monopolize things, and that the Central Government would not order the compulsory implementation of the reform. Besides, the Delegation gave an account of the policies adopted by the Communist Party and the State for resolutely protecting religion and the lamaseries in the course of the reform. The State would, in the course of the reform, take steps favourable to the masses and the lamaseries in dealing with the economic relations between them and would enable the lamaseries to carry out their normal religious activities. In their final speeches the representatives at the meeting unanimously expressed their determination to do all they could to facilitate the implementation of the reform in the future.

Generally speaking, the inauguration meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Région was quite successful. In his opening address, the Dalai Lama said that with the setting up of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, Tibet would be more united and make greater progress. Panchen Erdeni in his closing speech said that this conference had paved the way for the early realization of autonomy in Tibet and the transition towards socialism. For our part, we thought that this conference had created favourable conditions for better uniting the forces of all sides in Tibet to take part in the construction of the State and the local construction within Tibet itself.

Following the conclusion of the inauguration meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Delegation began its tour of Lhasa and other areas of Tibet.

The purpose of this tour was to make extensive contacts with government officials and the representatives of various sects in the religious circles. Responsible comrades of the Delegation held individual talks with them, modestly and sincerely listening to their opinions. In the course of the talks, the local Tibetan people fully expressed their own views on the various problems concerned, and

they indicated that these individual talks helped raise their understanding of the State policies and promoted mutual understanding and unity.

Apart from the questions of reform, in its talks with the local Tibetan people, the Delegation also exchanged opinions with them on the following problems:

1. The problem of unity: The Delegation explained the Central Government's policy aim of achieving unity and equality among all nationalities and giving equal treatment to all areas where the Tibetan people lived and to all religious sects. The local Tibetan people and the Delegation in their talks confirmed the unity between the Tibetan and the Chinese, the two big nationalities, and within the Tibetan nationality itself. The imperialists and counter-revolutionaries had time and again suffered defeat in their plots to undermine this unity. However, the barriers between the two big nationalities of the Tibetan and Han people caused by the policy of national oppression adopted by the former reactionary Han rulers and the discord sown by the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries and the influences left over by the long-standing division within the Tibetan nationality cannot be entirely eliminated within a short period of time. With regard to strengthening the inner unity of the Tibetan nationality, the Delegation earnestly pointed to the need to follow the principle of "letting the strong support the weak." The aim of achieving unity in all ways was the joint undertaking to build socialism. The Delegation also pointed out that while strengthening unity, the Han cadres must continue to eradicate any vestiges of the thought of big nationalism and the Tibetan cadres too must guard against local nationalism.

In the course of the talks, the Delegation also pointed out that the people of the upper strata in Tibet could play a useful role. Since the liberation and in close cooperation with various other nationalities in the mother country, they had made many contributions to the mother country, and had shown progress to varying degrees in their thinking. They would play a still more useful role in socialist construction in the future.

Furthermore, the Delegation also explained the attitude of the Central Government toward those Tibetans who were still living abroad. The State welcomed their return and would forget what they had done in the past. The State would accord all possible

facilities to those who wanted to return to the country for a visit and to those who wanted to leave the country again after the visit.

2. The problem of religion: The Delegation took the view that, although lamas in Tibet were divided into different sects, they had nevertheless become united since the liberation. The Central Government gave equal treatment to all sects and respected their differing beliefs. The local Tibetan people were of the opinion that the Delegation, in the course of its tour, had set a very good example for the implementation of the policy of freedom of religious beliefs. Some religious people raised questions about the future of the lamas in socialist construction, and the Delegation explained that the Central Government would continue to adhere to the policy of protecting religion. After improving their economic life through socialist construction, the Tibetan people would also find their life gradually improved together with that of the people of the various strata throughout the nation in the course of socialist construction, and they then could concentrate their minds on studying their religious doctrines. For this reason, both the religious and secular people should unite together and work for socialist construction. As to whether reform would be necessary within the religion, following the promotion of religious doctrines in the future, that would be a matter for the religious circles to decide. Any intervention by other people would be quite out of the question.

Apart from this important problem, the Delegation also exchanged opinions with the local Tibetan people on the following problems: the establishment of religious schools; the building of a hospital in Yatung, building middle schools and more primary schools; increasing the population of Tibetans; the improvement of livelihood and welfare facilities for cadres working in Tibet; the strengthening of maintenance work on the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway; the setting up of oxygen stations at necessary points; and the formal inauguration of flights between Lhasa and Peking. The Delegation thought it necessary that these problems should be gradually solved.

The Delegation also carried out the following activities in the course of its tour: Representatives of the Mongol and Tibetan nationalities of the Delegation who came from Inner Mongolia, Szechwan, and Tsinghai interviewed the lamas from these areas who were now living in Tibet. Representatives of the Delegation

spoke to them about the achievements that had been made in construction in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and other regions in the last few years and the improvement of the livelihood of the people there. These lamas were deeply touched and said that they would be better united with the local lamas here.

The Delegation also sponsored mass meetings and forums attended by people of various strata in the different areas in Tibet.

The Delegation also made donations to the large and small monasteries in the various areas. In the course of visiting the monasteries, the Delegation strictly observed national traditions and customs. Members of the Delegation who were Buddhists were able to carry out their religious activities according to their wish and were given every assistance by the Delegation.

The Delegation paid welfare calls on the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet and work cadres in various areas. The welfare calls made by the Delegation, in their view, fully expressed the concern of the Party and Chairman Mao for them as well as for the Tibetan people, and this was their greatest honour. In the course of the visits, we saw that although their work was hard, much had been accomplished. Many had overcome great difficulties in the course of their work and had loyally and exemplarily carried out the nationalities policies of the Central People's Government and Chairman Mao. From these concrete actions, the Tibetan people have gained a deeper understanding of the nationalities policies.

Meanwhile, the Delegation visited schools, hospitals, farms and factories in various localities. We saw many new signs in Tibet: Lhasa and Shigatse were building new electric-power supply plants; the Tibetan people already had serum factories using the latest equipment; children of the nobility and commoners went to schools together; tractor drivers, printing workers and fitters had emerged from among the Tibetans; many new crops were being grown successfully on the plateau; the first group of young men and women in Lhasa and Shigatse had joined the Young Communist League at the time of our visit; and the organization of Young Pioneers was rapidly expanding.

Besides this, the theatrical team accompanying the Delegation gave performances in various areas, arousing extremely great interest among the local people. The team also learned national folk songs and dances of the Tibetan nationality from the local Tibetan

actors and actresses.

The Delegation also presented gifts to government officials and cadres in various localities and gave souvenirs to the people. Gifts were also presented to the Delegation by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni.

On the whole, this visit of the Delegation has strengthened the unity between the various nationalities in the mother country and within the Tibetan nationality itself, helped to bring about the success of the inauguration meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, enabled the Tibetan people to increase their understanding of the relevant policies of the Central Government and cemented the ties between the Central Government and the local Tibetan government.

However, because this visit of the Delegation to Tibet was of comparatively short duration, it was not possible to visit some places. It was unable completely to satisfy the demands of the masses in cultural and recreational activities or in the presentation of souvenirs. We feel it necessary to offer our apology to the Tibetan people.

As a result of this visit, we feel that there are broad prospects for economic construction in Tibet. It is rich in mineral deposits including certain kinds of rare and precious metals. It has fertile soil, good irrigation conditions, and rich hydraulic resources. In the northern part of the region, there are vast natural pastures, while there are many primitive forests in the south. If these conditions are fully utilized, the achievements that would be made in construction in Tibet and the contributions that would be made to the mother country would be inestimable indeed. Along with the continuous exploitation of the natural resources in Tibet, the living conditions of all the people of Tibet would also be steadily improved.

But, judged from the future constructional requirements in Tibet, the training of a large number of Tibetan cadres, particularly cadres for various specialized fields, will be the key to making a good job of all the many kinds of work in Tibet. We think that although the Party organizations and leadership cadres in Tibet formerly gave their serious attention to training Tibetan cadres and made definite achievements, many cadres still have vestiges of the thought of big nationalism and conservative ideas with regard

to the training of Tibetan cadres. This must be overcome in the future. Simultaneously with training Tibetan cadres, moreover, the State must dispatch a group of outstanding cadres to Tibet to assist in construction.

We are of the opinion that in the course of future construction in Tibet, we must still guard against the intrigues of the imperialists and counter-revolutionaries. As long as the people of Tibet are closely united, construction in Tibet will be carried out smoothly and imperialism and counter-revolutionaries will certainly be defeated.

We (with the exception of three groups of the Delegation) left Tibet three months ago. During this interval the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region has done a great deal of encouraging work. According to the decision of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee, some of the eight *chi-ch'iao* (基巧) level administrative offices (equivalent to the special administrative district [專區] level) have been set up⁵ and preparations are being made to set up others. Surveys will be made this year for highway routes from Chamdo to Chayü, from Chamdo to Denchin, from Denchin to Heiho, from Lhasa to Lokea, and from Shigatse to Tingjih. Construction of the first middle school—the Lhasa Middle School—in Tibet has already started.

We believe that with the assistance of various fraternal nationalities in the mother country and through the necessary reform, the Tibetan nationality will emerge, within a few decades, as part of the big family of the mother country as a nationality having a high level of economic and cultural development.

Document 37

Decree of People's Republic of China Promulgating Outline Regulations Governing Organization of Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, September 27, 1956)

The Outline Regulations Governing the Organization of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region have been adopted by the First National People's Congress at its 47th Session on September 26, 1956, and are hereby promulgated.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
People's Republic of China
September 26, 1956

*Outline Regulations Governing the Organization of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region**

—adopted at 47th Session of NPC Standing Committee on
September 26, 1956—

Article 1: These Regulations are formulated in accordance with the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" and the "Resolution on the Establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region" [see Document 32] adopted by the State Council at its 7th plenary session [on March 9, 1955], and with reference to the "Agreement between the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" [see Document 6].

Article 2: The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet (hereafter referred to as the Committee) is an authoritative body for consultations and planning during the transitional period before the establishment of the Autonomous Region of Tibet and functions under the direction of the State Council.

Article 3: The Committee is composed of officials of the Local Government of Tibet, of the Panchen Kanpo Lija and of the

* For changes in these regulations, especially Article 8, see Document 44.

People's Liberation Committee in the Chamdo District; representative and patriotic personages from leading monasteries, principal religious sects, social circles and local governments; and the cadres sent to Tibet by the Central People's Government.

Article 4: The Committee has the responsibility to supervise the Local Government of Tibet, the Panchen Kanpo Lija and the People's Liberation Committee in the Chamdo District and to carry out and exercise the following tasks and powers:

(1) In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, and the concrete conditions of Tibet, the Committee shall carry out the following tasks:

(a) To gradually strengthen the responsibilities of the Committee, accumulate work experience, and create various conditions in order to set up formally the united Autonomous Region of Tibet.

(b) To carry out all concrete work in preparation for the establishment of the united Autonomous Region.

(c) To assume the responsibility of consultation and unified planning for carrying out construction in the Tibet region and other tasks that are feasible and necessary; to adopt resolutions and submit them to the State Council for approval and implementation.

(d) To unite with people of all circles so as to strengthen further the unity between the nationalities as well as the unity within Tibet.

(e) To organize and supervise studies and raise the patriotism and the understanding of the policy of anti-imperialism among the cadres; to elevate the level of work and actively cultivate cadres.

(f) To protect in accordance with provisions of law the lives and properties of all the people in Tibet, both ecclesiastical and lay, and of all nationalities and social strata.

(g) To practice freedom of religious belief and protect the lamaseries and their income.

(2) The Committee shall exercise the following powers:

(a) The Committee shall, in accordance with the laws and decrees of the State and the decisions and orders of the State Council, and after integrating the concrete conditions of the region and holding consultations, promulgate decisions and orders; in case of matters of importance, such decisions and orders shall be submitted to the State Council for approval before promulgation, and

the Committee shall supervise their implementation.

(b) The Committee shall, according to the concrete conditions of the region and after holding consultations and having reached agreement, draw up provisional laws and regulations and submit them to the State Council or the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, as the case may be, for ratification before enforcement.

(c) In accordance with the provisional regulation governing appointments and dismissals of work personnel decreed by the State Council, the Committee shall recommend to the State Council appointments and dismissals of the administrative work personnel in all the organs within its jurisdiction, or make such appointments and dismissals itself, subject to the approval of the State Council, or make its own appointments and dismissals of the personnel or approve such actions of its subordinate organs.

(d) The Committee shall, after holding consultations and having reached agreement, prepare the financial estimates, the budget and the final accounts of expenditures of the region, and submit them to the State Council for approval.

(e) The Committee shall supervise and inspect the work of all its subordinate departments.

All the administrative affairs which have not yet been brought into the scope of the Committee shall be, as before, directly supervised by the State Council.

Article 5: The number of the members of the Committee shall be provisionally fixed at 55. Nominations for the appointment and dismissal of the members of the Committee, and for the succession to such appointments, shall be made by the various circles after consultations and submitted to the State Council for approval. The Chairman, the Vice-Chairmen and the members of the Committee shall be formally appointed by the State Council. For the purpose of supervising routine work, a Standing Committee shall be established. It shall be elected at a plenary session of the Committee and be subject to the approval of the State Council.

Article 6: The Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Committee shall preside over the meetings and supervise the work of the Committee.

Article 7: Whenever the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Committee are unable to perform their duties because of some other

business, they shall appoint persons to act in their behalf. Such appointments must be passed by the Standing Committee and approved by the State Council.

Article 8: The Committee shall appoint a Secretary-General (who must be a member of the Committee), who shall under the orders of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairmen take charge of the routine administrative work. There shall be appointed three Deputy Secretaries-General, who shall assist the Secretary-General in his work.

The Committee shall, according to the requirements of its work, set up on a provisional basis the following departments:

(1) The General Office:* to be in charge of all secretarial, administrative, public relations, editing and translation, and confidential work.

(2) Finance and Economics Committee: to be in charge of unified supervision and planning of the local financial and economic construction agreed upon by the various circles after consultations, in accordance with the unified financial and economic policies and plans of the Central People's Government and the concrete conditions of the region.

(3) Religious Affairs Committee: to promote unity among the various religious sects of Tibet, to implement the policy of freedom of religious belief, to inspect conditions in implementing the above policy and to take charge of all other religious affairs.

(4) Civil Affairs Department: to be in charge of personnel affairs, and the work of setting up local governments on the basis of consultation; to promote social welfare undertakings and mediate in civil disputes; to sponsor relief and rehabilitation work and handle other civil affairs.

(5) Finance Department: to be in charge of local financial receipts and expenditures on the basis of consultation; to establish financial systems; and to prepare and examine budgets and final accounts and other relevant financial matters.

(6) Construction Department: to be in charge of municipal planning and construction; to organize the distribution of manpower; and to handle matters pertaining to wages and working conditions.

* For the personnel appointed to these offices, committees, and departments, see footnote number 1 to Chapter IV.

(7) Culture and Education Department: to be in charge of all matters relevant to culture, education, press and publication and scientific research, as well as other matters concerned.

(8) Public Health Department: to be in charge of administrative affairs concerning health, health facilities, public hygiene and other matters related to health.

(9) Public Security Department: to be in charge of the maintenance of social law and order, promote public security work, and handle other matters related to public security.

(10) Agriculture and Forestry Department: to be in charge of the direction and improvement of agricultural production, protection and cultivation of forests, promotion of water conservancy construction for agriculture, and other affairs related to agriculture and forestry.

(11) Animal Husbandry Department: to be in charge of the development of animal husbandry, promotion of veterinary service and other work related to animal husbandry.

(12) Industry and Commerce Department: to be in charge of the control of local commerce and the construction of local industry and other related work.

(13) Communications Department: to be in charge of local communications enterprises and the administration and construction of communications.

(14) Justice Department: to be in charge of the judicial affairs of the region, and to act in place of the procuratorate, the supervisory organs, and the law courts pending their establishment.

Article 9: There shall be a Chairman and two or three Vice-Chairmen, or a Director and two or three Deputy-Directors, as the case may be, in each of the departments, committees and offices of the Committee. Each of the departments, committees and offices shall consist of a number of sections in terms of their requirements.

Article 10: Nominations for the appointment of the Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen, Directors and Deputy-Directors shall be made after consultation by all circles and submitted to the State Council for approval and formal appointment.

Article 11: The Committee shall hold a plenary meeting once every six months, to be called by the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen. According to the condition of work, the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen may call such meetings in advance of the scheduled time or

postpone them.

Article 12: The Standing Committee of the Committee shall meet every week and the meeting shall be called by the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen. The responsible officials of the departments, committees and offices of the Committee shall attend such meetings when required.

Article 13: Whenever confronted with difficulties in local expenditures during the transitional period, the Local Government of Tibet, the Fanchen Kanpo Lija and the People's Liberation Committee in the Chamdo District may apply directly to the State Council for assistance, and at the same time report the results of such requests to the Committee for record purposes.

Article 14: The Committee shall maintain close contacts with the Tibet Military Command and actively assist the Military Command in the consolidation of national defence and the maintenance of local law and order.

Article 15: These Outline Regulations, after being adopted at the first plenary session of the Committee, shall be submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress for ratification and enforcement. Any subsequent amendments to the Regulations shall be made through the same process.

CHAPTER V

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EVENTS AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION 1956—1959

Notes to Chapter V

This chapter is devoted to the period between the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in April 1956 to the flight of the Dalai Lama in March 1959. It covers Tibetan resistance, politics, religions, communications, cadre training, agriculture, industry and commerce, culture and education, science, and other Tibetan nationality areas.

A. RESISTANCE OF THE TIBETANS

Notes to Documents 38-40

The resistance of the Tibetans continued into 1956 when the participation of more lamas, local officials and armed Tibetan troops in the resistance movement began to spread beyond East Tibet where the resistance had centered in the early 1950's. The Chinese Communists, however, only admitted at that time that "deviations" in their work with the Tibetans had created some "unhappy circumstances," but denied that there was a rebellion.¹ Thus, when the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama went to India in November 1956 to participate in the 2,500th anniversary of the nirvana of Buddha, the Chinese Communists did not try to stop them, though they probably had misgivings.²

In January 1957, en route home from India, the Dalai Lama broke his journey at Kalimpong, near Sikkim. At that time, Ssu-ts'ao (司曹), Lu-k'ang-wa and others who had vehemently opposed the Chinese Communists, were also there. (Lu-k'ang-wa, arrested in the early 1950's, had been released and had gone to India.) The Chinese probably assumed that the Dalai Lama and Lu-k'ang-wa had conferred with each other. Toward the end of January, the Panchen Lama arrived in Shigatse from India.³ But the Dalai Lama was still in Kalimpong. In February, at a session of the Supreme State Conference, Mao Tse-tung delivered a speech entitled "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People," in which he stated that "democratic reformse" in Tibet should not be hurried.⁴ It was only then that the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet from Sikkim.

In August 1957, the Chinese Communist Work Committee for Tibet⁵ announced the "Programme for Propaganda on the Non-Institution of Democratic Reforms in the Tibet Region during the Period of the Second Five-Year Plan" (i.e., 1958-62). In spite of this promise, the Chinese were not able to restore order in Tibet. In February 1958, the Communists held the Fifth Enlarged Session of the Nationalities Committee of the First National People's Congress in Peking. Speeches were made by Shirob Jaltso, Chairman of the All-China Association of Buddhists; Chan-tung Jijime, Chairman of the Panchen Kanpo Lija Committee; and Pang-ta-to-chi (邦達多吉), Chairman of the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area. They revealed that in Tibet "local nationalists" were engaging in activities for "independence." At this meeting, however, no speeches were made by the representatives of the Tibet Local Government, which was implicitly the object of the rebuke.⁶ In November 1958, the Chinese Communists organized the Tibetan and Han personnel in all the public offices in Lhasa into "militia regiments,"⁷ and it appeared that they were preparing for an emergency.

Several Recommendations

—Speech Delivered at the 3rd Session of the 1st National People's Congress in June 1956—

By Shirob Jaltso, Deputy to the National People's Congress

(*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, June 30, 1956)

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, our country with its long history and ancient civilization has left the road of decadence for the road of restoration, and along with the prosperity of the motherland, Chinese Buddhism has been reglorified. Since the liberation, the Party committees and governments at all levels have enforced the policy of freedom of worship, adopted concrete measures for the protection of all religions, protected the income of the Buddhist institutions, repaired and looked after ancient Buddhist institutions and relics of Buddhist culture, and respected and shown concern over the religious activities, living conditions and political status of the Buddhists. The Constitution has been promulgated, and one of its clauses safeguards the freedom of worship. In the enforcement of the Constitution, the policy of freedom of worship has been increasingly enriched and implemented with ever better results. The broad masses of Buddhists of different sects and different nationalities living in different parts of the country where there is full and real freedom of worship deeply feel the warmth of the motherland and are extensively and firmly united around the Party and the People's Government, manifesting patriotism and the spirit of saving humanity in general and exerting efforts for the glorification of Buddhism, the wealth and strength of the motherland, and the peace of the world.

On the basis of some of the conditions with which I have recently been in contact, I now make some recommendations and I request that the deputies examine them.

I. Full Attention to the Characteristics of Nationalities in the Upsurge of Building Up Cooperatives

To build up the cooperatives is the only road to socialism for the workers in agriculture and animal husbandry in the minority nationalities. This is an unquestionable truth. However, owing to differences in standards, the methods to be adopted should be different. A vital point in this connection is to pay keen attention to the religions of the minority nationalities. Our country's policy of freedom of worship is a policy very satisfactory to the religious people. However, in any area, great care must be taken at all times when enforcing it. The lamas of the Tibetan nationality have a traditional and unwavering Buddhist precept and habit which forbids them to take part in farming. After the land and animals of the lamas and lamaseries have become the property of the cooperatives, they will be unable to earn anything through labour. Besides, there are fixed religious expenses which have to be met from the proceeds of this land and the animals. For this reason, the lamas should continue to be paid for their share of land and animals. This will remove their worries and solve their difficulties. This is the first point. It is a time-honoured custom that the expenses of some lamas and lamaseries are shouldered by a tribe, several villages, one village, or several families. After building the higher cooperatives, difficulty has been encountered in respect of such expenses, for nobody can be found to shoulder them. In the future, appropriate methods should be adopted to deal with this matter so that the religious activities concerned may be duly financed. This is point two. The Tibetan people, in general, have a strong faith in Buddhism. In the past, such merit-earning religious activities as alms giving and praying were conducted either collectively by the tribes or villages, or individually by the families. In the future, if they are to be conducted collectively, they should become a charge on the cooperatives, and if they are to be conducted individually, they should not be interfered with. The principle of freedom must be fully practiced. This is point three. There are several lamaseries and lay individuals of the Tibetan nationality who have been accustomed for generations to private ownership and private enterprise. They cannot keenly recognize or eagerly enforce the superior system of cooperatives. Those who do not wish to join cooperatives

for the time being, should not be discriminated against just because they are not eager to join cooperatives or because they insist on withdrawing from cooperatives; the correct principle of free choice should be practiced, and they should be given enthusiastic help. This is point four. In short, the people of the Tibetan nationality are very conservative and hold fast to their native customs. They have always been conservative. Hence, it is quite normal for them to be somewhat conservative toward the cooperatives; these are new to them, they had never heard of them before. In popularizing these new things under such objective conditions, we should be extremely patient. If we press for quick results before the necessary conditions are ripe, great harm will be done both to the public and the individuals. The idea of private ownership is an age-old idea. It is not an easy task to eliminate. In particular, we should advance cautiously whenever we begin to do anything new. Delays should be allowed for wherever necessary. Seeking rapid development regardless of anything else should not be permitted. First of all, efforts must be made in propaganda and education; this must be done correctly. Then, typical examples should be given to establish their confidence. Improvement should be gradual. When the time is right, reform will be accepted cheerfully and voluntarily. This is the way: go slow at first and increase speed later on. If we press for quick results in the great work of socialist transformation in the nationalities areas, we shall be unable to attach the proper importance to the characteristics of the nationalities, their religious beliefs and their economic conditions. This will inconvenience some of the Tibetan people in their alms giving and other religious activities, it will bring difficulties to the livelihood and religious activities of the lamas in some lamaseries, drive some lamaseries and lamas to financial desperation, and thus gradually decrease and eventually eliminate the lamas, which in turn will arouse discontent with the government. Recently, for instance, in some Tibetan areas in Szechwan, there were irregularities in land reform, in the collection of commercial tax and public money from the lamaseries, and in the handling of their land and animals. In some cases, when the people were requested to surrender their fire-arms, even the fire-arms on the altars of the Buddhas were removed. As a result, some Buddhists erroneously doubted the truth of the freedom of worship, and disquiet was caused in the localities concern-

ed. Though this happened in only a few areas, its influence cannot be overlooked. The method adopted was the erroneous method of starting too quickly and reducing speed later on. We are of the opinion that such unhappy circumstances are avoidable. Since this was not the case, we should consider the possibility of instigation by hidden enemies and heighten our vigilance accordingly. Mainly because there actually was trouble in the lamaseries concerned and deviations and shortcomings in the work, a chance was given to enemy instigation. This demands our particular attention. During the years since the liberation, the Party has been victorious in all its undertakings in the pastoral areas where the consciousness of the herdsmen has been heightened. Under such favourable conditions, providing we attend to the religious question at all times and in every place, we may feel quite sure that the work of building cooperatives in the nationalities areas will be completed in time.

II. The Question of Funds for Primary Schools in Pastoral Areas

The herdsmen are constantly on the move so there are few fixed school buildings. In addition, as their homes are scattered, the school children have difficulties in getting to school in the morning and coming home in the evening. If they board in their schools, their families will have to dispense with their valuable labour power and shoulder additional expenses. As a result, building primary schools in the pastoral areas is no easy thing. Even if some are built, they cannot be consolidated. However, if the government allocates funds for the erection of fixed school buildings and provides meals and quarters, the schools can readily be built and consolidated. In the minority nationalities areas, the development of education is the foundation of all construction undertakings. The people in all the pastoral areas in Tsinghai urgently request the government to solve their problem concerning funds for building schools. We hope that the Central Government will be even kinder than usual and give them special attention.

III. Requesting that Further Support be Given to the Development of the Resources of the Tsaidam Basin

Tsaidam Basin in Tsinghai is one of the treasure-houses of the motherland. The Central Government and the people of all nationalities in the nation have given and are giving huge support to it, and the people of all nationalities in Tsinghai have also contributed their utmost efforts to its development. Judging by existing conditions, Tsaidam is very rich in natural resources which can be tapped very profitably. The various nationalities in Tsinghai regard anything that is done for Tsaidam as being of paramount importance and are contributing their strength with great confidence. But our present strength is not enough to develop Tsaidam. Hence, we urgently request the Central Government and the people of all nationalities throughout the nation to continue to give us their great support, so that better and faster results may be obtained in the work of development and that the rich treasure-house of Tsaidam may soon be put to the use of serving the people of the whole nation.

Criticisms and Suggestions Concerning Various Undertakings in Minority Nationalities Areas at the 3rd Session of Nationalities Committee

By Ch'iu T'ing (丘挺), *Kuang-ming Jih-pao* reporter

(*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, July 10, 1956)

In the course of the third session of the Nationalities Committee of the National People's Congress held in Peking during July 2-5, 112 members of the committee and people's deputies, 30 of whom were people of minority nationalities, held group discussions on the "Important Points about Nationality Autonomy and Local Autonomy in the People's Republic of China" and laid emphasis on inspecting the relations among nationalities.

All the members of the committee and the people's deputies present at the meeting agreed that the important points concerning nationalities autonomy and local autonomy, which were based on the Constitution, provided a concrete foundation on which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the people in all the nationalities autonomous areas might make the transition to socialism and establish people's democratic autonomous areas, and represented the wishes of all nationalities. They further agreed that while our country's nationalities work had made tremendous successes there were some shortcomings also to be found in it. Since stern exposure and criticism of the mistakes and shortcomings in the work would be of great significance in improving and strengthening the work in the future, all the people present at the meeting spoke from their hearts. Concerning the various undertakings in the nationalities areas, altogether they put forward 239 criticisms and suggestions.

The Nationalities Policy has not Been Enforced Sufficiently Well in Some Areas

The people present at the meeting unanimously praised the nationalities policy of the Chinese Communist Party and agreed that in all parts of the country it had been enforced with ever better

results, and that more marked successes were achieved every year. However, in some areas, it had not been carried out sufficiently well.* Some members of the Commission and people's deputies said in criticism that in some areas the nationalities question had been dealt with by applying fixed rules. Some deputies from Yunnan said that nationalities work had, in general, been neglected in those parts of their province where people of different nationalities lived together, and in the interior alpine areas, they also said that insufficient attention had been paid to the difficulties of the minority nationalities people there in production and livelihood. Adducing concrete facts, others stated that in some areas, the commercial, food, banking, and revenue departments had failed to observe the special needs of the minority nationalities. Still others mentioned some units and cadres that had failed to treat the customs and habits of the minority nationalities in their areas with due respect. They rushed things unnecessarily when reforming backward customs and habits. In a few areas, even the dances of the minority nationalities were restricted. On the question of respecting the religious beliefs of the minority nationalities, some deputies of the Hui and Tibetan nationalities reflected that the work had been inadequately carried out in some areas. Deputy Ma Le-t'ing (of the Hui nationality) said, "The government ruled that special supplies of oil, flour, and beef be provided for Hui nationality people on their religious feast days, but this regulation has not been properly enforced in some areas in Anhwei."

The people present at the meeting agreed that in the areas concerned, the nationalities policy had not been sufficiently well enforced mainly because the leadership organizations had failed to attach due importance to nationalities work. The deputies from Kweichow, Yunnan, and Northeast China asked the Central Government and the departments concerned to make regular inspections, and asked the areas concerned to strengthen their leadership over nationalities work. Ch'en Yung-k'ang (of the Puyi nationality), a member of the Commission, suggested that responsible cadres of the Han nationality in the Party and the government be organized to visit all minority nationalities areas, for if this were done, help would be given to the leadership of the Han nationality in the areas concerned so that they might attach due importance to nationalities work.

The members of the Commission and the people's deputies present at the meeting were of the opinion that for the purposes of effectively enforcing the nationalities policy, it was necessary to strengthen propaganda and education concerning the policy until it was known to all families. Shirob Jaltso, a member of the Commission, said, "The proper enforcement of the nationalities policy depends mainly on proper propaganda and education work. Propaganda should account for two thirds of every item of work."

*Training of Minority Nationalities Cadres was the Question
which Most Concerned the Conferees*

The training of minority nationalities cadres was the question which most concerned the conferees. Many deputies said that although a considerable number of cadres had been trained for nationalities autonomy, the number of minority nationalities cadres engaged in production was still very small, too small to meet the demands for development of the work, and that at the same time owing to insufficient education, the quality of the minority nationalities cadres was very poor. Deputy Wu Huan-yü (of the Miao Nationality) said, "The minority nationalities cadres are very determined to complete their work assignments but their political and cultural standards are low. They do not bear in mind the actual conditions when doing their work and so cannot carry it out properly." Deputy Yang Fu-hsing (of the Tibet nationality) said, "Owing to their lack of education, some minority nationalities cadres, since their appointment, have refused to wear minority nationalities costumes or to speak minority nationalities languages. As a result, they have estranged themselves from the masses." All agreed that to enable the minority nationalities to manage their own affairs well as masters and to effect the transition to socialism, it was necessary to exert considerable effort in training minority nationalities cadres. Concerning the training of minority nationalities cadres, some deputies said that the problems of number and quality could be solved only by training more minority nationalities for longer periods. Deputy Liang Hua-hsin (of the Chuang nationality) said that if the training of cadres was to be carried out well, the departments concerned should draw up concrete plans and measures. Ch'en Yung-k'ang (of the Puyi nationality), a member of the

Commission, said that attention should be paid to bringing up minority nationalities workers as cadres, for this was particularly important for the progress of the minority nationalities. Meng Sufen (of the Puyi nationality), a member of the Commission, said that particular attention should be given to bringing up minority nationalities women as cadres. Other members of the commission and deputies said that the minority nationalities intellectuals should be valued and brought into the plan, the old ones should be reformed, and the new ones should be trained.

Attention Should be Paid to the Characteristics of Minority Nationalities and their Religions Should be Protected in Democratic Reform and Socialist Transformation

Following the socialist road is the common wish of the people of all nationalities. Ngawong Jaltso (of the Tibetan nationality), a member of the Commission, said that socialism was the road to light and happiness for every individual, and only lunatics did not want to follow the socialist road. However, some of the conferees pointed out that in a few areas shortcomings had been observed in socialist transformation due to insufficient attention being given to the characteristics and demands of the minority nationalities people. For instance, in setting up agricultural producers cooperatives, proper attention had not been paid to the peculiarities of the minority nationalities in regard to land, animals, and living habits. In the transformation of private industry and commerce, proper arrangements had not been made for the people of the Hui nationality in cities and towns. Many units did not take in people of the Hui nationality on the grounds that they had different living habits. Some deputies criticized the fact that some areas were content with the victories won in socialist transformation and had begun to exercise leadership by means of applying fixed rules, and that they no longer studied the characteristics of the minority nationalities prudently, carefully, or penetratingly or tried to solve the new difficulties confronting the masses of the minority nationalities people or to satisfy their new demands. Concerning the question of completing the democratic reform in the minority nationalities areas through peaceful consultation, Huang Cheng-ch'ing (of the Tibetan nationality), a member of the Commission, said that

insufficient work had been done in this respect in a few *hsien* and areas. Deputy Sung Mou (of the Tibetan nationality), emphasized that democratic reform should not be carried out until all mental obstacles had been removed by means of consultation from the top downward and consultation with the lamas. Shirob Jaltso (of the Tibetan nationality), a member of the Commission, said that in both democratic reform and socialist transformation, attention should be given to the characteristics of the minority nationalities, and their religions should be protected. He said that where the necessary conditions were not yet ripe, the work should be carried out slowly, for slow work will lead to quick results whereas hasty work will lead to slow results.

*Many People Emphatically Criticized Vestiges
of Great-Han Chauvinism*

At the meeting, some people pointed out that main ideological root of the shortcomings in nationalities work was Great-Han (or Great-Nation) chauvinism. Ou Keng (of the Minchia nationality), a member of the Commission, analytically noted that for the moment Great-Han chauvinism found expression mainly in the fact that some cadres did not respect the offices of the minority nationalities cadres and tried to do all their work for them, and in the fact that in socialist transformation some cadres ignored the characteristics of the minority nationalities, ignored their just demands, and paid no attention to adopting nationalities forms.

Lei Ch'un-kuo (of the Chingp'o nationality), a member of the Commission, said, "In our place, cadres from outside are trying to take care of everything themselves. They are very busy all day long whereas the minority nationalities cadres have no work to do and find it hard to pass their time." P'u Chao (of the Yi nationality), a member of the Commission, said, "There is a cadre of the Yao nationality who joined the revolution a long time ago, and is now a member of the Party committee of an autonomous district and a *hsiang* chief. But all that is required of him is to discharge miscellaneous service duties." Deputy A-hou-lu-mu-tzu (of the Yi nationality) criticized some of his colleagues of the Han nationality. He said that they did not consult him sufficiently when there were problems to solve. Li Kuang-jung (of the Yao nationality), a member

of the Commission, criticized one of the responsible comrades in the Party committee of his area, who forbade people to express themselves in minority nationalities languages at meetings and rebuked them if they did. An-ni-erh Chia-k'u-lin (of the Kazak nationality), a member of the Commission, mentioned one fact. When the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region was first set up [1955], the front of the building housing the regional people's council was decorated in the customary way of the Uighur nationality. Some of the cadres of the Han nationality thought that the decorations made the building look like a monastery and removed them. He said that this was a concrete expression of failure to pay attention to nationalities customs.

Deputy Kuan Pao-chia (of the Mongol nationality) said, "In order that nationalities work may be properly carried out, cadres from other places and local cadres must unite together firmly. To do this, local cadres must guard against local nationalism while cadres from outside must overcome Great-Han chauvinism." Ou Keng, a member of the Commission, said, "The minority nationalities cadres have their share of responsibility in helping cadres from outside to overcome Great-Han chauvinism. They must constantly draw the attention of cadres of the Han nationality to their shortcomings and suggest better ways to them; they must make criticism and self-criticism." Lung Ming-fu (of the Nung nationality), a member of the Commission, said, "Some minority nationalities cadres are afraid of being mistaken for local nationalists and dare not criticize the mistakes and shortcomings of cadres of the Han nationality. This is wrong."

Concerning these questions, opinions, criticisms, and suggestions put forward by the members of the Commission and people's deputies at the meeting, Liu Ke-p'ing, the Chairman of the Commission, declared during the closing ceremonies that the matters would be seriously studied with the quarters concerned, and that good results would be achieved. He said that the suggestions put forward were all very sound, being good for the nationalities, for the State, and for the march toward socialism.

*Further Manifest the Effect of Nationalities
Regional Autonomous Power*

—Speech Delivered at 2nd Plenary Session of 2nd Tsinghai CCP
Provincial Committee in November 1956—

By Chao K'un-yüan (趙昆元), Deputy Secretary, Yüshu CCP
District Committee

(*Tsinghai Jih-pao*, November 24, 1956)

The Yüshu Tibetan Autonomous *Chou* is an area where people of only one nationality, namely, the Tibetan nationality, live in agglomeration. For a long time before the liberation, under the brutal rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries, they were politically oppressed. Owing to poor communication facilities, natural calamities, and man-made disasters, the social productive forces were economically badly damaged, and the broad masses of the herdsmen lived in object poverty and misery. Some of them lived to be over 60 years old without ever seeing a fried noodle. Culturally, they were even more backward, over 95 per cent of the population were illiterates. There was only one Han language school, and the students studied there because they were compelled to. There were no medical facilities for human beings or animals.

During the seven years since the liberation, under the correct leadership of the Party Provincial Committee, we strictly enforced the Party centre's policies of "equality" (and solidarity) among nationalities and of "freedom of worship" and the work directive of "advancing cautiously and steadily." We further developed all our undertakings, increasingly established peace and order, and, while increasing solidarity within the nationality we established Tibetan regional autonomy. In 1952, we set up an autonomous authority at the *chou* level. Up to now, five authorities have been set up at the *hsien* level and 20 at the *ch'u* (*hsiao*ke) level. At the same time, we assigned 141 public leaders of the nationality and religion to take over leadership posts in people's councils at various levels, enterprises, and administrative units.

During the period in question, we took in and trained 400 Tibetan labourers as cadres. They and the leadership personnel of the nationality together account for 33.4 per cent of all the cadres in the *chou*.

Due to the enforcement of the policy of autonomy for nationalities regions, new changes have been brought about in all the undertakings of the Yüshu *chou*. First of all, concerning the rehabilitation and development of production which is centered on animal husbandry, the number of cattle and goats has increased by over 46 per cent by the end of 1955, compared to the period immediately before liberation. Agricultural output almost doubled. The income derived from medicinal herbs, hunting, and transportation increased to over ¥900,000 in 1955.

Based on the foundation of pastoral economy, new developments have now been made in culture, education, and public health to satisfy the cultural needs of the people. The number of schools has increased from one to nine. Forty winter literacy classes have been set up. Six people's health institutes (centres) and six veterinary stations have been set up to provide medical treatment for sick people and animals.

During the past years, in conjunction with carrying out the central tasks, patriotism has been continuously propagandized among the masses in all tribes. In the spring of this year, the policy of mutual aid and cooperation was propagandized. In this way, the broad masses of the herdsmen began to understand the preparations that were being made for the socialist transformation of the pastoral areas. At the voluntary request of the masses, four pastoral producers cooperatives and agricultural-pastoral producers cooperatives were set up by way of experiment, as well as 80 permanent and 82 temporary mutual-aid teams. These teams and cooperatives were very active in production this year. Most of their members earned more than before. They have thus initially demonstrated the superiority of planned organization.

During the past few years, after touring the interior, studying, attending various conferences at provincial and *chou* level, and going to the countryside for field training, all the representatives from the nationality and religion who took part in the work improved to varying degrees, raised their work ability, and learned to work and solve problems independently in the exercise of their

autonomous power. Concerning self-education, the majority of them learned to use, with differing effect, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Some of them even gave up some of their unreasonable practices of their own volition.

The above facts show that in Yüshu *chou* definite success has been made in manifesting the effect of nationalities regional autonomous authority, solidarity within the nationality has been instigated, and the Party has been established in the high esteem of the broad masses.

On the basis of studying the documents of the 8th Congress⁸ in the light of the work in Yüshu *chou*, we have found that impermissible Great-Han chauvinism still exists in the enforcement of the policy of autonomy for nationalities region. Because we come from the Han nationality, we do not sufficiently appreciate the sentiments of the people of the Tibetan nationality, which is a minority nationality, as being oppressed. In addition, some of us have failed to study seriously the Party policy of autonomy for nationalities regions. As a result, Great-Han chauvinism has still not been successfully overcome in various undertakings. This has prevented the successful display of the full effects of nationalities regional autonomy. The mistakes are shown in the following:

(1) As pointed out by Secretary Kao, we "have failed to observe properly the role of the representative persons" of the nationality and the religion. While we have attached importance to their backwardness, we have failed to note the contributions made by them in the past seven years in leading the masses in production, in establishing peace and order, in strengthening the solidarity within the nationality, and in settling disputes. As an ideological factor, such Great-Han chauvinism has prevented us from extensively uniting with and educating the representative persons of the nationality and religion. In our contacts with them, we have preferred to approach those who could show quick improvement and detested and drawn away from those who could not. In this way, we have allowed the latter to alienate themselves from us.

(2) We have failed to place due trust in those representative persons who have been given work. Our lack of trust has found expression mainly in the fact that we have failed to consult them as often as we should have done. To save trouble, some of the leadership cadres of the Han nationality have regarded consultation

as a mere formality. They were interested only in securing the consent of the representative persons and did not try to explain clearly to them the meaning and role of certain tasks and still less sought their advice as to whether or not these tasks could be carried out. They worked according to their subjective wish and personal imagination, and applied pressure to obtain approval for their proposals. After getting their approval, they feared that the representatives might not speak in support of their intentions and so they drafted speeches for them. They carried out their own intentions but wanted them to be expressed through the mouths of the representative persons. For instance, in the spring of this year, when mutual-aid and cooperation was first propogandized, new suspicions grew in the society, and the representative persons criticized us for trying to dispense with them over the question of socialism. This resulted from our failure to consult them repeatedly, to explain policy clearly, and to respect their opinions. It was also a concrete example of mistrust.

(3) Concerning the exercise of their political rights as masters by the representative persons of the nationality and religion in the autonomous establishment, owing to the presence of Great-Han chauvinism, the practice of the Party also doing the government work has been grossly prevalent, with the result that many of the representative persons who were given office were not given power at the same time. The practice of cadres of the Han nationality doing all the work of the cadres of the Tibetan nationalities is still extremely widespread. The words of the Tibetan nationality cadres carried no weight. For this reason, some of the representative persons found it better to stay at home rather than go to their offices, they have said, "Let the Tibetan people keep house and let the Han people act as masters!"

Concerning livelihood, the representative persons have not received the same consideration as that given to the Han cadres. Some of them have joined in this work for many years, but they still have to ride their own horses to their office. They also have to provide their own stationery.

(4) Whereas the Tibetan language should be the main instrument for exercising autonomy, the people's councils at all levels in Yüshu have failed to use this instrument sensibly at all times. Sometimes it was used but at other times it was not. These people's

councils have considered it an extra burden to have to translate documents and reports into the Tibetan language. At some of the meetings at which responsible cadres of the Tibetan nationality were present, no interpreters were used. The representative persons who had been given appointments had no regular work to do and did not understand what was happening. As a result, they have found it impossible to exercise their power. This shows that Great-Han chauvinism has prevented the autonomous establishments from assuming a Tibetan character.

(5) Discrimination against cadres of the Tibetan nationality still obtains to a wide degree in the work of training and educating new cadres of the Tibetan nationality. A more common indication of this is that while many cadres of the Tibetan nationality have been given appointments, they have received very little education, and that while importance has been attached to the shortcomings of the cadres of the Tibetan nationality, little notice has been taken of their close connection with the broad masses, which is their positive asset. Some of the public offices at *hsien* and *chou* level have accepted few cadres of the Tibetan nationality, but those that have been accepted have not been given proper and patient education and training. No thought is shown for their political improvement, nor is help given them to increase their work ability. Those who have committed mistakes are discharged and sent home. Some of them are always given odd jobs to do and treated as office attendants. Cadres of the Tibetan nationality have not been promoted boldly when they should have been promoted. As a result, the growth and expansion of the army of Tibetan cadres has been adversely affected and is far too slow for the development of the work.

All these mistakes are serious ones. To further manifest the effect of nationalities regional autonomy, we plan to carry out an inspection of the whole *chou* in the winter of this year and the spring of next year. In addition, we have learned that we must pay proper attention to the following points:

(1) We must educate the leadership cadres of the Han nationality at all levels so as to set up correct cooperative relations with the representatives of the nationality and religion in the implementation of the policy of long-term cooperation with the representative persons of minority nationalities and religions. These relations must

be set up on a foundation of sincerity and honesty. In the work, the Han cadres must seriously respect the Tibetan cadres and respect the power attached to their offices, patiently exchange work experiences with them, help them to achieve good results, turn their good points to account, and thus improve the present relations into very harmonious cooperative ones.

(2) We must attach importance to constant consultation. When problems arise, it is necessary to consult the representative persons repeatedly. In other words, on important questions, it is necessary to consult them not once but many times. Only by so doing, will it be possible to begin debates, distinguish right from wrong, achieve unity in thought and action, and turn Party resolutions into actions. In consultation, it is necessary to attach importance to the opinions and adverse opinions of the minority, adhere strictly to the principle of immediately doing what has been agreed upon and deferring what has not yet been agreed to, and oppose careless and insincere attitudes and practices.

(3) We must maintain regular contacts and connections with those representative persons who have been given appointments and talk sincerely with them, patiently explain such tasks and things as may be strange to them, properly organize them to study and attend meetings, show concern over their political progress, deal with their shortcomings and weaknesses as far as practicable by means of individual talks and education, adopt a sincere attitude in so doing, explain clearly the dangers of such shortcomings and weaknesses, and thus achieve the objective of correcting their mistakes. Next, it is necessary to give appropriate consideration to the livelihood of the representative persons.

In conclusion, we are aware that we have not united with a sufficient number of representative persons, do not have wide connections, and have not given appointments to those who should have been given appointments. This last state of affairs should also be rectified forthwith so as to overcome the shortcomings in the work of the representative persons concerned.

Generally speaking, our level of policy understanding is too low, and the mistakes we have made are not only many but also grave. We have resolved, in the future, under the correct leadership of the Party Provincial Committee, to exert efforts to overcome Great-Han chauvinism, to strengthen further the solidarity between

the Han and the Tibetan nationalities and within the Tibetan nationality, to manifest further the effect of nationalities regional autonomy, to lead the masses to develop their pastoral production vigorously, and to struggle hard to gradually create the conditions for the socialist transformation of animal husbandry.

B. POLITICS

Notes to Documents 41-46

Due to the resistance of the Tibetans, the accomplishments of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region were marginal from the political viewpoint. Problems, of course, beset the establishment of government organs and the utilization of Han cadres. The reorganization of the Tibetan Army⁹ and the introduction of "social reforms"¹⁰—which were provided for in the Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet—were not carried out on schedule. In November 1956, according to the *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*,¹¹ the Communists conferred military ranks on Tibetan soldiers¹² in an apparent attempt to reorganize the army and exercise direct control over it. However, the Tibetan Local Government, taking into consideration the increasing resistance of the Tibetans and fearing Communist persecution, secretly obstructed the reorganization work.¹³

Document 41

Strengthen Nationalities Unity; Build Up a New Tibet

—Speech Delivered at the 8th CCP Congress, September 1956—

By Chang Kuo-hua, Vice-Chairman, Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and Deputy-Secretary of the CCP Tibet Work Committee

(*Hsin-hua Pan-yüeh-k'an* [New China Semi-monthly], No. 21, Peking, November 6, 1956.)

I am here to submit some opinions on the work in the Tibet region. The Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed between the Tibetan Local Government and the Central People's Government. Since then, the people of Tibetan nationality have permanently cast away the shackles of imperialism and returned to the big multi-nationality family of the motherland, thus

realizing the unification of the motherland on the mainland, and securing our national defence. This was an important event of historical significance both in the nationality history of Tibet and in the history of nationality relations of the motherland.

Following the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the important tasks before the Party and the Tibetan people were to strengthen both unity between the Tibetan and the Han nationalities and that within the Tibetan nationality, to consolidate the unification of the motherland, to gradually realize the Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and the regional autonomy to develop the economy and culture of Tibet, and to advance Tibet to a socialist society together with the other fraternal nationalities.

Tibet covers an area of some 1,520,000 square kilometers and has a population of about 1,200,000, of whom the overwhelming majority are Tibetans.

The Tibetan people are devoted followers of Lamaism. There are over 100,000 lamas in the region, and religion has a great influence upon the life of the people and their political affairs. The Tibetan social and economic structure is still in the feudal-serfdom stage, production techniques are backward and the livelihood of the labouring people is poverty-stricken. As a result of imperialist aggression and the oppressive policies adopted by the former ruling classes, a high barrier was erected between the Tibetan and Han nationalities. Hence, to conduct any Party work in Tibet, it is necessary to adhere firmly to the policy of "gradual progress" and to adopt ways and means that are suitable to the concrete situation in the Tibet region.

During the past six years, under the correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, we have accomplished some things in Tibet. We first developed from all sides the work on the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, conducted extensive propaganda and education on patriotism, and strengthened the unity between the Tibetan nationality and other nationalities of the motherland as well as the unity within the Tibetan nationality itself. All these contributed greatly to the political situation in Tibet and to the progress of various tasks.

For a considerably long period before the liberation, there was no internal unity in Tibet. It was the opinion of the Party that should this disunity continue to exist it would be unfavourable to

the progress and development of the Tibetan nationality. After the liberation, under the principle of "mutual respect, mutual trust, mutual understanding and mutual concession" and through consultation and mediation, the Party helped the various circles in Tibet remove their historical disputes and misgivings and improve their relations and unity.

In finance, economy and trade, the party's Central Committee laid down a policy of self-sufficiency in production for the troops and government personnel sent to Tibet and of assistance to construction in Tibet. During the past six years, the troops and government personnel have actively taken part in agricultural production and set up many model experimental farms and army-reclaimed farms. This not only solved many problems concerning grain and vegetables supplies for the troops and government personnel in Tibet, but, more important, also set an example of agricultural production for the Tibetan people. In activating the market economy and promoting trade under the principle of both meeting the needs of the people and profiting the private businessmen, on the one hand a large amount of capital was supplied, many contracts were concluded with the merchants, sources of incoming goods were organized, and outgoing trade was encouraged; while on the other hand fair and rational prices were paid for the purchase of native special products; large quantities of commodities were supplied from the interior and sold at a low price by means of granting allowances to cover freight charges, so as to meet the needs of the people. Particularly in the case of tea which is so necessary to the Tibetan people in their daily living, more than 20 million catties have been sent to Tibet in the past six years, with annual imports twice as high as before the liberation. To help the labouring masses tide over their livelihood and production difficulties, interest-free loans were granted to peasants and herdsmen and low-interest loans issued to handicraftsmen on many occasions. With the enthusiastic assistance of the people throughout the country, and the cooperation of the Tibetan people at all levels, the Sikang-Tibet and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highways were completed by the end of 1954 after overcoming many formidable difficulties. Afterwards, highways linking the important cities of Tibet much closer to the interior of the motherland helped create favourable conditions for political, economic and cultural developments in the

Tibet region.

Regarding education, culture and public health in Tibet, there has also been some progress. In the past, there was not one single primary school in Tibet; now there are 31. Hospitals and clinics with modern equipment have been established in a number of cities, and medical and public health work is ardently welcomed and supported by the broad mass of the people.

Due to the unity between the two leading figures, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Ngoerhtehni, and to the elevation of the patriotic awakening of the people of all strata in Tibet, as well as to the influence of the policy of autonomy enforced in the areas of various fraternal nationalities, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up in April this year [1956] on the basis of unity and progress for the whole nationality. This is a step of paramount importance to the Tibetan people in building their own happy and prosperous life in the big family of the motherland. It signifies another great achievement by our Party in the implementation of the nationalities policy.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee, the work in Tibet has been fruitful; but in terms of the demands of the Tibetan people we have done very little indeed. During the early stages after the liberation, the People's Liberation Army and government personnel sent to Tibet failed to adjust prices in time when purchasing some daily commodities and hiring yaks for transport purposes, thus causing the local people to suffer some damage for a short period of time. In training Tibetan cadres during the past six years, the work has been quite slowly.¹⁴ On certain problems, the consultations conducted with the public leaders of the local people was far from adequate. Defects also existed in other fields of work.

With the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, the work in Tibet has entered a new stage. Our tasks are to continue to strengthen unity among the nationalities, to consolidate the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, to train nationality cadres energetically, to expand membership of the Party and the Youth League, to bring about regional autonomy, to develop economic and cultural undertakings, to reduce the people's burden, to improve the people's living standards, and to work for the gradual democratization of the autonomous organs, so as to pave the way for social reforms.

In order to fully realize regional autonomy in Tibet and to undertake economic and cultural construction, it is necessary to continue to strengthen unity within the Tibetan nationality. The Party's principle of unity is anti-imperialism and patriotism. All those in favour of this principle must become united—irrespective of nationality, social class, or religious belief—to form an anti-imperialist and partotic united front to strive for the construction of the motherland and build up a new Tibet. On this united front, we must firmly adhere to the policy of lasting cooperation with the local people of the upper strata, and, through this cooperation, help them to educate themselves and gradually become useful in the construction of Tibet. As for those very few who still refuse to take a patriotic position, we hope they will change their minds as early as possible and return to the embrace of the people of the motherland. Following the progress in the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Tibetan Local Government, the Panchen Kanpo Lija, and the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area will certainly become gradually unified, and the relations among the three will improve day by day. However, it is still necessary for all sides to promote the spirit of mutual aid and friendliness, so as to strive for the early establishment of a unified Tibet Region.

II

In the course of bringing about autonomy in the nationality region, training nationality cadres is a basic problem of key importance. If there are insufficient numbers of Tibetan cadres with definite political understandings and working efficiency, all the work will encounter hardships difficult to overcome. In the past six years, the cadres among both the religious and civil officials have attained definite and even great progress, and some 2,100 new Tibetan cadres have been trained. However, the number of cadres and the rate of their growth still lags far behind the present demand, and the work on Party expansion has been insufficient. In order to expedite the growth of Tibetan cadres, cadre schools and training courses will be set up this year in Tibet, with the aim of

recruiting from 5,000 to 8,000 by rotation. Among these trainees, 3,000 will be trained in various technical and professional fields at the secondary level. In addition, large numbers of students will be sent to study in the Central Institute for Nationalities or the South-west and the Northwest Institutes for Nationalities. Following the progress of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, government organs at various levels should absorb and cultivate large numbers of Tibetan cadres, and promote those who have better qualifications to leading positions. In communications, industrial construction and mining, water conservancy, medical and commercial enterprises, Tibetans must be employed as staff-members and workers, and from among them administrative cadres and technicians should be cultivated.

III

The question of social reform has now become a question of concern to the people of all strata in Tibet. At the inaugural meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, both the Dalai Lama and Panchen Ngoerhtehni expressed their willingness to support social reform, and the meeting adopted a positive attitude towards implementing such reform. This was quite correct. But this does not mean that social reform in Tibet can be brought about immediately, because the following conditions must be realized before any reform can be initiated. The conditions are: (1) the reform must be demanded by the labouring people and wholeheartedly supported by the upper strata of the society; (2) there must be a set of reform measures based on a scientific investigation of the social and economic conditions in Tibet and agreed to by the representatives of all strata of the people; and (3) there must be a certain number of Tibetan cadres. As these conditions do not yet exist, the reform cannot begin for a comparatively long period to come.

While deliberating on the question of social reform in Tibet, it is necessary for us to take note of the special conditions in that region. The policy, procedure and methods of reform in Tibet should not be the same as in the areas of Han nationality and other national minorities. Social reform in Tibet must not be prematurely implemented, it can only be carried out after conducting serious

repeated consultations with the upper-strata Tibetans until an overwhelming majority of these Tibetans genuinely approve and sponsor the reform and work out concrete methods to the satisfaction of the people of all strata and all circles. Premature reform will certainly affect the unity within the Tibetan nationality as well as that between the Tibetans and other nationalities, and will only create difficulties for smooth progress in peaceful reform. Prior to the reform, under the principle of guaranteeing that the political status and living standards of the upper-strata Tibetans will not be lowered, the government should find a way to make appropriate arrangements for the positions and jobs to these people. Whenever necessary in the period of consultation, the masses of the Tibetan people should be persuaded to make some concessions as to the time and methods of the reform, so as to win the support of the upper-strata Tibetans and enable them to stop their exploitation. In the past several years, we have handled many crucial problems by first consulting with the upper-strata Tibetans and obtaining their cooperation, and our experience shows that this policy of consultation is beneficial to both the unity and the progress of the Tibetan people.

The reason why the Party is giving special consideration to the interests of the upper-strata Tibetans during and after the reform is based on the concrete situation in Tibet. As the upper-strata Tibetans have intimate relations with the broad mass of the Tibetan people, as they have contributed much during the past several years to the unification of the motherland and the unity and progress of Tibet, and as these people themselves have already made varying degrees of progress, the people of all the various nationalities throughout the country cannot forget their merit and have no justifiable reasons for not uniting with them or taking care of their interests, as long as the upper-strata Tibetans are willing to accept democratic and socialist reform. Giving appropriate consideration to the interests of the upper-strata Tibetans does not mean impairing the interests of the labouring Tibetan masses; on the contrary, it is precisely because of the consideration shown to their interests that the upper-strata Tibetan can be won over to support the reform and be educated to serve the labouring masses—to the advantage of the implementation of social reform. Hence, considering the interests of the upper-strata Tibetans in this way is entirely in

conformity with the present and future interests on the labouring masses.

On the other hand, however, the upper-strata Tibetans must also realize that it is only through reform that the Tibetan nationality can have a broad future, and that only after giving up their exploitation can they wholeheartedly serve the people and then enjoy the happy socialist life together with the labouring masses. Therefore, we hope that the upper-strata Tibetan will hereafter become positive in study, strive for progress, voluntarily take up the responsibility of implementing the reform, and work hard together with the labouring masses for the completion of the reform.

IV

Lamaism played a positive role in the past in bringing together and uniting the Tibetan people and also in preserving and propagating Tibetan culture; it still has a deeply-rooted influence upon the Tibetan people of all strata. In every aspect of our work, therefore, we have been treating the question of religion with the utmost care, and hereafter we will continue to observe the policy of freedom of religion and to protect religion in order to strengthen the work of uniting the religious circles. With a view to enhancing the unity within the religious circles of Tibet and making arrangements for favourable conditions for religious study, we will set up a Tibetan branch of the Buddhists' Association this year and also a Buddhist Institute in Lhasa within this year or the next to enrol lamas. People in religious circles will be offered the opportunity to work in this institute if they so desire. When the reform is carried out and after its completion, due consideration will be given to the lamaseries as well to the livelihood of the lamas. We believe that protecting religion will not hinder the socialist construction of Tibet, and that we adopt the policy of protecting religion precisely because we want to build up socialism smoothly in Tibet. As to the reform within the religious circles, it should be studied and undertaken by the religious people themselves; the Party will never interfere. ¹⁵

With a view to enabling the Tibetan people to enter gradually a socialist society, it is necessary to undertake various construction projects in a well-planned manner. We plan to build more highways in the next few years, to expand the investigation and study of natural resources in Tibet, to develop agricultural and pastoral as well as handicraft industries, to start some industrial and water conservancy undertakings, and to fulfil the people's requirements. In this respect, it is not only necessary that the Tibetan people should work hard themselves, but also essential that the working class and intellectuals of all fraternal nationalities should render their assistance. This is an indispensable requirement for Tibet to advance into socialism without having to go through the stage of capitalism.

Outline of Propaganda for CCP Tibet Work Committee Concerning the Policy of Not Implementing Democratic Reforms in Tibet within Six Years

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, August 2, 1957)

In accordance with the Central Committee's directive concerning the decisions to postpone democratic reform in Tibet for six years, and also with the spirit of the decision of the CCP Tibetan Working Committee concerning future tasks in Tibet, an outline of propaganda has been drawn up as follows:

1. Energetically propagandize the positive significance of the Central Committee's policy of not implementing the democratic reform in Tibet within six years:

(a) Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, under the direct guidance of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni and also the CCP Tibetan Working Committee, and under the joint effort of the People's Liberation Army and Han working personnel as well as the Tibetans themselves, the patriotic thinking of the Tibetans has been elevated, the unity between the Tibetan and other nationalities as well as unity among the Tibetans themselves has been enhanced, and definite achievements have been made in consolidating the unity of the motherland and improving the political, economic and cultural undertakings in Tibet. All these have created favourable conditions for the unity, progress and further development of the Tibetan people in the future.

(b) To be able to live happily, the Tibetan people must necessarily take the road of socialism; and to enforce democratic reforms is the unavoidable path the Tibetan people have to follow in gradually passing into a socialist society. This is clearly stipulated in our Constitution as well as in the "Agreement of Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet". Hence, it is a confirmed matter that when conditions become mature in the future, Tibet must necessarily undergo democratic reforms and take the road of socialism.

(c) After the resolution of implementing democratic reforms in Tibet was suggested and passed last year [1956] at the inaugural

meeting of the preparatory committee for introducing regional autonomy to Tibet, facts have proved that only a few of the upper-strata personages support it while the majority still harbour varying degrees of doubt and are actually against it; and that although a small portion of the masses enthusiastically demand reform, the large portion of the masses still lack such enthusiasm. On this account, conditions for the reform are still inadequate at present. In order to give consideration to the above-mentioned actual conditions and benefit the strengthening of unity among nationalities, the Central Committee has decided not to implement the democratic reform in Tibet during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan [1958-1962]; whether democratic reform will be introduced in a later period or not will be decided according to the actual conditions in Tibet at that time. This policy is positive, entirely correct, and in conformity with actual existing conditions in Tibet; it is to the advantage of the work of gradually but steadily developing Tibet in the future. Any negative or distorted interpretation of such a policy is incorrect and wrong.

2. In the past year, based upon the resolution adopted by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, with the view to making preparations for the democratic reform, many new organs were set up, the organizational structure was expanded, the number of Han cadres was increased, a group of Tibetan cadres were absorbed and trained, and certain construction undertakings were started. Now, based upon the actual condition that only a few of the upper-strata personages support reform while the majority are still against it, it has been decided that no democratic reform will be carried out during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. For this reason, all preparatory work for democratic reform should be appropriately contracted.

(a) In view of the fact that there will be "no reform in six years," the present organs and personnel—particularly Han cadres—in the Tibet Autonomy Preparatory Committee are far too many. Originally, Han cadres were transferred here to help the Tibetan people make preparations for the democratic reform. In the past year, they and the Tibetan cadres helped each other, learned from each other and united and closely cooperated with each other; they positively assisted the Tibetan people in their work and had achieved definite results. Since it has now been decided that there

will be "no reform in six years," most of these Han cadres have no work to do any more, and they of course should be transferred to other parts of the motherland to participate in various socialist construction undertakings. However, in order to continue helping the Tibetan people to proceed with possible construction projects, it is still necessary to leave a certain number of Han cadres in Tibet, according to work requirements. After the number of Han cadres is reduced, Tibetan cadres in the Tibet Autonomous Preparatory Committee will have a still heavier responsibility on their shoulders, and therefore should further develop their positiveness and perform their work well.

(b) Last year when making preparations for reform, we absorbed and trained a larger number of Tibetans as cadres. These Tibetan cadres will constitute the backbone in the various construction enterprises in Tibet in the future; they are the valuable property of the Tibetan people. Although there is nothing much to be done at present because of the decision of "no reform in six years," which is the result of the fact that the majority of the upper-level personages are against the reform, yet proper and satisfactory arrangements should be made for these Tibetan cadres. Under the principle of voluntariness, with the exception of a portion of them who are to continue to be trained in organs and cadre schools in Tibet, they may be sent to inland parts of the country for advanced training. There are also a number of Tibetan cadres who, being influenced by the feeling of opposition shown by certain upper-level personages, harbour doubts and worries and wish to leave their posts and go home. To these cadres we may render certain assistance and send them home to engage in production.

(c) Last year while making preparations for democratic reform, we made proper political and economic arrangements for some of the upper-level personages. Since there will be "no reform in six years," there will be no change in the original income of these upper-level personages. Therefore, the State, in principle, should not continue to issue salaries to these personages. However, those who cannot be spared should remain at their posts and continue to receive pay. Proper assistance should be rendered to patriotic personages who really have livelihood difficulties.

(d) Last year, a number of schools were opened in various places in Tibet. This has a positive function in the development

of cultural and educational undertakings in Tibet and the training of skilled persons for building up Tibet. However, certain upper-level personages are even dissatisfied with our opening schools. At the same time the unreasonable phenomenon of drafting people into schools appeared in certain localities, arousing many complaints from the students' parents. From now on, the schools in various places should be appropriately readjusted according to the principle of voluntariness and to actual conditions, and should be, in the main, operated by local authorities of Tibet in order to gradually develop the Tibetan people's positiveness in running schools by themselves. Wherever possible, the State may render proper assistance.

(e) In order to comply with the policy of "no reform in six years," business and enterprise units set up in Tibet and the various departments of the Central Government, as well as the Party system in Tibet, are now making appropriate readjustments and reductions. Based on the "resolution concerning the readjustment of organs and the reduction of Han cadres" adopted at the 20th meeting of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region on June 16, the Preparatory Committee has already started to reduce its organizational structure in order to avoid any waste of the country's man-power, material power and financial power. The principle to be followed while making the readjustment and reduction should be: merge all organs that can be merged, reduce all personnel that can be reduced, and carry on with all work that is necessary. With the exception of extremely few personnel, all Han cadres in the Preparatory Committee should be transferred. But several hundred necessary Han cadres should be retained in cultural, educational, sanitary and veterinary fields. This is beneficial to the development of cultural, educational, sanitary and pastoral enterprises in Tibet.

(f) Before the implementation of democratic reform, or the preliminary emancipation of its social productivity, Tibet is not qualified to tackle comparatively larger and more economic construction undertakings, and cannot develop its positive functions even if it compels itself to do so. Therefore, all construction projects not urgently required at the moment, conditions for which are still difficult, should be postponed. However, the various construction items which the 7th session of State Council has already decided

to help Tibet undertake [see Document 31] should still be gradually started according to actual conditions in Tibet. At the same time, whenever and wherever possible, projects which can be undertaken and which are beneficial to the broad masses of the people—such as the grant of agricultural and pastoral loans and the undertaking of veterinary, medical sanitary work—should continue to be planned and tackled.

Last year, in order to make preparations for reform, we did start some construction enterprises in which the broad masses of the peasants and pastoral people enthusiastically participated. Definite results were achieved, and the people's livelihood was slightly improved. Yet, since most of the upper-level personages did not approve of reform, the smooth progress of certain construction projects was of course adversely affected. Therefore, except for a small number of workers required to continue some of the construction undertakings that can be continued, all the workers should be given certain help and sent back home to engage in production.

3. The Chinese Communist Party always supports patriotic, united and progressive forces, and opposes any disuniting, retrograde and unpatriotic behaviour. No matter who he is and how he expresses himself, he will be firmly supported by the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, as well as by the Tibetan people and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, so long as he is patriotic, united and progressive. The Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the various nationalities in the country and the Tibetan people will never support any disuniting, retrograde and unpatriotic behaviour. We must continue to struggle resolutely against counter-revolutionary organizations sabotaging the motherland's unity and manufacturing disuniting activities, and severely punish them according to the law of the State. Members of these reactionary organizations may have their past crimes pardoned as long as they genuinely correct their mistakes and do not engage in further counter-revolutionary activities.

Another thing which should be clearly pointed out is this: Last year some progressive elements and activities advocated the implementation of democratic reforms in order to enhance the advancement and development of the Tibetan people; their wish was well-intentioned, and the road they selected was correct and will certainly

be realized in the future. The progressive spirit of these people is worthy of our praise, and should be supported and protected by each and every person who fervently loves his motherland and the advancement and development of the Tibetan people. At the same time, it is necessary to explain to these progressive personages and activists that it has already been confirmed that the broad masses of the Tibetan people want to follow the road of socialism. However, under the present situation where only a minority of the upper-level personages support the reform while the majority are against it, these progressive elements should continue to maintain firmly their united, patriotic and progressive stand, and carefully and patiently win over and unite personages from various quarters to join hands, and under the anti-imperialist, patriotic banner to do a really good job of the work in Tibet.

4. The Central Government's decision to postpone any reform in Tibet for six years is made according to the actual situation where only a minority of the upper-strata Tibetans support the reform while the majority are against it. From now on, PLA units and working personnel stationed in Tibet will continue to faithfully implement the Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, strengthen unity with the Tibetan people of all strata, assist the Tibetan people to do all beneficial things which can be done, and strive for the consolidation of the unity of the motherland as well as our national defence and internal security. If any imperialist element or any separatist takes advantage of the reduction of our establishment, or under any pretext in the future, to try to conduct sabotaging activities and manufacture revolts, then we will give him this solemn warning: We are determined to implement the Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. But if someone dares to violate any one of the 17 articles of the Agreement and manufacture revolts, then the PLA has the responsibility to suppress the revolt; by that time the PLA will certainly join hands with all patriotic citizens in dealing firm and telling blows to the rebellious elements.

5. From now on, all affairs of a local nature in Tibet should be managed by the Tibetans themselves. Han cadres still are responsible for rendering assistance, but should not monopolize things and do things on behalf of the Tibetans. The CCP Tibet Work Committee and its various branches must strengthen their

political and ideological leadership in this respect. It should be understood that only under strengthened Party leadership can the work in Tibet be satisfactorily performed.

6. The reason for the continuation until fulfilment of the democratic reform in the Tibetan nationality areas in Szechuan and Yunnan Provinces should be solemnly pointed out. The continuation of democratic reform in those areas is a good thing determined by the local Tibetan people and upper-strata personages. It conforms to actual conditions, and is closely in line with the policy of peaceful reform. Meanwhile, it should also be pointed out that regional autonomy will eventually be realized in Tibet according to the stipulations of our Constitution, that based upon historical conditions in Tibet the State Council has already set up a preparatory committee for introducing autonomy to Tibet including the adjacent Chamdo Area, and that within this region the Tibetan people have the right to manage their internal affairs of a local nature. Historical conditions in Tibetan nationality areas in other provinces are different from those in Tibet. These Tibetan nationality areas belong to other provinces, and autonomy has long been given to these areas where internal affairs of a local nature should be handled by the local people themselves.

The democratic reform in Tibetan nationality areas in Szechuan Province has been conducted according to actual conditions there, as well as to the wish of the local people. People of various circles in Tibet should sympathize with the reform work undertaken by people in those areas, and should neither take conditions in Tibet as a basis, nor take the case of Tibet as a precedent, for interfering with the democratic reform of the Tibetan nationality areas in Szechuan. Anybody who has opinions may forward them to the Central Government. But there are some people who are ignorant of their prime duty, and who secretly support and even direct the rebellious elements in Kiangtung* to continue to manufacture revolts and oppose reform. This is not right and not permissible, and will not produce good results.

7. During the past several years, the Party has attained considerable results in thoroughly implementing the policy of equality and unity among various nationalities, and in freedom of religious

* Kiangtung here means the area east of the Chinsha River in Szechuan Province.

belief. From now on, we must continue to overcome Great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism, further implement the policy of strengthening unity among nationalities, protecting the freedom of religious belief, and respecting the right of the Tibetan people either to preserve their customs and habits or to reform them.

8. Tibet is an inseparable part of our motherland; the Tibetan people have the extremely glorious duty of consolidating the unity of the motherland and reinforcing the country's national defence. Therefore, we must obey the 17 articles of the Agreement and continue to enforce the regulation that all affairs involving foreign countries should be handled by the Central Government in a unified manner. At the same time, Tibetan people should positively protect highways essential to national defence, and help and support the People's Liberation Army to strengthen the national defence of the motherland.

9. In the large family of the motherland, the Tibetan people have an extremely glorious future. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, as well as the direct guidance of the Dalai Lama, Panchen Erdeni and the Tibetan Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Tibetan people should incessantly enhance their patriotic thinking; inherit and promote their anti-imperialist, patriotic glorious tradition; further expand the anti-imperialist, patriotic united front; strengthen unity with other nationalities as well as among themselves; oppose all disuniting and sabotaging activities; elevate their vigilance; draw a clear line of demarcation between themselves and their enemy, and between right and wrong; strictly guard against the rumours and evil intentions of imperialists and separatists; strive for the complete realization of the "Resolution Concerning Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet;" and exert a common effort in gradually fulfilling their tasks in Tibet.

*Support the Central Government
Policy of "No Reform in Six Years"*

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, August 10, 1957)

To support the Central Government's correct policy concerning the postponement of democratic reforms in Tibet during the 2nd Five-Year Plan period, to affirm that Tibet will follow the road of socialism and carry out democratic reforms in the future—these were the unanimous opinions expressed by all the Tibetan cadres of the General Office of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region when they discussed on August 6 the "no reform in six years" policy proclaimed by the Tibet Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

Ever since July 31, after Comrade Fan Ming, Deputy Secretary of the CCP Tibetan Work Committee, delivered on behalf of the Party Committee a report "Concerning the Policy of Not Implementing Democratic Reforms in Tibet during the Second Five-Year Plan Period, and the Task for Tibet in the Current Year," the Tibetan and Han cadres in the General Office of the Tibet Autonomous Preparatory Committee have been enthusiastically reading the document, trying to understand its meaning, and making preparations for discussion.

On August 6, all the Tibetan cadres in this General Office, as well as a few Han cadres who understand the Tibetan language—altogether over 20 persons—conducted the first discussion.

During the discussion, all present first affirmed that this "no reform in six years" policy was positive and correct. This is because, among the people of the upper-strata in Tibet, only a few support the reform while the majority, who have not yet realized the advantages of the reform, are against it, and because the masses still lack enthusiasm for the reform.

Following this, the discussion was centered on analysing the above-mentioned question. All the speakers believed that of the above-mentioned two conditions, the first one, i.e., the majority of the people in the upper-strata being worried about the reform, and are actually against it, is the main reason.

In their speeches, some of the speakers analysed the worries of those upper-level personages whom they happened to know. Many others, after reiterating the Central Government's policy of peaceful reform, of religious freedom, and of protecting temples and lamaseries, explained in detail that it was unnecessary to have worries or doubts about the reform and that people should trust the Central Government's policy. They supported their explanation by quoting examples showing that many of the upper-level personages were given jobs and salaries when the Preparatory Committee for Autonomy was established last year. They further said that the reform would be beneficial to all.

Some of the speakers remarked that they should not doubt the Central Government's policy simply because certain defects had been in existence while the reform was being carried out in some Tibetan areas in Szechwan Province. This question should be viewed from two sides: it was true that defects did exist on the part of cadres when implementing the Central Government's policy of reform; but the main cause for the appearance of those defects was actually due to the fact that, under the instigation of reactionary elements, some upper-level personages had publicly stood in opposition to the reform. The speakers expressed the hope that people harbouring such worries would broaden and extend their vision, learn this experience and lesson, and not force reform on Tibet, and not make any further detours.

Still other speakers explained the correctness of the Central Government's policy by giving examples of conditions of the peaceful reform in other national minority regions. They particularly cited Sinkiang as an example, saying that the reform work there was well performed.

Then the discussion moved on to the second question. Because the reform will not be carried out within the next six years, all preparation work for the reform will be stopped and the overwhelming majority of the Han cadres will be transferred away from Tibet to participate in socialist construction in other parts of the motherland. Consequently, Tibetan cadres must earnestly and seriously shoulder more and heavier responsibilities. When discussing this question, some speakers recalled that since the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for Autonomy the Tibetan cadres have learned much from their Han comrades. They expressed their

gratitude for such sincere help. However, they should not consider themselves as having learned all, but should continue to train themselves and learn still more in actual work, in order to further elevate their ability and do their work in a still better way.

The discussion meeting lasted from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. which was the end of office hours. Yet many of the attendants still requested to have a chance to continue their speeches. Therefore the discussion meeting will be continued later.

*Standing Committee of Preparatory Committee
for the Tibet Autonomous Region Adopts Plan
for Reorganization of the Preparatory Committee*

By Yüan Yi-fan (袁一帆)

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, August 11, 1957)

On August 9, the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region held its 21st session and adopted a plan for reorganization of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Present at the meeting were the Dalai Lama, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, Chang Kuo-hua, Second Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, members of the Standing Committee and the Preparatory Committee in Lhasa, and responsible officials of various bureaux and departments, totalling more than 40 participants.

The meeting was presided over by the Dalai Lama. He made a speech explaining certain points of the reorganization plan. After that, in accordance with the opinions put forward by the various sub-committees, the conference made the final revision of the plan. This plan was then unanimously approved and a namelist of personnel to be dismissed from their posts was announced.

The reorganization plan for the Preparatory Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region* provides that the following will be preserved: the General Office (辦公廳), the Religious Affairs Committee, the *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, and the eight *chi-ch'iao* level offices (基巧級辦事處).** The Civil Affairs Department, the Public Security Department, and the Justice Department shall be amalgamated under the Civil Affairs Department. The Construction Department, the Industry and Commerce Department, and the Communications Department shall be amalgamated under the Construction Department. The Culture and Education Department and the Public Health

* For the original organization of the Preparatory Committee, see Document 37.

** The *chi-ch'iao* level offices are equivalent to the special administrative districts in the rest of China. For details, see footnote 5 to Chapter IV.

Department shall be amalgamated under the Culture and Education Department. The Finance Department, the Agriculture and Forestry Department, and the Animal Husbandry Department shall be amalgamated under the Finance Department. The Finance and Economics Committee shall be abolished.

With the exception of the *chi-ch'iao* level office in Chamdo, the 11 divisions (科) and sections (室) under the [remaining] seven *chi-ch'iao* level offices shall be abolished without exception. However, the general offices (辦公室) [under the *chi-ch'iao* level offices] may be preserved if necessary. The People's Liberation Committee in Chamdo shall draw up a plan for the reorganization of the Chamdo *chi-ch'iao* level office and the *tsung* (宗) [the Tibetan equivalent of the *hsien* or county] offices (辦事處) under it, in accordance with the decisions reached at the previous session of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee and the conditions in Chamdo. The plan shall be submitted to the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee. The more than 60 *tsung*-level offices, with the exception of those in the Chamdo area, shall be abolished.

In accordance with this reorganization plan, over 90 per cent of the personnel working in the organs under the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region shall be Tibetan cadres, and only a small number of Han cadres who are indispensable shall be retained.

20th Standing Committee Meeting of Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region Passes Resolution on the Reorganization of Government Organs and the Reduction of Han Nationality Cadres

(Hsi-tsang Jih-pao, June 18, 1957)

The Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region held its 20th meeting on June 16. The meeting was presided over by the Chairman, the Dalai Lama, and the Second Vice-Chairman, Chang Kuo-hua, and a "Resolution on the Reorganization of Establishment and the Reduction of Han Nationality Cadres" was passed.

The resolution expresses the following opinions. The directive that no reform will be carried out in Tibet during the next six years, which was decided by the Central Government in consideration of the concrete conditions in Tibet, is correct. In the light of this directive, the existing establishment and staff of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region is excessive, and the number of Han nationality cadres is far too high. The Han nationality cadres in cooperation with the Tibetan nationality cadres have done some work. However, in view of the fact that it has been decided not to carry out reform in Tibet for the next six years, the majority of them now have no work to do. On the other hand, all of these Han nationality cadres had been transferred to their present positions from posts in socialist construction in other parts of the motherland. In view of the above-mentioned directive and to avoid the waste of State manpower and money, it is only right that they should be transferred back to the interior to take part in socialist construction in different fields. Such a transfer will at the same time be conducive to the development of the activism of the Tibetan nationality cadres in the Preparatory Committee and to the success of the work of this Committee. For this reason, it is now decided to transfer back to the interior all but the few Han nationality cadres who are essential to the work of the Preparatory Committee.

The resolution lays down the following. In all the departments

of the Preparatory Committee, the numbers of Han nationality cadres should be reduced to a minimum. A Reorganization Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region should be set up to study reorganization plans and deal with problems concerned with the reorganization, bearing in mind the concrete conditions in Tibet. Ngapo Ngawong Jigme should be the Chairman of this Reorganization Committee, La-min Yi-hsi-ts'u-ch'eng, Pang-ta-to-chi, P'ing-ts'o-wang-chieh, and T'u-tan-tan-ta its Vice Chairmen with Ch'en Ching-po, Tan-tseng-chia-ts'o and 43 others as members. After its establishment, the Reorganization Committee should, with regard to the directive that no reform will be carried out in Tibet for the next six years, immediately begin to draft the reorganization plan which should be submitted to the Standing Committee and then to the State Council for approval before enforcement.

After the resolution had been passed, the Dalai Lama and Chang Kuo-hua addressed the meeting. The Dalai Lama said, "The reorganization should be carried out with care. It is hoped that those who take part in this work will proceed thoughtfully. Though it has now been decided to reorganize the establishment, this does not mean that all work should be suspended. Work should still be carried out in accordance with requirements and possibilities. It is hoped that the remaining Tibetan nationality and Han nationality functionaries will do all their work carefully." Chang Kuo-hua said, "I agree fully with the Dalai Lama's speech. It is hoped that in this work everybody will seriously carry out the Dalai Lama's instructions and turn them into actions."

He went on: "At the inaugural meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region last year, it was affirmed that Tibet could develop and make progress only if it followed the socialist road. It was also affirmed that democratic reform would be carried out. Since it was necessary to carry out democratic reform, preparations had to be made for it, and a number of required organizations were set up and a number of cadres added. For the purpose of helping the people of Tibet in the reform, a number of Han nationality cadres were transferred here from posts in socialist construction in other parts of the motherland. However, judging by what has happened during the past year, conditions are not yet mature in Tibet for carrying out democratic reform. Only

the minority of the members of the upper-strata agree to the reform, while the majority do not agree to it. While there is no doubt at all but that the broad masses hope for reform, their present consciousness is not high enough. In view of the concrete conditions in Tibet and out of respect for the wish of the majority in Tibet, the Central Government has decided not to carry out reform for the next six years. This does not mean that Tibet need not follow the road of reform any more. We can be sure that Tibet will have to follow this road. It will carry out the reform as soon as conditions have ripened. Now that it has been decided not to carry out reform for the next six years, the measures adopted preparatory to the reform should be scaled down. Some organizations should be merged or abolished, and cadres who had been transferred to Tibet to help in the reform should be returned to their former posts in socialist construction in other parts of the motherland. In this way, it will be possible to avoid the waste of State manpower and money, and also to let the Tibetan nationality cadres in the Preparatory Committee play their active role more properly. It is hoped that the Reorganization Committee will proceed in this spirit.”

*Report of the Work Committee on Problems
Relating to the Nationalities Policy*

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 15, 1957)

On October 5, a general meeting was held by the CCP Tibetan Work Committee. This meeting was attended by more than 1,500 cadres of Tibetan and Han nationalities attached to organs directly under the Work Committee and the military region. On behalf of the Work Committee, Comrade Fan Ming [Deputy Secretary of the CCP Tibet Work Committee; Deputy Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Region; and, member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region] delivered a report to the meeting on problems related to the nationalities policy.

Comrade Fan Ming's report was divided into five parts: (1) The implementation of the correct nationalities policy of the Party and the achievements made by the Party in Tibet during the past few years; (2) the policy of the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front in Tibet; (3) freedom of religious belief; (4) establishment of a correct attitude in building Tibet on a long-term basis; and (5) resolute opposition to Great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism.

In the first part of his report, Comrade Fan Ming said: "The nationalities policy of the Chinese Communist Party is formulated by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao on the basis of coordinating the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory with the concrete conditions of China; it is a policy which consistently abides by national equality, unity, mutual aid and cooperation and opposes national oppression, discrimination and disintegration."

"At the same time, in the light of the above-mentioned general principle and the general task regarding the national questions in the transitional period as well as of the actual conditions of Tibetans in Tibet, the Party flexibly and creatively formulated various policies suitable for the immediate and long-term interests of the Tibetan nationality in Tibet. These policies are now satisfactorily solving the problems in Tibet which is noted for its peculiarities. Tibet was liberated peacefully in 1951, thus completing the final

phase of the continental integration of the mother country. This has enabled the Tibetan people to free themselves forever from the fetters of imperialism, return to the big family of the mother country, and, together with other fraternal nationalities, fully enjoy national equality and freedom of religious belief. Since then, Tibet has entered a new historical period. For the past several years, under the intimate concern and correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government; under the direct guidance of the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni and the Tibet Work Committee of the CCP; thanks to the common efforts of the People's Liberation Army and working personnel stationed in Tibet who have the role to play as models in observing and executing the Party nationalities policy, and also to the Tibetan people themselves; and following the principle 'to advance prudently and steadily,' the patriotic attitude of the Tibetan people is being raised incessantly, the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front is being expanded and is growing, and the unity between nationalities and within nationalities is being increased. Under the premise of patriotism, unity, progress and greater development, the political, economic and cultural enterprises have been markedly developed. At the same time, after several years of work we have cultivated and trained a group of Han nationality cadres who are familiar with the situation in Tibet, and who passionately love their work in Tibet. All this has created favourable conditions for the further development of the political, economic and cultural enterprises in Tibet."

In summing up these achievements, he said: "The attainment of these achievements is the result of the work of the whole body of comrades and the Tibetan people who closely united themselves, struggled hard to overcome difficulties, shedding their blood and sweat. A number of comrades have even laid down their precious lives for this." Continuing, he used many living and concrete facts to criticize those who attempted to obliterate the good results achieved in the work in Tibet. He said that for the past few years, although not a few shortcomings and mistakes existed in the work of the Party in Tibet, yet, generally speaking, achievements were the principal side of the picture. In the first place, Tibet was peacefully liberated and freed forever from the aggressive fetters of imperialism; thus making it possible for Tibet to return to the big

family of the mother country. This was a great achievement of historical significance. We built the Sikang-Tibet, Tsinghai-Tibet, Lhasa-Yatung and the Lhasa-Tsenan highways; and we have inaugurated an airline service between Lhasa and Peking, the capital of the mother country, thus linking Tibet with various parts of the mother country, and thereby promoting her economic and cultural construction enterprises. Could it be said that this was not a great achievement? In the past, Tibet did not have one modern and integral college and hospital; now there were not only scores of primary schools but also a modern middle school—the Lhasa Middle School—the first ever known in the history of Tibet, and several modernized hospitals. In the past we did not have local revolutionary cadres of Tibetan nationality in Tibet; now there were more than 5,000 local revolutionary cadres of Tibetan nationality, more than 1,000 Communist Party members of Tibetan nationality, and more than 2,000 Communist Youth League members. At the same time, there were more than 6,000 members of the Patriotic Youth Cultural Association and more than 1,000 members of the Patriotic Women's Association. Could it be said that the achievements were not the principal side of the picture?"¹⁶ Continuing, he said that from these facts it could be said affirmatively that any idea which obliterated the achievements of work in Tibet and exaggerated the shortcomings was not compatible with facts—it was one-sided and erroneous. Then Comrade Fan Ming particularly pointed out that these achievements forcibly prove the correctness of the Party's nationalities policy and the correctness of the various policies being carried out by the Party at present. This, in turn, confirmed the fact that only when the Tibetan nationality in Tibet was in the strong and united big family of the socialist mother country could she fully enjoy national equality and the freedom of religious belief, could she have the full possibilities and conditions to develop her national political, economic and cultural enterprises and embark upon the socialist road, and could she achieve prosperity and progress. Finally he stated, with particular emphasis: "The great achievements attained in Tibet are entirely the result of the correct leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao. The hard facts prove that without the Chinese Communist Party there would have been no new China—no prosperous and happy socialist mother country; that without a socialist mother country there would not be a

prosperous and happy new Tibet. Thus, according to the Constitution and the regulations laid down in the programme granting nationality regional autonomy, we are opposed to our monopolization of the work, but while we must not interfere with the internal affairs in Tibet, we must at the same time continue to strengthen the leadership of the Party. Any idea or act aimed at weakening and opposing the leadership of the Party in the work in Tibet will not only destroy the happy undertakings of the Tibetan people, but also impair the interests of the people of the whole country; hence it is reactionary and opposed by people of various nationalities in our country.”

In the second part of his report, dealing with problems relating to the policy of the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front in Tibet, comrade Fan Ming made a detailed, penetrating and overall account and analysis of the character, policy and tasks of the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front in Tibet which invites all anti-imperialist and patriotic persons to be its members. He also said: “We must unite with all those who have accepted in varying degrees, the agreement of liberating Tibet by peaceful means. This policy behoves us to unite and cooperate with the patriotic upper-strata personages in Tibet on a long-term basis. We must unite all anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive forces around the Party, incessantly raise anti-imperialist and patriotic sentiment, strengthen the unity between various nationalities and among the Tibetans themselves, consolidate the unification of the mother country, and lead them to follow the Party on the march, in order to create favourable conditions for gradually building a socialist new Tibet.”

Referring to the problems of unity and struggle in the work of the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, he said: “We must unite all the forces that can be united, so that together with them we will rise to oppose imperialism and love the mother country, and achieve a proper unification between the local authority in Tibet and the central authority, between the Tibetan area and the mother country, between the Han nationality and Tibetan nationality, so that the internal forces in Tibet are united and the various nationalities throughout the country are united. The work of unity is the central theme of consolidating and expanding the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, while the anti-imperialist and

patriotic united front is the basis for the work of unity. Without the carefully-planned, delicate and patient work of unity, the consolidation and expansion of the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front would lose its central theme; without the basis of anti-imperialism and patriotism, the work of unity would lose its principle and lead to unity without principle. For this reason, in carrying out the work of unity, we must never forget the principle of uniting and struggling for the sake of unity. We must resolutely struggle against certain ideological tendencies and mistaken acts which are non-patriotic and destroy the unity existing in the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, so as to help them raise their thinking and correct their mistakes. However, struggle and criticism must be based on the desire for unity, and greater unity is to be achieved through criticism and struggle."

In the third part of his report, dealing with Party policy on the freedom of religious belief, Comrade Fan Ming said: "Buddhism was spread to Tibet long ago, and almost all the people of the Tibetan nationality believe in Buddha. This is the reason why our Party must adopt a prudent attitude in Tibet and show an earnest respect for the freedom of religious belief of the Tibetan people. Although our Party does not believe in religion, it has consistently advocated freedom of religious belief. The earnest protection of the freedom of religious belief of the people of various nationalities in our country has been written into the Constitution of our State, and has become one of the basic policies of our country. Chairman Mao, in speaking to the Tibetan delegation said: 'The Chinese Communist Party adopts the policy of protecting religion; protection is given to all, whether one believes in religion or not; one's belief is respected. The policy of protecting religion is adopted today as it will be in the future.'" [This quote from Mao is contained in Document 9.]

Referring to why the Party advocates the policy of freedom of religious belief, he said that the Communist Party had one fundamental principle, that is, the mass line. As long as the masses believed in religion, the Party would allow the masses the freedom of religious belief; hence it did not force the masses to discard religion. The Party understood that to believe in religion was an ideological problem of the people, that no administrative order and compulsion could be used to force them to believe or not to believe.

The existence of religion could not be determined by violence. Whatever the circumstances in the future, as long as people believed in religion, religion would exist.

Continuing, he said: "Simultaneously with advocating the policy of protecting and respecting the freedom of religious belief, the party also advocates that all religious people must carry out their activities under the banner of anti-imperialism and patriotism; any activities which run counter to the principle of anti-imperialism and patriotism are illegal. As comrade Liu Shao-ch'i stated in his report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China: 'Our state will, as it has done in the past, effectively safeguard the freedom of religious belief for its citizens. But safeguarding freedom of religious belief is quite a different matter from safeguarding freedom of counter-revolutionary activities; these two just cannot be mixed up. Nor, similarly, will our Constitution and laws even provide the slightest facility for those elements who engage in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion.'"

In the fourth part of his report, regarding the correct approach to building Tibet on a long-term basis, Comrade Fan Ming emphasized the greatness and beauty of Tibet, the consistency between building Tibet and building the mother country, the real implications of a correct approach to building Tibet on a long-term basis, and the spirit of patriotism and internationalism indispensable to that aim. He said that the Tibetans were an industrious, brave and intelligent race, and that like other fraternal races, it had made its historical and glorious contribution to the common creation of the mother country, established a flesh-and-blood relationship with the mother country, and become a member of the big family of the great mother country. Tibet had become an integral part of the mother country. Tibet is a beautiful part of the mother country, with a total area of more than 1,500,000 square kilometres and a population of more than 1,200,000. It is a region rich in material resources, in rivers, mineral deposits and forests, and the potentialities of industry, agriculture and the pastoral industry are great. It holds an important position in the socialist construction enterprises of the mother country. The mother country had rendered assistance to Tibet, and the Han nationality and other fraternal nationalities had helped the Tibetan people. Similarly, Tibet had supported the mother country, while Tibetans had supported the Han and other

fraternal nationalities. They could not get along without each other. Such a relationship was one of mutual-aid, unity and integration. If the mother country did not have the support of Tibet and the Han and other fraternal nationalities did not have the support of the Tibetans, the mother country's socialist construction cause and the prosperity and progress of the Han and other fraternal nationalities would have been impaired. On the contrary, if Tibet left the mother country and the Tibetan nationalities did not have the support of the Han and other fraternal nationalities, the Tibetan nationality in Tibet could not have achieved this prosperity and progress and the future of the Tibetan people would have been unthinkable.

Touching on the establishment of a correct attitude towards building Tibet on a long-term basis, he said: "It is, of course, correct if a proletarian fighter, for the sake of liberating the people of Tibet and with a high level of political consciousness and sympathy for the Tibetan people, came to Tibet with determination, saying 'I will never leave Tibet before the Tibetan people achieve their prosperity, and happiness and socialism in Tibet is completed,' or with great ambition to 'put my mind at ease and take root here,' preparing to dedicate his whole life to Tibet, and rendering faithful service to the Tibetan people. But does the building of Tibet on a long-term basis mean that one must spend his whole life in Tibet? The answer is no. In saying that we must build Tibet on a long-term basis, we mean really that each and every comrade of ours, whenever he does a task in Tibet, must be responsible to the Party and to the Tibetan people and adopt a responsible attitude toward work. He must make a long-term calculation of the enterprise and be determined to accomplish it. Even if we are transferred away from Tibet by the organization for a certain time, our work can still be carried out on the original basis. We must pool our small and fragmentary achievements into the main current of our work in Tibet, propelling Tibet to march forward toward a socialist society. By this we really mean the establishment of the correct thought of building Tibet on a long-term basis. On the contrary, if a temporary viewpoint is cherished towards the work in Tibet and we are not responsible to the Party and the Tibetan people and towards the enterprises, then even if we spend our whole life in Tibet, we cannot possibly render any real assistance to the Tibetan

people. No matter how long such people work in Tibet, it cannot be said that they have established the correct idea of building Tibet on a long-term basis. This is judged by one's political attitude and positiveness in work, and not by the length of time."

Continuing, he said that to achieve the right attitude for building Tibet on a long-term basis, it was necessary to have a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Only real patriots could become real internationalists. From the point of view of the internationalists, to build up a prosperous and happy new Tibet would not only strengthen the effort of the mother country, but also crush the conspiracies of the imperialists, thus expanding the world-wide anti-imperialist, peaceful forces. This was not only in the interests of the Tibetan people, but also in the common interests of the various nationalities in the mother country. This was the relation between building Tibet on a long-term basis on the one hand and patriotism and internationalism on the other.

Finally, he criticized the individualistic tendencies of some comrades who cherished a growing egoism, dreading any possible failure in their work, and thinking that by working in Tibet they could not realize their "great ambition." They only saw the backwardness of Tibet today, but failed to see the bright future; they could not create happiness for other people but rolled up their sleeves to enjoy the happiness created by others. He said it was unthinkable that those who thought progress in Tibet was too slow could suggest that the progress of work could be very rapid in Peking. As long as one was burdened with a load of individualism, one could never make any progress anywhere. Conversely, if one shook off the burden of individualism, and with the correct attitude of building Tibet on a long-term basis established, then one would likewise make rapid progress in Tibet.

In the last part of his report, dealing with the problems of opposing Great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism, Comrade Fan Ming said: "The common characteristic of great-Han chauvinism and local nationalism is the failure to realize the importance of equality, unity, mutual-aid and cooperation between the various nationalities; and to handle the various problems arising from nationalities in the big family of the mother country in accordance with the principle of national equality, unity, mutual-aid, and cooperation. Great-Han chauvinism in Tibet is manifested in the

feeling of superiority of the Han race, repugnance towards the backwardness of Tibet, discrimination against Tibet, distortion of Tibet, failure to respect the freedom of religious belief and the traditional customs of the Tibetans, failure to realize that the Tibetans are hard-working, brave and simple, an inadequate understanding of the fine qualities of the Tibetan cadres, and withholding the respect and help due to them. In certain work, we do not start from realities but mechanically apply working experiences from the Han nationalities areas, we are not good at holding consultations with the Tibetan people and their leaders when doing business. Some people only saw that the Han nationality was helping the Tibetan people and that the mother country was helping Tibet and could not see that Tibetans were assisting the mother country and that the Tibetan nationality was helping the Han nationality. They mistakenly regarded themselves as benefactors, became conceited and arrogant, and cherished the thought of having special privileges. Particularly during the past year or two, the relaxation of education on the nationalities policy has helped the growth of Great-Han chauvinism among the People's Liberation Army and the working personnel stationed in Tibet. 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 Tibetan were not respected."

Continuing, he said that local nationalism in Tibet was expressed in the failure to realize the important significance of the big family of the mother country, failure to realize the assistance rendered by the Han and other fraternal nationalities to Tibet, and unwillingness to learn from the beneficial ideas of other fraternal nationalities. They judged the Han cadres of today in the light of their prejudices against the ruling class of the Han nationality in history, and exaggerated the temporary mistakes of the individual Han cadres as mistakes of the majority of the Han cadres.

Great-Han nationalism and local nationalism are manifestations of bourgeois thought on national problems. These are harmful to the unification of the mother country and the unity among the various nationalities, to the socialist construction of the mother country, and to the prosperity and progress of the various nationalities. These two tendencies are contradictions among the people which must be overcome and conquered. It was imperative to start

from the desire for unity between various nationalities and, through criticism and self-criticism and on a new basis, build up a great and united socialist family where the unity between nationalities would be even greater, so as to achieve further unity between the various nationalities. The people of various nationalities must strengthen the unity between nationalities on this new basis and oppose the various sorts of nationalistic tendencies. Should one depart from the basis of unity to foster Great-Han nationalism and local nationalism, one would consciously or unconsciously be giving way to national disintegration and national discrimination. After analysing the history of the Great-Han nationalism and local nationalism and its social and economic origins, he cited an historical story about the production of two weapons, the spear and the shield, to explain the important fact that the Han cadres should first of all criticize their Great-Han nationalist tendencies as much as possible and correct their own mistakes before they could urge the Tibetan nationality cadres to criticize their own local nationalistic tendencies. He said that the Great-Han nationalism was likened to a spear and local nationalism to a shield. When one side carried a spear, and the other held a shield, it was necessary that the one who held the spear must lay it down before the one who carried the shield could lay down his. It was unthinkable that the one who carried the shield was required to lay down his weapon first. It was unreasonable, and in fact one could not possibly do so.¹⁷ On the other hand, if both the Han and Tibetan cadres on their own initiative criticized themselves and respected each other, consciousness would be raised on both sides, and this would be favourable to unity.

Finally, Comrade Fan Ming said: "In order to strengthen national unity, and eradicate the unwholesomeness of violating the nationalities and religious policies, the entire Party and the entire army in Tibet must conduct an extensive and penetrating review of the education on nationalities policy. It is hoped that the entire Party and the entire army and all revolutionary working comrades will unite, strive to study the nationalities policy, resolutely oppose Great-Han nationalism and local nationalism, raise the ideological level of patriotic thought and policy, and struggle to build up the mother country and a new Tibet."

C. Religion

Notes to Documents 47-50

Formerly there were over 3,000 lamaseries in Tibet, and in 1956 there were approximately 120,000 to 150,000 lamas.¹⁸ There are also lamas and lamaseries in Tsinghai, Kansu, Szechwan and Inner Mongolia as well as in Peking. The overwhelming majority of the believers in Lamaism are Tibetans, but many Mongolians are also Lamaists.

The lamas in Inner Mongolia were "reformed" in 1958 and made to engage in production.¹⁹

In Tibet, however, because of the integration of government authorities with religious authorities, lamas have a vital political position and are given prerogatives.²⁰ The lamaseries are the major owners of the land.²¹ As a result, the "reforms" introduced by the Chinese Communists cannot but have serious political repercussions.

Although the Chinese Communists have consistently pledged that they would "protect religion" following their entry into Tibet, few can believe that they will carry out this pledge. The suppression of the "counter-revolutionaries" in religious circles by the Chinese Communists in the Kanan Tibetan Nationality Autonomous *Chou* (see Document 50) is a good illustration of the actual practices of the Communists in Tibet.

Document 47

Lamas Must Take the Socialist Road

-Comrade Ulanfu's Talk to the Upper-Strata of the Lamaists

(Silinhot, NCNA, special to the *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, July 22, 1958; reprinted in *Hsien-tai Fou-hsueh* [Modern Buddhism], No 9, Peking, September 13, 1958.)

Ulanfu, 1st Secretary of the Communist Party Committee of

the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, recently convoked the upper-strata Lamaists in the Silingol area to a symposium in Silinhot, at which he called on Living Buddhas down to the lamas and the people of Inner Mongolia to take the socialist road together and serve socialism.

Taking part in the discussion were Living Buddha Lao-pu-tseng of Haoletu Monastery in the West Ujumchin Banner, Prior A-pu-ga-cha-pu of Peitzu Monastery in Silinhot, and 15 others.

Dwelling on the relation between religion and politics, Ulanfu said that in the past the lamaists had served the old society. This was to say that they had served the interests of the feudal lords. Now that the social system had changed and the Inner Mongolians, together with other peoples of the whole country, had taken the socialist road, whom should the lamaists serve? Ulanfu answered his own question by saying that any one who did not wish to become an enemy of the people must serve socialism.

Ulanfu declared that history had taught the Inner Mongolians that it would be futile for them to keep to the capitalist road, which in the past had brought a gradual decline in their race, as marked by a dwindling population, fewer livestock and a backward civilization. They had learned from bitter experience to choose the socialist road, which had brought them prosperity, happiness and a revival of their race. Citing Peitzu monastery as an example, Ulanfu said that before the liberation, all it could boast of were three big monasteries and two dirt mounds, but today it had become a town with a population of over 10,000, an electric light system, factories, farms, schools and a hospital. In the not distant future, it would surely grow into an industrial city, he predicted.

.....Ulanfu said that since all of them had actually lived through two eras, it should be easy for them to see that the two roads had yielded different results. This being the case, the question as to which was the better road was no longer a theoretical one, but a factual one.

Continuing, Ulanfu stressed that for the lamaists to take the socialist road, they must first of all draw a distinct line of demarcation between socialism and capitalism in their thinking. It was imperative that they should be in accord with socialism in thought, word and deed; they should not say one thing and mean another. Furthermore, they should take to the socialist line both politically

and economically by accepting the leadership of the Communist Party and participating in productive work. He added that there would be no interference with the legitimate religious activities of the lamaists in view of the fact that the government's policy of freedom of religious belief would remain unchanged.

According to Ulanfu, two ways are open to the lamaists in adopting the socialist line from an economic angle. Joining the co-operatives is one and forming joint state-private livestock-breeding farms is the other. It is expected that all those who are capable of manual labour will participate in socialist construction work in accordance with their individual talents, which may be in animal husbandry, the handicraft industry, or even in the medical and teaching occupations. On the other hand, those who are too old or too weak to perform manual labour will be given material assistance. In short, anyone willing to join in the glorious task of socialist construction may be assured of his proper place either as a participant or a supporter.

Ulanfu concluded by saying that the decision made by the lamaists of Inner Mongolia was the correct one, in that sooner or later all lamaists throughout the country would have to follow the socialist road in keeping with the natural tendency of the development of society.

At the symposium, the lamaists in turn expressed the opinion that their future lay in taking the socialist road under the leadership of the Communist Party. After pointing out that in the recent drive for the collectivization of the livestock-breeding industry every lama from some monasteries had joined up, they indicated their willingness to accept further socialist remoulding in a thorough-going manner so as to be able to launch forth on the road to socialism hand in hand with the people of Inner Mongolia.

Consolidate and Expand the Anti-Imperialist and Patriotic United Front; Strengthen Patriotic and Socialist Education

—Speech delivered by Comrade Chang Kuo-hua, Deputy Secretary of the CCP Tibet Work Committee, to the Meeting Commemorating the First Anniversary of the Founding of the Chinese Buddhist Association in Tibet²²

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 19, 1957)

The Dalai Lama, Members of the Council, Living Buddhas, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the final year of the victorious implementation of the First Five-Year Plan in our country. It is also a year during which tremendous achievements have been made in our socialist construction. When we see the grand victory won in the socialist construction of our great mother country, we feel extremely happy in coming here to attend this meeting today.

A whole year has passed since the Chinese Buddhist Association in Tibet was set up last year. During this time, this branch association, under the guidance of the National Chinese Buddhist Association, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erdeni, and the CCP Tibetan Work Committee, as well as the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, by observing the principles of patriotism, unity and progress and the policy of freedom of religious belief, has accomplished much in uniting and linking the religious people of various religious groups and monasteries, carrying out the anti-imperialist and patriotic campaign, promoting the patriotic consciousness of the religious people, strengthening racial unity, creating favourable conditions for the continuous implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief in Tibet, for continually launching and expanding the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front in religious circles, for carrying out anti-imperialist and patriotic propaganda and education, and for strengthening racial unity. I want to extend my hearty congratulations to the Association on its achievements since it was founded a year ago.

Our country is a unified big socialist family where multi-racial unity, fraternal love, and mutual aid and cooperation prevail. At the same time, it is also a country where various religions exist among the people of various nationalities. The Party and government, while they have made great achievements in the nationalities work, have also carried out the policy of freedom of religious belief.

As early as 1949, when the Chinese People's Republic was founded, the policy of religious freedom was clearly set forth and stipulated in the Common Programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Similar provision for the freedom of religious belief was also laid down in the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic promulgated in 1954. Chairman Mao, in speaking to the Tibetan Goodwill Delegation [in 1952—see Document 9], has stated it even more clearly: "The Communist Party adopts the policy of protecting religion; it protects those who believe in religion and those who do not; it respects their belief. Today it protects religion, and will do so in the future."

Acting on this instruction, in the past several years, not only were the Chinese National Buddhist Association and the National Islamic Association inaugurated in our capital, but branches of the Buddhist Association and the Islamic Association were also established in Shanghai and Tientsin, in the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, and in Shansi Province. In some areas, such as Inner Mongolia and Tsinghai Province, preparations are being made to set up religious organizations.

These religious organizations, in accordance with the principle of loving the socialist mother country and the policy of freedom of religious belief, have done a lot of work in rallying the religious people to support and participate in the socialist construction enterprises of the mother country and to defend world peace.

At the same time, our Buddhist delegations have also visited Burma, Nepal and India and participated in Buddhist activities. The Islamic delegations, too, have visited such countries as Pakistan and made friendly contacts with Moslems in these countries. Particularly worthy of mention was the visit, in November last year [1956], of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, Honorary Chairman of the National Chinese Buddhist Association and the Tibetan Buddhist Association, to India to participate in the meeting commemorating the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha's Nirvana, and the

subsequent tour of India which they made. This has played a favourable role in strengthening the friendship between China and India and world peace, and in expanding the influence of the policy of religious freedom in our country. The overwhelming majority of Tibetans believe in Buddhism. Since Tibet was peacefully liberated, the people have enjoyed the right of freedom of religious belief. In the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed in 1951, provisions were made to "carry out the policy of freedom of religious belief as stipulated in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, respect the customs and habits of the Tibetans, and protect the monasteries and lamas." The central authorities shall not make any change in the income of the monasteries, it was stated.

For the past several years, the People's Liberation Army units and the working personnel stationed in Tibet have executed this stipulation by practical model actions. In April, 1956, when the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region was inaugurated, the Tibetan Committee for Religious Affairs was simultaneously established; in October the Chinese Buddhist Association in Tibet came into being.

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 social 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 Party religious policy.

On the problem of postponing democratic reform in Tibet for six years, there are three categories of religious people who hold different viewpoints:

In the first category are people who love their mother country passionately. They are aware that if political, economic and cultural developments and prosperity are to be achieved in Tibet, it is imperative to carry out indispensable social reform, to gradually get rid of all obstacles unfavourable to socialism and to the development and progress of the Tibetan race. Only in this way can the Tibetans enter the socialist society and join the ranks of advanced

socialist nationalities. So they positively approve and support democratic reform in Tibet. For this reason they were at first disgruntled by the principle of delaying reform for six years. It was only after explanation that they have come to recognize the advisability of this change in the light of conditions in Tibet as a whole. We must support these people for their passionate love of the mother country and their demand for progress and development in Tibet. Their wish must be and shall be realized. We hope that these people will strive to reach their own goal by uniting the broad masses of the people.

The second category comprises people who are incessantly raising their own patriotic consciousness and generally are in favour of the principle of delaying reform for six years. To varying degrees they have realized that reform is conducive to progress and development in Tibet; they recognize that the socialist road is decided and indispensable. However, they still nurture certain doubts and worries about future social reform in Tibet. They doubt whether there will still be freedom of religious belief after the reform; they are worried whether the government will continue to protect the monasteries as it is doing now. On this score, we must patiently explain the reasons to them and relieve them of their anxieties. The policy of the Communist Party in favour of religious freedom will not be changed. Even when the socialist society is established, people will still be entitled to the right of freedom of religious belief, and the government will still protect citizens with religious beliefs.

Falling into the third category are people who, because they are prone to fall prey to the rumours created by the imperialist and reactionary elements, adopt certain non-patriotic attitudes. Never before have they concerned themselves with the sufferings of the Tibetan people; but they have always opposed democratic reform. When the policy of "no reform in six years" was put forward, they, naturally, expressed themselves in favour of it. Precisely because they do not always take the interest of the Tibetans into consideration, some of them are now vainly attempting to carry out activities to preclude the reform permanently, attempting to make the Tibetan people live in a permanent state of poverty and starvation. They do not want Tibet to take the socialist road towards prosperity and development. With such people, we must

carry out even more patient socialist education on a long-term basis, so as to make them gradually strengthen their patriotic ideology and gradually get close to the Tibetan people and concern themselves with the latter's interests. We must make them recognize that socialist reform will benefit the Tibetan people as well as themselves. On the other hand, we must properly criticize and educate them in view of their non-patriotic attitude and antipathy both by words and deeds to the interests of the Tibetans.

The overwhelming majority of the people in the above three categories form the internal problem facing the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front. It is therefore necessary that we must further consolidate and expand the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, further strengthen the work of unity, and carry out further patriotic education. At the same time, it is necessary to explain the truth that the need for Tibet to take the socialist road is affirmed and the necessity to carry out the necessary reforms is likewise now affirmed. But the time, the methods and the manner to carry out the reform must be determined in accordance with the actual conditions in the Tibetan areas. The decision to postpone democratic reform during the Second Five-Year Plan period in Tibet was made precisely because the Party Central Committee considered that the conditions in Tibet in various respects (including religious circles) were not mature enough for reform. It did so because it respects the opinions of the majority of the Tibetans (including the majority of the religious people), and is giving them ample time to consider their position, thereby benefiting the future realization of peaceful reform. As a result, the principle of "no reform in six years" and the retrenchment programme have obtained the support of the broad masses of monks and laymen, proving that the principle of no reform in six years is correct.

In addition, there is an extremely small minority of people who have an ulterior purpose. By taking advantage of the policy of "no reform in six years," they have created disturbances. Some of them, using the nationality issue and the religious issue as a platform, have engaged in activities aimed at destroying racial unity, sabotaging the policy of freedom of religious belief, and hampering the unity of the mother country. Under the cloak of nationality and religion, they were actually imperialists and rebels carrying out counter-revolutionary activities. They have no common ground

with many of those who truly believe in religion or with those who still have certain blurred political conceptions. Therefore, we must continue, on a broad basis, to unite the religious people to expose and resolutely attack those counter-revolutionaries who hide under the cloak of religion, and forever deny them opportunities. However, if they recognize their own mistakes, stop their counter-revolutionary activities, genuinely repent and decide to become patriotic, law-abiding religious people, we will welcome them and will not investigate their past crimes.

Past historical experience proves that the interests of the Buddhists are identified with the interests of the broad masses of the people. Without the progress and development of the Tibetans, it would have been impossible for the religious people in Tibet to promote themselves and make progress. Without the great, united socialist mother country, there could have been no safeguard for the freedom of religious belief.

For this reason, the religious people must strive to study and earnestly promote their own patriotic ideology, love their country and abide by its laws. They must increase their ability to distinguish between right and wrong, and between ourselves and foes. They must positively concern themselves with, and participate in, the various construction undertakings of the mother country and of Tibet.

In order to better implement the policy of religious freedom, the Tibetan Buddhist Association is duty-bound to transmit regularly and propagate to the Buddhists, the policies, laws and decrees of the Party and the government; organize them to engage in study and positively take part in the anti-imperialist and patriotic campaign and the campaign for defending world peace as well as in various construction undertakings. At the same time, it is also duty-bound to report to the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and the CCP Tibet Work Committee on the proper opinions and lawful demands of the broad masses of the monks, so that the leadership can, in a comprehensive manner, better understand the conditions of Buddhist circles in Tibet, and assist the Buddhists to march forward.

Religious People, Ladies and Gentlemen:

During the past several years, Tibet has made great achievements in strengthening racial unity and promoting patriotic

consciousness as well as in various economic, cultural, educational and hygienic undertakings. These achievements are inseparable from the positive efforts made by the many patriotic religious people. Therefore, I hope that the Tibetan Buddhist Association together with the religious people, under the leadership of the National Chinese Buddhist Association, the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni, and the Preparatory Committee on the basis of the achievements already attained, and in accordance with the principle stipulated in Article Two of the Regulations of the Association, will continue to strive to strengthen further racial unity, further consolidate and expand the anti-imperialist and patriotic united front, further implement the policy of religious freedom, and make more efforts and greater contributions to the various construction enterprises in Tibet.

Good health to the Dalai Lama!

Good health to all present at this meeting!

Document 49

Communists are Complete Atheists

By Chu Ch'ing (朱青)

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh* [Nationalities Unity], No. 18, Peking, March 1959)

The conception of the problem of religion on the part of some Party members of minority nationalities who were reared in the traditions of religious belief is by no means clear. They either take the view that there is no contradiction whatsoever between religious belief and communism or the view that religion will not play an adverse influence in a socialist society. Both views are apparently incorrect.

A communist fighter, whatever the nationality to which he may belong, should be a complete atheist.

Communists advocate freedom of religious belief for the people as well as cooperation with all patriotic and law-abiding religious people in jointly building our country into a strong socialist country. This is our long-term, unalterable policy toward religion. But communists themselves do not believe in any religion.

The reason why communists do not believe in any religion is that the communist world outlook is basically opposed to the religious world outlook. The communist world outlook is Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism, while the religious world outlook is completely different in that all religions are idealistic. The Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party lays down the following provision: "The Party shall adhere to the world outlook of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and oppose the world outlook of idealism and metaphysics." What is referred to here is the world outlook of the Chinese Communist Party, the world to which each and every Party member and communist should adhere. All ideas and deeds of a person should be guided by his world outlook. Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i, in his book *How to be a Good Communist*, said: "As far as ideological cultivation is concerned, we Communist Party members must first of all clarify our outlook on life and the world."

Dialectical materialism holds that the world is materialistic and

exists objectively, and that material develops and changes according to its own law of motion. Historical materialism is a science which uses the law of dialectical materialism to study the phenomena of social life, the society and social history. The communist world outlook not only maintains that nature and human society exist objectively according to their own laws independently of the will of God and man, but also holds that the people may understand these laws and may apply the laws of nature to transform nature so as to make nature serve mankind and apply the laws of social development to transform society in the interests of the well-being of human society.

All conclusions and truths with regard to the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism have been fully substantiated by the practice of human history and all scientific data. It is the most correct and most scientific world outlook, as well as the most correct and most scientific way of thinking. Only dialectical materialism and historical materialism can correctly explain the law of social development and correctly point out the road for the realization of socialism and communism; for this reason, it is the most revolutionary world outlook. Because the working class is the most revolutionary and the final class in human history, history has given the working class the task of destroying classes and building communism. For this reason, the world outlook of dialectical materialism and historical materialism can only be the world outlook of the working class. The working class must use its own spiritual weapon for knowing the world and transforming the world as a spiritual weapon for uniting its own class and the whole body of the labouring people to struggle for the elimination of classes and the building of communism. Hence, each and every communist should self-consciously establish the world outlook of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

The religious world outlook contends that the world, nature and humanity itself are created by God, the true lord of other gods, and exists according to the will of God. For this reason, religions hold that all systems which exploit and oppress the people are determined by the will of god, are sacred and are unchangeable. The religious world outlook holds that all happenings are purely accidental; they are the expression of the actions of God, the true lord or a certain god. Thus, religion denies the possibility of man

understanding the laws of nature and society; it opposes science and promotes superstitions and places man in a helpless position with regard to all things. Religion also paralyzes the people by the so-called heaven and hell after death which do not exist, so that the people delude themselves with the dream of going to heaven, endure oppression and hardships in a class society and give up the struggle and labour for the collective interests of humanity. The reactionary role played by religion in a class society is explained by Lenin in his book *Socialism and Religion*: "For a man who must work all his life and leads a miserable life, religion trains him to be obedient and patient in actual life and comforts him with the compensation of going to heaven. For a man who lives on the labour of others, religion teaches him to be charitable in actual life; at the same time, it conveniently forgives him for his exploitation of life and sells him a cheap admittance ticket to heaven." Therefore, communists are of the opinion that religion is a fetter imposed on the labouring people, a kind of poor spiritual wine, and an opiate for the people.

At the moment, the interests of the people of various nationalities throughout the country are shown in a concentrated manner in the Party's general line for exerting the utmost efforts in aiming high, and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. They are struggling to build our country into a great socialist country and for the transition toward communism. But religion obstructs the implementation of the Party's general line for socialist construction and restricts the growth of the communist thought of the labouring people. Because of its reactionary nature, religion is most likely to be used by enemies of the people to undermine socialist construction and the development of various nationalities in the mother country. This is chiefly manifested in the following respects:

First, it spreads the feelings of pessimism, which are unfavourable to the people in going all out, aiming high, and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. All religions propagate fatalistic theories of "destiny" and "predestined-by-God" and spread reactionary thoughts of pessimism. All religions have laid down many trivial religious creeds and taboos to pray for a "happy life in heaven after death." This then paralyzes the fighting will of the people and prevents them from

struggling positively for a happy and beautiful life.

Second, it spreads the selfish thought of "everyone for himself and God for everyone," and opposes the communist thought of "one for all and all for one." All religions preach that the most important thing for each individual is to "save his own soul to enable himself to enter heaven." This will then tempt the people to depart from the collective interests and even oppose collective interests.

Third, it propagates that "natural phenomena are determined by the will of God," opposes the transformation of nature, and seeks to wreck economic construction. With the determination of making mountains bow their head and rivers alter their path, the people of the entire country are transforming nature and the backward outlook of our country. But religion, by saying that "nature is created by God and determined by the will of God" and that "transformation of nature is a great anti-God crime," tries to threaten and obstruct the people from carrying out the great enterprise of making nature serve mankind and undermines socialist construction.

Fourth, it promotes superstitions and ignorance, and opposes technical revolution and cultural revolution. The fallacious records contained in religious classics are described as the "mystery of God" which can neither be questioned nor doubted. All religions are hostile to science and culture. The people have a desire to study culture and science, but religion wants people to study religious scriptures. It says that "the study of culture and science is prohibited." When people wanted to eliminate the four pests in order to improve their hygienic environment, religions propagated the ideas that "to kill living creatures is not permitted" and that "to kill one sparrow is equivalent to killing seven human lives." Religion even opposes the cultural and recreational life of the people. In short, religion wants people to be deluded and cheated by religion forever.

Fifth, the heavy religious burden imposed on the people prevents them from developing production and improving their living standards. All religions impose a great variety of very heavy religious burdens known as "donations" and "seeking instructions from God." It is said that "the money collected by religions and monasteries is to be given to God so that those who contribute

money may permit the minority nationals to live; the religious burden amounts to over 23 per cent of the income of the people. The religious burden is bottomless; it obstructs the development of many national minorities and causes the people to live in permanent misery.

Sixth, it discriminates against and oppresses women. All religions spread the idea of discriminating against and oppressing women. They propagate the idea that "men are higher than women in status" and that "women are the incarnation of all dirt and sin." It objects to women participating in labour and social activities, and opposes the emancipation of women.

Seventh, it spreads religious prejudices and seeks to undermine the unity of the mother country and the solidarity of the various nationalities. Religion preaches that all those who believe in it are "children of God" and "members of one family," and that all those who believe in other religions or do not believe in religion at all are "apostates." Such a religious prejudice of repelling, discrimination against and showing hostility to the pagans causes the labouring people to have blurred class understanding, to substitute religious hatred for class struggle and destroy the class unity of the labouring people. Many remnant elements of the exploitation classes who cannot carry out activities openly in society—counter-revolutionaries, rightists and wicked elements—use religion to cover up their true colours, to create religious disputes and national disputes among the people, and carry out criminal activities endangering the interests of the Party, socialism and the people. All this shows that the religious world outlook is a reactionary, anti-scientific, anti-socialist and anti-communist world outlook. It protects the exploitation system and the interests of the exploitation class. It is a tool with which the exploitative classes oppress the people. In a socialist society, it is still opposed to the interests of the whole body of the labouring people and communist thought. How can a Communist become a fighter struggling heroically for the Communist cause if he does not thoroughly break away from the religious world outlook and does not establish the world outlook of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism and historical materialism?

Since religion is harmful to the socialist construction of the mother country, it will inevitably prove harmful to the progress and development of the minority nationalities. Religion is not a condition for the formation of a nationality, still less is it a condition

for the development and advance of a nationality.²⁹ All national characteristics unfavourable to socialist construction and national progress can and should be changed, and all traditions and customs harmful to socialist construction and national progress can and should be reformed. In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels wrote: "Communist revolution is the most thorough break-away from all traditional systems; there is nothing strange that in the process of its development it will break away most thoroughly from traditional concepts." Communists of national minorities should with determination break away from the traditional religious world outlook and establish the world outlook of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

When we say that communists must be complete atheists, we also ask at the same time how the Party policy of freedom of religion for the broad masses of people should be explained. In our view, there is no contradiction in this regard. The policy of freedom of religion is none other than the conclusion directly drawn from dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Marxism-Leninism, on the one hand, exposes the reactionary nature of religion, and at the same time points out the deep-seated social origin and ideological origin which gave rise to religion. It holds that religion comes from the oppression of natural forces and of social forces, and that religion will gradually be weakened and even eliminated only after the elimination of class oppression among the human society, the rise in the political consciousness and the cultural level of the people, the development of science, and the strengthening of human control over nature. This makes it necessary that the working class should unite the broad masses of the labouring people for a joint revolutionary struggle to build socialism and communism. It should put the common interests of the whole body of the labouring people into the first position, and should not allow the religious problem to affect the solidarity of the labouring people. Thus, with regard to the religious belief of the people, we oppose the use of administrative means to forbid the people to believe in any religion and adopt the policy of freedom of religion. However, religious belief, to the State as well as to the citizens, is the private affair of individuals. All citizens have freedom of religious belief. But to the Party and to Party members it is not a private affair. A communist must necessarily be a complete atheist.

Major Victories Won in Struggles by People of Tibetan Nationality in Kanan Against Counter-Revolutionaries and Wicked Elements in Religious Circles

—Letter from a Reader—

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh* [Nationalities Unity], No. 16, Peking, January 1959)

Comrade Editor:

A vigorous mass movement of airing grievances aimed at completely destroying the feudal rule and smashing the brutal exploitation of the livestock-owning class was initiated in August this year [1958] in the pastoral areas and agricultural-pastoral areas of the Kanan Tibetan Nationality Autonomous *Chou*. During this struggle the peasants and herdsmen of various nationalities have rapidly raised their class consciousness. Simultaneously with accusing the reactionary livestock-owning class of its brutal oppression and exploitation, they have also carried out a fierce struggle against the counter-revolutionaries wearing the cloak of religion, reactionary elements and wicked elements in the religious circles, the feudal prerogatives and exploitation in monasteries and various unlawful activities.

In the Kanan Tibetan nationality area, the oppression and exploitation practiced by the feudal influences in the monasteries over the poor peasants and herdsmen were extremely brutal, and the means of exploitation were various. The principal means were as follows:

1. They controlled pastures, land and forests. Herdsmen had to pay money to them for the use of the pastures and the peasants had to pay a high rental for the use of land for cultivation. Materials used by the masses for building their houses had to be bought from them at high prices.

2. Each peasant or pastoral household had to render 15 to 20 days of labour without compensation each year. The cost of repairing monasteries with regard to timber and labour power had to be borne by the masses themselves.

3. All of them practiced usury with the result that the poor

peasants and herdsmen could not repay their loans in their life-time. A man by the name of Hsia-ho-yuan-to-tan-k'o borrowed two *tou* and six *sheng* of *ch'ing-k'o* wheat 18 years ago from them, but he has not been able to repay the loan. Up to last year he had repaid a total of more than 13 *shih* of grain, and an ox was taken from him.

4. Through various religious activities, they plundered the people recklessly. Each tribe had to contribute from several tens of thousands of *yuan* to more than two hundred thousand *yuan* at the Manierhpu festival in February and the Tsaoniangnai festival in September each year.

In addition, they resorted to various sorts of tricks to cheat and blackmail the herdsmen. Such brutal exploitation deprived the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen of their homes and property.

They also handled civil and criminal cases illegally, beat the people at will, and exacted money and *ula* forced labour service from the masses of their tribes. In order to consolidate their feudal rule, they exploited and enslaved the masses for a long time, and sabotaged and obstructed the production of the masses. They opposed the sinking of wells and opening up of ditches by the masses. In the name of "protecting the mountains," they forbade the people to collect medicinal herbs and dig mines. The people were asked to keep large numbers of "animals for God" (these animals could not be killed or sold but were allowed only to die a natural death). The peasants had to ask for instructions before carrying out sowing and harvesting. In the field of culture and education, they forbade the people to study scientific knowledge and establish schools, prevented students from going to school, and opposed the "elimination of four pests" and the carrying out of cultural and recreational activities.

They also sabotaged the financial and economic policies of the State and carried out smuggling activities on a large scale. A wide range of goods were smuggled, including woolen piece goods, wrist watches, cameras, bicycles and pens. They evaded payment of taxes; in 1957 alone payment of taxes on wrist watches amounted to more than ¥16,000. In order to make huge profits, they sold and transported contraband goods, the figure involved being quite striking. They even used armed convoys to transport the contraband.

What was particularly resented by the peasants and herdsmen was the hostility of these reactionaries to our Party and the socialist system and the way in which they tried by all means to safeguard the reactionary feudal prerogatives and openly smuggled arms, gave protection to wicked elements and counter-revolutionaries, and attempted to overthrow the people's government. From 1955 to February this year, through information received from the masses, more than 40 criminal elements and counter-revolutionaries were arrested at Lapuo Monastery. Large quantities of weapons and counter-revolutionary documents were also discovered in the monastery, including counter-revolutionary documents of the so-called "Anti-communist National Alliance Army" and the seals of the "Kuomintang branch in Lapuo area."

To oppose the Party and the people, these counter-revolutionaries and ambitious elements manufactured disputes among the tribes and created armed conflicts among the people in order to dissipate and weaken the strength of the masses. Taking advantage of the facilities given to the masses to carry out their activities and wearing the religious cloaks, they spread rumours and slanders among the masses to undermine the relations between the masses and the Party and its policies and resist socialist transformation. For instance, they said: "The Communist Party is bent on eliminating religion;" "the levy of pastoral taxes is in fact a plundering act against the masses;" and that "the policy of the Communist Party is to let the people lead a good life now and a miserable life afterwards," etc.

In their struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and wicked elements among the lamas, the masses have seen the true colours of these wicked elements who appeared to be righteous but who had committed hideous crimes and led a degenerate and shameless life, and unanimously condemned their crimes. Those who had been victims spoke at public meetings, accusing the wicked elements of giving them a painful life. The broad masses of lamas, under the influence and encouragement of the peasants and herdsmen, also stood up and aired their grievances and revealed facts of inhuman treatment, exposing the ugly truth about the so-called "living Buddhas."

Through the education of real life, the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen have raised their class consciousness to unprecedented

heights, and have got to know their enemies, true friends and benefactors. They look upon the Communist Party and Chairman Mao as their own most intimate relatives. All those who aired their grievances resolutely demanded that the government should deal with these reactionaries who operate under the cloak of religion in accordance with law and abolish all prerogatives in the monasteries. They resolutely said: "we need the Communist Party and Chairman Mao;" "we must listen to the words of only one government, and that is the People's Government," and "Chairman Mao is like our father, fair and reasonable." Peasants and herdsmen who had always been oppressed, persecuted and exploited are today using their own hands to remove the shackles imposed upon them. They have smashed the chains around their necks. The dark clouds have gone and the sun appears before them. They breathe fresh air, and how happy they are!

Right now, the masses in Kanna are further carrying out their movement against the reactionary pastoral owners and reactionaries and wicked elements among the lamas.

Chou Wei (周 偉)

October 21, 1958.

D. Communications

Notes to Documents 51-54

Although the Chinese Communists have been actively building highways in Tibet over the past few years, they have been and still are faced with a host of problems. It is extremely difficult, for example, to keep the highways open to traffic throughout the year because of climate and altitude.²⁴ The cost of maintenance is very high.²⁵ Road Building has been obstructed by the Tibetans, and the highways have often been sabotaged.

Following the inauguration of a flight between Peking and Lhasa in May 1956, the Chinese inaugurated a flight between Tibet and India in October 1956.²⁶ Since that time, no further air routes have been opened. Then, in April 1957, they announced that the basic route for the Tsinghai-Tibet Railway (from Ko-erh-mu in Tsinghai to Lhasa) had been tentatively determined,²⁷ but again no further details have been revealed.

In 1957, the Chinese Communists began to take the route through Sinkiang when it seemed that the Sikang-Tibet and Tsinghai-Tibet Highways could scarcely be opened to traffic. The Sinkiang-Tibet Highway was opened to traffic in October of the same year. The Aksai Chin area (in Ladakh) through which this highway passes is involved in the boundary dispute between China and India. The Communists have insisted that the area through which the highway was built belongs to them.²⁸

Document 51

Problems Existing in the Building Construction Administration at Shigatse

(Hsi-tsang Jih-pao, October 23, 1956)

Around noon on September 19, reporters of this paper visited the office of the trade union of the Building Construction Adminis-

tration in Shigatse, where committee members of the trade union were holding a meeting with some worker comrades. Upon learning that we were reporters from the *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, a young worker stood up and asked: "Comrades, can you (meaning the paper) back us? We have here many problems which we cannot solve." Then Comrade Lu Fa-hsin, chairman of the trade union, immediately explained to the others: "Anybody who has any questions may raise them now, because the *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao* is the paper to reflect the voice of us workers." No sooner said than done, the workers present hurriedly spoke out their minds. I summarize hereunder the words of the workers, as well as what we reporters saw and heard:

Treating the Workers with a Bureaucratic Attitude

Most of the workers in the Building Construction Administration in Shigatse were transferred from inland parts of the country, and many of them were originally temporary workers. But as they already worked in Tibet for a long period, much longer than the time-limit for temporary workers, they should be changed into regular workers and enjoy good treatment and labour insurance as such. However, this question has long been pending in the Building Construction Administration in Shigatse. As a result, when a temporary worker became ill, he received only half pay, on which it is impossible to live. Despite repeated requests from these temporary workers, the leadership only gives empty promises and takes no action.

Moreover, the Building Construction Administration in Shigatse pays workers only half of their pay on rainy days. As the cost of living in Tibet is comparatively high, it is difficult for the workers to subsist on rainy days with half-pay only. Although the workers took this problem to the leadership and requested a reasonable adjustment, they have not yet received any answer.

The workers have not been able to take a bath for a long time. Whenever they want to heat some water for bathing, the leadership would say: "Do you know that we had suffered when we first entered Tibet? Conditions now are far better than before."

The condition of the workers' accommodation is also unsatisfactory. The workers do not mind living in tents, but they do mind 15 or 16 persons having to live in one tent in which the

air becomes very stale and stuffy.

Some workers said that as a result of the poor living conditions, many workers become sick, four or five or even seven or eight of them having to go to the hospital each day. Seeing that the number of sick people increased, the workers requested permission to move into houses which are still unoccupied. But the leadership refused.

Fallacious Ideas and Conditions Concerning the Training of Tibetan Cadres

How does the Building Construction Administration manage the work of training Tibetan cadres and Tibetan workers? Formerly, Director Chin Yung-kang of the Administration often mentioned the importance of cultivating Tibetan cadres. But since June this year, he took the initiative in transferring away two Tibetan cadres whom he had praised before. The reason for the transfer was that these two cadres had suddenly begun to make too many suggestions to Director Chin who then began to feel that these two cadres were becoming difficult to handle. Other comrades in the Administration did not agree to this, but the director insisted. He stated in his letter to the Financial and Economic Department of the Party Committee of Shigatse: "If these two persons are not transferred, I will not work in the Administration any more."

From June this year until now, this Administration has absorbed three Tibetan cadres only. At first, the director liked these cadres because their thinking was sound, their work was satisfactory, and they were members of the Youth League. But the director's attitude suddenly changed, thinking that as these Tibetan cadres could not speak the Han dialect they could do nothing much (actually they were not given any work to do), and thus had no future. He said in front of the Han cadres: "After a few months when the work in the rural areas is started, we will transfer them."

Comrade Yang Tsun-shun, political instructor of the Administration, once saw some Han technicians give some clothing to their apprentices as a present. He not only discouraged this behaviour, but even remarked to the technicians: "Who thought of

such a new trick? How much money do you have, that you can afford to give presents to others?"

Since this is the attitude of the leadership towards the Tibetan cadres and workers, the Han cadres and workers at the lower level naturally look down upon the Tibetan workers to a very serious degree. For instance, when some Tibetan workers were driving some asses carrying sun-dried bricks for building the Shigatse Primary School, the person in charge of the materials insisted that the Tibetan workers could only take broken bricks (these bricks were broken because of poor management); when the workers refused to do so because it was very inconvenient for the asses to carry broken bricks, the person in charge of the materials drew out his pistol and threatened the Tibetan workers. Another Han cadre, Ho Yung-chi (何永吉), who was responsible for examining finished stone work, asked a Tibetan worker to sprinkle lime water onto the stone work for him; when a few drops of lime water splashed on his clothes, he took a stick and beat up the Tibetan worker. Cases like these were noted by the leadership, but no action of any sort was taken.

Serious State Of Waste

The state of waste is extremely serious in the Building Construction Administration in Shigatse. It can easily be seen from the disorderly way of building, the erroneous designs, the improper use of materials and the bad management. When building the power plant, for example, some of the doors and windows were either too big or too small for the frames, while edges of the roof were found to be too short when installed. In manufacturing covers for anti-shock channels, the specification for length was first fixed at 40 cm; after a portion of the covers had already been made, the specification for length was changed to 50 cm. Besides, large quantities of sand and pebbles were transported to the building site simply to be piled up there and wasted.

For the roof of the power plant, 200 wooden boards were made and beautifully painted. During the actual installation of these roof boards, the person in charge of the building operation told the workers; "Don't use any board at the corners. We can save some materials this way. Although this is cheating, people

who are not in the trade will not notice it." Consequently, they "saved" some 50 pieces of these beautifully-painted wooden boards and used them as planks to sleep on. Now the power plant is completed, but it leaks badly on rainy days; yet the work department only sent workers to stop the leaks with sticky tape.

On the building site of the Shigatse Primary School, workers can be found every day sawing large beams into smaller ones. It was said that the materials were originally designated for the office building of the Party branch in Shigatse, and that they were used to build the school because the latter task was very urgent. Also, broken bricks could be found everywhere on this building site. Sheets of tin-plate were not well used, with some 300 sheets wasted or misused.

Why does this state of waste exist in the Building Construction Administration in Shigatse? The reason was very well described by the workers who said: "How can Director Chin really understand the conditions on the working site as he regularly does nothing but sit in his room reading *Dream of the Red Chamber* and serial pictures?"

Make a Good Job of Highway Maintenance
—Hsi-tsang Jih-pao Short Commentary—

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, December 9, 1956)

Highway maintenance work is one of the important factors for ensuring safety in automobile transportation and for lowering the cost of transportation. For the past year all the workers and staff members of the Communications Bureau of Tibet have done a lot of work in maintaining the Tsinghai-Tibet, Sikang-Tibet and Lhasa-Yatung Highways. The annual plan for minor repairs and maintenance was 75 per cent completed, more than 5,800 cubic metres of earth and stone work was completed, and over 94,000 square metres of bridges were protected against corrosion and painted, thereby basically guaranteeing normal traffic along these three highways.

The workers and staff members moved stones and transported earth in the midst of heat in summer and bitter cold in winter. They broke ice and swept snow under the most difficult circumstances on the high mountains, and built bridges across the riversAll these deeds should be commended by the Tibetan people.

However, there are also many shortcomings in our highway maintenance work which must be overcome. For instance, the leadership personnel in the past at various levels failed to implement properly the principle of "doing more work on highway maintenance with less money," some of the completed engineering projects did not come up to standard and manpower was not seriously organized. Ideological education for the workers and staff members was carried out in an even less satisfactory way.

We must overcome these shortcomings if we are to discharge the more complex and heavier tasks of highway maintenance next year, ensure the safety of truck traffic, raise the efficiency of transportation, and reduce the possible damage to tyres. At the same time, we must also consolidate existing achievements and bring the initiative and work enthusiasm of the workers and staff members into full play.

This conference [on highway maintenance] has revealed the

inadequate understanding of the importance and complexity of highway maintenance work on the part of some workers and staff members. Some workers, for example, said: "Highway maintenance does not offer us a bright future. We are important only if we are highway builders." As a result, an idea which "belittles maintenance and over-emphasizes highway building" has been formed among workers and staff members. Others thought: "Highway maintenance does not require skill. All you have to do is to fill in the pits and holes. You cannot learn anything." Some did not quite understand that highway maintenance serves transportation and so they adopted an indifferent attitude toward automobile traffic. Thus, some became irresponsible and apathetic towards their work. Some asked for permission to leave their jobs to take up schooling or to change their occupation. In consequence, the attendance rate at certain sections dropped and a certain loss was sustained in highway maintenance work.

In accordance with the spirit of this conference, leadership comrades in the various bureaux, departments and sections should pay close attention to the political and ideological education of the workers and staff members, criticize the incorrect ideas as mentioned above, and make each and every worker understand the important significance of highway maintenance.

It is essential to preserve and consolidate further the initiative and creativeness of the workers and staff members. The Party, government and workers' organizations in the bureaux, sections and construction sites must not only regularly strengthen ideological education, commend and reward good persons and good deeds, and criticize incorrect ideas and deeds, but must also pay attention to the livelihood and welfare of the workers and staff members. In the past this problem was not given sufficient attention by the leadership of various bureaux and departments, and consequently the actual difficulties that confronted the workers and staff members were not overcome in good time. This affected the work enthusiasm of some workers and staff members. Some of them complained and said: "We are made to live in tents made of cloth, but when the rain comes we must have umbrellas to cover us before we can go to sleep." "Today I have only eaten a dumpling and had a bowl of water," some said.

Although these are but a few minor complaints, yet they reflect

a definite demand from workers and staff members. The leadership authorities should give serious attention to this, and should take whatever appropriate steps are considered possible to improve the welfare and livelihood of the workers and staff members.

In the past the various bureaux and departments failed to implement the policy on highway maintenance work in all its aspects. Enterprise management was characterised by its lack of planning, and the various bureaux and departments did not work out overall and long-range plans. Nor were the annual, quarterly and monthly plans for the sections and construction sites built on a practical and reliable basis. Nothing in the nature of planning was done beyond the repair of bridges and roads. At ordinary times, no serious survey was conducted on the conditions of highways and no statistical material was collected and systematized. As a result, there was no information available about the nature of the soil in different sections, or about icing conditions, sandstorms and avalanches. Thus highway maintenance was to large extent carried out blindly and passively. In view of these shortcomings, we must in future strengthen the overall maintenance and carry out key repairs, introduce planned management, and raise the level of maintenance work.

The convening of this conference on highway maintenance is timely. It has put forward important task for highway maintenance work. It is hoped that the leadership and the whole body of workers and staff members in the various bureaux, departments, sections and construction sites will implement the spirit of this conference in their practical actions in the future and make a good job of highway maintenance work.

*Party Committee for Communications System in Tibet
Issues Directive on Production Increase and Economy*

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, April 10, 1957)

On April 3, the Party Committee of the communications system in Tibet issued a directive calling on various units to start a production increase and economy movement on an extensive scale, to establish the idea of running enterprises along industrious and economical lines and the work style of hard work and frugality, and to increase production and save ¥5,500,000 for the State in 1957.

The directive states: "The Party Committee hereby lays down the following targets and specific demands for various units in increasing production and practicing economy:

(1) Capital construction costs for the construction of highways and buildings should be reduced by five per cent. All tasks in this connection must be fulfilled according to the quality and time prescribed.

(2) As far as the maintenance of highways is concerned, the number of workers at each section should be appropriately reduced. Workers should be mobilized to continue to pursue socialist emulation drives and the movement of advanced producers, to raise their work efficiency, and to lower the cost of highway maintenance. On the Sikang-Tibet Highway, the number of maintenance workers should be reduced to one person per kilometre, and on the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway it should be reduced to 1.2 persons per kilometre, and the maintenance cost on these two highways should be reduced by seven per cent. On the Lhasa-Yatung Highway there will be 0.6 persons per kilometre, and highway maintenance costs should be reduced by five per cent. Highways must be properly maintained so that they will be open to traffic all the year round; the traffic speed must be raised by 5 kilometres per hour.

(3) Transportation production departments should continuously improve their operational management and the method of using trucks. Targets for the consumption of various kinds of materials

should be appropriately readjusted in keeping with the improved operational management in order to attain the aim of raising transportation efficiency and lowering transportation costs. On the basis of the present transportation costs, the transportation costs on the Sikang-Tibet Highway should be reduced by five per cent and on the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway by 15 per cent.

(4) The personnel structure of various government organs and administrative departments for various enterprises must be simplified and retrenched as far as possible, and the number of unnecessary official documents should be cut down as much as possible. The expenditures by various units in sending telegrams should be reduced by 50 per cent, and future purchases of equipment should be stopped without exception. The various units should readjust and balance the use of their present equipment. Miscellaneous expenses for materials should be economized by one catty each month. The amounts saved on the above items, with the exception of the miscellaneous expenses, will total some ¥5,500,000. Of this, the Administrative Bureau of the Sikang-Tibet Highway will save ¥400,000; the Administrative Bureau of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway will save ¥4,020,000; the Transportation Bureau will save ¥1,010,000; and the Highway Maintenance Bureau of the Lhasa-Yatung Highway will save ¥70,000. The money saved by the various units is to be delivered to the higher authorities or the units should submit new plans for the use of the money, the plans being subject to examination and approval by the higher authorities."

The directive states: "In launching the production increase and economy drive, the various units must carry out extensive and penetrating ideological mobilization both inside and outside the Party. They should explain the political significance of the production increase and economy movement and make an overall investigation into the past conditions which violated the financial and economic systems as well as financial discipline. The various units should also draw up an inventory of their existing stock, strengthen the system of storage, and use the accumulated materials in a reasonable way. Through the production increase and economy drive, business management should be further strengthened and both the level of work and production efficiency should be raised.

"The production increase and economy drive must be coordinated with socialist labour emulation drives, and the experiences of

advanced producers in increasing production and practicing economy must be summed up, popularized and put to use in good time. On top of that, responsibility and managerial systems will have to be instituted, and investigation and research work must be satisfactorily performed. Excessively high or excessively low production targets must be appropriately readjusted, the standard for the use of building equipment must be lowered if it is too high, local materials should be utilized as far as possible, and old materials should be processed and re-made in order to lower the costs of production. Commendations and rewards should be given to those who have accomplished good results in the production increase and economy movement according to the extent of their contributions.”

The directive states “In order to carry out the production increase and economy movement successfully, we must first of all seriously examine the various production plans and revenue and expenditure plans starting with those of the leadership units at various levels. Leadership cadres must personally go deep into construction sites and workshops and gave their personal guidance and assistance to the lower-level units in solving difficulties and summing up experiences.”

The directive states in conclusion: “In the light of the above targets, the demands and measures for production increase and economy and in consideration of their practical conditions, various units should mobilize the whole body of workers to discuss thoroughly this directive and matters connected with it. They should draw up concrete plans for the unit and workers should map out personal plans for production increase and economy.”

Sinkiang-Tibet Highway Completed

(*Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, October 6, 1957)

The Sinkiang-Tibet Highway—the highest highway in the world—has been completed. During the past few days, a number of trucks running on the highway on a trial basis have arrived in Ko-ta-k'e in Tibet from Yehch'eng in Sinkiang.

The Sinkiang-Tibet Highway starts from Yehch'eng in the southern part of the Sinkiang-Uighur Autonomous Region, passes through the Kunlun Mountains and Kangtissu Mountain, and reaches Ko-ta-k'e in the Ali district on the Tibetan plateau. It is 1,179 kilometres long, of which 915 kilometres are more than 4,000 metres above sea level; 130 kilometres of it over 5,000 metres above sea level, with the highest point being 5,500 metres above sea level.

Thirty "Liberation" model and Chissu-150 heavy-duty trucks, fully loaded with road builders, maintenance equipment and fuels, running on the highway on a trial basis, headed for Ko-ta-k'e from Yehch'eng. In addition, two trucks fully loaded with Hami melons, apples and pomegranates, all native products of Sinkiang, headed in the same direction. These fruits were gifts brought specially by the road builders of Sinkiang for the people of various nationalities in Ko-ta-k'e from Yehch'eng.

E. Training of Cadres

Notes to Documents 55-59

The use of the local population as cadres is one method the Chinese Communists have employed to control minority nationalities. Since the Chinese entered Tibet, however, their programme of "vigourously fostering Tibetan cadres" has been only marginally successful. Not many Tibetans have willingly accepted cadre training, although some of them have been forced to. The Communists initially made a great show of criticizing their own Chinese cadres with "Great Hanism" (i.e., Han superiority over minority groups) in the hope of turning the tide. The CCP Central Committee, in a directive of January 1958, urged the CCP committees in autonomous regions and various provinces to carry out "rectification".²⁹ This seemed to be a reaction to insistent demands for the independence movement among the minority nationalities.³⁰ It was apparently felt that criticism of "Great Hanism" would only boost the cause of minority groups. The central authorities, therefore, switched to an emphasis of criticizing "Local Nationalism".

In another move, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region announced the exemption of the serfdom tax³¹ for cadres and students of various nationalities in an attempt to break up the old relations between cadres and upper-class Tibetans and to increase their dependence on the Chinese Communists.

Document 55

Supplementary Resolutions on Vigorously Training Tibetan Cadres

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, December 11, 1956)

1. In order to meet the present and future needs of the various construction programmes in Tibet, the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region at its 1st, 7th, 8th and 14th committee meetings passed various resolutions

concerning the establishment of schools for Tibetan cadres, classes for administrative training and the Lhasa Middle School, as well as the "Resolution Concerning the Vigorous Training of Tibetan Cadres." This is entirely necessary and correct. In accordance with the above resolutions the departments and various basic-level offices directly under the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region have formulated, in good time, appropriate plans and concrete measures, and have energetically carried out these resolutions. Looking into the matter as a whole, it is a good thing to have gained marked results in the task of accomplishing the job of training Tibetan cadres.

2. In the course of carrying out the momentous task of training Tibetan cadres, however, some shortcomings and errors have been made through lack of experience and inadequate preparations. Some units have not followed the principles of the resolution of the 14th Standing Committee meeting concerning the vigorous training of Tibetan cadres and the stipulations contained therein such as "beware of the infiltration of bad elements" and "secure their agreement without resorting to coercion and as far as possible take into consideration the specific local conditions and consultations with concerned quarters." As these units have not carried out these principles in a proper manner, some undesirable tendencies have been occasioned such as forcible allocations and the lowering of standards. This is not good. Departments and various basic-level offices directly under the Preparatory Committee should immediately examine and rectify the above shortcomings and errors.

3. In order to promote the continued and healthy advance of training Tibetan cadres, the present and future work should follow the following supplementary stipulations as well as conforming to the principles of the resolution of the 14th meeting of the Standing Committee, "Concerning the Vigorous Training of Tibetan Cadres."

- (1) Adequate consultations must be conducted with local responsible personnel in accordance with the concrete local conditions and their concurrence obtained.
- (2) A good job of publicity and education work with the concurrence of the families concerned must be made.
- (3) There must be firm adherence to the principle of voluntariness on the part of the individuals concerned and no coercion should be employed.

- (4) No allocations should be made to increase the burdens of the masses.
- (5) Guarantee the standards of absorbing cadres; absorb promising cadres and prevent the infiltration of undesirable and bad elements or those with serious illnesses.

4. In order to strengthen the organization and education of the Tibetan cadres that have already been recruited, as well as to raise their level and chasten them, the following programmes should be undertaken:

- (1) All training classes in Lhasa (excluding the Young Communist League training class) should be merged with the Tibetan Cadres School and put under its unified leadership. The Tibetan Cadres School and the administrative departments of the original training classes should properly adjust any discrepancies found in the instruction or other aspects of the training programme. Some of the Tibetan cadres being trained in various government organs in Lhasa should be transferred, wherever possible, to the Tibetan Cadres School for training.
- (2) Apart from sending a few cadres to higher levels for training, various basic-level offices should conduct training classes locally and guarantee their proper operation.
- (3) Trainees who fail to meet the desired standards and who show no promise of advancement should be properly adjusted and placed in suitable positions in accordance with the concrete conditions.

5. Specific measures for carrying out the above supplementary resolutions are to be worked out by the Civil Affairs Department of the Preparatory Committee and submitted to the Standing Committee for reference.

What is Great Hanism?

By Lo Ping-cheng (羅炳正)

(*Shih-shih Shou-ts'e* [Current Events Handbook], No. 149, December 1956)

Our country is a people of many nationalities. History has recorded the heroic struggle waged by various minority nationalities and the people of the Han nationality against imperialism and feudalism. Today these minority nationalities have contributed in no small measure to socialist construction. They have settled in various places consisting of more than 60 per cent of the total area of our country. Many of their habitats are abundant in various kinds of industrial resources and agricultural and livestock products, and can aptly be described as vast areas with abundant material resources. This is a positive contribution to the socialist industries undertaken by the State.

Many of the Han nationality, however, have either not noticed or have ignored these existing facts. They have manifested an ideology and working style traceable to Great Hanism in their handling of relations with the minority nationalities. They have taken the erroneous view that the Han nationality is superior in everything, and that the minority nationalities are backward in all things, and that the latter are way behind the former in all respects.³² They have also belittled or neglected the role played by the minority nationalities in various enterprises, or have regarded the fraternal relations between various nationalities and their mutual help for each other as only assistance and favours given by the Han nationality alone. They have neither recognized the special characteristics of the various minority nationalities nor respected their customs and habits. All these represent the diverse manifestations of Great Hanism.

Great Hanism, in substance, is not very much different from the ideology of the feudal landlord class or the exploiting ideology of the bourgeois class. In our new China today, the system of Great Hanism has already lost its class foundation. Because of the ruling position occupied by the Han nationality through centuries of

Chinese history, coupled with the influence of the ideology of Great Hanism on Han rulers in dealing with minority nationalities, this undesirable ideology has long obsessed the minds of the general public. If this ideology is not overcome and brought under control, it will consciously or subconsciously manifest itself in our everyday life and work, and may even take root and spread.

As a survey is being made in various parts of the country into the progress of implementing the nationalities policy, numerous facts have proved that Great Hanism has tended to grow in recent years.

First, Great Hanism finds expression in the lack of respect for the self-governing rights of the minority nationalities and neglect of the importance of training cadres of minority nationalities. Although autonomous status has been achieved for years in some places inhabited by minority nationalities, local cadres have not been trained or advanced. In the CCP Committee of the T'ung Nationality Autonomous *Chou* in western Kwangsi Province, for instance, all the important posts have been filled by the Han nationality. The United Urtachunghou Banner of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in April this year took over the duties of 17 Mongolian cadres and sent them home on the grounds that their "cultural level" was too low. The Banner instead recruited over 20 primary school graduates of Han nationality. In some trading companies in areas inhabited by national minorities, the sales personnel are also mostly Han. As a result of neglecting the training of and discriminating against cadres of the national minorities, the self-governing rights of national minorities have been greatly impaired and solidarity among the nationality groups hindered. Moreover, as the cadres sent from other places are not familiar with the local dialects, they are not as good as local cadres who are fully aware of the psychology and feelings of the masses. As a result, the programmes undertaken by Han cadres have been hindered, thereby bringing numerous man-made difficulties to the national minorities.

Although a number of local cadres have been trained in some autonomous areas inhabited by national minorities, these minority nationalities cadres have only held nominal posts without any real authority. In some government organs the official business has not been conducted in the local language or dialect in current usage, nor have the services of interpreters and translators been put to good use. This has made it difficult for the cadres of minority national-

ities to be conversant with their jobs and has prevented them from fulfilling their functions. The cadres and the masses of minority nationalities, therefore, all reflect this undesirable situation. "We manage our affairs but the Han nationality makes the decisions."

Second, Great Hanism finds expression in the way in which the special characteristics of the national minorities are neglected and in the inflexible application of the experience gained in areas inhabited by the Han nationality. In the course of socialist transformation, some Han nationality cadres have only noticed the accelerated development of various programmes in areas inhabited by national minorities in recent years and their enhanced activism in the matter of taking the road to socialism, they are inclined to feel that the gap has been bridged between the areas inhabited by national minorities and the Han nationality, and that there is no need to distinguish the Han nationality from the minority nationalities, since both are engaged in socialism. They are even inclined to feel that there is no longer any necessity for carrying out the nationalities policy. The practice of commandism and a formal working style, therefore, has been very much in evidence. During the cooperativization movement, for instance, little attention was paid to the special characteristics of the various nationalities and strong emphasis was put on the operation of big cooperatives, amalgamated cooperatives and higher-level cooperatives. As a result, the scenic slopes at Malongpu frequented by youths of the Miao nationality were opened just as though they were so much wasteland, while the land used by the peasants of the Yi nationality for planting indigo and the surplus land for keeping cows by Mongolian peasant households had also been taken over by the cooperatives. These practices have often disrupted the way of living of the national minorities and dampened their zeal for socialist labour.

Third, Great Hanism finds expression in the lack of respect shown for the customs and practices of the national minorities and the lack of concern for their livelihood problems and sufferings. For instance, the cadres of national minorities were jeered at for wearing their respective national costumes and apparel and speaking their own dialects, and forcible attempts were made to clip the hair of Yao nationality women. These people have widely felt that only by putting on the uniform of cadres and speaking

the Han dialect can progress be demonstrated. As a result, the cadres of national minorities have reluctantly put aside their national apparel and discarded their own dialects only to find that they have lost the advantage of making close contact with the masses and have become isolated from their own people. When some national minorities ask for help concerning their livelihood needs, they have been tagged with the label of "local nationalism" by cadres of the Han nationality.

The instances cited above show that Great Hanism finds expression in many ways. It is the most dangerous obstacle to the nationalities programme currently being undertaken in our country. It has therefore been pointed out at the 8th CCP Congress that it is wrong to think that the efforts of the people of the Han nationality alone are sufficient to build our country into a great socialist nation without the active participation and the combined efforts of the national minorities. At the 2nd plenary session [November 1956] of the CCP Central Committee, Chairman Mao also told us that on the question of dealing with the national minorities we must resolutely oppose Great Hanism.

*Carry Through the Socialist Education Movement
Opposing Local Nationalism*

By Hsieh Fu-min (謝扶民), Vice-Chairman,
Nationalities Committee, National People's Congress

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 6, March 1958)

Committee Members and Deputies:

At this meeting we have heard Deputy-Director [of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the State Council] Wang Feng's report concerning the questions of carrying out rectification and socialist education among the national minorities, and we have discussed this report. During the discussions, we all agreed with Deputy-Director Wang that in accordance with Comrade Teng Hsiao-p'ing's report on the rectification movement at the 3rd Plenary Session [September 1957] of the CCP Central Committee meeting it is entirely necessary and correct to proceed with socialist education opposing local nationalism in the current rectification movement being undertaken in those areas inhabited by national minorities, and to carry out the anti-rightist struggle in an appropriate manner in areas where the conditions are favourable.

Everyone knows that local nationalism, like Great Hanism, reflects the reactionary bourgeois ideology on the question of nationalities relationships in our country. It is an anti-socialist tendency undermining the unity and solidarity of the people of the various nationalities in our country. Since the socialist transformation upholding the ownership system of the means of production has been basically achieved in most of the areas inhabited by national minorities in our country, the growth of local nationalism has been noted to varying degrees among many minority groups. This growth has reflected the resistance and attempts to counter the socialist revolution on the part of some bourgeois elements among the national minorities who are unwilling to accept socialist transformation, as well as elements of other exploiting classes. It has also reflected the desperate struggle of all the dying exploiting classes among the national minorities. If local nationalism is permitted to

spread, it will certainly undermine the unity of the motherland, split the solidarity among the nationality groups and seriously jeopardize the socialist revolution and socialist construction enterprises, as well as imperiling the common development of the prosperity of the various nationalities in our country and bringing misfortune to these people. In the current rectification movement, determined efforts must therefore be made to criticize local nationalism among the national minorities, deal firm blows at any attempt to undermine unity in the motherland, as well as at anti-Party and anti-socialist bourgeois rightist elements seeking to split the solidarity of the nationality groups. Only by undertaking socialist education among the broad masses of national minorities cadres and the people and by criticizing and overcoming the tendency towards local nationalism will make it possible to consolidate further the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationality groups, strengthen the socialist system established in these areas inhabited by the national minorities, and successfully develop the socialist construction enterprise in our country. It is only by criticizing and overcoming the tendency towards local nationalism that we can quickly train and increase Communist cadres among the national minorities, further strengthen Party leadership over the national minorities, and enable the great socialist enterprise in our country to take root and lay a firm foundation among the national minorities.

The above reasons have been dwelt upon at length by Deputy-Director Wang [Feng] in his report. I wish to give my views on the following three questions for your consideration. (1) Carry through the socialist education movement opposing local nationalism. (2) Strengthen the solidarity among the nationality groups by concentrating on the Han nationality. (3) Adopt a correct attitude towards the customs and practices of the nationalities.

At the moment, the socialist education movement opposing local nationalism is being vigorously launched in most of the areas inhabited by the national minorities. The leadership of the relevant CCP committees at various levels and government departments have given their serious attention to this programme, and have made adequate preparations in accordance with the different conditions prevailing in the different areas. The broad masses of cadres of national minorities and the people have displayed a high degree of activism in criticizing local nationalism and have wholeheartedly

supported the decision of the Party Centre on ways of criticizing local nationalism. This has enabled the movement to proceed satisfactorily and has assured complete victory for this historically significant struggle. The task now before us is to launch the struggle against local nationalism on a grand scale and strive for complete victory in the movement.

In order to accomplish this great historically significant task, the relevant leadership at various levels and the cadres of the various nationalities, particularly those of the national minorities charged with the responsibility for taking the lead in pushing the movement ahead, must be firmly determined to oppose local nationalism, as well as to criticize and correct all erroneous ideas as to how local nationalism should be criticized. Attention should be paid to the possibility of overcoming deterrents in the struggle against local nationalism. Some people still lack a correct comprehension and overall understanding of the struggle against local nationalism, while some entertain conflicting feelings. The movement cannot proceed smoothly without first trying to overcome and correct these fallacious ideas and conflicting sentiments.

Some people doubt the correctness of emphasizing the criticism of local nationalism among the national minorities. They raise this question: "Why emphasize opposition to local nationalism since the idea has not spread since the ownership system of the means of production was changed?" They also hold this view: "Since the liberation the relationships among the nationalities have greatly improved. Since such relationships have built a new foundation following the basic realization of socialist transformation in the ownership system of the means of production, it is hardly possible for local nationalism to grow and spread." They therefore feel that launching the socialist education movement opposing local nationalism among the national minorities is merely being officious. This kind of talk is entirely wrong. Since liberation, the relationships between the nationalities in our country have become better and better, while such relationships have gained a new economic foundation since the basic introduction of socialist transformation in the ownership system of the means of production. On the foundation of this new socialist ownership system the people of the various nationalities have developed a more intimate relationship with each other and have strengthened their solidarity. But this

does not mean that nationalism may not emerge under definite conditions. As a matter of fact, since socialist transformation has gained decisive victories on the economic front in our country (concerning the ownership system of the means of production), the growth of local nationalism has been noted among many national minorities. This is because the triumphant socialist revolution on the economic front has not only not completely solved the problems arising from the economic front but also, in particular, has not solved the problems of the socialist revolution politically. Some of the reactionary elements of the bourgeois class and other exploiting classes, who are unwilling to accept socialist transformation, have tried hard to combat socialism politically and ideologically. This class struggle can only be seen on the question concerning the nationalities. The growth of local nationalism, when noted from the shifting of classes in the socialist revolution in our country, constitutes an inevitable tendency. Manifestations of local nationalism cited by Deputy-Director Wang in his report have fully proved that local nationalism has actually registered a new growth among many national minorities. Is this development to be doubted? Since local nationalism has registered a new growth among many national minorities at present and has become a gravely dangerous tendency, emphasis should be placed on criticism of this trend in the current rectification movement. This does not mean fussing over small problems but points out the necessity of all-out efforts to grapple with major problems. Although on the surface it appears difficult to handle the situation in which local nationalism tends to grow while the relationships among the nationalities in our country tend to become better and better, it fully conforms with the state of the class struggle in our present-day society. Any tendency to doubt or deny the fact that local nationalism has grown among the national minorities must be overcome, because this represents a lack of understanding of the developmental law of class struggle in our country during the transition stage or a counterforce against or resistance to any effort to criticize local nationalism.

Some people say: "Since solicitous consideration should be given to the cadres of the national minorities; any attempt to criticize local nationalism will act against their activism." This remark, whether uttered by cadres of the Han nationality or those of the national minorities, is quite wrong. Although it is right that solicitous

care and consideration should be given to all cadres, including those of the national minorities, and that all possible efforts should be made to unleash their revolutionary activism, our Party and country have been doing so, particularly toward the cadres of the national minorities. This care and consideration does not mean tolerance of and connivance with their errors and shortcomings. If this attitude towards the cadres is adopted, it will not only deny them our care and consideration but instead will bring them harm. Not only would we fail to unleash correctly the revolutionary activism of the cadres but we would only abet their haughty and complacent feelings to the extent of making their errors and shortcomings irreparable. At present the tendency exists among some cadres of the national minorities not only towards local nationalism but also exists the erroneous inclination towards individualism, departmentalism, haughtiness, complacency and the violation of law and discipline. We may well imagine that if we adopt the attitude of tolerating and conniving with their inclinations towards local nationalism and their other shortcomings and errors, we will be abetting them to develop further these inclinations, shortcomings and errors to the extent of their degenerating into rightist elements of the bourgeois class. It is necessary to educate them with Marxist-Leninist viewpoints if we really care for the cadres of the national minorities and correctly unleash their activism. It is also necessary to foster and enhance them by employing the principles of socialism and patriotism. By so doing, we will help them to overcome their own shortcomings and errors, criticize and overcome the ideology of local nationalism existing among them, as well as assist them in cultivating the Communist life philosophy and world outlook, eliminating the national outlook of the bourgeois class and cultivating the national outlook of the proletarian class. In undertaking socialist education and criticizing local nationalism among the cadres of the national minorities, attention should of course be given to their levels of consciousness and the importance of adopting appropriate procedures and educating them with patience. But education must be undertaken, errors must be corrected and shortcomings must be overcome. Only through struggle can the cadres of the national minorities be tempered and enhanced.

In the struggle of criticizing local nationalism, some people say: "If there were no Great Hanism, there would be no local national-

ism" and "only by overcoming Great Hanism can local nationalism naturally disappear." As a result, criticism of local nationalism has slackened. This is wrong.³³ Great Hanism and local nationalism will of course often influence each other. But these two isms are not related to each other as in the "relationship between mother and son." Rather they are like "twins" born of the same parents, both being the reflection of bourgeois ideology on the question of nationalities. Hence, local nationalism will not die out by itself after Great Hanism is overcome. For the past eight years, the Party and the State have all along stressed the importance of opposing Great Hanism, and have emphasized the criticism of Great Hanism in two nation-wide surveys of the progress being made in implementing the policy concerning the nationalities. Although at present the ideology of Great Hanism has been greatly curbed compared with before, local nationalism instead has registered new growth among many national minorities. This situation amply illustrates that the feeling that "local nationalism will naturally disappear after Great Hanism has been overcome" is entirely wrong. Such words are, in effect, a pretext and a shield used by certain people to oppose criticism of local nationalism and this must, therefore, be corrected.

The struggle against local nationalism constitutes a kind of revolution on the political and ideological fronts and represents an important part of the struggle between the two roads of capitalism and socialism in our country during the transition period. Consequently, this movement must be pushed forward and carried through under Party leadership by resolutely relying on the Communist hard core among the national minorities, firmly believing in the majority of the masses, resolutely striving for unity and education of the large numbers of people maintaining neutral positions, criticizing all rightist-inclined ideology and eliminating all obstacles to ideological advancement.

Judging by the problems arising from this meeting and the rectification movement launched in various places, one outstanding manifestation of local nationalism can be found in its non-recognition of the progress of the Han nationality, rejection of the help offered by the Han nationality and unwillingness to learn from the Han nationality. This situation prevails in varying degrees in almost all of the national minorities. People imbued with this idea often

say: "There is nothing worthwhile to be learnt from the Han nationality" and that even "without the help of the Han nationality, the minority nationalities can still build socialism." A few rightist elements among the national minorities have even used this question to stir up feelings against the Han nationality. They have even openly incited their own people to oppose the cadres and people of the Han nationality, to reject the help offered by the Han nationality, and to oppose any attempt to learn from the Han nationality. We must criticize this erroneous ideology and deal telling blows to the reactionary behaviour of the rightist elements of the bourgeois class.

It is generally known that in our country the politics, economy and culture of the Han nationality are, comparatively speaking, well developed and that the population is large. It is the principal nationality group in our country, and as such it occupies a dominant position in the life of the country. Although the national minorities are scattered over wider areas and their material resources are abundant, their numbers are small, while their politics, economics and culture, generally speaking, are not well developed. For this reason, we must make unceasing efforts to strengthen the solidarity and mutual help among the various nationalities centering on the Han nationality and pool our common efforts towards progress in order to build our country into a great and strong socialist nation, and promote common developments and prosperity among the various nationalities. As the Han nationality is the bulwark of the revolution and construction cause in our country and represents the pivot of solidarity among the various nationalities in our country, the strengthening of this solidarity centered on the Han nationality and the constant improving of the relations between the national minorities and the Han nationality are our basic tasks concerning the settlement of the question of nationalities in our country. The dominant role played by the Han nationality among the minority nationalities in our country is the outcome of a long period of historic development, and has not been brought about by the subjective views of any individual. Only by recognizing this fact and realizing this truth on the standpoint of the national minorities and from the basic interests of the broad masses of people of the national minorities will it be possible to learn in a better way from the Han nationality and zealously welcome the help given

by the Han nationality to the national minorities. The Han nationality today is a Han nationality under the leadership of the working class and its political party—the Chinese Communist Party. It has the obligation and duty to help various national minorities in the country to develop and progress. It is also necessary for the Han nationality to obtain from the national minorities all possible aid and support and learn all useful things from them. The important thing still remaining, however, is for the national minorities to learn and derive help from the Han nationality. Speaking from the standpoint of the national minorities, the importance of learning from the Han nationality and welcoming the help given by the Han nationality should be emphasized. Only by so doing will it be possible for the various minority nationalities in our country to develop and progress more rapidly, and gradually to find their place in the ranks of the advanced socialist nationalities. In the eight years since liberation, some cadres of the Han nationality and some Han nationality workers and peasants have come to work and produce things in the areas inhabited by the national minorities. They have waged an arduous struggle together with the cadres and people of the national minorities, labouring diligently and helping the various minority nationalities to train cadres and introduce social changes as well as undertake economic and cultural construction programmes. This has made it possible for the various minority nationalities that originally lived under the feudal system, serfdom or even in primitive commune systems, to overtake one or several social development stages and set up the socialist system. They have also achieved marked developments in the economic and cultural fields. Facts prove that without the vigorous help of the Han nationality cadres and people, it would have been impossible for the national minorities to gain such brilliant achievements in the short span of eight years. Of course, some cadres of the Han nationality working in the areas inhabited by the minority nationalities are not without their shortcomings and errors, while the programme for resettling people in areas inhabited by national minorities in the past was found to be defective in certain respects. But these shortcomings are isolated and can be rectified. In spite of these shortcomings and errors, we must not forget the important contributions made by the Han nationality cadres and people towards developing and advancing the national minorities. Although the socialist system

has now been set up in most areas inhabited by national minorities, it has still not yet been consolidated, while the economy and culture of many minority nationalities are still very backward. Some nationalities have not even carried through their democratic reforms. From now on it will be necessary for the national minorities to consolidate further the socialist system, continue to carry through democratic reforms and socialist transformation in some nationalities and develop economic and cultural construction enterprises in order to enable the national minorities to develop and prosper steadily. All this requires continued efforts to obtain the help of the Han nationality. The same development and prosperity cannot be achieved if it is denied the help of the Han nationality and only relies on the efforts of the national minorities themselves. This shows that any positive efforts made by the national minorities in the great socialist revolution and construction enterprise in our country towards strengthening solidarity must be done with the Han nationality, and by learning from the Han nationality the vital question of building socialism and achieving development and prosperity. Every minority nationality cadre must fully realize the momentous significance of this question. If it is said that because some people in our national minorities in the past did not solve or did not completely solve this question, the time is now ready for them to solve this question completely. We can put it this way: the question of whether or not to seek help from the Han nationality and learn from the Han nationality is to a great extent the question of having or not having socialism and seeking or not seeking to develop and prosper the nationalities. Everybody should make known his own clear-cut attitude towards this question. Any thinking against recognizing the progress of the Han nationality, against learning from the Han nationality and against welcoming the help given by the Han nationality is completely wrong. Any conduct against the Han nationality is contradictory to the basic interests of the people of the national minorities, and therefore must be resolutely opposed. ³⁴

We should publicize education on a wide scale and in a penetrating manner among the cadres and people of the national minorities concerning the importance of strengthening solidarity among the nationalities and learning from the Han nationality in order to acquaint the cadres and people of the national minorities with the

vital significance of such positive efforts towards their development and prosperity. It is necessary to guide them, particularly the cadres and CCP members to study in earnest the experiences of the Han nationality in the revolutionary struggle and production construction, to absorb the fine history and culture of the Han nationality, and to learn the Han language and dialects. Since the Han nationality has an age-old history and culture and abundant experience in revolutionary struggle and production construction, the current socialist transformation and construction programmes generally are far ahead of the areas inhabited by the national minorities. If the history, culture and the basic experience of the revolution and construction of the Han nationality are properly mastered and applied to the respective nationalities in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the areas inhabited by them, it will be possible to enrich the culture of the nationality concerned, cut corners and round-about ways to socialist construction goals, and enable the national minorities to achieve faster, more, better and more economic results in socialist enterprises. In order to achieve this, the people of the various national minorities in our country, especially the cadres, intellectuals and young students, must, of necessity, study the Han language and dialect which are in current use among over 95 per cent of the total population of the country. With the developments in socialist economy and culture, the scope of using the Han language and dialect will continue to widen and will eventually become the common instrument of the various nationalities in our country. Mastery of the Han language and dialects will facilitate social contact and cultural exchange between the nationalities, as well as help the national minorities to find jobs, enroll in classes of a higher grade, and undertake scientific research. It will also facilitate the national minorities in learning from the Han nationality. Such study efforts, of course, must be voluntary. When studying the revolutionary and construction experiences in areas inhabited by the Han nationality, attention should be paid to the need of avoiding blanket acceptance of ideas in a mechanical manner. When studying the cultural history of the Han nationality, emphasis should be placed on absorbing the essence and eliminating the residue. This does not mean that learning from the Han nationality is to be given up. Nor does it mean that efforts to educate cadres and the masses in this respect are to be slackened. The history of the

development of the various nationalities in our country proves that the nationality group which has constantly absorbed the best of other nationalities and accepted all that is progressive and fine, and changed what is outdated and useless has always progressed and developed. Otherwise, such development and progress would be arrested. For the sake of the development and progress of the various national minorities and for the sake of building socialism in our country, the national minorities should strive to learn from the Han nationality and welcome the help given by the Han nationality.

In this rectification movement launched in various areas, many things have involved the question of the customs and practices of the nationalities. How to comprehend and handle this question correctly is a vital problem. We feel that the customs and practices of each nationality consist partly of factors favourable to socialism and helpful to the development of the nationality concerned, and partly of factors unfavourable to socialism and prejudicious to the development of the nationality concerned. Other parts have little effect on socialism and the development of the nationality concerned. In the great socialist revolution and construction enterprise, we must propagate those fine customs and practices that contribute favourably to advancing socialism and developing the nationalities. We may ignore those customs and practices that do not produce much effect on socialism and the development of the nationalities. As regards those customs and practices that are not conducive to the advancement of socialism and development of the nationalities, we should educate the masses on their harmful influence, and gradually change them on the basis of the self-awareness of the broad masses.

The customs and practices of various nationalities constitute the product of the historic development of the various nationalities over a very long period, and are determined by factors of the social life of the various nationalities. In the changing of social life, the customs and practices of any nationality must also change. Generally speaking, in the historic development of the various nationalities, those customs and practices that are conducive to the development of nationalities have always been propagated, while those harmful customs and practices that arrest development have always been discarded by the public. This is the inevitable phenomenon of social

development.

Our country is now on the threshold of an era in which tremendous special changes without precedent in history are taking place. With the triumph of the socialist revolution and the socialist enterprise, the people of the various nationalities in our country have more and more strongly demanded reform of the outmoded practices that tend to hinder production and development. The broad masses whose levels of ideological consciousness are not high enough have been convinced that these harmful customs and practices should be gradually altered on the foundation of their own level of self-consciousness. For instance, among some minority nationalities the undesirable practice of not applying manure and not eradicating insect pests existed. This practice has now been altered. This change has brought great benefits to the people of the nationality concerned. During the last few years people from among the minority nationalities, however, have failed to distinguish between beneficial factors and harmful factors in their prevailing customs and practices. They have insisted on keeping all the prevailing customs and practices of the nationality concerned, and have even revived all of the outmoded practices that had long been reformed. In some minority nationalities, for instance, the practice of "killing oxen as sacrificial offerings to the devils" was followed in the past. This practice had been followed by fewer and fewer people since liberation under the education of the Party and government. In recent years, however, some people, under the pretext of giving consideration to prevailing customs and practices, have advocated the slaughter of a large number of oxen, thereby seriously damaging agricultural production. This, of course, is wrong. As all the people of the country are now vigorously and heroically trying to change the outmoded practices of the past centuries, the people of our national minorities should self-consciously propagate the finer traditions of their respective nationalities and reform those old practices that do not conform with the progress of the times. Party members, cadres and representative personalities among our national minorities should particularly adopt a positive attitude in guiding the broad masses to accept courageously new ideas and practices, and change old concepts and procedures in order to facilitate the development and prosperity of their respective nationalities.

Of course, completely changing prevailing customs and practices

is not a very easy thing to do. We must adopt the method of educating and convincing the masses with patience, and gradually effect changes based on the self-consciousness and voluntariness of the masses. Any practice of commandism will bring about opposite results. We should give constant attention to this point when doing our work.

Committee Members and Deputies—the rectification and socialist education movement opposing local nationalism now launched among the minorities represents a great socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. This movement has brought an unprecedented production high tide and a new upsurge in solidarity among the nationalities of various areas inhabited by different nationalities. The appearance of the various nationalities is now undergoing rapid changes. Everyone of us should resolutely respond to the Party call and participate actively in this movement, firmly criticize local nationalism, and unfold in a penetrating manner, socialist education among the cadres and the masses. We believe that under the leadership of the Party Centre and the CCP committees in various areas, the rectification and socialist education movement launched among the national minorities can win complete victory!

Let us ride on the crest of the waves favoured by fair winds and forge ahead!

Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region Adopts a Resolution to Abolish Service Tax

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, January 12, 1958)

The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region has decided to abolish the service tax formerly paid to the local government or to headmen by working personnel (including miscellaneous workers) of the various nationalities in Tibet who joined State organs, and that formerly paid by students (including college, middle school and primary school students). The *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*—organ of the Preparatory Committee—on January 8 published the resolution adopted by the 23rd Session of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee.

The resolution stipulated: 1. "From now on, the various *tsung* and *hsi* as well as the headmen under the Tibetan Local Government, the Council of Panchen Erdeni and the Chamdo People's Liberation Committee shall not continue to apportion various kinds of public service from the people of the various nationalities in Tibet who have started work in State organs, or from students. 2. After the people mentioned in Article 1 have been exempted from public service, their family members shall not be required to pay more. 3. Those cadres and students who have already joined, and those who intend to join, either work or study, should be given the positive support and assistance of people of various circles who should not harm them either directly or indirectly."

The resolution went on: "To build a prosperous, happy new Tibet, based on the experience gained in construction in other parts of the motherland, it is necessary to cultivate a large number of cadres of local origin. Formerly the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region had on several occasions adopted various resolutions concerning the cultivation of cadres, and members of the various organs and circles have actively and dutifully absorbed large numbers of people of Tibetan, *Hui* or other nationalities to join in work or study. These people are the backbone elements of the various fields of construction in Tibet from now on. However, some people do not under-

stand the important significance of this work, and continue to apportion various kinds of service (including service tax) among certain cadres and students.”

The resolution also reprimanded Penkenchachu (本根卻珠), a headman in Gyangtse, for the serious crime of cruelly beating up a Tibetan student named Wongjepingcho (旺杰平措) on the excuse that he failed to fulfil his obligatory service.

This resolution was unanimously adopted at the session of the Standing Committee on December 30, 1957. Before adopting it, the presiding Dalai Lama explained the proposed resolution. He said that after the above-mentioned beating case all the cadres and students in Lhasa and various other places rose in protest, demanding severe punishment for the criminal. The Preparatory Committee considered this a very important question. Although the Gyangtse local authorities had already decided this case, it was still felt necessary to adopt a resolution to protect the physical and mental safety of cadres and students so that they could work or study with a peaceful mind. This was done to prevent the occurrence of similar cases and also to prescribe punishment for the criminal concerned.

On January 8 the *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao* published the Preparatory Committee's "Decision on the Case of Penkenchachu Beating up Wongjepingcho" together with the report made by the investigation team.

The *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao* also published a commentary captioned "A Big Victory for Patriotism, Unity and Progress!" welcoming the above-mentioned resolution. The commentary said that the resolution was a forceful measure in supporting anti-imperialist patriotism, unity and progress, and in opposing splitting, reactionary and retrogressive activities; that it would have an important and long-lasting effect on the gradual growth to maturity of the revolutionary cadres of the various nationalities in Tibet; and that it was completely in conformity with the interests of the Tibetan people.

The commentary said that up to the present, following the heightening of the anti-imperialist, patriotic awareness of the Tibetan people, the work of cultivating cadres of minority origin had developed to a considerable extent and had obtained great results. It pointed out that there indeed existed in Tibet a small bunch of

mischievous elements who were hostile to Tibetan patriotism, unity and progress and therefore were also hostile to revolutionary cadres rendering service to Tibetan patriotism, unity and progress. The commentary finally expressed the hope that by propagandizing and studying the various items it would transform the strength of the broad masses of the cadres, students and people into a great force to supervise the thorough implementation of the resolution.

Inner-Party Rectification Launched in Tibet Area

(NCNA, Lhasa, January 14, 1958, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, January 17, 1958)

As directed by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Party organizations in the Tibet area have launched inner-Party rectification. This afternoon, the Communist Party members, Young Communist League members, and cadres who were neither Communist Party members nor Young Communist League members in Lhasa municipality listened to the report by Chang Ching-wu, Representative of the Central Government in Tibet and Secretary of the Tibet Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, on mobilization in connection with inner-Party rectification. Previously, on December 17, 1957, the Work Committee had issued a directive "on rectification inside the Party and socialist education in society" to the Party organizations at all levels.

In his report, Chang Ching-wu, referring to the situation throughout the whole nation and the actual current conditions in the Tibet area, explained in detail the necessity and importance of inner-Party rectification, the steps to be followed, and the principles to be attended to.

Both the directive of the Tibet Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chang Ching-wu's report emphasized that "the present rectification campaign should penetratingly oppose bureaucratism, sectarianism, and subjectivism, and should, in conjunction with opposition to Great Han chauvinism, local nationalism, and individualism, achieve the objective of improving work, style, and individuals, strengthen inner-Party solidarity, and achieve success in the work in Tibet."

The directive and the report both stated, "During the past eight years, under the correct leadership of the Party Centre, the Party committees at all levels in Tibet, all the Party members and the Young Communist League members in the Tibet area, the units of the People's Liberation Army which had entered Tibet, and the local functionaries in Tibet, by exerting efforts together with the people of Tibet had done a great deal of work and achieved def-

inite successes in strengthening nationalities solidarity, consolidating the national defence and unity of the motherland, and developing Tibet politically, economically, and culturally. On the whole, these successes were the main thing." However, the directive and the report also pointed out some shortcomings and mistakes in the work. For instance, some leadership organizations and leadership cadres of the Party, in mastering the conditions in Tibet, enforcing the directives and policies of the central authorities, and strengthening the solidarity of the Party, showed growing signs of sectarianism, subjectivism and bureaucracy marked by estrangement from the masses and from reality. Some Party members and cadres were gravely individualistic, and even practiced corruption, showed degeneration, and offended against law and discipline. Some Han nationality cadres cherished the idea of Great Han chauvinism to a grave extent. They belittled the importance of the people of Tibet in the socialist construction of the motherland, lacked class sympathy for the labouring people of Tibet, did not seriously study or enforce the Party's nationalities policy, did not respect the customs and habits of the people of Tibet, did not want to perform hard work in Tibet on a long-term basis, and did not firmly establish the idea of spending a long time in building Tibet. Among the Tibetan nationality Party members and cadres, some comrades still evinced tendencies towards local nationalism, belittled the importance of uniting the Tibetan nationality within the big family of the motherland, attached undue importance to the local interests of the Tibetan nationality itself, attached no importance to the interests of the motherland as a whole, and did not sufficiently understand the importance of the Han nationality cadres' help. They did not clearly understand the fact that Tibet could have a bright future only if it followed the socialist road. Nor did they completely understand the fact that the development and prosperity of the people of Tibet was inseparable from the socialist construction of the motherland. The directive and the report pointed out that the above-mentioned shortcomings, mistakes, and tendencies towards local nationalism had harmed the work of the Party.

In the directive in question, the Tibet Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party called on Party organizations at all levels "to provide leadership with firm determination for the present inner-Party rectification campaign, ensure that opinions could be

aired boldly, resolutely, and thoroughly, promote democracy fully, mobilize the masses fully, expose thoroughly the shortcomings and mistakes in the work, and expose all the mistakes in understanding and all the undesirable tendencies among the Party members and cadres, for, the more thoroughly opinions are aired, the better it will be towards overcoming the shortcomings, correcting mistakes, and improving work."

It is estimated that the rectification will last for half a year. At present, the Tibet Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has set up a rectification office. The director and deputy directors of this office will concurrently hold posts as chairmen of leadership teams for rectification in the organizations directly under the Work Committee. The various branch work committees and work teams will also set up their own rectification office. On January 15, the organizations in Lhasa officially began to study documents for the purpose of making ideological preparations for the rectification.

F. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Notes to Documents 60-62

In Tibet proper and other Tibetan-inhabited areas of China, owing to limitations imposed by natural conditions, grain production has never been able to meet grain demand. Under Chinese Communist rule, large numbers of troops and cadres entered Tibet, resulting in a reduction in the amount of grain available for consumption by the Tibetans. On several occasions the Peking authorities have announced loans of seed and grain,³⁵ suggesting that the grain shortage has never been solved. In January 1957, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region called its First Conference on Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry, during which it was declared that over 40,000 farming implements had been distributed in the Chamdo area. In fact (as revealed later), over 200,000 more farming implements were intended for distribution; however, as they were apparently unwelcomed, they were left in warehouses.³⁶

Though the Chinese have announced the establishment of organizations for the control of animal diseases, these diseases continue to be a problem.³⁷

The Communist policy of "fixed abode and nomadic herd-raising" presumably was intended to strengthen their control. Beginning in the second half of 1958, "fixed residential points" were established in places where Tibetans live, but not in Tibet itself.³⁸

Document 60

Tibet Holds First Conference on Agriculture, Forestry and Animal Husbandry

(NCNA, Lhasa, January 30, 1957)

The First Regional Work Conference on Agriculture, Forestry, and Animal Husbandry, called by the Preparatory Committee for

the Tibet Autonomous Region, was held from January 22-28.

The data gathered at the conference showed that during the past few years tremendous achievements had been made in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry in the Tibet area. Beginning in 1952, the agricultural experimental farms at Lhasa, Shigatse, and Chamdo introduced and experimented with the cultivation of 84 kinds of farm crops and vegetables, totalling almost 500 species. The majority of these crops and vegetables grew well. Maize, millet, corn, beans, hemp, and many kinds of vegetables which had never before been grown on the plateau, were found capable of growth in open spaces. The agricultural and pastoral loans granted interest-free throughout the whole region during the past few years was equivalent to over 3,500,000 catties of grain. In the Chamdo area, over 46,000 iron farming implements were distributed free of charge. The public offices and army units were able to produce all the vegetables and some of the grain which they needed. Up to the present, 20 organizations to control animal diseases have been set up in the important cities, towns and pastoral areas. The three forestry management stations set up last year had already begun to fell trees and manage appropriately the rich forests in the Tibet area.

Studying the plan for this year, the conference pointed out that an important directive for the development of agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry in the Tibet area was to step up investigation, absorb and sum up the experience of the masses, make a good job of experimentation and demonstration, and provide active guidance and aid to the masses in production. The conference emphasized that unless there were Tibetan cadres, it would be impossible to develop agriculture, forestry, or animal husbandry in Tibet. Accordingly, it decided to select students for training in schools in the interior as well as continuing to establish training classes in Lhasa.

Talking about the Digging of Manure

By Lu Chiang (魯江)

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, December 26, 1957)

Recently, the Party branch of our public office held an enlarged meeting to discuss the question of manure accumulation preparatory to next year's vegetable production.

In the past, manure accumulation was indeed difficult for we people with an intellectual background. But at present, everyone likes talking about it. All think that it is a good opportunity to train themselves. Thus, at the meeting, the decision of actively looking for supply sources of manure and going to latrines immediately was unanimously passed.

Though this decision has been made, there are still some obstacles to its enforcement in the minds of some of the Tibetan cadres and civil servants in our public offices. At first, I thought that they had begun to condemn labour because of their positions in the government. Later, I found that there were other reasons as well. In Tibet's society, going to the latrines to dig manure is considered a job for the "low classes" and for beggars. As expected, many Tibetan passers-by laughed at us when, wearing rubber boots, we went inside a big latrine one day to dig manure. How deep the contempt for labour in a class society is! It appeared that if all our comrades went into the latrines a few times, they would, perhaps, be able to change the views of the Tibetans and set up a new social practice.

Shortly after we had entered the latrine, we found that the stench was no longer unbearable. When we saw the heaps of yellow, dried manure, we vied with each other in digging them, because manure was very good fertilizer, and with it the vegetables we were going to plant would certainly grow well. I deeply appreciated the resentment of a peasant who when carrying manure met an intellectual who held his nose with his fingers and hurried past. I also realized the importance of combining physical labour and mental labour together.

Some of my comrades did not wear masks when they were

digging manure, therefore two of them accidentally got into their mouths. One said that some pieces of manure tasted salty, and the other claimed that they were sour. They made everybody laugh merrily. In this way, we spent three or four hours. The semi-liquid manure which we dug out, plus some dry fertile earth, filled 15 big carts.

In the past, when the latrines for our public offices were full, they were cleared of their contents by hired men. After our recent experience in the big latrine, we said that in the future no men needed to be hired to dig manure for us. Besides, we said that we should be willing to dig manure for other people so that we might accumulate more manure.

Positively Promote Fixed Abodes and Nomadic Herd-Raising

By Li Tsung-hai (李宗海)

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 3, March 14, 1958)

In the vast pastoral areas of our country, the broad masses of the herdsmen have always lived a nomadic life in search of water and pastures. No matter how cold the weather, herdsmen move their whole families—including old folks, pregnant women, infants and the sick—from place to place. As a result of this nomadic life, they have no plan at all for the use of pastures; they cannot build any animal pens, store up any fodder, or take any measure to protect their herds from the ravages of the elements. Hence, the pastoral economy has always been very unstable, and the living conditions of such a nomadic life have been extremely harmful to the health of the herdsmen. In short, a nomadic life is neither beneficial to the development of animal husbandry, nor to the prosperity of the human population.

Under the existing conditions in the pastoral areas of our country, the fundamental method to overcome such a shortcoming in nomadic economy is at the same time the transformation of the individual and private economy by positively promoting the settling of abodes and the nomadic raising of herds. This chiefly means that the old folks and children of the herdsmen should be accommodated at a fixed place, while some of the able-bodied herdsmen lead the animals to the grazing grounds. Weak animals should be left behind at the lodging place and raised there. At the same time, long-term construction plans should be drawn up at the fixed dwelling so as to build fodder bases, to develop agriculture and subsidiary occupations gradually, and to set up schools and other cultural and welfare enterprises. Although the vast majority of the herdsmen in the pastoral areas were originally nomadic, a few of them lived at definite spots and raised their animals nearby. To this latter category of herdsmen, "fixed abode and nomadic herd-raising" means that they should organize the able-bodied persons to lead the animals to distant grazing grounds in order to prevent their animals being affected by limited pasture. Only in this way

can animal husbandry be stabilized and developed, the people's material and cultural life be gradually elevated, and both the human and animal population prosper.

During the past few years, based on actual conditions in the various pastoral areas, Party committees and people's governments at various levels have done quite a lot of work on this. First of all, education has been propagandized among the broad masses of the herdsmen so that they may gradually realize the advantages of "fixed abode and nomadic herd-raising." Energetic efforts have been made to help the herdsmen solve all kinds of difficulties in fixing their dwelling place, such as issuing loans, supplying timber for house-building, rendering technical guidance and setting up commercial stores and supply and marketing cooperatives. Within a few years, great achievements have been made in all the above-mentioned respects. According to incomplete statistics, about 50% of the herdsmen in the pastoral areas of the Ili-Khasak Autonomous *Chou* in Sinkiang have already settled down in their new abodes; in some counties, the number of resettled herdsmen has reached 70%. In the pastoral areas of Inner Mongolia, shortly after liberation the number of nomadic herdsmen was estimated at 44,500 households; now there are only 8,500 households left. Herdsmen in a few pastoral areas in Tsinghai and Kansu Provinces have also started to settle down.

After the herdsmen have been settled, the appearance of the pastures has changed; marked changes have also appeared in the way in which the herdsmen perform their pastoral work. With a fixed abode, the herdsmen have gradually improved the management and feeding of their animals as well as increasing and protecting the animals. They have also strengthened their maintenance and cultivation of the pastures. Based on size and quality, the majority of the pastoral cooperatives and mutual-aid teams have divided the pastures into three-season and four-season ones, and now graze their animals by seasonal rotation.

Following the settlement of the herdsmen, multiple economy began to appear in pastoral areas. In 1956 the settled herdsmen in Inner Mongolia grew 1.07 million *mou* of grain and vegetables, reaping enough to meet their demands for food as well as a part of their fodder needs. In the Altai Special District in Sinkiang, there were only 110,000 *mou* of arable land in 1954; by 1955 this

area had increased to 240,000 *mou* yielding an average of 415 catties of grain per person. Apart from agriculture, side-line occupations have also been promoted, such as transport, hunting, poultry-raising, spinning and weaving and firewood-chopping. Processing industry for dairy products, leather and hides is also possible. Thus, the appearance of a multiple economy has enriched the production and life of the people in the pastoral regions.

Following the settlement of the herdsmen, the demand for a cultural life and sanitary conditions has been gradually raised. At practically all the settlement points, primary schools and reading classes have been set up, giving school-aged children as well as adults a chance to study. As a result of improved sanitation, the herdsmen have become healthier and the population has begun to prosper.

“Fixed abode and nomadic herd-raising” has one important significance at present, namely, the promotion of the mutual-aid and cooperation movement. Individual herdsmen encountered difficulties when trying to settle down, because they had insufficient labour power and production means. Consequently, most of these herdsmen are those who have already organized themselves. This is because after becoming organized they had the strength to improve the management and raising of animals, to practice division of labour, and to carry out various kinds of capital construction. For this reason, the common phenomenon prevailing at the various settlement points is: wherever pastoral mutual-aid and cooperation is greatly developed, the settlement work is invariably better and the number of settled herdsmen greater.

To promote settled dwellings in the pastoral areas is still a new undertaking. Attention has therefore been paid to grouping and summarizing experiences in this respect. Based on conditions at various places, the following preliminary experiences are worthy of our attention:

First, to settle the herdsmen is an important step in promoting the forward development of pastoral production; it concerns the change in a herdsman's habits of production and living. Therefore, before fixing their abode, we should penetratingly conduct propagan-da and patient education among the herdsmen. The whole matter must be enforced under the principle of voluntariness and consciousness on the part of the herdsmen, and in a well-planned, well-

organized and well-guided manner. With regard to certain concrete problems, such as where to build houses and how to carry out construction programmes, full consultation and agreement with the herdsmen must be solicited before any project is put into force.

Secondly, it is necessary to help the herdsmen solve the various difficulties that may arise both before and after settling down. In the past, the masses of the herdsmen had no customs or knowledge of agriculture, nor did they have the techniques to build houses and proceed with other construction projects. Hence, we must help them learn about these things. Meanwhile, they need various kinds of farming implements and construction materials, as well as all sorts of technical assistance. All these problems must be solved, based on the concrete conditions.

Thirdly, it is necessary to help the herdsmen choose an appropriate location to settle in. In this way, after settling, they will have better pastures and water sources for themselves as well as their animals. As long as conditions permit, fixed ranches and grazing grounds with rich water and grass supplies may be assigned to each pastoral producers' cooperative or mutual-aid team, so as to ensure that the co-op or team will proceed with its construction work without having to worry about fodder.

Since the purpose of promoting fixed abodes and nomadic herd-raising is to improve the herdsmen's conditions of production and living and to allow a new face to appear in the pastoral economy, we must have close cooperation with the various financial, economic, cultural, educational and health departments, and gradually build the settlement areas into political, economic and cultural centres.

To settle the herdsmen is a measure which has great advantages. Through this measure, we can attain the goal of bringing prosperity to both the population and the animals in the pastoral areas. This has already been proved by numerous lively facts at many settlement points. For this reason, during the process of cooperativization, making strenuous efforts in this respect is of particularly important significance.

On November 25 last year [1957], at the pastoral production forum jointly convened by the Rural Work Department of the CCP Central Committee, the Nationalities Affairs Commission and the Agricultural Ministry of the State Council, this problem was dis-

cussed and studied. At the meeting, Vice-Chairman Chu Teh called on the whole Party to lay emphasis on the development of animal husbandry, instructing that "all nomadic herdsmen should settle in order to facilitate socialist transformation and socialist construction." At the same meeting, Vice-Premier Teng Tzu-hui (鄧子恢), in a summary report, also pointed out the importance of promoting fixed abode and nomadic herd-raising. All this clearly explains that this is an extremely important task requiring our most energetic efforts.

G. Industry and Commerce

Document 63

Oppose Bureaucracy; Make a Good Job of Trade Work
—Who was Bureaucratic?—

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, November 16, 1956)

On July 25 this year, the price of tea leaves was readjusted throughout the Tibet area. At an enlarged conference, on the third day after this price readjustment and while everybody was listening attentively to the work report of the director of the airport supply station in the suburbs of Lhasa city, and when the report reached the words ".....the price of tea leaves has been readjusted many times this year.....," the comrade manager interposed.

"Well, well," he said, "has the price of tea leaves at the airport supply station been readjusted this time?"

"Not that I know of," the station director replied.

"Why hasn't the airport supply station been notified to readjust the price of tea leaves?" the manager asked. "This is bureaucratism," he added without thinking.

The comrade who was the object of this critical remark was puzzled. To trace responsibilities, he explained, "The price readjustment plan was passed after examination by the leadership. The several units directed by the trade headquarters to readjust the price have been specified, and they have been notified and have taken action accordingly. As for the airport supply station, the leadership has never asked it to readjust the price of tea leaves and so has not notified it to do anything of the sort."

Comrade manager with a guilty conscience thereupon softened his voice.

"It seems then," he said, "that the leadership was also bureaucratic."

Because the airport supply station and the brigades of civilian workers settled their accounts at regular intervals, the broad masses of the Tibetan nationality civilian workers did not suffer from the

failure to readjust the price of tea leaves, yet the facts revealed above show who was bureaucratic.

“Standard Salesman”

Towards the beginning of October, Lhasa Middle School sent a man to buy a mimeographing machine from the sales department of the trade headquarters. It so happened that the sales department had just received a hand-operated mimeograph from the warehouse. One of the salesmen therefore showed it to the customer. At that moment, Director Chao of the sales department came over and angrily said to the salesman, “Haven’t I told you not to sell it? Why have you taken it out?” Thereupon, the customer asked, “Why is it not for sale?” To this, Director Chao replied, “Because there is no price for it?”

“Why not?”

“Because none has been set?”

“In that case, can we buy it after a price has been set for it?”

“No.”

“Why not?”

“Because we don’t want to sell it.”

In this way, a quarrel began between one who wanted to buy and another who did not want to sell. Eventually, the customer from Lhasa Middle School had to leave in anger. Director Chao set an “example” for the salesmen. All these comrades said, “Director Chao is our ‘standard salesman’.”

Unwanted Goods

At a certain meeting of the office staff, some section chiefs in the trade headquarters mentioned the silk quilts in the corridor which nobody wanted to buy. Thereupon, the chief of the procurement and supply section said that these goods belonged to the sales department, while the director of the sales department said that they belonged to the procurement and supply section. It could not be decided whose they really were. A few days later, a leadership comrade of Shigatse Trade Branch Company said, “The trade headquarters has sent over more than 1,000 packets of tea leaves and more than 10,000 catties of dried

pork. Why haven't we received any bill or demand note for them?" This alarmed the managers and section chiefs. Hard as they tried, they could not find out when these goods were sent, or who had sent them.

In fact, sending more goods than were paid for, sending less goods than were paid for, and sending goods other than those paid for are usual occurrences within the Tibet Trade Company Headquarters.

Saying Things Without Meaning Them

If you begin to sum up the work and plans of the trade headquarters, you will see that the arrangements made for work are quite complete. If, however, you look at what is actually done, you will find many resolutions but few actions, and fine words but poor actions. Why do we say this? Let us prove it. In March this year, the trade headquarters organized an exhibition of national products. In the report summing up the exhibition after its conclusion, it was stated, "It has been preliminarily understood that the Tibetan nationality people want the following goods: copper and iron ladles, aluminium kettles, milk jugs, and sheep shears. The exhibition will therefore prove important in making trade serve the masses, studying the kinds of goods required, organizing supplies, making the supply of goods timely, and improving our work." How well the leadership summed up the exhibition! However, precisely at that moment, the trade headquarters drew up its annual requisition for goods, but the goods requisitioned did not include what the Tibetan nationality people wanted. As a result, to this day, the trade headquarters have few goods that are needed by the Tibetan nationality people. This concerns the bad memory of the leadership.

A Requisition for Goods that was Never Answered

Towards the beginning of this year, the Chamdo Trade Company forwarded its "requisition for goods for 1956." The manager referred it to the procurement and supply section for action, but the chief of this section said, "As the division of responsibility has not yet been made clear, let us leave it for the time being." So it was left—till over half a year had elapsed. In August, it was

referred to the business section, and though the chief of this section accepted it, its functionaries said, "It is not our business." So the requisition was still left unanswered. To the company headquarters, only time has passed, but the company at the lower level is still waiting day and night for the trade headquarters to deliver the materials requisitioned.

A Bold Stroke of the Pen

In August this year, the sales department reported the following damage: 687 catties of bean paste, 23 packets of wax, 40 cartons of matches, two barrels of lard, and one and a half barrels of peanut oil (each barrel containing about 28 catties). The leadership comrades of the sales department took the damage report and, with a bold stroke of the pen and without any hesitation, wrote the following words on it: Approved as lost. An investigation was later conducted, and it was found that the bean paste reported as damaged had only been slightly soiled owing to faulty packing and had not been completely spoilt, and that one and a half of the two barrels of lard was still good, though a small portion of it had changed colour a bit. It is clear from this that the bold stroke of the pen wielded by the leadership of the sales department cannot be justified.

Who was Sabotaging Systems?

Recently, 79 notes were gathered from the records of the custodian of the warehouse of the trade headquarters. The goods which have been delivered against these notes are of many kinds and can fill an entire warehouse.

These goods include more than ¥46,200's worth of over 10 kinds of commodities for which prices have been set, such as cigarettes, sacks, petrol, salt, and tea leaves, as well as watches, pens, radio sets, etc., the value of which cannot be determined as prices have not yet been set for them. There are other such notes which have been lost and cannot be traced. People may ask, "Why were these goods delivered against notes instead of cash?" In fact, such a practice has become a custom of the trade headquarters. The lower levels have to deliver goods against notes written by the

manager or section chiefs. As for the systems, they were instituted for other people to enforce.

A Strange Difference between Wholesale and Retail Prices

Not very long ago, the wholesale department of the Tibet Trade Company Headquarters set the price of "Sai-ma" white cloth at ¥36.81 per bale, while the sales department set its price at ¥35.70 per bale. In other words, a retail agency which had purchased one bale of white cloth at the wholesale price would lose ¥1.11 by selling it at the retail price. What was worse, these prices had been endorsed by a section chief and approved by the manager before being put into force by the sales department. What was strange was that these erroneous prices had been in force for more than half a year before anybody noticed anything wrong with them.

At a "Democratic" Investigation Meeting

The comrades in the sales department of the trade headquarters have to work overtime till 12 o'clock every day. Besides, there were discrepancies every day between the sales department records and the stock records. The salesmen had much to say about this. But the leadership of the sales department never tried to solve the problems. Recently, as directed by the leadership of the company, the sales department called a democratic investigation meeting. When it began, Deputy Director Ho Tung-p'ing vehemently called on everybody to "make valuable suggestions in the spirit of saying all that one knows and saying it exhaustively." He also pledged himself "to accept all opinions sincerely and to improve his work together with everybody." To improve the work, the comrades made sincere suggestions. But at this moment, the leadership which had just clarified its attitude took over control of the meeting and said, "To save time, will comrades speak to the point, express their main points in simple words, and not be too far-fetched?" At the same time, through the group leaders, it was made known to all that what the sales department wanted to investigate was the question of solidarity among the comrades, not the question of what shortcomings the leadership had.

Thereupon, everybody looked around in surprise. How should

one interpret the meaning of "democratic" investigation? Eventually, some comrades stood up and asked, "Since everybody had been mobilized to make suggestions for the sake of democracy, why then is democracy now being suppressed in a well-disguised manner? Is it because the leadership fears that it may lose the esteem of everybody if they expose its mistakes?"

Chamdo Trading Company Extensively Readjusts Prices

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, September 6, 1958)

In the spirit of readjustment and change, together with the view of rationalizing the prices of things, the Business Department of the Chamdo Trade Company, starting from July and in conjunction with stock-taking, worked day and night in spite of fatigue to examine and readjust the prices of all the goods in stock. One thousand one hundred and eighty commodities, including various kinds of tea were not subjected to price readjustment in accordance with the regulations of the Tibet Trading Company Headquarters or because their prices were reasonable as they stood. The prices of all other commodities were readjusted. As a result, the prices of 884 commodities were lowered, while the prices of over 700 commodities, which had been irrational, were raised.

Most of the commodities for which prices were lowered were consumer goods needed by the broad masses of the people and workers in everyday life, and included knitwear, non-staple food-stuffs, confectioneries, and sundry goods for daily use. As for the commodities for which prices were raised, the majority were luxury goods, such as cigarettes and spirits. As a result of the readjustment, the problem arising from the practice of charging average freightage on commodities irrespective of the grade of their transportation and their weight, and the problem of irrational differences between wholesale and retail prices were solved.

Having won the approval of the Branch Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chamdo Trading Company declared its new prices effective from August 1, and completed the work of attaching labels to commodities on which the price was clearly marked. Chiangta Trading Team, which was under the trading company, basically adopted the same prices and declared its new prices effective from September 1.

H. Culture and Education

Notes to Documents 65-66

In educational and cultural work, the Chinese Communists established more primary and secondary schools for the Tibetans and enrolled more students.⁴¹ Ostensibly, attention was also devoted to the development of spoken and written Tibetan. In fact, however, it appears that chief emphasis was given to the establishment of cadre schools and training classes.⁴² Of particular importance is the fact that many of the Tibetan students were sent to various nationality institutes outside of Tibet (i. e., in Peking, Lanchow, Kunming, etc.).⁴³ In these institutes, the study of spoken and written Chinese—rather than Tibetan—was encouraged. Available documents make clear that the principal aim of these institutes has been to publicize communism and to carry out ideological transformation.⁴⁴

In addition to Documents 65–66, see the fourth section of Document 88 for further information on culture and education.

Document 65

Future Builders of Tibet

By Ni Ch'ien (倪潛)

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 8, August 6, 1958)

Along the railway line from Sian to Lanchow there stands an old city—Hsien-yang (咸陽). Looking towards the north, railway passengers can see many new buildings half-hidden among the green trees. This is the site of the Tibet Public School and the Tibet (Young Communist) League School. In order to cultivate cadres to build a new Tibet, the CCP Tibet Work Committee and the Young Communist League Work Committee have founded these two schools in this surrounding wherein the younger generation of the Tibetans can study most suitably.

Entering the school gate, one can see a big athletic ground surrounded by green trees and beautiful flowers. Behind it is a group of eight tall buildings and many single-storey houses, totaling more than 90,000 square metres in floor space. Two of the tall buildings are most attractive: one is the teaching hall which has over 40 large, well-lighted classrooms; the other is the well-equipped laboratory. What especially attracts the eye is the big auditorium built of steel frames, which can accommodate more than 3,000 people for a meeting or a motion picture.

At present these two schools have nearly 4,000 students, teachers and staff. Of this number, 3,069 are Tibetan and Hui students of both sexes who came here last autumn from the highlands; the majority of them are children of Tibetan herdsmen.

Starting next year [1959], the students in these two schools will study for five years: three years for general culture and the last two years for a specialized profession. Political study and labour education will be important courses throughout the five years. During the three years of cultural study the Tibetan language, Han language, arithmetic, general knowledge and physical education will reach the level of the first year at a junior middle school. During the last two years, the school will hold classes for various special trades, or will send the better students to further their studies in technical schools inland, in order to enable them to gain definite professional ability. As regards political study, this includes class education, the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on nationalities, and education on current affairs and policies. Through these studies, the students will begin to understand the reason for the revolutionary struggle, learn basic knowledge of construction and form the habit of wanting to know about the major events at home and abroad. At the same time, these courses will be supplemented by labour education, and the students will be constantly organized to participate in such physical work as beautifying the surroundings of the school or helping the farming cooperatives in production. Though most of the students are accustomed to work, labour education will enable them to even more profoundly understand the glory of labour and the meaning of "labour creates everything," and thereby further elevate the level of their political thinking. It is, therefore, to be expected that after five years these 3,000-odd children of the Tibetan people will become the new-born strength.

in building up a new Tibet.

When these 3,000-odd young men and women first arrived at the schools from the plateau last autumn, many of them did not fully understand the importance of study and the great expectations the Tibetan people had of them. They still loved to wander about in the streets, to gather and dance together from time to time, and even to start fights over small matters. After several months of socialist education, however, they greatly raised their ideological awareness and become whole-heartedly enlightened. After a big debate held for the whole school on the question "for whom to study," they began to understand why and for whom they were studying. Many of them remarked: "Now we are quite well-off here; but our folks back home still live a life of suffering, and pin their hopes on us. We must learn our lessons well within the shortest possible time, and then return to build a new Tibet and bring a happy life to all Tibetan."

.....

The students in these two schools not only do not have to pay anything for their food and clothing, but they also receive pocket money every month from the State. As most of these students are from families of workers, after socialist education they have felt more personally the care and concern of the State for the minority peoples, and therefore have raised the slogan "to economize the wealth of the State." In the dining-room, for instance, they pick up and eat every single crust on the table because they know how diligently and hard the peasants have to work to grow the grain. When they put on their lighter garments in the warmer weather, they take good care of their cotton-padded clothes so that they may wear them again next winter; they do not throw away their broken shoes but mend them and use both sides of their exercise books in order to save paper. They return to the supply department whatever articles of livelihood or study they can possibly economize. Not long ago they asked that their standard of treatment be lowered, and some smokers voluntarily pledged to give up the bad habit. Hearing that Hsienyang municipality is building its local industry, many students started to draw up plans to save a quarter of their pocket money each month and deposit it in the bank, in order to support State industrial construction.

Recently, as the students of these two schools have become

greatly elevated in their socialist awareness, the school authorities have launched the Great Leap Forward movement. Encouraged by the leaping forward slogans, the students formed the habit of enduring hardship in order to learn their lessons quickly and well. Some students forgot about rest, and continued to study under the street lights while their schoolmates were asleep; when the teacher discovered this he called the students back, but at the same time he found other students sneaking into the lavatory to study. The teacher said: "When I see you studying so hard, I feel both glad and sorry. As you know, health is important too! I won't allow you to do this night after night. Now, all of you go to sleep!"

The students not only studied hard, but also created many new extracurricular devices to help their studies. They changed the corridor outside the dormitory into "the corridor of vocabularies" and posted "pictures helpful in recognizing characters" everywhere in the school campus. They even changed their daily utensils, athletic equipment and all kinds of games into tools to help them remember what they had learned in class.

When you enter the school today, you can see many male and female students sitting under the trees in threes and fives studying their lessons. Their zeal for knowledge is boundless; even during dinner time, when you talk about something concerning the revolution they will take out their small note-books and jot down some notes. The afternoon is the time for them to join in physical labour. You can see young men and women all over the school campus, some of whom are planting vegetables while others are applying manure or cleaning up. They will not even let their short rest pass without doing some reading; with one hand wiping off perspiration and the other pulling out a book from their pocket, they read their lessons aloud. No wonder that all people who have been together with them say that they are lovely youths and excellent sons and daughters of the Tibetan people, and that in their future work they will certainly be able to meet the expectations of the Tibetan people.

My Aspiration

By Thubten Wangchung (圖登旺秋, Tibetan nationality)

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 9, June 1958)

Today, with the whole country making a Great Leap Forward.. in the building of socialism, the people of the different minority nationalities, in addition to mastering the spoken and written languages of their own nationalities, must extensively study the spoken and written language of the Han nationality. This not only has an especially important role to play in consolidating and developing the socialist nationalities relationship of China and in advancing the common development of the different nationalities, but it has, moreover, a positive role to play in advancing the development and prosperity of the different nationalities themselves. Consequently, the sweeping up of a surging tide and the launching of a mass campaign to study the spoken and written language of the Han nationality among the people of all minority nationalities in the country, and especially among the cadres of the minority nationalities, has become an item of work which cannot be postponed for a moment. For every nationality cadre, enthusiastic participation in this campaign and active popularization of this work has become a glorious task which is an obligation that cannot be declined and a responsibility that cannot be shunned.

Before liberation, fettered at home by the feudal forces and oppressed historically by reactionary rule and class, the Tibetans, like other minority nationalities, were rather backward both politically and economically. Culturally, they were also backward. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, they shook themselves free from the oppression and restraint of all kinds of old influences internally and externally. Thanks to the great and unselfish assistance of the different fraternal nationalities, especially the big brother—the Han nationality—they have advanced by leaps and bounds in all fields.

At present, with the exception of the Tibet Area where the conditions are not yet ripe for democratic reform to be carried out (this will of course be carried out sooner or later; in the near future,

Tibet will make its way into the socialist society like other places throughout the country), all other places inhabited by the Tibetan nationality have, in the main, brought the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production into realization. They have also gone through the process of rectification and socialist education, and won victories on the ideological and political front in the socialist revolution. This opens up a glorious and brilliant path to technical revolution and cultural revolution.

If it were said that every achievement in construction and the unfolding of every progressive undertaking in the places inhabited by the Tibetan nationality during the eight or more years since liberation were inseparable from the sincere and concrete assistance and the energetic support of the Han nationality people and the leadership of the Party, then in order to develop the undertaking of building socialism in all places inhabited by Tibetans in the future, the assistance and the common efforts of the people of the Han nationality are of course even more indispensable.

The leadership of the Party and the assistance of the Han nationality people are the fundamental guarantees for Tibetans to carry out the building of socialism. In order to carry out all kinds of construction undertakings with greater satisfaction at a faster rate under the assistance of the Han nationality people, apart from requiring the Han nationality cadres working in places inhabited by the Tibetan nationality to learn the spoken and written Tibetan language, the most important thing is to encourage and help the Tibetans, especially the Tibetan cadres, to take up actively the study of the spoken and written Han language. This is wholly profitable to building socialism in the areas inhabited by the Tibetan nationality, and the development and prosperity of the Tibetan nationality itself.

Spoken and written Tibetan has a long history. It has played an important role in advancing the development of the Tibetans, and has accumulated for them an abundant cultural legacy. That is why we should treasure and inherit it. However, many things among them are strongly tinged with religion. These things have no guiding value and no constructive role to play in current social production or any kind of construction undertakings.

The development of the socialist culture of the nationality is the general guideline for the Tibetans to make a great leap forward

in culture. The significant point in this connection is to learn to speak and read the Han language. This is because mastering the spoken and written language will facilitate learning the experiences gained by the Han nationality people in revolution and construction, and absorbing the many beneficial things from the prolific and colourful culture of the Han nationality.

At the moment, in many areas inhabited by Tibetans, one of the chief reasons why large numbers of Tibetan cadres trained by the Party, especially the leadership cadres at different levels, are capable of efficiently carrying out their work, implementing the different policies of the Party, and making great contributions to building socialism is that under the care of the Party they have studied and mastered the spoken and written Han language. They are thus able to acquaint themselves with the different policies of the Party from the documents and books written in the Han language, acquire revolutionary experiences and knowledge, and heighten their political standards and communist consciousness.

Presently, more and more Tibetans, especially the Tibetan cadres, are always hoping to be able to read books on Marxist-Leninist theories, the works of Chairman Mao, the history of the Chinese revolutionary struggle, books dealing with the building of socialism by different fraternal nationalities, as well as about the great leap forward of the Han nationality, the big brother, on the industrial and agricultural production fronts. In order to solve this problem, we cannot depend on translators alone to translate all these books into the Tibetan language. Moreover, there are still too few people capable of translating books into the Tibetan language, and they are far from being able to keep pace with the development and needs of the objective situation.

I am a cadre working on translation into Tibetan. Whenever I work on the translation of a political book or a popular reading article, my heart is frequently stirred by the aspiration that all kinds of Han language books guiding the people of all nationalities to the road of happiness will be translated into Tibetan in good time for the Tibetan people. But what I hope even more is that more Tibetan people, first of all the Tibetan cadres, will be able to read the Han language books directly, to study and apply more satisfactorily the different policies of the Party and the works of Chairman Mao, and to propagate more quickly communist ideology

and advanced scientific knowledge extensively and directly in the areas inhabited by Tibetans, thus enabling the Tibetans, who are still backward in all fields at the moment, to join the ranks of the advanced nationalities quickly, and together with the people of the entire country to build the socialist society at a faster rate with greater success.

I. Resources, Science and Technology

Notes to Documents 67-69

The resources of Tibet, though probably vast, are as yet largely unexplored and untapped. Science and technology are, not unexpectedly, either non-existent or quite primitive.

A rather concerted effort began in the mid-1950's to explore the resources. The Chinese claimed to have discovered borax lakes,⁴⁶ barite mines⁴⁷ and oil⁴⁸ in northern Tibet; huge virgin forests⁴⁹ in eastern Tibet; coal mines (see Document 67); and iron mines⁵⁰ in the Tangkula Mountains on the borders of Tsinghai and Tibet. In terms of exploitation of these resources, only borax and coal mining have been reported.⁵¹

Some of the steps taken to advance technical levels, as well as the need for further efforts, are reported in Documents 67 and 68. Document 69 provides a brief description of one of the few scientific endeavors in Tibet, a geophysical observatory which was begun in the fall of 1956 in the suburbs of Lhasa. No further details have been released about this observatory.

Document 67

There is Coal in Tibet

By Wang Hua-tung (汪華東)

(*China News Service Release*, November 22, 1956)

This is a miracle as well as glad tidings. Coal has been discovered in a place where hitherto it had been thought no coal could be found. This is the newly discovered Wuli coal mine in Tibet lying more than 4,500 metres above sea-level. This coal mine has now been actively developed, and has started to mine coal since November.

The name Wuli makes not the slightest impression on the memory of any of the workers in the coal mining industry in

China. This name cannot be found on a map of China.

Along the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway, there is uninhabited land stretching for several hundred *li*. The Wuli coal mine lies in an uninhabited hilly area about 800 kilometres to the north of Lhasa. Because the names "black gold" or "black jade" have been used by people to describe coal, and because in the neighbourhood of this coal mine there is a beautiful lake on which many graceful swans can often be seen, the place has been named "Wuli" [meaning black and beautiful], and the coal mine in question is also known as the Wuli coal mine.

In the winter of 1954, the builders of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway first discovered coal exposed in this coal field. This news quickly reached the leading bodies of the coal industry. After a survey by engineers and technicians, it was proved that the mine was worth developing. This news also soon reached Lhasa, and the development of this mine was accordingly incorporated into the economic construction plan for the Tibet Region.

Economic construction has been carried out in Tibet since its peaceful liberation. However, there would be great difficulties without coal. This is because both industry and communications cannot be operated without coal. If coal had to be sent into Tibet from 1,000 *li* away, the cost would be rather high. At the same time, due to limited transport facilities, adequate supplies could not be insured.

The Wuli coal mine covers about 50 square kilometres. The coal deposit is about three metres thick, and contains several million tons of anthracite. The coal deposit is not far below the surface, and the slope of the land is not sharp. It is suitable for open-cast mining.

The Wuli coal mine has been designed for a high degree of mechanization. It has been decided that the mechanical equipment needed for coal mining, transport, and the other principal processes of production such as electric drills and shovels, belt-conveyors, belt-loading machines, and coal dressing and crushing machines will be appropriated from the two big open-cast coal mines in Fushun and Fusin [both in Liaoning]. Engineers, skilled workers, and management personnel for the administration and operation of these machines and equipment will also be transferred from these same coal mines in Fushun and Fusin. To administer this first

open-cast coal mine in Tibet successfully, the Ministry of Coal Industry has decided to transfer the deputy superintendent of the Fushun open-cast coal mine, the largest in China, to this mine. Large numbers of personnel and an abundance of material supplies have also been sent there.

At present, there are between 400 to 500 personnel at the Wuli coal mine, the majority of whom have been transferred from the mining teams or geological bureaux in the Northeast and the Northwest. Apart from actively taking up production and construction work at the Wuli coal mine, these personnel also have the responsibility of training local minority nationalities cadres and skilled workers.

The living conditions for everyone working there are rather poor. First, the climate is very cold. The place is cold the year round. At the same time, it is very windy, so windy that sometimes the tents are blown away. The spare-time cultural and recreational activities are also rather meagre; the workers frequently have to go without green vegetables. However, they feel happy because they are able to help a fraternal nationality carry out its economic construction. Because of this, they are very energetic in their work. The government of the Tibet Region is also very grateful to the Central Government for this kind of aid. Deputy Secretary-General Lamin (拉敏) of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region said: "Our posterity will never forget this goodness."

Because the Tibet Region urgently needs coal, simultaneously with taking active steps to carry out construction work at the Wuli coal mine, mining has also been carried out using the open-cast method on a small scale. Beginning in the fourth quarter of this year, motor transport has been used to haul supplies to Lhasa. After the railroad connecting the Wuli mining district with Lhasa is built in accordance with the Second Five-Year Plan, there will be a big increase in the volume of transport.

Because Tibet had no coal in the past, Tibetans generally do not know how to use coal. Therefore, many people now visit the kitchens of the workers' dormitory at the Wuli coal mine.

Near the Wuli coal mine, another coal field capable of producing coking coal has been discovered. After the iron mine near the Tangkula Mountains is developed, the coke needed can also be supplied from the neighbourhood.

*There is a Greater Need for "Indigenous Experts" and
"Indigenous Machines" on the Plateau*

—short commentary—

(*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 23, 1958)

The leap forward by some units on the plateau has created an important problem. What will happen when there are too few personnel and too much work?

Some units have taken steps to solve this problem, which can be summed up in two points. First, politics is placed in command, and, spearheaded by ideological work, all comrades are aroused to overcome the difficulties with the leadership cadres taking the lead. Next, technical innovations are applied, tools are improved, and "indigenous machines" are built to raise work efficiency.

Because places on the plateau are sparsely populated, and the task of defending the frontiers of the fatherland and carrying out production and construction is very heavy, the implementation of a technical revolution to facilitate the appearance of more "indigenous experts" and "indigenous machines" is of greater realistic significance. In testing the temper of the leap forward on a small-scale today or during the past few years, or in making an all-round leap forward in the future, if manpower alone is depended upon to conquer the "roof of the world," the power we can apply will be limited. There is, therefore, a need to build all kinds of "indigenous machines," in accordance with the conditions on the plateau, to replace some manpower. We have, in particular, an urgent need today for "indigenous experts" who fervently love construction undertakings on the plateau, who are ideologically liberated, and who are capable of boring deep and conducting energetic research into the work required by the Party.

In the past, some comrades were inclined to be discouraged because there were no "foreign experts" for the different branches of work, and because good working conditions were lacking. They held, therefore, that nothing much could be accomplished. However, during the last few months, there has emerged in the leap forward a string of events which have exploded the superstitious belief in

“foreign experts” and “conditionalism.” Without the assistance of engineers, the young technicians of the Tibetan coal field prospecting team discovered a coal field in the neighborhood of Tibet long sought by the people. In cooperation with the relevant departments, they set up the first coal mine in Tibet. The workers of an auto-service factory in the Tibet Military District built the first home-made tractor and refined the first furnace load of steel in Tibet, the “roof of the world,” although there were neither “foreign experts” nor “good conditions.” Among the different truck teams of the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway Administration Bureau in particular, there emerged large numbers of “indigenous experts” and “indigenous machines”, resulting in the advancement of work efficiency in a big way.

Reported in this paper today are the miniature “indigenous power station” jointly operated by the Lhasa Farm and the Observatory, carpenter Hsieh Chi-lien of a certain unit of the Liberation Army and the “indigenous trimming machine” which he invented, and the model of a dual-purpose machine for brushing rocks away and sweeping snow which was jointly built by blacksmith Hou Kuang-t'ing and book-keeper Pao Shou-k'ang of the Wutao-liang maintenance section with the support of the Party branch. These are several cases in point among the “indigenous experts” and “indigenous machines.”

Although the dual-purpose machine for brushing rocks away and sweeping snow is still only in model form, the energy of its inventors is worthy of study. According to reports, the cultural standard of blacksmith Hou Kuang-t'ing is not high, but he loves the plateau fervently. When he was working in the fitting shop of the Sian Mechanical and Chemical Engineering Office, he heard that auto parts were easily damaged by rocks on the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway. When he was transferred to the plateau of Tsinghai and Tibet, he saw with his own eyes the danger from rocks along the way. He therefore wanted to wrestle with the rocks—the enemy of automobiles.

While some people thought that working on the plateau meant little social activity and that it was not easy to make quick advances in all fields, this ordinary blacksmith held that less social activity facilitated painstaking study and hammering away at work, thus making advances in all fields. He subscribed to many newspapers

and magazines, including the *Jen-min Jih-pao*, *Chih-Shih Chiu Shih Li-liang* (Knowledge Is Strength), *Chi-Chieh Kung-jen* (Machine Workers), *Tien-Kung Chi-Shu* (Electrical Engineering Technology), and *Chung-hua O-yü* (Chinese and Russian). Whenever he had time, he worked late into the night at building a machine to brush away rocks on the frigid plateau.

For a man with a lofty communist style and so noble an interest, what difficulties cannot be overcome under the leadership of the Party? How can such a man fail to root, come into bloom, and bear fruit on the "roof of the world"?

We fervently hope that even more "indigenous experts" who are sorely needed by the Party will emerge from among the ranks of the builders on the plateau. We fervently hope that they will procure material locally, depend on their own strength for rejuvenation, achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results, build more "indigenous machines," and make more new achievements in other fields in this "virgin land" of the fatherland towards building socialism on the "roof of the world." We fervently hope that they will devote their whole energy towards working for the early advent of a good life for the Tibetan people on the frontiers of the fatherland.

Geophysical Observatory Built on Sikang-Tibet Plateau

(*China News Service Release*, October 12, 1956)

The building of a geophysical observatory has begun in the ancient city of Lhasa on the roof of the world. Some of the special construction material prepared by the Chinese Institute of Geophysics [of the Academy of Sciences] for this observatory has already been sent to Lhasa.

It is estimated that the main building of the observatory will be completed by the end of this year and that observations will begin early next year.

This geophysical observatory is being built mainly for the purpose of observing terrestrial magnetism, earthquakes and other geophysical phenomena on the plateau. It will furnish research data for the International Geophysical Year about to be held from 1957 to 1958. The instruments and equipment for the observatory are in the course of being assembled and installed. Among the work personnel are two Tibetan youths.

J. Other Tibetan Areas

Notes to Documents 70-74

At the end of 1957, the Chinese Communists began to call for the now famous Great Leap Forward.⁵² At that time, although they had already (one year before) announced “no reform in six years” for Tibet proper, “reforms” in other Tibetan-inhabited areas were not only carried on, but were in fact expedited. Resistance to “reforms” in these Tibetan areas was suppressed, and many of those who held that “reforms” were unnecessary or should be postponed were denounced as “rightists” and crushed.⁵³ Documents 70 to 74 report these developments in three of the provinces where there are large Tibetan minorities, Szechwan, Tsinghai and Kansu.

In addition to the Lhasa *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, established in April 1956 and published partly in Tibetan, the Hong Kong *Ta-kung Pao* of April 12, 1957 reported Tibetan-language newspapers in Szechwan (the *Min-chiang Pao* 泯江報 and the *Kanze Pao* 甘孜報), Tsinghai (the *Tsinghai Tsang Wen Pao* 青海藏文報) and in Kansu (the *Kan-nan Pao* 甘南報).

Document 70

Plant Red Flags in Every Corner of the Tibetan and Yi Regions of Szechwan

By Sang-chi-yüeh-hsi (桑吉悅希)*

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 9, September 6, 1958)

The democratic reform in the Tibetan and Yi regions of Szechwan Province began in the spring of 1956; after two years or so great victories of historical significance have already been

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won and a complete change in the entire situation has been brought about. Up to the present, the reform has been victoriously concluded for 95% of the population; it will also be completed among the 40,000 people of Nanlu (南路) and other five counties in the Kantzu Tibetan Autonomous *Chou* by the end of the year.

As a result of the reform, the slave system and the feudalistic serf system have been abolished; over 600,000 slaves and semi-slaves who had no personal freedom and who lived under inhuman conditions have been liberated, and so have over 400,000 serfs; 2.17 million *mou* of land belonging to the slave owners and feudal lords have been confiscated and distributed among the slaves, serfs and other poverty-stricken and labouring people who represent over 60% of the Tibetan and Yi population. Usury, by which the slave owners and feudal lords had been exploiting the labouring masses, has been eliminated.

During the democratic reform movement, some 450,000 people were recruited as members of the Peasants Association or Labouring People's Association, and over 170,000 enrolled as members of the Armed Self-Defence Guard; more than 80,000 activists emerged; over 10,000 nationality cadres at county and district levels were trained; both the Communist Party and the Young Communist League were expanded; and political power at the basic level was established. Slave owners and feudal lords have been made to bow their heads, and the basic masses in the rural areas have been enabled to reach a position of superiority. "You had better obey us and make efforts in production; whatever we do, you had better follow" is the advice the masses have been using when putting the slave owners and feudal lords under surveillance.

After the slave and feudal system was abolished, production power was emancipated and the masses became unprecedentedly enthusiastic about production. The popular sentiment was: "Before the reform, we were slaves of the land; since the reform we have become the masters of society;" and "though we have been greatly benefitted by the liberation, only since the reform have we been really liberated." These words represent the voice of the broad masses of labouring people who had just got their land.....

The completion of democratic reform, the cooperativization of agriculture and the development of production have enabled us to understand the following points:

First, although the Tibetan and Yi regions are economically and culturally backward due to their historical development, it is precisely because of this backwardness that they particularly urgently need the revolution. Therefore, after the completion of democratic reform, they can fully accomplish socialist reform at a comparatively high speed, surpassing one or even several stages of historical development and jumping from a slave society directly to a socialist society. Besides, they may be quite sure that, under the correct leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao and the guidance of the general line of "bracing up one's zeal, striving to improve one's position, and building socialism in an abundant, rapid, satisfactory and economical manner" with the assistance of the Han people, the Tibetans and the Yis will certainly be able to advance at a great speed when continuing to implement their democratic reform and socialist reform, as well as building socialism. This is the wish of the Tibetan and Yi people; it is also the inevitable trend of objective, historical development.

Second, democratic reform is the process through which the people of various nationalities in the preliminary stage of capitalist development must pass in order to attain socialism. Without the abolition of capitalism, socialism cannot be established; socialism cannot possibly be built on the foundation of the old social system. For without reform, a clear class distinction cannot be drawn between the slave owners and feudal lords on the one hand and the labouring masses on the other; the broad masses of the labouring people cannot be mobilized and organized; cadres of various nationalities cannot receive their due training; and it will be impossible to discover and cultivate large numbers of activists and basic-level cadres or to establish a solid political power at the basic level. The principal task of democratic reform is to crush the old and corrupt social system restricting the development of society and nationalities, to set up the people's own political regime, and to emancipate production power. Precisely because of this, the reform must necessarily be a violent, sharp and most complicated class struggle. Facts have proved that despite our comparatively lenient and peaceful reform method, the reactionary slave owners and feudal lords representing the old system still carry on with their sabotaging activities; they have even conspired in armed rebellion in their vain attempt to resist the reform. However, the wheels of history show

no mercy; once the people become mobilized and organized, their revolutionary will is not to be stopped by any force.....

Third, what actually happened during the several years following the liberation, is the great victory of democratic reform and socialist transformation that has made the Tibetan and Yi peoples profoundly understand that without the Communist Party the national minorities would not have been liberated, that there would have been no victory of democratic reform, nor anything. The Chinese Communist Party is the genuine representative and protector of the interests of the various nationalities in our country and the centre of leadership in our country's socialist construction. The Tibetan and Yi peoples have also realized that without assistance from the advanced Han people and other peoples it would have been impossible for them to develop their political, economical, cultural and educational enterprises; and that such assistance is not only necessary in democratic reform, but will be even still more urgently needed in future during the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Fourth, during the democratic reform and the cooperativization movement, the vast majority of the Tibetan and Yi cadres were able earnestly and thoroughly to implement Party policy; to go deeply among the masses and mobilize them; and to live, work and struggle together with labouring people, sharing their joys as well as their sorrows and thus bringing an important effect to the progress of the movement. This fully explains why the training of Communist cadres of minority nationalities origin is an important measure for solving the problem of nationalities. During the past several years our Party has attached great importance to this work and obtained marked results. However, judged by the condition of progress, the growth of minority nationality origin cadres is still far from being able to catch up with the developments in the situation, not only quantitatively, but qualitatively as well. From now on we must double our efforts in this work. We must pay constant attention to overcoming the dangerous trend of local nationalism. For, following the penetration of the class struggle, the slave owners and feudal lords who are not willing to die will always take advantage of certain defects and errors in our work to spread their nationalistic poison under the banner of nationality and religion. As the minority nationalities cadres are people seriously indulged in individualism and departmentalism, they are most likely to be undermined by the enemy and trapped in the mire of nationalism.

*Herdsmen on the Tsinghai Pastures Advance Bravely
with Flying Red Flags*

By Liu Tse-hsi (劉澤西), Director, Rural Work
Department, CCP Tsinghai Provincial Committee

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 11, November 6, 1958)

Under the correct leadership of the Party, a mass movement centered on the great debate of socialism has developed in the vast pastures of Tsinghai during the past few months, causing tremendous changes. After the great debate, the masses have been fully mobilized; counter-revolutionaries and bad elements have been punished; the feudalistic institution has been abolished; the government at the basic level has been thoroughly reformed; and reactionary, feudalistic forces have suffered destructive blows. The masses of the labouring herdsmen rejoice and are relieved; they have started the high tide of big-production and communalization, and brought the pastoral area up to an epoch-making new stage.

After the liberation and in accordance with the national situation and practical conditions of the pastoral areas at that time, and to promote the unity of nationalities and avoid any harm to production power and the wealth of the society, our Party adopted the principle of peaceful reform, correctly carrying out the policies of (a) "no struggle, no confiscation, no class-division," (b) protection of benefits for both the herdsmen and their employers, (c) assistance for poor farmers and herdsmen to develop their production, and (d) freedom of religious worship. Meantime, autonomous governments in the areas of national minorities were established, and the top-level representative personnel were generally well placed. However, the feudalistic exploiting class has always been reluctant to give up; they have consistently adopted double-dealing methods to undermine the policies of the Party, and have refused to be reformed.

The die-hard faction among them, encouraged by reactionaries from outside, has been engaged in conspiracies for a long time under the camouflage of national minorities and religion, attempting

to undermine national unity and split our fatherland. During the high-tide period of the socialist reform, they were very active in producing rumours and in sabotage, engaging themselves feverishly in counter-revolutionary activities with the purpose of frustrating the socialist revolution. This became intolerable for the masses; therefore, we adopted the principle of fighting back with firmness, wiping out all counter-revolutionary elements and bad elements, and speeding up the socialist reform; we mobilized the masses in time without restraint, widely and deeply carried out a thunderous socialist education movement, developed the two-way big debate; and thus started the great socialist revolution in the pastoral areas.

The great socialist revolution in the pastoral areas has been a very violent class-struggle of life and death. After the accusations and expositions of the vast masses, the reactionary essence and ugly features of the feudalistic exploiting class has been fully revealed. Economically, they have been exploiting the people by taxation, fines, forceful demands, usury, unpaid labour, forced contributions, etc.; politically, they have put the vast labouring herdsmen into a constant situation of extraordinary poverty and distress, by various kinds of barbaric lynch-laws such as cutting off people's hands, eyes, tongue, or ears. In the places where they lived, you could usually find concealed human skulls, human bones, bloody knives, guns, ammunition, fetters, hand-cuffs, whips, etc.; there were even radio apparatus, motors, seals, forged licences, etc. for use in their counter-revolutionary activities. These facts indicate that the feudalistic exploiting class is utterly cruel, venomous, obscene, and shameless.....

In this violent class-struggle, after a campaign of propaganda and education was deeply carried out and after contrasting the old and new societies, the class-consciousness of the vast labouring herdsmen was rapidly promoted. After they perceived the reactionary essence of the feudalistic exploiting class, they were all greatly surprised; and rose up with set teeth to accuse the exploiting class of their heinous crimes; and they voluntarily bound the counter-revolutionary elements and bad elements and handed them over to the government, asking for them to be punished. After stripping off the religious cloak of the counter-revolutionary elements in religious circles, they exposed their fraud; and the masses say: "We shall never permit these man-eating wolves to do evil things

while riding on the neck of the people waving religious banners.” At the debate meetings, the masses were so excited that they shouted continuously: “Long Live Chairman Mao! Long Live the Communist Party! We are Liberated!”

After this violent struggle, encouraged by the revolutionary triumph, the political consciousness and productive enthusiasm of the herdsmen were promoted to such unprecedented heights that in the vast pastoral areas there appeared a high tide of organizing people's communes, establishing schools, and actively developing production. In the pastures, there was a new phenomenon everywhere of learning about culture, hygiene, settling down on a large-scale, and production.....Now the Hai-hsi [West Tsinghai] Autonomous Region, the Hai-pei [North Tsinghai] Autonomous Region, and the Huang-nan [South of Yellow River] Autonomous Region have completely been communalized; 87% of the herdsmen in Hai-nan [South Tsinghai] Autonomous Region have joined people's communes; two counties in the Yüshu Autonomous Region and two counties in the Kolo Autonomous Region have been communalized; and other pastoral areas are in the process of communalization.

The spiritual appearance of the vast masses of herdsmen have also undergone profound changes. They have abolished their superstitions, taboos and bad customs, and have voluntarily reformed some of their customs and habits which are unfavourable towards national development and health..... After this revolutionary tempest, all the privileges and the reactionary ruling institutions of the feudalistic exploiting class in the Tsinghai pastoral areas have been smashed; and the prestige and influence of the exploiting class has been swept away..... Many problems which had remained unsolved for long years are now solved; many things which were unimaginable in the past have now become reality. Today we rely upon mass movements to win complete victory in the socialist revolution; in the future we shall rely upon mass movements to win victories in production and construction. Any hesitation and dithering about mobilizing mass movements will be harmful to our work. In the past, although the Provincial Committee [of the CCP] had given directives to develop the mass movement, we were always not firm enough and not penetrating enough. Some comrades insisted that the problems of nationalities and religions were complicated in the

pastoral areas; they over-emphasized particular conditions, so that they were restrained in their work and had many considerations, not daring to do mass-work universally and deeply, not daring actively to carry on class-education for the masses, so that the future development of our work in the pastoral areas was hindered. Such rightist conservatism means in practice a lacking in class-viewpoint, ignoring the strength and wisdom of the vast masses of the herdsmen, and forgetting the mass-line of the Party. This lesson should be remembered by each of us comrades. The view of the rightist elements that "the masses, the local leaders, and religion are a trinity" is an attempt to confuse black and white and to defend the exploiting class. Reality has crushed such nonsense.

The facts of the past few months have vividly taught us: In a class-society, the problem of nations is in essence the problem of classes. Without an understanding of this essence, without a life-and-death struggle against the class enemy, without the firm destruction of all feudalistic forces, without the firm opposition of all anti-socialist reactionary forces, it would be absolutely impossible to liberate the labouring herdsmen thoroughly, to carry on large-scale socialist construction, to promote the development and prosperity of the nations; and to solve thoroughly the problem of the nations. It is quite mistaken to emphasize the contradictions between the nations, to neglect the class struggle, and to expect that the feudalistic ruling class will voluntarily give up their exploitation and voluntarily withdraw from the stage of history.

Now we have to continue our work of abolishing superstitions and overcoming rightist conservatism. This is crucial work to ensure the complete victory for the socialist revolution in the pastoral areas. In our work in the pastoral areas, we have met many 'superstitions' and 'taboos'. Although much has been overcome, it has not been thorough enough. Some comrades have not yet jumped out of the old circles, and have not been bold enough in the movements. Some comrades are contented with certain superficial spectacular phenomena, and have loosened their grasp on the profoundly delicate mass-work. Such thoughts are very unfavourable towards our current revolutionary movement. Therefore we have to carry on the ideological revolution, advocate bold thinking and unrestrained execution, in order to ensure the rapid development and continuous penetration of the great revolutionary movement.

On the basis of mobilizing the masses, we must carry out our work more deeply and more delicately. Through a great debate, the exhibition of criminal evidence, and the already exposed criminal facts concerning the feudalistic exploiting class, we must carry on the trenchant class education of the masses in order to further promote their socialist and communist consciousness. We must carry out the class line thoroughly by relying upon the poor herdsmen and firmly consolidating the middle herdsmen. All people, men and women, old and young, must be mobilized to eliminate the feudalistic forces thoroughly. Among the religious elements, efforts must be made, through the socialist great debate, to sweep away all the counter-revolutionary elements in the religious circles with firmness and thoroughness; we must continue to carry out universally the policy of freedom of religious worship. We must uproot the white flag in every corner and plant the red flag. Meanwhile, we must educate the masses so that they correctly realize the fact that class-struggle is a long and complex matter. We must watch for changes in the enemy, keep a constantly high degree of revolutionary vigilance, strengthen our supervision over the exploiting class and our struggle against hidden enemies, without a shred of complacency or negligence. In this way, we shall be able to liberate fully the vast labouring herdsmen from the political, economic, and ideological bonds of the feudalistic exploiting class, cause a high tide on an even larger scale towards socialist construction, and march straightforward to communism.

Communalization in a Single Stride

By Hsieh Chan-ju (謝占儒), First Secretary, CCP
Committee, Kan-nan Tibetan Autonomous Chou

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 11, November 6, 1958)

On September 15, the entire Kan-nan Chou (in Kansu Province) was completely communalized. Altogether there are 67 people's communes; 90.1% of the households, or 93.58% of the population, have joined the communes. The 46,000 Tibetan herdsmen, who only a short time ago still basically lived in a feudalistic society, have now, on the basis of having scored victories in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and carried out a social reform, flown over several ages in the short period of a fortnight, and, singing and dancing, have now reached heaven in one stride, taking them into People's Communes in which are carried the seeds of communism.

The fact that the communalization of the Kannan pastoral areas has been realized so quickly is mainly due to the following factors:

1. Since the liberation and under the sagacious leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, the State has rendered great assistance in many aspects to liberating the Tibetan people. For example, loans to the herdsmen and relief-funds amount to ¥730,000. The Tibetan people have intimately realized that the only road to happiness for the nation is to take the word of the Communist Party and follow the road to socialism.

2. The classes in the pastoral areas are very clear-cut; the pastoral owners possessed over 70% of the livestock in the whole areas, and the labouring herdsmen who represent 70 to 80 per cent of the population possessed rather less than 20% of the livestock. The headmen and herd-owners were extremely cruel in their exploitation of the herdsmen, especially the poor herdsmen, and their means of exploitation were numerous. The vast labouring herdsmen who worked year in and year out in order to maintain the barest living standard were practically slaves of the owners. Therefore,

the desire of the poor herdsmen for liberation was extremely urgent. After a few years of socialist ideological education by the Party, they have abolished their superstitions, liberated their thoughts, promoted their class-consciousness, determined to follow the socialist road, and indicated that they will "obey the Communist Party forever, and follow the Socialist Road."

3. At the same time as the great debate was developed in the rural areas last year, a campaign of socialist ideological education was widely carried on in the pastoral areas. A number of pastoral cooperatives were organized experimentally in parts of the Hsia-ho and Cho-ni pastoral areas, demonstrating the superiority of being organized, and banners were raised for the people throughout the pastoral areas, so that the direction was pointed out and mental preparations were made.

4. The communalization of the Kan-nan pastoral areas was made possible on the basis of the victory of the democratic revolution in the pastoral areas. In the anti-feudalistic accusation campaign, under the positive demands of the masses, we arrested a number of extremely criminal and obstinately resisting persons from the high caste of the reactionary feudalistic class. Meanwhile the masses indignantly exposed the counter-revolutionary elements and bad elements in the religious circles who had been working under a religious cloak. The masses abolished feudalistic privileges and the feudalistic exploitation of the temples and monasteries. In this fiery anti-feudalistic accusation struggle, the vast labouring herdsmen masses further strengthened their class sentiment and promoted their thought for collectivism. The vast masses have the characteristics of industry and courage. But when they work individually they are unable to overcome the serious menace and assaults of natural calamities. After gaining the victory in the anti-feudalistic struggle, they urgently wanted to be organized in order to protect the fruits of the victory, to resist natural calamities, to use the pastures reasonably, to develop the pastoral economy quickly, to improve their lives, and to solve all the difficulties which had been without solution when they worked individually.

5. All the people of the various nationalities have self-respect and pride. Under the influence of the new situation in which socialist construction is speedily developing throughout the country, the people in the pastoral areas realized that if they did not try

to catch up by leaps and bounds, they would be left behind forever; so they hurried up. In the whole region, the herdsmen of Ma-chu, where the work-basis had been further behind than in other areas, took the initiative and were the first area to realize communalization, thus promoting the speed of communalization in the whole region.

6. In the various programmes made since the liberation, a large number of active elements have appeared. The Party has trained over 1,500 cadres from the national minorities, developed over 1,200 Party members, over 2,200 Youth League members, and set up 26 basic-level Party organizations. These new forces performed prodigious feats during the anti-feudalistic struggle and realization of communalization.

Due to these reasons, the whole of the Kan-nan pastures started to throb immediately after the Party Centre and Chairman Mao indicated that a new phase in the socialist movement in the pastoral areas had arrived. In Ma-chu county, the herdsmen all asked to bypass the pastoral-cooperative stage and communalize directly; the herdsmen of Luchu-hsitsang filled up over 100 application forms and determination statements in eight hours. Four young men rode 200 *li* in the night to report the good news to every village in Hsitsang.....

The people's commune is a newly born advanced form of organization which has a strong vitality. The people's communes in the pastoral areas have their similarities to the people's communes set up in other areas of the country: they are all collective organizations under the leadership of the Party, having abolished the institution of the private ownership of productive materials, being socialist in nature and possessing the seeds of communism. However, they also have their own independent characteristics. First, they (the communes in the pastoral areas) are not now working the land, but only working in live-stock. Therefore they should still have their industries and agriculture to correspond with their pastoral industry. This requires a study of the scope, the emphasis, and the inter-relations between industry, agriculture, and the pastoral industry. Secondly, the life of the herdsmen masses has always been fairly simple. This requires study to set up a set of organizations to correspond with this situation. Thirdly, the culture of the pastoral people is quite backward, and their level of science and

technology is even lower; besides, there is the language barrier between the different nationalities. In order that the people's communes in the pastoral areas may be consolidated and developed, all these problems have to be taken into account.

The people's commune is the organization form most suited for the acceleration of socialist construction and the transition to communism. The pastoral people have chosen it, and attach great hopes to it. Now they are marching ahead rapidly with the red flag of the People's Commune highly uplifted.

*After Democratic Reform was Carried Out in the Ahpa
Tibetan Nationality Autonomous Chou*
Speech by Deputy So-kuan-ying (索觀瀛)*

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, June 28, 1956)

.....

Nearly a year has elapsed since the 2nd Session of the 1st National People's Congress was convened in July last year. During the year, progress was made by leaps and bounds in all fields all over the fatherland, there was a great change in the situation of the whole country, and the people of all nationalities were cheered and inspired.

Living in the big family of the fatherland, the people of all nationalities in the Ahpa (阿壩) Tibetan Nationality Autonomous Chou [Szechwan Province] rallied even more intimately around the Chinese Communist Party, the State Council, and Chairman Mao in this great upsurge of socialist construction, and built their own beautiful homeland with every confidence. During the year, under the leadership of the Party and government at a high level, we completed democratic reform (agrarian reform) in the agricultural zone, developed mutual aid, cooperation, and agricultural production, and also carried out other kinds of construction work.

I now sum up these conditions briefly for the information of the Congress.

Concerning the question of democratic reform: Over the course of several years since the liberation, the chains of the rural feudal production relationship of the autonomous *chou* still seriously fettered the rural productive forces, and impeded the activism of the peasants in production. Some feudal lords did not properly regard the manpower of the masses and imposed work and grain tasks on them at random. The toiling masses had to spend over one-third of their yearly life in uncompensated labour. There was no safeguard for the life and property of the people, and they were continually being arrested, tried, and fined at random in violation of

*So-kuan-ying is a woman Deputy to the National People's Congress from Szechwan

the Constitution. These irritating conditions were really intolerable to the peasants. Added to this, their living conditions could not be improved. They called, therefore, for democratic reform so that they might win thorough emancipation in the political and economic fields.

Based on this desire of the toiling people and the wish of the public, leading figures among the different nationalities, the Party and the government put forward resolution at the 2nd Session of the former 1st People's Representative Conference of the autonomous *chou* and the 1st Session of the 2nd People's Representative Conference of the autonomous *chou* calling for the adoption of a mild form of democratic reform in the agricultural zone. This was discussed and adopted.

Based on the principle of being beneficial to the solidarity of the nationalities and the development of production, and the adoption and application of mild methods in a well-organized and well-led manner, democratic reform was carried out in the agricultural zone of Mouhsien and nine other *hsien*. Over the course of a year or so, the great process of democratic reform was completed at different times, group by group, in areas with a population of 260,000. Over 442,000 *mow* of land, together with surplus draft animals and farm implements, were distributed to 37,994 peasant households who had little or no land.

After they had been given land, the production activism of the peasants was greatly heightened, and they tilled their own land diligently. The fields which were destroyed by floods several decades ago and the unused water ditches were rehabilitated. The rocks and stones piled on the land were cleared away. The peasants of Fushun *hsiang* in Mouhsien removed nearly 200,000 loads of stones from over 1,000 *mow* of land. Before agrarian reform was carried out at Chuang-tzup'ing in that *hsiang*, the government called again and again for the construction of terraced fields but met with no response. Within the short course of ten days from the beginning of agrarian reform, water ditches capable of irrigating more than 50 *mow* of land were repaired or built.

The policy of protecting and taking care of the people of the upper strata and the representatives of religious circles was adopted when democratic reform was carried out. Concrete and satisfactory arrangements were made for these people. A very large number of

them have been or will be absorbed in work. The livelihood of those who were unable to participate in work because of poor health or other reasons was also taken care of properly, and rational arrangements were made to ensure their outlet in the political field.

Concerning the question of the land owned by monasteries and temples: In the course of carrying out democratic reform, the government, in accordance with the wishes of the masses of the people and the religious leaders, implemented the policy of the Party and the government concerning freedom of religious belief and the protection of religion on the one hand, while on the other, the economic relationship between the monasteries and the masses was also properly settled as necessary.

After the conclusion of democratic reform, people's representative conferences were convened in the different *hsiang (chen)*. On the basis of fully glorifying democracy, members of government councils for the different *hsiang (chen)* were elected to discuss and examine the different branches of work of the government, thus making the relationship between the Party and the government and the masses more intimate and the regime more solid.

The above facts fully show that the enforcement of democratic reform in our area was entirely necessary, opportune, and correct.

After the reform, the difficulties encountered by the poor peasants and hired farmhands and some of the middle peasants with regard to the means of production were solved. This greatly incited the production sentiments of the peasants. Added to this, due to socialist education, the peasants wanted more actively to become organized and to follow the road of mutual aid and cooperation. Many peasants sent in three or four applications.

On the basis on these conditions, a number of cooperatives and mutual aid teams were formed. According to incomplete statistics, there were established a total of 298 lower agricultural producer cooperatives, one higher cooperative and 1,007 mutual aid teams, which accounted for 14.4 per cent of the total peasant households. The peasants organized represented 34.78 per cent of the total households.

The organized agricultural cooperatives played an active role in resisting natural calamities, in popularizing advanced experiences, and in improving cultivation techniques. The peasants who were organized last year generally increased their output by 5 to 20 per

cent compared with the households operated individually. The total income of all the peasant households of the Ch'ienfeng Agricultural Producer Cooperative in Mouhsien increased by 24.9 per cent compared with 1954, and the average income of the cooperative members increased by 22.3 per cent. The Maerhk'ang Hsiaoshuikou Tibetan Mutual Aid Team harvested 32 per cent more wheat and 20 per cent more maize in 1955 compared with 1954.

Concerning the question of production: During the year, in the field of production, we mainly implemented the guideline of "developing diversified economic undertakings including forestry and animal husbandry according to local conditions with the chief emphasis being given to the production of more grain." We strengthened our leadership over agricultural production, extensively unfolded propaganda and education, and convened all kinds of conferences to unleash the enthusiasm of the masses. At the same time, we made all kinds of loans (agricultural loans of ¥546,200 and relief loans of ¥249,300 during the year) and released different kinds of agricultural implements and insecticide sprayers (some 16,000 units or more), thus giving energetic aid to the poor and needy peasants.

In popularizing advanced experiences and improving cultivation techniques, agro-technical stations on farms and State mechanized farms were used as the media to conduct experiments for exhibition, to organize study, and to circulate experiments. Because of this, many *hsien* went all out to popularize "double-crop close planting," point-sowing and sowing by rotation, and tried out all kinds of modern farm implements.

Increased agricultural output was thus ensured. The grain output in 1955 was, for example, ten million catties more than in 1954. This year, the increase will amount to between 15,000,000 and 19,000,000 catties. At present, the production sentiments of the peasants are rather high. The targets set by the different *hsien* for increasing production have been surpassed. After the matter was discussed by the masses, some cooperatives set new targets calling for an increase in production of 20 to 80 per cent.

However, these different democratic reform campaigns were not free from problems. It should be pointed out that although the reform work carried out was based upon the wishes of the broad masses of the toiling people and the public figures of the different

nationalities, and that it had been discussed and passed by representative conferences, and was mild in nature, yet there were still a few feudal lords who were unwilling to give up their irrational exploitation or to bow out of the political arena. They had misgivings about their livelihood and political standing after the reform. Because of this, under the provocation and instigation of the remnant agents of the Kuomintang, they enlarged upon some shortcomings in our work, and used these as pretexts to set the nationalities against each other. As a result, there were outbreaks of rebellion in some places. These rebellions were disadvantageous to the solidarity of the Tibetan, Han and other nationalities, as well as to the development and progress of the Tibetan nationality. The government adopted the magnanimous policy of allowing the rebels to start afresh with a clean slate and winning them over through education. All people who were thus deceived returned to the side of the government. The enemy was isolated, the subversive activity of the brigands and agents was smashed, and the rebellion was quelled.

I myself was one of the leading headmen in this *chou*. Before democratic reform was carried out, I also had some misgivings and felt rather uneasy. During the reform campaign, however, under the leadership and assistance of the Party and the government, I heightened my political consciousness and gave up all kinds of privileges which entitled me to exploit people on my own accord. I am now a people's deputy and deputy head of the autonomous *chou*. My political standing has thus been raised. Satisfactory arrangements have also been made for the care of myself and my family in the matter of livelihood. I have thus preserved the interests of the masses, and at the same time, set myself off along the bright road to socialism.

Now, as I look back, I realize from what I have personally experienced that the numerous misgivings and fears which I had before democratic reform was carried out were entirely redundant and unnecessary. I want to extend here my cordial thanks to the Party and the government for taking good care of and making proper arrangements for the people of our nationality of the upper strata. In the future, we will endeavour to press ahead and contribute our share of strength to the noble undertaking of building socialism in the great fatherland.

All deputies! In our Aha Tibetan Nationality Autonomous *chou*, democratic reform has just been concluded, and different kinds of construction have been started. We have still much work to carry out. On the foundation of democratic reform, we must further consolidate the people's regime, develop our economy and culture on a larger scale and improve living conditions for the people of all nationalities. Our people of all nationalities, especially the Tibetan people, must work with resolution and activism, and fight together for the realization of socialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao.

*Resolutely Carry Out the Socialist Revolution to the End in
the Pastoral Areas of Tsinghai*

—to refute the revisionist fallacy of rightist Sun Tso-pin
and other people—

By Nieh Ching-te (聶景德)

(*Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 18, March, 1959, p. 5)

The socialist revolution which has been going on since last year in the pastoral areas of Tsinghai Province is a revolution of extremely profound significance. Due to the advent of the wave of socialist revolution, the new atmosphere of the Great Leap Forward has emerged in the pastoral areas which were hitherto rather backward in all fields. The broad masses of the toiling herdsmen who for a long time have been enslaved by the herd-owners, the monks, and the nobles now stand on their own feet. The feudal bondage system of the herd-owners, monks and nobles has collapsed completely. The toiling herdsmen have also set out to explode the spiritual bondage built upon feudal superstition, and are toiling with unprecedented enthusiasm to build a paradise for men. Over a short course of time, they have brought into being the socialist transformation of the means of production. They have built water conservancy projects, improved the grassland, set up fixed dwelling places, welded together agriculture and animal husbandry, universalized education, studied culture, publicized hygiene knowledge, and reformed antiquated and sordid customs.

In about the autumn and winter of last year, a campaign for the universal establishment of people's communes was launched in full force. This was really a great change that rocked the world. "The herdsmen ride the cattle astride, and the herd-owners bow their heads." This was the song sung by the herdsmen in praise of their own emancipation and liberation.

This revolution was a revolutionary change enabling the pastoral areas "to ascend to the sky in one step." Because the process of democratic reform was not enforced systematically in the pastoral areas, the two steps of democratic revolution and socialist revolution

were thus spanned in one stride. The smooth progress of this great revolution was made possible by the Provincial Committee, which over the course of the nine years since the liberation, resolutely implemented and enforced the guidelines and policies of the Party Central Committee concerning work in the pastoral areas, carried out much arduous work in the pastoral areas in Chairman Mao's spirit of uninterrupted revolution, implemented and enforced the correct lines of the Party, and waged a dogged struggle against the reactionary herd-owners, the rightists, the local nationalists, and the right-wing opportunists.

Over the course of these nine years, the grave struggle between the two roads to socialism and capitalism and the two lines was alive at all times in the work in the pastoral areas. The reactionary herd-owners and the rightists were firmly opposed to the line and the guiding principles of the Party for the pastoral areas. Within the Party there were a small number of people who were seriously inclined towards right-wing opportunism in thought. Very often, they unconsciously complied with the demands of the herd-owners, and did not firmly carry out the line and guiding principles of the Party for the pastoral areas. Rightists Sun Tso-pin (孫作賓)⁵⁴ and others within the Party even announced that there was no class contradiction in the pastoral areas and that there was no need to carry out socialist transformation. They wanted to do away with the leadership of the Party and to drive away the Han nationality cadres. This kind of right-wing opportunist and revisionist fallacy must be refuted.

The socialist system is a thoroughfare which leads the people of all nationalities throughout the whole country to freedom and a happy life. The pastoral areas inhabited by the Tibetan and Mongol nationalities must also follow the road to socialism without exception. If socialist revolution were not carried out, the toiling herdsmen could not be liberated thoroughly, production could not be developed further in the pastoral areas, and there would be no way of removing the roots of poverty, backwardness, and nationalities disunity.

For centuries, the feudal rule of the hereditary chiefs, princes, and chieftains of large and small tribes has been preserved in the pastoral areas. The large land-owners, the herd-owners, and the heads of religious bodies subjected the toiling herdsmen to

cruel oppression and exploitation. They had the right to kill, to give, and to take. The principal means of production in the pastoral areas (livestock and grassland) were mainly monopolized by the herd-owners.

According to the data collected in the investigation conducted at Ch'ingyangkou in Kilien *hsien* in the spring of 1957, before the liberation, the herd-owners, who represented five per cent of the total households, owned 95 per cent of all the livestock, while the toiling herdsmen who comprised 95 per cent of the total households owned only five per cent of the livestock. The majority of those herdsmen who owned some livestock were relatives of the herd-owners. This shows that nearly all of the toiling herdsmen were paupers owning nothing before the liberation.

During the years after the liberation, because the Party adopted many policies to help the poverty-stricken herdsmen to develop production, the numbers of livestock more than doubled, and the living conditions of the toiling herdsmen were greatly improved. Generally speaking, there were no longer any pauper households, but there was still a great disparity in livestock ownership in the pastoral areas. In the spring of 1957, for example, the herd-owners of Ch'ingyangkou still owned 70 per cent of the total livestock, while the toiling herdsmen owned only 30 per cent. Moreover, the reactionary herd-owners still devised ways and means to blackmail and extort money from the toiling herdsmen, to sabotage production and to oppose socialist transformation and the task of building socialism. They even revived with redoubled efforts the old trick of fabricating disputes between nationalities and tribes and provoking tribal strife. After the liberation, as many as 30,000 or more "pastoral disputes" were started by the herd-owners which had to be mediated by the Party and the People's Government.

Although the Party and the People's Government wanted to let bygones be bygones, made proper arrangements for the big and small herd-owners, and painstakingly united and educated them through peaceful means of transformation, the reactionary herd-owners began to indulge in sabotage overtly and covertly and to direct rabid attacks against the Party and the people. These hard facts proved the fallaciousness of the representations of the spokesmen of the herd-owner class, like rightist Sun Tso-pin and others, that "there is only nationalities contradiction but no class contra-

diction in the pastoral areas,” and that “there is no need to carry out socialist transformation in the pastoral areas.” At the same time, they also adequately explain that the points publicized by right-wing opportunists were extremely wrong in emphasizing the peculiarity of the pastoral areas” and in claiming that “there is no need to transform the herd-owners and what should be done is to assimilate the contradiction between the herd-owners and the herdsmen.”

In order to carry out the socialist transformation of the animal husbandry industry with thoroughness, we must implement and enforce the Party line of “depending on the toiling herdsmen, uniting all the forces that can be united, and, on the foundation of stabilizing animal husbandry production, gradually carrying out the socialist transformation of the animal husbandry industry.” We must thoroughly arouse the herdsmen, foster Communists from among the toiling herdsmen, and teach and help the herdsmen to rise and liberate themselves.

Over the course of the nine years since the liberation, the Tsinghai Provincial [Party] Committee has consistently emphasized and resolutely enforced this new class line. It has criticized again and again all kinds of thoughts and work methods which neglected the mass work and which were afraid to start class education on a broad front and in great depth among the toiling herdsmen.

Notwithstanding this, rightist Sun Tso-pin “coined” and publicized some revisionist nonsense to the effect that “the herd-owners have given up exploitation of their own accord,” and that “there is no need to arouse the herdsmen.” History is a living witness. The iron facts of the last few years show that the herd-owner class had not the slightest intention of “giving up exploitation of its own accord,” but is boldly devising all ways and means to resist socialist transformation. This shows how scandal-mongering were rightist Sun Tso-pin and the right-wing opportunists who sided with him.

In order to oppose the mobilization of the herdsmen, Sun Tso-pin and others went so far as to stipulate that the relationship between the toiling herdsmen who were trained as Communist cadres by the Party and the ring-leaders of the herd-owners should be a relationship as between “father and son.” They wanted the cadres of toiling herdsmen origin to plead unreserved allegiance to

the herd-owners instead of following the instructions of the Party. They plotted to lethargize and disintegrate the herdsmen's class concept, and to hamper the liberation of the herdsmen, thus perpetuating the feudal rule of the herd-owners, and making the Tibetan and Mongol people remain poor, backward and miserable forever.

The liberation of the toiling people must be led by the Communist Party. This universal truth which applies everywhere naturally applies also to the pastoral areas without exception. If the Communist Party did not exert such strong leadership, the people of the minority nationalities would not have been liberated with such thoroughness. From their personal experiences over the course of years since the liberation, the toiling people of the pastoral areas have long had a deep comprehension of this truth. Because of this, they praise the Party and Chairman Mao, trust the Party, and depend upon the Party.

Notwithstanding this, rightist Sun Tso-pin and others firmly opposed the leadership exercised by the Party over the people in the pastoral areas. They put forward a revisionist formula concerning the question of leadership in the pastoral areas. They wanted to abrogate the hegemony of the Party and make "the ring-leaders (herd-owners) the 'commanders' with the Party acting as their 'chief of staff'." This fallacy which favours abrogating the leadership of the Party violates the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people, and is naturally frowned upon by the broad masses of toiling herdsmen.

The Party continually carries out socialist education among the cadres who have come from the different nationalities so that they may overcome the bourgeois nationalist viewpoint. It educates the cadres from other places to work whole-heartedly for the liberation of the minority nationalities. There are facts to prove that the Han nationality cadres working in the pastoral areas are doing a very good job. In liberating the people of the pastoral areas, many Han nationality comrades have not hesitated to shed their blood or to sacrifice their lives. They have established unbreakable flesh and blood ties with the people of the pastoral areas, and the Tibetan people have also long understood the great significance of the assistance they have received from the Han nationality cadres.

Notwithstanding this, to sabotage the solidarity of the nationalities and obstruct the liberation of the Tibetan people, rightist Sun

Tso-pin and the local nationalists fanned up exclusionist sentiments everywhere among the minority nationalities. They engineered secession among the nationalities, and described the Han nationality cadres who have worked painstakingly to serve the people of the pastoral areas as being good for nothing. They exaggerated everything as "pan-Hanism," and smeared the nationalities relationship which has been based upon equality and solidarity ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China as still being a relationship of oppressor and oppressed. They openly clamoured for "the expulsion of the Han nationality cadres" and inappropriately emphasized that "only nationalities personnel should be appointed as cadres." They opposed the Party's "communistic" cadre policy, and even engineered activities to bring disunity to the fatherland. These plots to disunite the fatherland and to sabotage the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people are naturally also frowned upon by the Tibetan people.

Because the Party discovered the conspiracy of rightist Sun Tso-pin and the local nationalists in good time, their revisionist fallacy was exposed and sternly criticized at the 5th enlarged session of the 2nd [Tsinghai] Provincial Committee, and rightist Sun Tso-pin was expelled from the Party. This battle between the correct line of the Party and the revisionist line brought us a great victory and raised the ideological and theoretical level of all comrades throughout the province to a plane hitherto unknown, thus bringing a new phase of the Great Leap Forward to the undertaking of socialist revolution and construction in the pastoral areas.

However, the poisonous ideas spread by rightist Sun Tso-pin and the local nationalists among the cadres in the past have not been entirely wiped out. Right-wing conservative viewpoints and local nationalist sentiments still impede the thorough liberation of the toiling people of the pastoral areas.

In close conjunction with the current struggle, we must carry out the inculcation of the class viewpoint, the Marxist-Leninist nationalities outlook and atheism among the cadres and the masses on a wide front and in great depth. We must firmly enforce the Party nationalities policy and the policy regarding freedom of religion. We must oppose any distortion or unilateral interpretation of Party policy, and continually overcome every kind of right-wing conservative thought, unorthodox viewpoint, and bourgeois nation-

alism, so that we may further explode the myth of superstition and liberal thought, we must employ the spirit of uninterrupted revolution to carry out the socialist revolution to the end, thus enabling work to leap forward time and again in the pastoral areas.

CHAPTER VI

* * *

THE FLIGHT OF THE DALAI LAMA—1959

Notes to Chapter VI

In February 1959, people from all parts of Tibet gathered together in Lhasa for a solemn religious festival.¹ According to the account given by the Chinese Communists some two months later, the Tibet Local Government carried out a series of provocative, anti-Chinese acts, thereby creating a tense situation.² In March, it was rumoured that the Chinese intended to arrest the Dalai Lama as a hostage to discourage a Tibetan rebellion. Thereupon, armed conflicts erupted.

The Chinese Communists declared that the Dalai Lama was being "held under duress" by the rebels. The antagonisms between the Chinese and the Tibet Local Government rapidly grew, and the Dalai Lama had no other recourse than to flee. He left his palace on the night of March 17, and entered India on March 31.³

On March 29, 1959, the *Jen-min Jih-pao* published the order of the State Council to dissolve the Tibet Local Government and carried reports on the "suppression of the rebellion." This was the first time the Chinese Communists openly admitted that the long-standing resistance had broken into outright rebellion.

Communique on the Revolt Issued by the New China News Agency

(NCNA, English, Peking, March 28, 1959)

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 religious and secular, are mopping up the rebellious bandits in other places in Tibet.

In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and national unity, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council issued an order on March 28 which, in addition to ordering the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to stamp out the rebellion thoroughly, proclaimed that from that day the Tibetan Local Government which had instigated the rebellion was to be dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region should 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 planned 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 rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibetan Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama and, using this rumour as a pretext, staged an 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 Soanamchiatso,⁴ a Tibetan official of the Prepara-

tory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region who opposed the rebellion, and wounded Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen⁵, the Tibetan Deputy 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 major 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 [see Document 6], 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 enjoy the warm support and love of the people of all sections in Tibet and 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 Kasha 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,⁶ had already turned traitor in 1957 and fled to Kalimpong—the centre of the rebellious elements' activities abroad. The three others, Surkong Wongching-Galei,⁷ Neusha Thubten-Tarpa⁸ and Hsika Jigme-dorje (Shasu) came out in the open as traitors in the present rebellion. Before this, these traitors had used their legal status in the Kasha to muster reactionary forces from among the upper strata, collaborate with the external enemy and actually direct some of the most reactionary major serf owners in Sikang and Tibet to organize 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.⁹ 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 as 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 entreat 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 can abduct the Dalai Lama to Loka and gather forces for a counter-attack to take Lhasa back; if we fail, we run to India; India sympathizes with 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 Lama 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 and stop the rebel bandits' ravages, instead they 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 show the least sign of repentance 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 comple-

tely 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.....mortars, six mountain guns and ten million rounds of ammunition were captured. Encircled by our troops, many of the rebel troops surrendered in groups.

The rapid way in which the rebellion was put down 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 Chamdo) 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 in. 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 Khamba people. The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsmen who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world. There are also many patriotic progressive people 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.....The task at present is first to put down the rebellion and establish peaceful law and 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 punish the intimidated followers and award 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 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 inter-

ests of the mass of the people and social order. As for those captured and enemies who have laid down their arms, it is not permissible 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 coexistence are to be persistently applied as well as the five principles 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 Indian Prime Minister Nehru on March 23 on non-intervention in China's internal affairs and considers 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 the 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 in the Autonomous Region of Tibet, and organize self-defence 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 who have turned rebel.

The Military Control Committee of Lhasa was formally set up on March 23. Military control committees will be set up in other places except for Shigatse,..... 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 local patriotic people.

Important cities and areas including Ari, west of Lhasa; Gyangtse; Phari; Yatung, southwest of Lhasa; Damshune and Nagchuka, north of Lhasa; Chetang, south of Lhasa and Tsichao, Lingtze, Tsamu, Dinching, Chamdo and Dza-I, east of Lhasa are all now 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 should 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 Choliehnamje¹⁰ 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 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 the 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 in the motherland and retrogression in Tibet, but instead has strengthened the consolidation of national unification, accelerated the doom of the reactionary forces in Tibet, pushed forward democratization in Tibet and promoted the new birth of the Tibetan people.

*Proclamation of the Tibet Military Command of the
Chinese People's Liberation Army*

(NCNA, English, Peking, March 28, 1959)

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 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, and 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 had 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 Soanamchia-tso, a Tibetan official of 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 from misery and suffering, our army is ordered to take punitive action against and put down the rebellion. We hope that all the people in Tibet, religious and secular, will energetically help our army in the campaign to put down the rebellion and not shelter the 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, 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 the lamaseries and cultural relics.

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

Chang Kuo-hua, commander; T'an Kuan-san, Political Commissar; Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Teng Shao-tung, Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, Deputy Commanders; Chan Hua-yu and Wang Ch'i-mei, Deputy Political Commissars.

Order of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic

(NCNA, English, Peking, March 28, 1959)

Following is the order of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic issued today:

The following order is hereby proclaimed.

Most of the Kaloons of the Tibet Local Government and the upper-strata 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. During the time that the Dalai Lama Dantzenjalto, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is under duress by the rebels, Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee will act as Chairman. Pebala Choliehnamje, 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. Eighteen traitorous elements, Surkong Wongching-Galei (索康·旺清格勒), Neusha Thubten-Tarpa (柳霞·土登塔巴), Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu) (先喀·居美多杰“夏蘇”), Yuto Chahsidongchu (宇妥·扎西頓珠), Tsrijong Lozong-Yiehsi (赤江·羅桑益西)¹¹, Kachang Lozong-Rentzen (噶章·喀桑日增), Dala Lozong-Sungdin (達拉·洛桑三旦)¹², Khemey Sonamwongdui (凱墨·索南旺堆)¹³, Rongnamse Thubtan-Norzong

(絨朗色·土登諾桑)¹⁴, Pala Thubtenwenten (帕拉·土登爲登)¹⁵, Nonghsi Thubtan-Zongchu (歐協·土登桑卻)¹⁶, Namselin Panchunjigme (朗色林·班覺久美)¹⁷, Menjelin Jalyanggeltseng (敏吉林·嘉樣堅贊), Karihpen Tsewongdorje (呷日本·才旺多吉)¹⁸, Pengchu (龐球)¹⁹, Weisegeltseng (Kundelinchasa) (威薩堅贊“功德林扎薩”), Gungalama (貢噶喇嘛), and Tsupugamapa Rihpeidorje (楚普噶瑪巴·日貝多吉), are relieved of their posts as members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and of all their other posts and are to be punished individually under the law. Sixteen persons, Teng Shao-tung (鄧少東)²⁰, Chan Hua-Yü (詹化雨)²¹, Hui Yi-jan (惠毅然)²², Liang Hs-an-hsien (梁選賢)²³, Tsuiko Dongchutseren (崔科·登珠澤仁), Chan-tung Lozongnamje (詹東·洛桑朗杰), Gahden Tsripa Thubten Kunga (噶登赤巴·土登滾噶), Chienpaitzuli (堅白慈里), Ngapo Tsirtenchoga (阿沛·才丹卓噶)²⁴, Dorjetsirten (多吉才旦), Shirou Dungchu (協饒頓珠), Geltsengpintso (堅贊平措), Lozong Tzucheng (洛桑慈絨), Chunjue (羣覺), Pintsowongchiu (平措旺秋), and Wang P'ei-sheng (王沛生)²⁵, 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, religious 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.

Facts on the "Khamba Rebellion"

(NCNA, English, Peking, April 26, 1959)

Following is background material on the so-called "Khamba rebellion":

In the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" of April 18, the "Khamba rebellion" was mentioned in an attempt to prove that the Central People's Government had violated the 17-article Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. But the so-called "Khamba rebellion" (Khamba is a Tibetan word) refers to the area around Kantse, Szechwan Province, in the eastern Sikang-Tibet Plateau, inhabited by the Tibetan minority nationality. The Sikang area was not even a part of Tibet. Formerly it was Sikang Province and later became part of Szechwan Province.

The "rebellion" was staged by a very few reactionary slave owners and feudal lords in this area to retain their dark regime by intimidating some of the people into becoming their followers. They committed arson, murder, pillage and every kind of atrocity and brought serious damage to the lives and property of local Tibetan. These inhuman rebellious elements were under the command of the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet.

A great amount of evidence accumulated up to the present proves that the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet was in command of this counter-revolutionary rebellion.

In the summer of 1955, Surkong Wongching-Galei and Tserijong Lozong-Yiehsi and other rebel elements in Tibet, after following the Dalai Lama to attend the National People's Congress in Peking, passed through Szechwan Province on their way back to Tibet. Surkong Wongching-Galei and Tserijong Lozong-Yiehsi went by separate routes to the northern and southern parts of the Kantse Tibetan Autonomous *Chou* to instigate and direct rebellion all along the way. Data now at hand proves that Surkong Wongching-Galei directed the reactionaries in the area thus: "You must strengthen your ranks. There are big contradictions between the Communist and capitalist countries internationally. We must think of every possible way to postpone and block democratic reform. Stage an

armed rebellion if all else fails. Only by collaborating with foreign countries can such a rebellion succeed and the independence of Tibet be achieved.”

During the rebellion, the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet and the Khamba rebel elements maintained close contact in a variety of ways. First, the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet constantly sent people to direct the rebellion. In 1956, they sent people to attend the meeting held by the rebel leaders in the lamasery in Itun *hsien* in the southern area of former Sikang Province to direct the rebellious bandits in carrying out their activities, staging an all-out rebellion and set up a rebel organization with the same name as the rebel organization in Tibet. They said; “You are not alone. We are sure to give you support. Die rather than surrender!” They also told the rebellious bandits to make a monthly report on the situation to the then Tibet Local Government and send people with intimate familiarity with the situation to Tibet to make contact. The reactionary clique also frequently sent people to instigate rebellion here and there under the pretense of expounding the sutras. In some places, as soon as the expounder of the sutras had left, rebellion immediately broke out.

Second, the Khamba reactionary elements constantly sent people to Tibet to give oral reports on the state of the rebellion to the reactionary clique and receive their instructions, under the guise of paying homage to the Buddha and trade. Dinyang A-Thrin, rebel gang leader in the southern area of former Sikang Province, admitted that more than ten persons were sent to Tibet to give oral reports and bring back letters and instructions. In one of these letters the rebel elements in Tibet gave them this instruction; “Expand your armed forces rapidly; aid will come from abroad.”

Third, the rebel elements in Tibet frequently transported large quantities of guns and other weapons, ammunition and supplies secretly across the Kinsha River in convoys of caravans of mules and merchants to help the Khamba rebel elements.

Many of the weapons captured by the People’s Liberation Army during the fighting were made abroad.

Finally, the Khamba rebellious elements sent large amounts of property and many people to Tibet to the reactionary clique for safeguarding. After the failure of the rebellion, many rebel gang leaders escaped to Tibet and the reactionary clique in Tibet sheltered

them and re-armed them so as to enable them to carry on illegal activities.

Throughout all these activities, the Khamba rebel elements and the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet maintained close connections with the imperialists and foreign reactionaries.

During the rebellion, the small group of Khamba rebel elements perpetrated every kind of crime, including rape, arson and murder with the support of the reactionary clique in Tibet. They brought heavy calamities to the Tibet Plateau. They destroyed roads and bridges, encircled government institutions and killed Tibetan and Han government functionaries. Even ordinary Tibetans could not escape their brutality. Plundered by the rebel elements, many thriving villages were reduced to ruins, many homes were broken up; they cut people's eyes, slit noses and tore out hearts and even flayed people alive.

The courageous People's Liberation Army troops put down the rebellion thoroughly within a short period.

At present, democratic reforms have already been successfully carried out. A vast number of poverty-stricken Tibetans have land, houses, cattle and sheep distributed to them. In some areas, cooperative farming has started and the first people's communes have been established. Last year, an unprecedented bumper grain harvest was obtained in the agricultural areas throughout the autonomous *chou*. In general the increase was 30 to 40 per cent. In some *hsien* it doubled. In the areas formerly held by the rebel elements, the people have started to lead a life of plenty.

*Documents Captured in Rebel Headquarters Further Prove
that the Dalai Lama is being Held under Duress and
Contact between Rebels and Indian Expansionists*

(NCNA, Lhasa, April 27, 1959, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 28, 1959)

In suppressing the rebellion, our troops captured a number of documents in Kung-te-lin (one of the famous lamaseries in Tibet which had housed the rebel headquarters). The facts revealed by these documents show that the Dalai Lama is against the rebellious activity. In the course of the rebellion, he was forcibly detained, surrounded, and deprived of his freedom by the rebels.

One of the documents is "Opinions of Lang-ma K'an-ch'in K'an-ch'iung in Writing" ("Lang-ma" is the title of the Dalai Lama's attendants, "k'an-ch'in" is that of the grand religious officials of the fourth grade, and "k'an-ch'iung" is that of the religious and secular officials of the fourth grade. "Lang-ma K'an-ch'in K'an-ch'iung" refers to the officials of the fourth grade attending the person of the Dalai Lama). Though this document is not dated, its contents show that it was written on March 11. It reveals that the Dalai Lama was angry with the reactionaries for goading the people, both religious and secular, into obstructing his going out (to attend a performance in the hall of Tibet Military District). This agreed with his first letter, dated March 11, to General T'an Kuan-san, in which he wrote the following: "Yesterday, I decided to attend the performance staged by the Military District, but really I could not. Goaded by a small number of bad elements, the people, both religious and secular, who did not know the truth, stopped me. I cannot describe how ashamed of myself I am. My worries have increased: I have been driven to a position where I do not know what course to take" and "Under the pretext of protecting my safety, the bad reactionaries are engaging in activities harmful to me. I am trying to deal with them." The document in question also reveals that against the wish of the Dalai Lama, the reactionaries insisted on meeting in Lo-pu-lin-k'a [Norbulingka, the location of the Dalai Lama's summer palace] on the grounds that

meeting anywhere else would be “disadvantageous and not advantageous,” their intention being to create among the public the impression that the Dalai Lama was with them and thus to harm him. The document also reveals that the reactionaries posted a large number of armed personnel around the Dalai Lama to enforce his confinement to the house.

Another reactionary document captured in Kung-te-lin is “Opinions of the Three Great Monasteries in Writing” (the three great monasteries referred respectively to Che-pang, Se-la, and Ke-tan, which were the main strongholds of the rebels). It reveals that the reactionaries and the now-defunct Tibet Local Government (that is, the Kasha) held the Dalai Lama under duress and did not give him any freedom of movement. It also reveals their opposition to nationalities regional autonomy and their mad plot for “independence.”

*Full Text of “Opinions of Lang-ma K’an-ch’in K’an-ch’iung
in Writing” Captured in Kung-te-lin*

“Common Opinions of Humble People Lang-ma K’an-ch’in K’an-ch’iung:

“Yesterday, the people of Tibet, both religious and secular, obstructed the Dalai Lama’s going out, and, though the Dalai Lama was angry, they did so for the safety of His Majesty and Holiness and had no intention of opposing him, for it is not right to involve the Buddha in the troubles of man. They therefore immediately made an offering and report, expressing their sorrow. As for the proposal to meet elsewhere on the grounds that meeting in Lo-pu-lin-k’a could compromise the Dalai Lama, it is disadvantageous and not advantageous. So the meetings may continue to be held in the old place. [NCNA editor’s note: The following has been learned from captured rebels. On March 10, the rebels surrounded Lo-pu-lin-k’a and stopped the Dalai Lama from going out to attend the performance in the hall of the Military District. Under the presidency of K’anchung (or Chung-yeh-ch’ing-po, that is, Grand Secretary), Yung-lang-se T’uteng-no-sang, a grand lama in the Kasha, and Tsu-pen (the title of the Kasha official in charge of personnel and financial affairs) K’ai-me Ts’ai-wang-tun-chu, the so-called “people’s representative conference” controlled by the

rebels was convened in Lo-pu-lin-k'a and declared Tibet to be "independent." The Dalai Lama was very angry and forbade further meetings in Lo-pu-lin-k'a. Thereupon, some proposed moving the meeting place elsewhere, but the rebels who wrote the present document, in utter disregard of the Dalai Lama's instructions, insisted on meeting in Lo-pu-lin-K'a,] *For the safety of the Dalai Lama, Ku-sung's troops* (the Yi-tai-pen [一代本] responsible for the Dalai Lama's security—NCNA editor) *and the troops thrown in last night are held responsible. Additional troops will have to be provided for this purpose, or the responsibility may prove too heavy.*

"To the original leaders should be added: Kung-te-lin-cha-sa (commander-in-chief of the rebels and now a fugitive in India—NCNA editor), [K'an-ch'iung-ke-sang-a-wang (a rebel now under captivity and having a rank of an official of the fourth grade—NCNA editor)], P'ai-kuo Jen-hsi Hsia-ke-pa (that is, rebel Hsia-ke-pa Lo-sag-tun-chu, a captive and younger brother of Tzu-pen Hsia-ke-pa Wang-ch'iu-te-tun²⁶, one of the rebel leaders who fled to Kalimpong in 1951, "P'ai-Kuo" being the title of the official in charge of sedan chairs and "jen-hsi" being a rank of the officials of the fourth grade—NCNA editor), and La-ch'ia La-ting-se (that is, rebel La-ting-se So-lang-pan-ch'ueh, a captive; "la-ch'ia" is the title of the office of the official of the fourth grade in charge of general affairs—NCNA editor). The god Nai-ch'iung (the god of oracles—NCNA editor) has directed spiritual prayers, and, to quell activities harmful to the person of the Dalai Lama, all lama gods will be required to pronounce oracles and general pray activity will have to be completed soon. As for the direction to be followed, it should be such that all the historical affairs of Tibet concerning nationality, religion, and the spoken and written language are made undoubtedly suitable for an independent nation, and the people of Tibet in general, acting in accordance with the several revelations of the history of government and religion."

The document is signed by 22 people, among whom many are leaders of the rebellious bloc, including P'a-la T'u-teng-wei-teng, Jen-hsi Hsia-ke-pa, K'an-ch'iung Ke-sang A-wang, Assistant Ma-chi (Assistant to the Commander-in-Chief of the Tibet Army—NCNA editor) K'an-ch'iung Lo-tso-ke-sang.

*Full Text of "Opinions of the Three Great
Monasteries in Writing"*

“Opinions of the Three Great Monasteries in Writing:

“Che-pang, Se-la, and Ke-tan monasteries share the opinion that all the people of Tibet should request the Dalai Lama in the future not to leave the palace nor to attend any banquet or performance of the Central Government. The Kasha and Ku-chia Chi-ch'iao-k'an-pu (that is, rebel Ke-chang Lo-sang-jih-tseng, “ku-chia” meaning “personal attendant” and “ku-chia chi-ch'iao-k'an-pu” being the title of the high-ranking religious official attending the Dalai Lama—NCNA editor) have promised to see to this matter, which should not be changed. Further, the Dalai Lama is again informed that in the future the Han-Tibetan Joint Conference headed by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region will not be needed, and we shall manage our own affairs. When Tibet has been made independent, for the life of the Dalai Lama and the prosperity of his cause, reliable representatives of the religious and secular officials, of the three great monasteries, of the army and of the people should be elected quickly, and they should meet regularly for serious discussions. The place for the meeting may be in the vicinity of the palace. Alternatively, it may be in Ta-chao monastery or any other suitable district. Please consider.”

(NCNA, Lhasa, April 27, 1959) In the course of suppressing the rebellion, the drafts of two secret telegrams addressed by the reactionary bloc of the Tibet upper strata to Tibet reactionary Hsia-ke-lun-pao were captured in Kung-te-lin (one of the famous monasteries in Tibet) which had housed the Tibet rebel headquarters. They further prove beyond a doubt that Ke-lun-pao is the centre of the command of the Tibet rebels. They also reveal the activity of the reactionaries of the Tibet upper strata by asking for open intervention from the Indian Government.

The two telegrams are respectively dated the 7th and 8th days of the second month of the Tibet calendar, that is, March 16 and 17 of the universal calendar. The addressee, Hsia-ke-pa (that is, Tsu-pen Hsia-ke-pa Wang-ch'iu-te-tun),²⁶ is one of the leaders of the Tibet rebels. He fled from Lhasa to Kalimpong in 1951 and has been staying there ever since, engaging in the activity of

betraying the motherland in collusion with imperialists and the Indian expansionists. The "Association for the Welfare of Tibet" is the counter-revolutionary organization of the rebels in Kalimpong. Its specific duty is to engage in subversive activity and to split the motherland. ... Hsia-ke-pa is one of the leaders of this counter-revolutionary organization.

Full Text of the Secret Telegram of March 16

"To All Members of the Association for the Welfare of Tibet, care of Hsia-ke-pa in Kalimpong [India]:

"The independent country of Tibet was formed on the 1st day of the second month of the Tibet calendar (that is March 10 of the universal calendar, the day on which the rebellion started—NCNA editor). Please announce this to all. Please also come to Kan-t'o-k'e (the capital of Sikkim—NCNA editor) on March 18 of the universal calendar for a telephone message.

"Conference on Tibet's Independence."

"7th day of the second month of the Tibet calendar."

"This telegram is sent by Tzu-ch'ia K'an-ch'iung."

"Tzu-ch'ia K'an-ch'iung" in the last part of the telegram is T'u-teg-lieh-men, one of the rebel leaders.

Full Text of Secret Telegram of March 17

"To the Association for the Welfare of Tibet in India, through Hsia-ke-pa Tsu-pen ("tsu-pen" is the title of the Kasha official in charge of personnel and financial affairs) in Kalimpong:

"Recently, on the 1st day of the second month of the Tibet calendar, the people of Tibet, both the high and the low and both religious and secular, declared the formation of an independent country apart from the rule of violence of the red Han people, the communists. You should announce this in your place. In and about Lhasa, the Han government is preparing for large-scale suppression. To prevent the weak from being overpowered by the strong, *please report the situation to the government of our neighbour*

India, the Buddhist Association, and the United Nations, so that they may at once send representatives here to find out the truth of things. Please also contrive to contact the Indian representative in Lhasa by telephone so that he may understand the situation beforehand. In short, please do your utmost to find out the best way of securing help, in the spirit of past familiarity with things.

“Plenary Session of the People’s Conference
of the Independent Country of Tibet”

“8th day of the second month of the Tibet
calendar”

*“Vows of Tibet Buddhist Association” Reveals Longstanding
Connivance between Tibet Rebels and Foreigners*

(NCNA, April 27, 1959) The so-called “vows of the Tibet Buddhist Association,” copies of which are handed out by Tibet rebels abroad, fully reveals that these rebels have long engaged frantically in treasonous activities in the name of religion outside the country in connivance with foreigners.

In its July–August and September–October issues of 1958, the *Hsi-tsang Chin-pao* in Kalimpong, India, which is the centre of the command of the Tibet rebels, published this extremely reactionary document. In a “comment by the editor” of the *Hsi-tsang Chin-pao*, it was stated that the “vows” had been drafted by “Tibet people’s representative” A-lo-ch’ün-tse (leader of the “people’s conference,” an organization of the rebels), and was sent to the *Hsi-tsang Chin-pao* for publication from Darjeeling in India.

The document states that Tibet is “an independent country in which government and religion are integrated, and which has the most perfect political system and customs and habits.” It also states, “Tibet is now being invaded by the red Han people, the communists. To describe our oppression by enemies and the unbearable sufferings to countries which respect religion and which are headed by India, we have sent many representatives from Tibet to India.”

The document calls on the rebels in India to engage in treasonous activities “in a well-organized manner, remorselessly, and by the exhaustive use of all peaceful and violent methods.” It

states that if the "Tibet Buddhist Association", a rebellious organization founded in June 1958, encounters what it describes as "unbearable things", "its representatives in towns and the country-side everywhere should assemble all the local people, both religious and secular, for demonstrations."

It also reveals the features of the rebels who carry out treasonous activities in the name of religion. It states by way of instigation, "we would rather live for one day and die under the Buddha than live for a hundred years in an abundance of food and clothing under atheist rule."

In its July-August issue, the *Hsi-tsang Chin-pao* reported the activities of the rebels in Kalimpong, stating that their "representatives" held a meeting there on April 3, 1958 and gave an account of their collection of funds for the rebellion in the name of "prayer for the safety of the Dalai Lama."

*Letters Exchanged between the Dalai Lama
and General T'an Kuan-san*

(NCNA, English, Peking, March 29, 1959)

The six letters exchanged between the Dalai Lama and General T'an 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 rebellion in Lhasa was launched on the day when the Dalai Lama was scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command. The Dalai Lama himself decided that he wanted to attend the performance there and fixed the date for March 10.

Having made their arrangements in advance, the clique of traitors in Tibet spread rumours that the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama. On this pretext, they assembled a crowd in Lhasa on that day and kept the Dalai Lama in Lo-pu-lin-k'a and staged an open armed rebellion.

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

The Dalai Lama wrote to General T'an Kuan-san on the 11th saying "reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities, endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down."

On March 11, General T'an Kuan-san wrote a letter to the Dalai Lama pointing out that there were open military provocations by reactionaries and he called on the Tibet Local Government to take responsibility to stop them immediately.

On March 12, the Dalai Lama wrote a reply to General T'an Kuan-san in which the Dalai Lama once again explained that "the incidents which have seriously estranged relations between

the Central Government and the Local Government" had been created by reactionaries under the pretext of protecting him, and said that he was "making every effort possible to deal with them."

On March 15, General T'an Kuan-san wrote a letter to the Dalai Lama explaining the attitude of the Central People's Government toward the rebellion and welcoming the Dalai Lama's desire to make every effort to deal with the incidents.

On March 16, the Dalai Lama said in his letter to General T'an Kuan-san that he had instructed the officials of the Tibet Local Government that he might go to the Military Area Command in a few days time. But on the night of March 17, the very day following that on which the Dalai Lama wrote the above letter, the traitorous clique abducted him from Lhasa to the Loke area southeast of Lhasa. Then on the night of March 18, the clique of traitors launched an all-out attack against the People's Liberation Army Garrison in Lhasa.

The text of the six letters follows:

I. The letter sent to the Dalai Lama on March 10 by General T'an Kuan-san, Acting Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and 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,

T'an Kuan-san

March 10, 1959

II. The Dalai Lama's letter sent to General T'an Kuan-san, ... on March 11.

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar T'an:

I decided to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by the people, both religious and secular, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts. This has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss as to what to do. When I received your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General T'an Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama on the 10th), I was immediately overjoyed because you were not disturbed [by the trouble].

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.

March 11, 1959

III. Letter to the Dalai Lama from General T'an Kuan-san, ...
on March 11.

Dalai Lama:

The reactionaries are now audacious enough to have openly and arrogantly carried out military provocations. They have erected fortifications and set up a large number of machine guns and armed reactionaries along the national defence highway (the highway north of Lo-pu-lin-ka), thereby seriously disrupting the security of the national defence communications.

Many times in the past, we have told Kasha that the People's Liberation Army is duty-bound to defend the country and to protect the security of communication lines related to national defence, and therefore it certainly cannot remain indifferent to this serious

act of military provocation. 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 have established and withdraw from the highway immediately. Otherwise, they themselves will have to bear the responsibility 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,

T'an Kuan-san

March 11, 1959

IV. The Dalai Dama's letter to General T'an Kuan-san, ... on March 12.

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar T'an:

I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (referring to March 11) forwarded to you by Ngapo. I have received the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful actions of the reactionary clique break my heart. Yesterday I told Kasha to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into Lo-pu-lin-k'a 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 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 T'an Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama), I am planning to persuade my few subordinates and give them instructions. Please tell me frankly any instructions you have for me.

Dalai

March 12, 1959

V. Letter sent to the Dalai Lama on March 15 by General T'an Kuan-san,...

Respected Dalai Lama:

I have the honour 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 the things have now come to such a grave impasse. 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, this 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,

T'an Kuan-ran

March 15, 1959

VI. The Dalai Lama's letter to General T'an Kuan-san, ... on March 16.

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar T'an:

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, 1956) I made a speech to more than 70 representatives of the government officials, instructing them from various aspects, 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, the conditions took a slight turn for the better. Though the conditions here and outside are still very difficult to deal with at present, I am trying skilfully to make a demarcation line between the progressive people and those opposing the revolution among 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 often.

Dalai

March 16, 1959

The Dalai Lama Issues Statement in Tezpur, India

(NCNA, English, Peking, April 20, 1959)

The Dalai Lama, on his way to his residence in the northern part of India, at Mussoorie, issued a statement in Tezpur on April 18, according to press reports. The English text of the statement was issued by officials of the Indian Foreign Ministry to the press.

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

It has always been accepted that the Tibetan people are different from the Han people of China. There has always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan people. Throughout history this has been asserted on numerous occasions. Sometimes the Chinese Government has imposed their suzerainty over Tibet and at other times Tibet has functioned as an independent country.

In any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous and in control of its own internal affairs.

In 1951 under pressure from the Chinese Government a 17-point agreement was made between China and Tibet [see Document 6].

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 was to be in the hands of the Chinese Government it was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government in the Tibetan religion and customs and in her internal administration. In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by Chinese armies, the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy, even in internal matters; the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs.

In 1956 a Preparatory Committee was set up for Tibet with the Dalai Lama as the Chairman and the Panchen Lama as Vice-Chairman and General Chang Kuo-hua as the representative of the Chinese Government. In practice, even this body has little power

and decisions on 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 interference by the Chinese authorities persisted. By the end of 1955 a struggle had started in Kham Province and this assumed serious proportions in 1956. In the consequential struggle, Chinese armed forces destroyed a large number of monasteries.

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

The relationship of the Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for the 10th of March. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and as a result about 10,000 people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbulingka [Lo-pu-lin-k'a] and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

Thereafter the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against Chinese rule in Tibet. Two days later thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authorities. In spite of this demonstration by 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 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 March 17, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of 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, 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 the Lhoka area, Yarlung valley and Psonadzong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzey Mane near Chuttanmu.

On March 19, 1959 the Dalai Lama sent emissaries to cross the Indo-Tibetan border requesting the government of India's permission to enter India and seek asylum there. The Dalai Lama is extremely grateful to the people and government of India for their spontaneous and generous welcome as well as for the asylum granted to him and his followers.

India and Tibet have had religious, cultural and trade links for over a thousand years and for the Tibetans this has always been a 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 Prime Minister Jawaharalal Nehru and his colleagues in the government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent a reply to this message of greeting.

Ever since the Dalai Lama entered Kanzey Mane near Chuttanmu he has experienced in full measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of the Kameng frontier division of the northeast frontier agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the government of India's officers stationed there has spared no efforts in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

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

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

As the Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of all Buddhists in Tibet, his foremost concern is the well-being of its people and in ensuring the 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 the 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.

*Commentary on the So-called Statement
of the Dalai Lama*

(NCNA, English, Peking, April 20, 1959)

Following is a commentary by a NCNA political reporter:

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

Disregarding the fact that China is a unified country made up of the Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur and dozens of other nationalities, the statement from the very beginning beats the drum for the so-called "independence" of the Tibetans. Actually, Tibet's political and religious systems were all laid down by the Central Government in Peking over the hundreds of years between the 13th and 18th centuries. Not even the title, position and powers of the Dalai Lama were laid down by the Tibetans themselves. In modern history, the so-called Tibetan independence has always been a scheme of the British imperialists for carrying out aggression against China, and first of all against Tibet. The fact that the statement starts out with a mention of the so-called independence of Tibet proves that the author is reflecting the will of the imperialist aggressors and is utterly opposed to the 1951 agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. The 1951 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. This fact alone makes it impossible to believe the statement's claim that the former Local Government of Tibet "tried their best to adhere to the 17-article agreement."

The statement alleges that the 17-article 1951 agreement on the peaceful Liberation of Tibet was produced "under pressure from the Chinese Government;" and that after the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet and took up its position there "the Tibetan government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy;" and that even the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet "had little power and decisions on all important matters were taken by the Chinese authorities".

The facts are that this agreement was concluded after repeated negotiations and full consultation between the representatives of the Central People's Government and the Tibet Local Government, lasting from late April to late May, 1951. After the signing of the agreement, in his October 1951 telegram to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Dalai Lama referred to the agreement as one concluded "by the delegates of both parties, on a friendly basis," and said that "the Tibet 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 have been changed; lama and lay officials at all levels remained at their posts as before; religious activities and the customs and habits of the local people were respected; and Tibetan currency continued to circulate. The agreement's provisions that the Tibet Local Government should carry out reforms of their own accord and that the Tibetan Army should gradually be reorganized into People's Liberation Army units have never been carried out. At the end of 1956, the Central Authorities announced to the Tibet Local Government that it was permissible not to carry out democratic reforms before 1962.

In a word, in the past eight years, the political, social and religious systems in Tibet remained as they were before the peaceful liberation. There was hardly any item in Tibetan internal affairs for which the former Tibet Local Government (the Kasha) was not responsible.

With the aim of carrying out regional autonomy in Tibet according to the Constitution, the Central Authorities set up the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region in April 1956 with the Dalai Lama at its head. The fact that the Preparatory Committee was ineffectual was precisely because of the obstructions of the former Tibet Local Government, which did not want regional autonomy, but instead wanted the same "Tibetan independence" that the imperialists wanted. They painstakingly plotted to sabotage the 17-article agreement, going from directing the rioting of the Khamba rebels to openly launching an all-out armed rebellion themselves on March 10.

The statement did not point to a single fact showing that the

former Tibet Local Government had made any effort to abide by the 17-article agreement. Nor to the agreement made by the Central People's Government. The only fact it mentioned was that the Central People's Government had put down a rebellion in the former Sikang area in 1955. But the whole world knows that the Sikang area was not even part of Tibet at all. Formerly it was Sikang Province. Later, it became part of Szechwan Province. As is known, it was precisely in the summer of 1955 when the Dalai Lama and his entourage were passing through Szechwan Province on their way back to Tibet after attending the National People's Congress, that the upper-strata reactionary clique in Tibet hastily plotted to start a conflagration and directed the Khambas to rebel immediately. Their plan was to make the Khamba rebellion serve as the frontline, covering their own action to drive out the Han people and proclaim independence in the Tibet region itself. They overestimated the fighting strength of the Khambas and the inaccessibility of the terrain. Therefore, they made a prompt decision, calculating that it would be wisest to incite the Khambas to rebel first. 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 damaged—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 points to the rebellion in the Sikang area, which is not in the Tibet region at all, as a pretext to accuse the Central People's Government of violating the 17-article agreement. This not only sheds light on the fact that the Central People's Government fully adhered to the agreement, but precisely proves that it is the rebel clique of Tibet that directed the Khamba rebellion.

The statement also distorts the truth where it refers to the course of development of the rebellion launched between March 10 and 19. Everyone knows that March 10 was the date when the rebellion was initiated. The rebel group chose this date, because the Dalai Lama himself had 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. The statement dares not directly deny this fact, but on

purpose says confusedly that Dalai Lama "had agreed" to go to the performance, and the date of the 10th of March was "suddenly fixed." It does not dare say who fixed that date. But, it was clearly stated by the Dalai Lama in his letter to General T'an 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 the 10th of March), but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by the people, both religious and secular, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts." The fact that the statement avoids mentioning the Dalai Lama's three letters to General T'an Kuan-san is proof that its author dares not face the facts. The statement asserts that the People's Liberation Army sent reinforcements to strengthen the garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet before the 17th of March, and that "on March 17, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of Norbulingka Palace." This is a brazen, downright 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 had fallen into a nearby pond?

The way of referring to the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa in the statement also arouses attention. It says: "After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama and in those difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa." This paragraph demonstrates that not the Dalai Lama himself but the "advisers" realized that they should leave Lhasa. This also discloses the actual fact about the abduction of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa, which cannot be covered up. The Dalai Lama's letter dated March 11 said:

"Reactionary evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety." His letter dated March 12 further said:

"Yesterday I told Kasha to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbulingka [Lo-pu-lin-k'a] 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."

There are indications in the statement which arouse suspicions as to whether it is indeed a statement by the Dalai Lama himself. Firstly, the contents of the statement entirely contradict the many statements and articles issued, published or released by the Dalai Lama personally over the past eight years, including the three letters written by the Dalai Lama himself after the outbreak of the March 10 rebellion. Even when the Dalai Lama was surrounded by a bunch of reactionaries during his previous visit to India in 1956, or when he had personal talks with Premier Chou En-lai, he never once expressed such ideas as breaking away from the motherland or of the foreign aggressors, as are contained in the statement. Secondly, the statement has been published as if it were issued by the Dalai Lama himself, but not a single "I", the pronoun of the first person, can be found in it. In every clause, "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. Such terms were never used in the documents of the Chinese Central People's Government and those of the Tibet Local Government. 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 within our country, with their faces turned to India and their backs to their motherland. See how affectionate they are with each other: Calling each other sweet names and reluctant to part. Some phrases of the 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 made by the Dalai Lama himself but was imposed on him by some person or persons.

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

The publication at the present moment of this so-called statement of the Dalai Lama, which harps on 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, thus blocking the road for him to return to it? Is this not an attempt to create a situation for compelling the Indian government to permit the Tibetan rebels to engage in anti-Chinese political activities in India?

Observers in Peking point out that the statement made public at Tezpur, India, will have no influence on the situation in Tibet apart from enabling the Tibetan people to see more clearly the true colours of the Tibetan traitors. The statement expresses the hope that "these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed." This hope at least corresponds to reality. 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 rebellion in the Lhasa area, but also rapidly crushed the rebel group in the area south of the Ya-lu-tsang-pu river. The units of the People's Liberation Army have won great victories in the fighting to suppress the armed rebellion, and have in the past few days taken control of our whole frontier north of the Himalayas. Only a small batch of Khamba rebels has fled to

India. 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.

CHAPTER VII

* * *

AFTER THE EXILE OF THE DALAI LAMA 1959-1962

Notes to Chapter VII

After their failure to prevent the flight of the Dalai Lama, the Chinese Communists made the Panchen Lama the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and called upon the Tibetans for support.¹ At the same time, they sent additional troops to Tibet to suppress the rebellion.

The Communists immediately began to take steps within Tibet to reorganize the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and to institute "democratic reform". The first was implemented at the Committee's First Plenary Session in April 1959, and the second at the Second Plenary Session in June.² Between these two sessions, the National People's Congress adopted an important resolution on the policies to be implemented in Tibet. This resolution is presented in full in Document 84.

While the Communists actively publicized their new policies, they were notably silent on other aspects of the explosive situation, especially information regarding the continuing flight abroad of Tibetans.³ This fact, of course, has played a prominent role in the deterioration of Sino-Indian relations, breaking out in late 1962 in open conflict.⁴

A. Politics

Document 83

To Strengthen the Organisational Structure of Various Departments Under the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 11, 1959)

On April 8, at the First Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, after it began to exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan Local Government, a resolution was unanimously adopted to improve and strengthen the organizational structure of the various departments of the Preparatory Committee. According to this resolution six new departments will be added to the original six (Nameiy, General Office, Religious Affairs Commission, Civil Affairs Department, Financial Department, Cultural and Educational Department and Construction Department) of the Preparatory Committee. The six new departments will be: Public Security Department, Public Health Department, Department of Industrial and Commercial Administration, Communications Department, Department of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry and Counsellors Office. The session also approved the names of the heads of these departments, whose appointments are to be submitted by the Preparatory Committee to the State Council for approval.

The session on April 8 also adopted a resolution to appoint T'an Kuan-san and eight others as additional members of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee. Their appointments will also be submitted to the State Council for approval.

The session made a decision to remove traitor Tsrijong Lozong-Yihsi (赤江、羅桑益西) from the National People's Congress, and elected Pebala Choliehnajje (帕巴拉、卓列朗杰) to succeed him as an NPC delegate.

The session also decided to remove traitor Thubtan-Tsejen (土登澤仁) from the Preparatory Committee and elected Tingchia Tojijentseng (丁甲、多吉堅贊) and Tsejenwongtu (澤仁旺堆) as new members. Both the dismissals and the appointments will be submitted to the State Council for approval.

Resolution on the Question of Tibet

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

(Jen-min Jih-pao, April 29, 1959)

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

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

(2) The rebellion of the former Local Government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet was not fortuitous. Since the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when the British imperialists engaged in military, political and economic aggression against the Tibet region of our country using India as their base, an acute, long-term struggle has been waged between the patriotic Tibetan people who oppose aggression and a handful of Tibetan traitors who were bought over and made use of by the aggressive foreign forces. On the eve of the liberation of China, the pro-imperialist elements dominated the leading group of the former Local Government of Tibet. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, the Central People's Government adopted a magnanimous attitude towards these pro-imperialist elements in order to give them time to come to their senses. They were allowed to remain at their posts in the former Local Government of Tibet, and their past misdeeds were not queried as long as they broke with the imperialists and other foreign interventionists and did not engage in disruptive activities. This policy of

the Central People's Government was completely correct because it facilitated the Central People's Government and the People's Liberation Army in establishing ties with the broad mass of the Tibetan people and many people of the upper and middle social strata and enabled them to win the latter's confidence. The traitors in the former Local Government of Tibet, however, while feigning compliance with the 17-article agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet, continued to conspire with the imperialists and foreign interventionists, plotted to bring about the so-called "independence of Tibet" as demanded by the imperialists and foreign interventionists, and finally launched the armed rebellion. It was only after the rebels attacked People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa that the Central People's Government directed the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion, and ordered the dissolution of the former Local Government of Tibet. In this way, the crimes of these traitors were completely exposed before the Tibetan people of all strata as well as before the people of the whole world. Right is entirely on the side of the Central People's Government and all those who support its policy. All those foreigners who express their "sympathy" for these treacherous and inhuman rebels who betray and try to split their motherland and engage in slaughter and arson, and who attempt to seize this opportunity to interfere in China's internal affairs,⁵ will only enable the people of all the nationalities of our country and the people throughout the world to see them in their true colours and to draw the necessary conclusions.

(3) National regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government should be resolutely implemented in Tibet as in other national minority areas of our country. The former local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet, in making their vain attempt to bring about the so-called "independence of Tibet", were actively opposed to national regional autonomy. Following the dissolution of the former Local Government of Tibet and the failure of the rebellion launched by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet, it is now already possible, while enforcing military control by the People's Liberation Army, to set up, step by step, local administrative organs of the Tibetan Autonomous Region at all levels and build up the defensive forces of the Tibetan people

under the leadership of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and for the Preparatory Committee to begin to carry out the functions and exercise the powers of autonomy. Representatives of the broad mass of people and of patriots of all social strata should participate in the local administrative organs of the Tibetan Autonomous Region at all levels. All officers and men of the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet and all working personnel of the Han and other nationalities in Tibet must establish the closest fraternal ties with the Tibetan people, work hard and make heroic endeavours to serve the interests of the Tibetan people.

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

Tibetan people and their religious and cultural relics.

(5) Tibet is an inalienable part of China. It belongs to the big family of the Chinese people, to the broad mass of the Tibetan people, not to a handful of reactionaries, much less to imperialists and foreign interventionists. The rebellion of the handful of Tibetan reactionaries, and its suppression are wholly the internal affairs of China and do not permit of any interference by foreigners. It is the firm and unalterable policy of the People's Republic of China to implement national regional autonomy in the Tibet area under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and with the broad masses and patriotic people of all walks of life as the masters, to carry through democratic reform under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and to build a prosperous, socialist new Tibet by relying on the fraternal unity and mutual assistance of the working people of all nationalities. The rebellion of the handful of Tibetan reactionaries is not only powerless to prevent the realization of this policy but can only accelerate the awakening of the Tibetan people and thus speed up its implementation. Similarly, no intervention by any foreign forces against this policy of ours in Tibet, no matter under what pretext or form, can prevent its realization. On the contrary, it can only rouse the Chinese people of all nationalities, including the Tibetan people, to wage a patriotic struggle against intervention. The People's Republic of China has consistently abided by the Five Principles, co-existing peacefully with its neighbours in the southwest, respecting their sovereignty and territorial integrity and not interfering in their internal affairs. The National People's Congress notes with regret that certain people in Indian political circles have recently made extremely unfriendly statements and committed extremely unfriendly acts which interfere with 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 Congress hopes that this abnormal situation will quickly disappear and that through the joint efforts of both sides, the great and long-standing friendly relations between China and India will be further consolidated and developed.

Democratic Reform to be Carried Out in Tibet

(NCNA, Lhasa, July 2, 1959)

The Second Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region opened here on the 28th [of June] to discuss the question of democratic reform in Tibet.

Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Committee, who presided over the meeting, announced at the Session that democratic reform would be carried out in Tibet by peaceful means.

Panchen Erdeni stated that in accordance with the principle laid down by the Central People's Government, a policy of "buying out" would be followed towards those of the upper strata who had not taken part in the rebellion. For those who supported and actively took part in the reform, their livelihood would be secured and their political status guaranteed.

The system of feudal oppression and exploitation in the monasteries would be abolished, Panchen Erdeni said. This had nothing to do with freedom of religious belief, he stressed.

The People's Liberation Army, aided by the Tibetan people, put down the rebellion in Tibet and was now in control of all the remote areas formerly occupied by the rebels, he added.

"The putting down of the rebellion and all other work to be carried out in Tibet are China's domestic affairs which definitely brook no foreign intervention," Panchen Erdeni stressed.

Earlier, in declaring the Session open, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Committee, said the current session to discuss the implementation of democratic reform "is of great historical significance to Tibet. The session is faced with a glorious, tremendous task."

Chang Kuo-hua, Vice-Chairman of the Committee, pointed out in his speech that the democratic reform would be carried out in two stages:

The first stage would consist of thoroughly suppressing the rebellion and campaigns to oppose rebellion, unpaid forced labour and slavery, and reduce rent and interest. The second stage would be the redistribution of land.

The old regime in the villages would be abolished and peasants' associations would be established to exercise the functions and powers of the lowest level of government in the rural areas during the period of the democratic reform.

To encourage stock-raising, the herds belonging to livestock owners in the pastoral areas would not be redistributed. But the herds belonging to the rebels would be turned over to those who tended the herds.

In the monasteries, a campaign would take place to oppose rebellion, privileges and exploitation, but freedom of religious belief and lamaseries and cultural relics would be protected.

Commerce would be safeguarded, law-abiding foreign merchants would be protected, and handicrafts would be promoted.

These measures will be thoroughly discussed at the current Session before decisions are made.

Great Victory of the Democratic Reform in Tibet

—a speech by Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme (阿沛·阿日王晉美), Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region, at the 2nd Session of the 2nd National People's Congress—

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 10, 1960)

Chairman and Fellow Members:

I fully agree with the reports made by Vice-Premiers Li Fu-ch'un, Li Hsien-nien and T'an Chen-lin at this conference. Now I am about to make a brief report on the state of the main tasks in Tibet.

As you know, under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, under the brilliance of the Party's general line for socialist construction and under the favourable conditions of the overall Great Leap Forward in socialist construction throughout the country, Tibet has, in the short period of only one year, made radical changes. Contrary to the desires of the reactionary forces at home and abroad, the anti-revolutionary rebellion launched by a Tibetan reactionary clique of the upper strata in collusion with the imperialists and foreign reactionaries has already been rapidly quelled; the campaign of democratic reform that abolished the old feudal system has already gained a great victory; the dark, reactionary, cruel and barbarous feudal serfdom has been destroyed; the feudal privileges and feudal exploitation enjoyed by the monasteries have been basically abolished; the masses of serfs and slaves who had been oppressed and exploited for generations have already stood up; system of people's democracy has been established in special administrative districts and *hsien*, and the unification of the motherland, the solidarity of Han and Tibetan people as well as the solidarity of the various nationalities has more than ever been strengthened. These measures have enabled the Tibetan people to move out on to the sure road to democracy and socialism. Now the broad mass of Tibetan people have already stood up and are exalted and exhilarated and sing triumphal hymns to celebrate

the occasion of self-liberation under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao and to celebrate the fact that they are now masters of their own destiny. With a grateful feeling, they warmly love the Chinese Communist Party, our great leader Chairman Mao and the heroic People's Liberation Army. They have decided that the Tibetan people will forever be members of the big family of our motherland and always follow the Communist Party and Chairman Mao and travel along the bright road of socialism. The sabotaging activities wistfully attempted by any reactionary element, at home or abroad, to divide the unity of our motherland and to destroy the solidarity of the various nationalities of our country will never succeed.

Now, on the basis of victorious democratic reform, the broad mass of labouring people have already organized mutual-aid teams and are zealously launching a grand and historically unprecedented patriotic campaign to increase production, thus creating a favourable situation in the leap forward in production which has never appeared before in the region of Tibet.

Experience gained during the past year proved that the principle of "quelling rebellion while undergoing reform" and the democratic reform principle of adequate consultation from the top downward and of adequate mobilization of the masses from the bottom upward decided on by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao are absolutely correct and fully correspond with the practical conditions in Tibet as well as with the desires of the people. Under the direct leadership of the Working Committee of the CCP in Tibet, we have earnestly and thoroughly carried out the principles and policies enacted by the Party Central Committee; thus the campaign for democratic reform has spread soundly, rapidly and powerfully throughout the whole region of Tibet and, as a result, we have gained this great victory in the short period of one year.

The campaign for democratic reform in Tibet began last June [1959]. The democratic reform was divided into two stages: the first was to carry out the "three-anti's and two-reductions" (anti-rebellion, anti Ula* service system and anti-slavery; and

*Ula in the Tibetan language means unpaid, forced labour for the feudal lords.

reduction of rates and rents, and of interest); the second stage was to distribute the land. According to statistics up to the end of February [1960], the campaign for democratic reform has begun in 57 *hsien* having a total population of 790,000 in the agricultural areas. Among them, 49 *hsien* with a population of 690,000 have completed the "three-anti's and two reductions" movement and, on the basis of this achievement, 47 *hsien* with a population of 610,000 have completed the reform of land system. In the pastoral areas, the "three-anti's" and "two-benefits" (benefits for both herdsmen and livestock-owners) movement has been launched in 12 *hsien* having a total population of 75,000, and an area having a population of 30,000 has victoriously completed the movement. There are 2,469 monasteries and more than 110,000 monks and nuns in Tibet, among which 1,700 monasteries comprising more than 56,000 monks and nuns have completed or will soon complete the "three-anti's" movement. Except for a few remote and frontier areas, the campaign for democratic reform in Tibet will be victoriously completed before the sowing season this year.

As to the method of reform, we have acted in accordance with the principle of the Central Committee and, on the basis of fully activating the masses, we have properly organized the united front at the upper strata and carried out a policy of differential treatment. Concerning the land and surplus houses, draft cattle, farm implements, etc. owned by the serf-owners and their agents who took no part in the rebellion, a policy of redemption has been applied. In the process of the mass struggles, those serf-owners and their agents who opposed imperialism, love the country and accept democratic reform are protected as having "passed the barrier", while at the same time, political arrangements have been made for their benefit and their livelihood is being taken care of according to their actual conditions. The land, houses, draft cattle, farm implements, etc. that belonged to serf-owners who took part in the rebellion have been confiscated and distributed to the peasants. Land has been distributed to the families of the rebels as well. These facts fully prove that, in the process of democratic reform in Tibet, the Party and the People's Government carried out a policy which is lenient to the serf-owners.

In the pastoral areas, we thoroughly carried out the policies of "three-anti's and two-benefits", "no class-division, no struggle

and no distribution of property," abolished the feudal privileges enjoyed by livestock-owners, and also effected measures benefiting both herdsmen and livestock-owners. This not only stimulated the activeness of the herdsmen and pastoral people for protecting and developing animal husbandry but assured the livestock-owners who are developing animal husbandry and actively running their businesses. As to the livestock belonging to those who took part in the rebellion, a policy of confiscating and distributing it to the herdsmen was implemented.

In the work in the monasteries, we have resolutely and thoroughly carried out the Party's policy of freedom of religious belief, protected the monasteries and lamas who love the country and abide by the law, and the "three-anti's and two reductions" movements have been started in the monasteries. A policy of redemption was carried out for the land and capital goods owned by those monasteries that took no part in the rebellion; all the feudal privileges and feudal exploitation systems of the monasteries have been abolished and firm blows have been dealt to all religious anti-revolutionary activities. After implementing democratic reform, appropriate subsidies have been given to those monasteries which are unable to provide sufficient living expenses for their monks and nuns.

Having passed through this great revolutionary movement, the masses of monks and nuns have raised their class consciousness and taken part in the democratic management of the monasteries. They have felt so delighted and enthusiastic about study and have demanded that they participate in labour and other kinds of social activities; they themselves arranged their own religious activities. They have genuinely and fully realized the correctness of the Party policy of freedom of religious belief.

In the united front work at the upper strata, the Party and Tibetans of the upper strata have established a comprehensive united front since the peaceful liberation of Tibet. But as the reactionary clique from among the upper strata who vainly attempted to disintegrate the unity of the motherland and to destroy the national solidarity have already brought about their own ruin, the people's democratic united front in Tibet has become stronger. With the implementation of the Party's policies of solidarity, education and redemption and of appropriate arrangements for politics and liveli-

hood (there are some 500 Tibetans of the upper and middle strata receiving salaries and living allowances from the State), the patriotic and progressive Tibetans of the upper and middle strata have positively supported the democratic reform, pleasantly undergone self-reform and have been willing to contribute, together with the labouring people, their own power towards building a new socialist Tibet.

The key to the victorious completion of the task of democratic reform is the earnest and thorough implementation of the working method of the mass line as directed by the Party Central Committee and our great leader Chairman Mao, and the full activation of the masses. In complying with the direction of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, we, in our work, trust and rely on the masses, and consult the masses in case of need; we have also earnestly and thoroughly implemented the direction of "four-togethers" set forth by the Working Committee of the CCP in Tibet that all officials, both Hans and Tibetans, must eat, live and work together as well as consult together with the masses. We have penetratingly activated the masses and led the masses to launch a grand campaign for democratic reform so that they can emancipate themselves. Abolishing the roots of poverty as well as mass rallies for complaints have been held in all the places that have undergone reform. Serfs who were under-fed, under-clothed and lived an inhuman life for generations stood up one by one to complain of the oppression and miseries they had suffered in the past, and excitedly and indignantly burned the various contracts which had exploited and oppressed them for thousands of years. Under the leadership of the Party, with the help of Han and Tibetan officials and being steeled in the struggles of reform, the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen have set up their own organization—the peasants' (or herdsmen's) associations. For instance, 290 peasants' associations with more than 76,800 members have been set up in the Shannan (山南) Special Administrative District; and 63 herdsmen's associations with more than 30,000 members have been set up in the Nach'ü(那曲) Special District. In the course of democratic reform, peasants' (or herdsmen's) associations have assumed the functions of the basic administration realizing the slogan of "all rights belong to the peasant associations," and a great number of activists have been trained and fostered. According to statistics

from the three Special Districts of Lhasa, Shannan and Nach'ü, a total of 46,800-odd activists from labouring families have emerged and been cultivated during the campaign. They have now become the nucleus in the countryside who thoroughly implement the directions of the Party at higher levels and of the people's government. At present, organizations at the levels of special administrative district and *hsien* have already been established in Tibet. Systems at the basic level in the countryside will be gradually established through the future re-investigation campaign of democratic reform.

The Tibetan people have gained rich results from the struggles during this grand democratic revolution movement. The broad masses of serfs and slaves have been thoroughly emancipated, land and other capital goods have been distributed to them. In those areas where the distribution of land has been completed, more than 2.1 million *ke* (1 *ke* equals to 1 *mou*) of land have been distributed to the peasants, each having an average of 3½ *ke*. Such policies as "the harvest to the grower", "reduction of rents and interest rates," and the cancellation of old debts have been implemented. Therefore, the labouring people have received an economic benefit equivalent in value to more than one billion catties of food grain, an average of more than 1,500 catties per person. Having been steeled by this great revolutionary struggle, the class consciousness of the broad masses of peasants and herdsmen has been greatly elevated; they say; "the sun of *Kasha* (former Local Government of Tibet) shone only on three big manorial lords and their landlord henchmen, but the sun of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao shines on us—the poor people," "the Communist Party and Chairman Mao have made us owners of the land." They warmly sing praises: "Chairman Mao is the father of the various nationalities of our motherland and is closer to us than our own parents. The Communist Party is genuinely for the cause of the people; the cadres of the Communist Party are the cadres of our Tibetan people." They say: "reactionary elements of the upper strata spoke the same language as we did, but their hearts were different from ours; the Han cadres speak a language different from ours, but their hearts are the same as ours." The victory of democratic reform has given the Tibetan people full confidence in their future, and the big leap forward in socialist construction of our motherland has given them a stronger desire for a happy

socialist life. During the several months following the reform, they widely launched, on an enlightened and voluntary basis, an enthusiastic tide for organizing mutual-aid teams; 4,741 mutual-aid teams embracing 37,900 households were set up in the four Special Districts of Lhasa, Shannan, Linchih (林芝) and Shigatse. Eighty per cent of the peasant households in Linchih Special Administrative District and 93% of those in Shannan Special Administrative District joined mutual-aid teams.

The victory of democratic reform and the thorough destruction of serfdom have greatly boosted the productivity of the countryside and a grand high tide, striving for an agricultural bumper harvest this year, is rolling. The broad peasant masses are so excited that their enthusiasm for production has reached an unprecedented height. Since last winter, 3,000 drains with a total length of 3,000 *Li* were built and 300 reservoirs were built or repaired in the region, thus expanding the irrigated area by more than 370,000 *ke*; now the irrigated area covers 95% of the cultivated land against an original 65%. Four billion catties of manure have been accumulated in Shannan Special Administrative District alone, enough to apply 17,000 catties of manure to each *ke* of land. Thirty-three chemical fertilizer factories were built and a total of about 75,000 catties of fertilizer have been produced. In most places of Tibet farm land was formerly plowed only once at the most each winter; since the reform, 95% has been plowed once, 53% has been plowed twice and 28% has been plowed three times.

Formerly there was not a single modern farm implement in Tibet and, due to the obstructions of the reactionary clique of the upper strata, a big batch of modern farm implements given to Tibet by the government in 1955 were not passed on to the peasants. These modern farm implements were distributed this year and warmly welcomed by the peasant masses. The broad peasant masses have emancipated their thoughts and have positively engaged in the renovation of old-fashioned farm implements. The people have thrown out their former superstition that "land farmed by woman will yield poor harvests," and many women have learned farming this year.

The 1960 production target laid down by the CCP Tibet Work Committee and Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region requires that agricultural areas increase output by 15%–20%

over the bumper harvest of last year. After enthusiastic discussions, the peasant masses generally raised their target to 20%–30%, while the peasants in some places suggested increasing their output to 40%–50% and still some other peasants suggested doubling their target on the experimental and high-yield farms. All of them drew up plans to increase production. At present, these target figures have been distributed down to the mutual-aid teams, to households and to the farms. Together with the development of production, campaigns to promote health and culture were launched. People-operated primary schools as well as cultural schools and night schools for adults were opened in the various localities. Roads were built and afforestation plans were carried out in some areas while old and disabled persons were organized to work in production and resettled in certain cities and towns. In the pastoral areas, the broad masses of labouring herdsmen, with skyrocketing zeal, waged a resolute struggle against severe cold and other natural calamities on the plateau. Under the leadership of Party committees at various levels, the People's Government and the herdsmen's associations, they actively repaired cattle and sheep pens, stocked up fodder and manufactured blankets. According to the incomplete statistics for Nach'ü Special District, more than 1.6 million catties of fodder for winter use were accumulated, 4,000 pens for livestock were built and more than 40,000 blankets were manufactured. In addition to this, various instruments for protection against calamities were made. In those areas where the campaign of "three-anti's and two-reductions" has been realized, people of both sexes with great enthusiasm have taken part in various campaigns for increasing production and have intensively participated in labour for the production of livestock and the rapid development of animal husbandry. In short, a new state of prosperity had appeared everywhere in the agricultural areas, pastoral areas and cities and towns throughout Tibet.

This brief report adequately relates how the Tibetan and the people in Tibet have definitely entered a new phase in the rapidly developing and prosperous socialism.

However, while we were putting down the rebellion and undertaking democratic reform in Tibet, imperialism and foreign reactionaries gabbled and roared that the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army were destroying the Tibetan people and

religion and asked us to cease the struggles of stopping the rebellion and democratic reform. This is not worth refuting. Both the suppression of the rebellion and the campaign for democratic reform in Tibet are struggles between the broad masses of people in Tibet and a handful of reactionary serf-owners. It is an irreconcilable class struggle, and definitely not a struggle between nationalities. Moreover, the precise aim of the reform is to develop the politics, economy, culture and population of the Tibetan people, to eliminate religious oppression and exploitation systems and genuinely to realize the freedom of religious belief. Now, because the rebellion has been successfully put down and the democratic reform implemented, a new stage of unprecedented prosperity and vitality has emerged in Tibet and the Tibetan people have entered a new phase of national development and national prosperity. This more than adequately proves that the roaring of the imperialist and foreign reactionaries is absurd and ridiculous. They also shouted that "the Tibetan people have been deprived of their basic human rights and freedom," demanding that "the unique way of life of the Tibetan people be respected." These remarks are, of course, equally ridiculous and baseless.

It is evident that the basic human rights and freedom of the Tibetan people referred to by them were the rights and freedom of a handful of serf-owners to cruelly oppress, exploit and slaughter the serfs, and that the unique way of life of the Tibetan people referred to by them was that barbaric and cannibalistic serfdom. Their loud and vociferous shouts were fantastically aimed at preserving the rights and freedom of deciding the life and death of the serf class by the Tibetan serf-owner class and at trying to force us never to change the extremely dark, reactionary and cruel serfdom in Tibet. Let them spread rumours and slander. But it should be observed that some one million serfs who had no basic rights and freedom whatsoever have now stood up; they have smashed serfdom with their own hands, made themselves masters of the new society and obtained genuine rights and freedom. In the future, under the wise leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao, the great leader of various nationalities, and under the brilliance of the general line for socialist construction, the Tibetan people will certainly take their own action to further solidify the unification of the motherland and strengthen national solidarity, complete

the democratic reform, energetically develop agriculture production and animal husbandry, and, together with the various nationalities of the entire country, have lofty ambitions and great purpose and struggle in a greater, faster, better and more economical manner, to build a new, prosperous, happy and socialist Tibet.

Land Deeds to be Issued in Tibet

(NCNA, Lhasa, November 2, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 3, 1960)

The Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region held its thirty-fifth (enlarged) session from October 25 to 26.

The members of the Standing Committee and members of the Preparatory Committee who are in Lhasa held discussions on the question of issuing title deeds to the emancipated peasants of Tibet. The directive of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region on the issue of title deeds was adopted.

The Session also discussed and adopted measures regarding payment for the purchases of the surplus means of production during the democratic reform in the Tibet region from the serf-owners, and their agents who did not take part in the rebellion.

The Session was held under the auspices of Pebala Cholieh-namje, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee. Among those present were Chou Jen-shan, Hui Yi-jan, Sampo Tsewong-rentzen and Namdom Kunga Wongchug, members of the Standing Committee.

The directive of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region adopted by the Standing Committee on the issue of title deeds states that democratic reform has been mainly completed in the agricultural districts, and that supervision of the reform will be gradually ended. In accordance with the eighth article of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China "the State protects the right of peasants to own land and other means of production according to law" and the thirtieth article of the Agrarian Reform law of the People's Republic of China, title deeds are to be issued to all those who were given land according to law in the districts where investigation into the reform has been completed.

The directive states that the final important task during the

Agrarian Reform is the issue of title deeds to assure peasants of their land ownership. The correctness of this work will be of great importance to raising the peasants' political consciousness and bringing their initiative in production further into play so as to develop agricultural production. It will also be important in helping to launch still more broadly the patriotic movement to increase production and gradually expand the mutual-aid and cooperation movements.

In accordance with the directive of the Preparatory Committee, the issuance of title deeds will soon begin. Before the title deeds are formally issued, personnel will be trained to fill in the title deeds and then the area of the plots must be checked and boundaries defined; after this the land will be registered and title deeds written and issued.

Land Title Deeds for Tibet's Emancipated Peasants

(NCNA, Lhasa, November 2, Jen-min Jih-pao, November 3, 1960)

The Agrarian Reform Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region has sent 200,000 title deeds to all parts of Tibet and asked the people's governments at all levels to distribute them to the emancipated peasants as soon as possible with proper ceremony.

Compensation Arrangements in Tibet

(NCNA, Lhasa, November 2, from Jen-min Jih-pao, November 3, 1960)

The surplus means of production taken over from the serf-owners and their agents who did not take part in the rebellion are to be paid for, in part, between November and December this year by the State banks in Tibet.

This was announced in a notification issued by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region on October 26.

The notification said that starting next year, the annual payments would be made in September and October.

At the top of the title deed is a portrait of Chairman Mao

Tse-tung, flanked by national flags. The text is in both the Tibetan and Han languages. The title deed is stamped with the seals of the Preparatory Committee and the acting Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the committee.

During Tibet's democratic reform, the people's government confiscated the land of the rebellious serf-owners and their agents and bought up the surplus land of those serf-owners and agents who did not take part in the rebellion. This land totals over 2.8 million *Ke* (one *Ke* is about one-fifteenth of a hectare) and has been distributed to 800,000 former serfs and slaves in the agricultural areas, who formerly did not own any land. Ownership of land by the feudal serf-owners had existed in Tibet for thousands of years and was thus abolished and land ownership by the peasants established thus making the peasants masters of the land.

The emancipated peasants have shown unprecedented enthusiasm for production since the land was handed over to them. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, over 100,000 households of emancipated peasants organized themselves into more than 15,000 agricultural mutual-aid teams last winter and this spring. These mutual-aid teams have begun a vigorous patriotic movement to increase production. By extending the sown acreage by 340,000 *Ke* this year, building many irrigation canals, accumulating large amounts of fertilizer and improving farming methods, they achieved a good harvest this autumn.

Tibet in 1960

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, December 15, 1960)

[The following document is the "Report on Work in Tibet in the Past Year" delivered by Panchen Erdeni at the 33rd enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the 2nd National People's Congress on December 14, 1960. The translation below is based in part on the version of this report which appeared in *Peking Review*, Vol. IV, No. 2, January 13, 1961, pp. 15-22. The translator's notes interspersed throughout the following translation are taken directly from the *Peking Review* translation.]

1960 is the third year of the continued leap forward in our country's socialist construction. In the past year, under the brilliant and correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the peoples of the various brother nationalities throughout the country, raising high the three red banners of the general line for building socialism, the big leap forward and the people's communes, rousing themselves to vigorous action to make our country strong, relying on their own efforts and displaying ever greater revolutionary drive, have gone in for technical revolution and technical innovations in a big way on the various fronts of socialist construction, thus enabling our country's socialist construction to achieve a continued, high-speed growth and enter a new stage of development. In the past year, a continued leap forward was achieved in the various fields of work in the Tibet Region, as in other parts of the country, on the basis of the great successes achieved in the various fields of work in 1959.

Last April [1960], the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region held its fourth session (enlarged); it examined and summed up the work done in 1959 in putting down the rebellion, in democratic reform and in other fields of work, and discussed and mapped out the tasks for 1960. Based on the directives of the central authorities and actual conditions in Tibet, the tasks laid down for the Tibet Region in 1960 were: conscientiously and satisfactorily perform the various kinds of constructive work concerned with building the people's democratic State power; train

cadres from among the Tibetans; develop finance, economy, trade, communications and transport, culture and education and health services; continue to mobilize the masses fully; complete the democratic reform; consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and make big efforts to develop agricultural production. Under the brilliant and correct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Party committees and people's governments at various levels have conscientiously implemented the various principles and policies laid down by the Party; cadres at various levels and people of various social strata, uniting as one, developing a spirit of hard work and displaying soaring revolutionary zeal, made energetic efforts to carry out the various kinds of work, successfully accomplished the above-mentioned tasks and achieved new and still greater successes.

I

In the field of democratic reform, the concrete tasks for 1960 have been to continue to unfold the democratic reform movement in the agricultural areas where it was not carried out in 1959 and complete agrarian reform in a planned and gradual way. In areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, the work of re-checking the democratic reform should be put in hand in co-ordination with the big efforts, for agricultural production and by adopting the principle of "not interfering with either production or re-checking" so as to further mobilize the masses fully, deal with the remaining problems of the reform, consolidate the fruits of the democratic reform and create the favourable conditions needed to develop production and construction and gradually carry out socialist transformation in the future. The policy in re-checking the reform is that the re-checking should go hand in hand with the reform and construction [the building up of state power, the setting up of people's organizations and ideological construction - Tr.] and should be carried out at the same time. The purpose of re-checking the reform is to: 1. check whether there have been cases where land distribution has not been done in a reasonable enough way; 2. check whether feudal serfdom has been thoroughly eliminated; 3. check whether

the dominance of the masses has been completely established; 4. check whether the movement for mutual aid in production is developing normally; 5. check whether the working ability of certain cadres is thorough enough and whether their stand is firm enough; 6. check whether in the monasteries the "three antis" and the "three settling accounts" [viz: (a) whether politically they had joined the rebellion; (b) the facts regarding their economic exploitation and (c) whether the big monasteries had oppressed the smaller ones. - Tr.] have been thoroughly carried out; and 7. check how the policy of redemption has been carried out.

In continuing to carry out democratic reform and in re-checking the reform, we have continued to implement the various principles and policies laid down by the central authorities in regard to democratic reform in Tibet. These are: while fully mobilizing the masses, we should carry out united front work with the upper social strata conscientiously and satisfactorily, protect and help patriotic and progressive personages of the upper social strata in undergoing democratic reform, give different treatment to those serf-owners and their agents who joined the rebellion and those who did not; completely abolish the feudal prerogatives of the monasteries and their system of feudal exploitation and oppression, conscientiously implement the Party's policy towards freedom of religious belief; protect patriotic and law-abiding Buddhists, legitimate religious activities and the political right of the masses of lamas and nuns and their right to freedom of religious belief, protect historical sites and cultural relics belonging to the monasteries; and deal resolute blows to counter-revolutionary activities and all sabotaging activities conducted under the cloak of religion. At the same time, we have thoroughly implemented the class line in the democratic reform; this means relying on the poor serfs and slaves, uniting with the middle serfs (including the better-off serfs) and all other forces that can be united with, dealing resolute blows to the rebellious and most reactionary serf-owners and their agents so as to eliminate feudal serfdom and complete the democratic reform.

In the past year, considerable successes have been achieved in the democratic reform and the work of re-checking the reform. By the end of November [1960], agrarian reform and land distribution had been carried out over a cumulative area populated by 760,000 people out of a total cumulative agricultural area

populated by 800,000; in the greater part of these areas, the work of re-checking the reform had been completed, and land title deeds had been issued. In a small part of these areas, the work of re-checking the reform and issuing of land title deeds will be completed during the winter. In areas inhabited by a population of 20,000, the work of agrarian reform is also being carried out.

The work of re-checking the reform has been going ahead since the third quarter of 1960. Judging from the state of affairs revealed by the re-check, it has been proved that the development of the democratic reform movement in Tibet since 1959 is normal and healthy. As a result of conscientiously carrying out the various policies of the Party and implementing the class line in the democratic reform, in the greater part of the areas in the countryside where the "three antis" (opposition to rebellion, opposition to unpaid *ula*-corvee and opposition to chattel slavery) and the "two reductions" (reduction of rent and interest) and distribution of land have been carried out, the masses have in the main been fully mobilized, feudal serfdom has been destroyed, the arrogance of the serf-owning class has been suppressed, the political dominance of the masses of the people has been established and the movement for mutual aid in production has developed normally. In a few areas, the masses have not been sufficiently mobilized, feudal serfdom has not been thoroughly destroyed, the arrogance of the serf-owning class has not been thoroughly suppressed and the political dominance of the masses of the people has not been established. A handful of the most reactionary serf-owners and their agents who are not reconciled to the elimination of feudal serfdom have resorted to various treacherous and vicious means to buy over, inveigle, threaten, harm and murder cadres and active elements among the masses, spread rumours among the masses, sow discord among the various nationalities and carry on various kinds of sabotaging activities. The sabotaging activities of counter-revolutionary elements are also rather reckless. The people hate them deeply.

In the course of re-checking the reform, the broad masses of the labouring people have further enhanced their class consciousness; firm in determination and strong in morale, they have thoroughly exposed the plots and intrigues and criminal activities of all the reactionaries attempting to sabotage the democratic reform and the

people's revolutionary cause; they have waged resolute struggles against them, dealt fresh blows against the remnant reactionary forces in Tibet and inflicted yet another ignominious defeat on them, thereby consolidating the fruits of the democratic reform and giving an impetus to a new upsurge in production in the rural areas. Facts have proved that the work of re-checking the reform is necessary; it fully accords with the desires of the broad masses of the labouring people demanding that the democratic reform be thoroughly carried out.

As a result of democratic reform and the campaign for re-checking the reform, the "three antis" campaign against rebellion, feudal prerogatives and the system of feudal exploitation and oppression has been carried out among the broad masses of lamas and nuns. The evidence of the grave feudal exploitation and oppression uncovered in the monasteries has been a profound education to the broad masses of lamas and nuns and has helped to raise the level of their political consciousness. The system of democratic management has been put into effect in the monasteries, the political rights of the broad masses of lamas and nuns and their rights to freedom of religious belief have been safeguarded, the broad masses of the people have won genuine freedom of religious belief. At the same time, patriotism and the political understanding of patriotic and law-abiding people in religious circles have also been further enhanced; they warmly support Party policy on freedom of religious belief and are grateful for the concern and care the Party and the People's Government have shown to them.

Tibet has vast pastoral areas and large numbers of livestock. According to preliminary statistics, there are approximately 10 million heads of livestock in the region. During the democratic reform in the agricultural areas, the Party's policy towards the pastoral areas has been: distribution of flocks and herds, no differentiation between classes and no struggle against the livestock-owners, the launching of the "three antis" campaign and the implementation of the policy of benefits to both herdsmen and livestock-owners. On the basis of the development of livestock breeding, the life of the herdsmen should be appropriately and steadily improved. Proper arrangements should be made for the productive work of the masses of herdsmen and their livelihood.

livestock should be protected, animal husbandry should be developed and steps taken to ensure the health and security of both the people and their livestock. In pastoral areas which have a population of 300,000 in the past year the "three antis" campaign and the policy of benefits to both herdsmen and livestock-owners have been carried out in areas comprising over two-thirds of that population. The relationship of feudal slavery which had existed between the livestock-owners and the herdsmen serfs has been changed into one of hired labourers, and the legitimate interests of the livestock-owners have been cared for and protected. In these areas, the class consciousness of the masses of herdsmen and their enthusiasm in production have soared in an unprecedented way, the enthusiasm of the livestock-owners for animal husbandry has also been raised and the health and security of both the people and their livestock have been largely ensured.

II

This year Tibet gathered in an unprecedentedly rich harvest. Compared with the bumper year of 1959, grain output generally increased by about 15 per cent. In some counties the increase is more than 15 per cent, while in a few places there have been high-yield fields producing crops 50 per cent greater than in 1959. As a result of sowing selected seeds from the best ears, applying nearly 10,000 catties of ground fertilizer to every *khal* (about one *mou*) of land, constant weeding and irrigating during the period of field management, the 2,216 *khal* under *qingke* barley and wheat in Gyada Township of Minling County in the Lingtze Special Administrative Region produced an average of 392 catties of *qingke* barley or wheat per *khal*. This is an increase of nearly 100 per cent compared with 1959. It is no accident that Tibet secured a bumper harvest this year. It is the inevitable result of the heightened class consciousness and enthusiasm for production among the broad masses of peasants who have become masters of the land and the new society after the implementation of democratic reform, the abolition of out-moded methods of production and the establishment of new relations of production which have set free the productive forces in the countryside.

When feudal serfdom held sway in Tibet, all the land and

other major means of production were monopolized by the serf-owners. The broad masses of serfs and slaves who made up more than 90 per cent of the population not only did not possess any means of production but were themselves owned outright by the serf-owners. They worked all the year round on the land of the serf-owners like beasts of burden, but they ate the food of pigs and dogs. More than 70 per cent of the fruits of their labour were seized by the serf-owners, so that "no sooner had they threshed the autumn crops than they began to run short of *tsamba*." Unable to eke out even a bare living, they were often forced to borrow money from the serf-owners at high rates of interest. Since the money borrowed could not be repaid, when fathers died their sons inherited their debts which multiplied generation after generation. In addition, the serfs and slaves had to give various kinds of corvee for the serf-owners and pay all kinds of heavy taxes and miscellaneous levies. Such ruthless exploitation and extortion forced the broad masses of serfs and slaves to lead a hellish life, struggling on the verge of death. Naturally they had no enthusiasm for production. The serf-owners used all the wealth they plundered from the serfs and slaves to satisfy the needs of their debauched and licentious life and showed no concern at all about developing production. That was why for centuries in the past the agricultural implements and farming techniques in Tibet were extremely backward. Wooden ploughs and harrows are used to till the land in quite a number of places even today; they can only plough the land to a depth of two or three inches, weeds are not uprooted, and large lumps of earth remain unbroken. In some places, a wooden stick is still used to plough the land, and this only can scratch the surface. In other places the people still use the primitive method of "farming with axe and fire." Harvesting tools were also very backward. In some places there were no scythes, and for a long time the people used pieces of wood or their fingers to nip off the ears of barley, while threshing was practically all done by yaks trampling on the harvested crops. Grain output was very low under these conditions even though the peasants toiled all the year round.

During the "three antis" and "two reductions" campaign, thanks to the implementation of the policies of the harvest going to the tiller, reduce rents and interest and the abolition of usury,

the masses benefited to the amount of approximately over 1,000 million catties of grain, an average of over 1,500 catties per head. In the agrarian reform movement, the implementation of the policy of giving the peasants the ownership of the land by distributing the land of feudal serf-owners to the peasants enabled each person to get, on the average, three *khal* of land⁷ and a certain number of draught animals and farm implements. Serfs and slaves who for centuries had had no means of subsistence now for the first time have their own land. Working for the first time on their own land and for their own happy life, they are filled with a great joy, celebrating with songs and dances; their enthusiasm in production is unprecedentedly high and they urgently demand the development of production to improve their living conditions. To meet this situation, a patriotic high-yield movement centering round mutual aid in production was launched in the winter of 1959 and the spring of 1960 in areas where democratic reforms had been completed. In accordance with the principle of "voluntariness and mutual benefit," more than 15,000 mutual-aid teams were organized in the vast countryside, embracing more than 100,000 peasant households. Displaying soaring revolutionary enthusiasm in production, the peasant masses went in for collecting manure, making compost, deep ploughing, building water conservancy works, improving old farm tools and manufacturing new ones in a big way, thereby bringing about a vigorous mass movement in agricultural production. Communist Party committees and people's governments at all levels gave timely and strong leadership to production and the mutual-aid teams and helped the peasants to solve all kinds of production difficulties, which greatly stimulated the masses' enthusiasm for production. In the winter of 1959 and the spring of 1960 the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region twice sent directives concerning going in for agricultural production in a big way, called on the peasants throughout the region to thoroughly put into practice the "Eight-Point Charter"⁸ for agricultural production in accordance with local conditions, and putting forward concrete demands for measures to increase output. The people's governments at all levels distributed a total of 900,000 large and small farm tools of various types to the peasants, including new-type ploughs and other farm implements.

Under the leadership of the people's governments and in accordance with the arrangements they made, blacksmiths and carpenters teams for repairing and making farm implements were organized in various areas. In Tsanang County in the Loka Special Administrative Region, for instance, 34 such blacksmiths and carpenters teams were organized in the spring of 1960; they have repaired more than 70,000 old farm tools and manufactured nearly 60,000 new ones. Spectacular successes were achieved in building water conservancy works throughout the region in the winter of 1959 and the spring of 1960. According to figures from Lhasa and four other regions, 10,400 irrigation ditches were built, with a total length of more than 5,000 kilometres; in addition, more than 1,500 reservoirs and ponds were built using indigenous methods and local materials, thereby greatly enlarging the area under irrigation. In some special administrative regions, the irrigated area covers more than 90 per cent of the area under cultivation. In 1960, large numbers of cadres went to the fields to take part and give leadership in agricultural production, working together with the peasants, jointly studying methods to improve cultivation techniques and farm tools, and helping to solve, in good time, all kinds of production problems among the mutual-aid teams. Cadres in several counties and districts cultivated high-yield experimental plots, trying to gain experience from them and setting an example in using advanced farming techniques. In Lhasa and other areas, cadres often held on-the-spot conferences in the fields and on the threshing grounds to sum up and exchange experiences in good time and to popularize advanced techniques. All these were important conditions for bringing about a bumper harvest in agricultural production in 1960. As the peasants have said in summing up the year's production experience: The reasons for 1960's rich harvest are: first, the Party has given good leadership; secondly, we have been emancipated and have stood up, we are working for ourselves, our enthusiasm in production is high; thirdly, we have organized mutual-aid teams; fourthly, we have carried out the "Eight-Point Charter" for agricultural production.

Particular mention should be made of the fact that, with the unfolding of the movement for developing production in a big way, a new change has taken place in social customs and the mental outlook of the masses of the people. Thanks to the mass move-

ment for collecting manure and making compost, the garbage piled up high along the roadsides or on the outskirts of villages in many places in the past has now been completely cleared away, and this has helped push forward the mass patriotic health and sanitation campaign. Chemical fertilizer factories, using indigenous production methods, have been established extensively in many places; the peasants, who have a rich store of wisdom, have succeeded in making effective "six-ingredient fertilizers" and "seven-ingredient fertilizers" from animal bones, weeds, nightsoil, burnt grass and wood, etc.. In some places, local methods are used to turn various kinds of poisonous weeds into highly effective insecticides. To ensure a rich harvest, the peasant masses have done away with many old customs and habits, and have made vigorous efforts to eliminate insect pests and harmful birds and animals.

In stock breeding, on the basis of mobilizing the herdsmen, the planned and rational use of pasture-land has been initially carried out in pastoral areas wherein "three antis" campaign has been completed and the policy of benefit to both herdsmen and livestock-owners has been put into effect. Measures have been taken to institute a system of rotation in pasturing through the four seasons, to give timely help to the young animals so that they grow up sturdy and strong, to protect the young in the womb and to ensure good lambing, to repair and build cattle-pens, to store fodder, and to prevent animal diseases. All this has produced good results, and the number of young animals that grow to maturity has increased considerably while the death rate of animals as a result of diseases or pests has been greatly reduced.

So far as industrial production is concerned, Tibet in the past had only a few very backward handicraft industries; it had no modern industries at all. In the few years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, as a result of the concern shown by the Central People's Government and Chairman Mao Tse-tung as well as the support and help given by the people of the various fraternal nationalities, small factories, urgently needed both to serve the everyday needs of the Tibetan people and their production, have been built. Owing to the fact, however, that feudal serfdom had still not been abolished at that time and that all kinds of obstructions were put up by the former Tibetan local government, these factories could not play their proper roles. The factory in Lhasa for

manufacturing iron and wooden articles, for example, practically never went into operation at all after its establishment. Since the winter of 1959, the People's Government has actively helped and supported the restoration and expansion of the production of handicrafts which benefit both the national economy and the people's livelihood. In addition, bases on the voluntary participation of handicraftsmen, handicraft production mutual-aid teams have been set up in the towns. The People's Government has helped them solve the problems of obtaining raw materials and marketing their products, organized and led them in improving production techniques, improving the quality of their products and trial-producing new products, thereby enabling them to play a commendable role in meeting the needs of production and the life of the masses. At the same time, in accordance with the principles of need and possibilities, a number of small industries serving the requirements of agriculture and livestock breeding have been set up, such as factories for making farm implements, serums and other things. In the spring of 1960, the first modern hydro-electric power station was built with a generating capacity of 7,500 kw. An iron and steel foundry is under construction; the blast furnace was completed in three months and the first vat of molten iron was produced on October 1, 1960. Now Tibet has such new industries as an iron and steel industry, hydro-electric power, motor car repair, the manufacture of farm implements, serums and animal medicines.

III

In the past year, we have actively carried out the work of establishing organs of political power and training Tibetan cadres. Tibet was formerly administratively divided under the rule of three groups of big manorial lords and this suited their interests. Such a division, therefore, was extremely unreasonable. To facilitate the people's democratic political power serving the interests of the people, we have this year, after approval by the State Council, established organs of the people's democratic political power at all levels while making appropriate adjustments in the former administrative division. The whole region is divided into seven special administrative regions, one municipality and 72 counties. At present, administrative organs in most county and special region levels have

been established, while the organs of political power have also been set up in most districts and townships. Though such organizations remain to be improved in some place, they are the Tibetan people's own political power, truly representing their interests and serving their needs.

With the gradual establishment of the people's political power at all levels, the people's democratic dictatorship has been further strengthened and consolidated. In the past year while leading and organizing the masses to carry on the work of democratic reform and taking up agricultural production and livestock breeding in a big way, the people's government at all levels have, in conjunction with their central tasks and observing the policy of "combining leniency and suppression," dealt further blows against the disruptive activities of counter-revolutionaries and all other kinds of bad elements, safeguarded the fruits gained in the democratic reform and ensured the security of production and of the lives and property of the masses.

Great progress has been made in the work of training cadres in 1960. After more than two years of schooling, the 3,000-odd sons and daughters of the working people sent to study in the School for Tibetans in Hsienyang (in Shensi—see Document 65) in 1957 have become more politically conscious and improved their understanding of policies and general education; the majority of them returned to Tibet in 1959 and in 1960 to take part in carrying out the democratic reform. Through actual tempering in the class struggle to implement the democratic reform, these cadres have markedly heightened their class consciousness and raised their level of understanding policies, gained experience and enhanced their ability in work. They have been enthusiastic in work and firm in their stand, maintaining close ties with the masses and devoting themselves wholeheartedly to serving their interests. Now they have been assigned to various posts in different parts of the region, and some have accepted leading positions in county or district governments. At the same time, large numbers of activists have come to the fore since 1959 during the acute class struggles to implement democratic reform. They have stood in the forefront of reform and of production, led the masses and worked together with them to carry through various kinds of work, thereby winning the support of the masses. The more outstanding among these

cadres, those who have a high level of political consciousness and have shown firmness in the struggle, have been given leading posts in the township organs of political power and peasants' associations of all levels after attending short-term training courses and being helped by other methods to raise their standards. Now a new-born army of revolutionary Tibetan cadres is growing fast in Tibet. These cadres are a valuable asset of the Tibetan people. They have not only played an important role in democratic reform, but will certainly play an even greater role in the great cause of building a new, democratic and socialist Tibet.

The development of various kinds of work in Tibet needs the help and support of the people of all the fraternal nationalities, first of all the Han people; we must have quite a large number of Han cadres and cadres of other fraternal nationalities working in Tibet. Apart from those cadres who have gone to work in Tibet over the past few years, in 1959 the central authorities transferred a group of highly competent cadres of the district level and above from the various fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the country to work in Tibet. The overwhelming majority of the cadres of Han and other fraternal nationalities in Tibet have displayed a lofty quality of perseverance in enduring hardships, wholeheartedness in serving the Tibetan people and unswerving devotion to the cause of the liberation of the Tibetan people. After taking part in practical work for over a year, these cadres have in the main grasped conditions in Tibet, gained working experience there and forged close bonds with the Tibetan people. They have played and will certainly continue to play an important role in the revolutionary cause of the Tibetan people. The Tibetan people will never forget the great support and help given them by the various fraternal nationalities headed by their big brothers, the Han people. An important task in training cadres in Tibet is for them to make energetic efforts to learn the Tibetan and Han languages. Many cadres of the Han and other nationalities have painstakingly studied Tibetan in the course of their work over the past two years; some of them have mastered the language in daily use. At the same time, many Tibetan cadres have also been making big efforts to learn the Han language. In the past year, Communist Party committees and people's governments at all levels have paid great attention to the study of the Tibetan

and Han languages among cadres, and some results have already been obtained. From now on, we must carry on this work in a better planned way and adopt effective measures to organize among cadres the regular study of the Tibetan and Han languages, so that the majority of Han cadres will be able to master the Tibetan language and play a still bigger role in their work and that the majority of Tibetan cadres will be able to master the Han language with which they can more easily acquire various kinds of knowledge and the more quickly improve themselves. This is, at the same time, of great significance in enabling the Tibetan and Han cadres to give greater help to each other in their work and make joint efforts to carry on their successful work.

IV

With regard to culture, education, public health and other work, now that the broad masses of people have gained political and economic emancipation through democratic reform, they stand urgently in need of a cultural rehabilitation. To do this, beginning in 1959, large numbers of non-government primary schools have been set up in the vast countryside. There was a further new growth of such schools in 1960. Incomplete statistics showed that the Tibet Region now has more than 1,500 such non-government primary schools or non-government schools run with government aid with an enrolment of more than 30,000 pupils. In the development of school education, we have implemented the Party policy of "education with productive labour;" in the light of the actual conditions of today we have adopted the principle of "relying mainly on non-government schools, those run by the government playing a supplementary role;" we have strengthened the leadership of the large number of non-government primary schools and the work of consolidating them and raising their standards. Following the rapid growth of the large numbers of non-government schools, a great shortage of teachers was experienced. In the past year the various localities have helped to remould a group of teachers from the old-style private schools and lamas and made them teachers in non-government primary schools. To help the masses gradually solve the difficulty of the shortage of teachers, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region set up a teachers'

training class in Lhasa; the first group of trainees, 102 in number, finished their studies in September and have been appointed primary school teachers in various places. As to teaching materials, primary school textbooks universally used in the country have been translated into Tibetan and are now being printed and distributed for use in different localities. At the same time, provisional textbooks for the teaching of Tibetan and arithmetic have also been compiled and printed.

Judging from the actual situation in Tibet, the development of primary school education on the principle of relying mainly on non-government schools and setting up such schools with government aid is a good method of mobilizing the masses and the entire people to run the education system. In the future we plan to go a step further and steadily strengthen the leadership of the non-government primary schools, help the masses, and if the conditions are provided, solve the difficult problems of running schools which they cannot solve and thereby steadily improve the quality of these schools and guide them gradually to perfection.

There are now 13 government primary schools in Tibet with a total enrolment of more than 3,000 pupils. They are in a fairly good condition. To further raise the quality of tuition and through teaching practice, studies are now being made in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet on the experience of how to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in educational development; this is being done so that the experience may be used to guide educational development throughout the Tibet Region to still greater, faster and better results.

In secondary education, there is a junior middle school in Lhasa which took in its first group of 40 graduates in 1960. Middle school classes with a total enrolment of more than 400 students have been established in Shigatse, Chamdo and Gyantse.

In the field of culture and the arts, due to the care given by the central authorities and the support of the fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, there are now 70 professional cinema teams with a total staff of some 200 in Tibet in addition to professional song and dance troupes and dramatic troupes. These cinema teams and dramatic troupes regularly go deep into the rural and pastoral areas to give performance. This has given excellent results in co-ordinating efforts around the central task at a particular

time, in propagating Party's policy among the broad masses, and educating the nationalities in patriotism and socialism and in unity. The broad masses themselves have also organized a good many spare-time Tibetan opera, dance, and modern drama troupes; they stage and are the audience of items written by themselves, which expose and accuse the feudal serf system and the crimes committed by the three types of feudal owners, praise the great Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, our great leader, and sing of their new life. The groans of misery can no longer be heard today in the vast countryside and the towns of Tibet; everywhere there is song and a joyful new atmosphere.

Medical and health work showed a new development in 1960 and the whole Tibet Region now has 118 medical organizations. Public health centres exist in most of the counties and people's hospitals are to be found in all special administrative regions. The work of the mobile medical teams has been strengthened generally over the past year in vigorous co-operation with the democratic reform, the autumn harvest and the re-check of the reform. Since this brings medical care to great numbers of patients in remote and isolated districts, their service is warmly welcomed by the masses. Public health and epidemic-prevention work has also been undertaken at the same time; a mass patriotic health movement in co-ordination with production and the collection of manure was launched in all localities and has produced remarkably satisfactory results. A group of Tibetan personnel engaged in health work has been trained in the past year. More than 100 junior Tibetan cadres engaged in health work who were trained in the Loka and Gyangtse Special Administrative Region have already gone to their posts, and more than 200 junior health personnel are being trained in Lhasa and other places. According to incomplete statistics, the Tibet Region has also trained more than 500 nurses and midwives who have not left their normal jobs. Moreover, the people's hospitals in various places have investigated and studied the diseases that occur in the plateau.

New developments have also taken place in the work of finance, economy, trade, communications and transport over the past year.

These achievements have been made as a result of the brilliant and correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. The policies concerning Tibet's democratic reform and pro-

duction defined by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao fully conform to the actual situation in Tibet and are absolutely correct. In the past year, the Tibet Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Party Committees at various levels, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and the people's governments of the various levels have correctly and thoroughly implemented the principles and policies laid down by the central authorities and, on the basis of the great victories gained in putting down the rebellion and in reform in 1953, have enabled the work of all kinds in Tibet to advance continuously with greater, faster, better and more economical results and win tremendous, new victories. At the same time, the people of the fraternal nationalities, all over the country and the fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions have given great support and assistance to the people of Tibet in manpower, materials and other ways over the past year. The achievements in all kinds of work in Tibet over the past year are, therefore, victories of the unprecedentedly great unity of the people of all the fraternal nationalities in our country under the radiance of the Chinese Communist Party's policy for the nationalities.

Through our work in the past year, we have gained a further and deeper understanding of the fact that Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee for achieving victories in all fields of our work. The leadership given by the Party ranks first among a thousand or ten thousand things. So long as we closely rely on Party leadership in our work and carry out, conscientiously and thoroughly, Party principles, policies and various directives, our direction will be clear and we shall win victories on all fronts. If we depart from Party leadership and go against the principles and policies defined by the Party, our work will face failure. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is the red banner that forever guides us to victory. Chairman Mao has constantly taught us that no reactionaries will quit the stage of history of their own accord and that they will invariably resort to disruption; disrupt, fail, again disrupt, again fail, and so on till their doom. We should not entertain any foolish illusions about the reactionaries; we must mobilize the masses to wage resolute struggles against them until they are utterly defeated. Numerous facts have proved the absolute correctness and wisdom of this teaching of Chairman Mao. The reactionaries of Tibet suffered

crushing defeats in 1959, but they will still seek to disrupt whenever they have the slightest chance; we must constantly maintain our vigilance against their intrigues and wage resolute struggles against them until they have completely fallen and can disrupt no longer. Chairman Mao has also taught us that all revolutionary work and revolutionary movements are movements of the broad masses for their own emancipation and that we must adopt the mass-line and fully mobilize the masses to carry it out. Work in Tibet over the past year has proved in practice that wherever the masses were fully mobilized and their level of consciousness raised, the reform, production and other work have become the conscious activities of the masses, and, reliance on the masses has been practised in the course of the work and a broad mass movement has emerged; there was no place for the counter-revolutionaries to get their foot in, the democratic reforms were thoroughly carried out, production was in excellent condition and vigour and vitality characterized the work of all descriptions. Where things were otherwise, everything lacked bustling activity and drive. In the future, we must conscientiously organize the study of Chairman Mao's writings among all the cadres, arm our minds with the thought of Mao Tse-tung and thoroughly implement the directives of the Party and Chairman Mao in a practical and even better way in our actual work.

Through our work over the past year, we have gained a still deeper understanding of the fact that strengthening the unity between the people of the fraternal nationalities of our motherland and the mutual assistance and help between the people of the various nationalities constitutes an important guarantee for the common development, prosperity and progress of the people of all the nationalities in our country. It is inconceivable that the people of Tibet will be able to rid themselves thoroughly of their poverty and backwardness and take the road towards prosperity and happiness without the mutual assistance and help of the people of all the other fraternal nationalities. The people of Tibet will always safeguard, as they do their own lives, the unity of the motherland and solidarity among the nationalities; they will work continuously to strengthen and make firm this solidarity.

The past year has further confirmed, in practice, that the industrious and courageous people of Tibet, like the people of the other fraternal nationalities of the motherland, have an abundant

and inexhaustible store of wisdom. Emancipated through democratic reform, the people of Tibet have displayed remarkable initiative and creative ability in production and construction over the past year. They are now striving to build a new democratic, socialist Tibet.

In short, a wonderful situation prevails in Tibet today. Prosperous scenes of labour and production exist in every corner of the vast countryside and the towns. This is the main trend of our work in Tibet. On the other hand, however, there are a number of shortcomings in our work because we lack experience. This is mainly expressed in that the masses are not so fully mobilized in a few places and that our work in the vast pastoral areas has not yet acquired a body of experience suited to their characteristics such as the sparsity of the population over extensive areas, the fact that the dwelling places of the masses are scattered and that many people are nomadic. At the same time, there are many problems which call for further efforts for their solution. These include the need to further strengthen and stabilize the establishment and perfection of the various work systems in the organizations of the people's State power at different levels, the need to continue strengthening and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, and improve communications and transport.

In the light of the actual conditions in Tibet today, our main task in the coming period is thoroughly to complete the democratic reform, further consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, carry the people's democratic revolution through to the end and energetically develop agriculture and animal husbandry production. In doing this we shall still meet new difficulties. But under the brilliant and correct leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, under the radiance of the three red banners—the general line, the big leap forward and the people's commune—and with the assistance and help of the people of the fraternal nationalities all over the country, we are confident and determined to go on developing the good system of hard work, guarding against complacency and impetuosity, keeping close ties with the masses, uniting the people of all social strata, enhancing our political vigilance, summoning up still greater revolutionary energy, conscientiously implementing Party principles and policies, vigorously overcoming every kind of difficulty, continuously overcoming the shortcomings in our work, striving to do our best at our work and devoting our efforts to building a new, democratic and socialist Tibet.

*Election Committee for the Tibet Autonomous
Region Formally Inaugurated*

(NCNA, Lhasa, August 26, from *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, August 27, 1962)

An Election Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was formally inaugurated on August 25, 1962.

On the same day, the Election Committee held its first plenary session, which was presided over by its Chairman, Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng. Speaking at the session, the Panchen said the first general elections in the Tibet region was an event of great significance in the history of Tibet. For the past few thousand years, Tibet had always been under brutal feudal serfdom and ruled by the three manorial lords; the broad masses of Tibetans were ruthlessly oppressed and exploited. It was only after the completion of the long-awaited democratic reforms that the Tibetans were able to attain complete political emancipation. The formal establishment of the Election Committee and gradual introduction of general elections in the region signified that the Tibetan people were genuinely enjoying the right to run their own affairs and that Tibet had entered a new historical era.

The Election Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up in accordance with a decision adopted by the 41st Standing Committee session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

The present session made known the namelist of the constituent members of the Election Committee, as approved by the State Council. Chairman: Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng; Vice-Chairmen: Chang Kuo-hua⁹, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Pebala Choliehnamje, Chou Jen-shan, and Shirou Dungchu¹⁰; members: Chantung Jejigme¹¹, Gahden Tsripa Thubten-Kunga¹², Lamin Yishitsuden¹³, Namdon Kunga Wongchung¹⁴, Tsuiko Dongchutseren¹⁵, Teng Shao-tung, Sampo Tsewong Rentzen, Hui Yi-jan, Dorjetsirten¹⁶, Chienpaitzuli, Fang Ch'ih-hsin¹⁷, Jechung Jongbatzuli, Ch'en Ching-po¹⁸, Ngapo Tsirtenchoga, Chang Ch'eng-wu¹⁹, Minchulin Jongbatzulin Kanrenlopu, Ch'en Shao-shan, Shurkong Thubten Nima²⁰, Hou Chieh, and Wang

Pei-sheng (Hui).

The session also appointed the secretary-general and deputy secretaries-general for the Election Committee and the director and deputy directors of the General Office. It also decided on the establishment of election organs at various levels in Tibet.

*Correctly Implement the Party's Guideline and Policy on
Democratic Reform in Tibet*

By Chang Ching-wu

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 25, 1962)

.....

In the course of the reform, the overwhelming majority of cadres were able to understand fully and carry out seriously the Party policy, but there were also a minority of cadres who did not properly understand the Party's buying-out policy but, after undergoing the Party education on policy and learning that under the leadership of the Party the execution of the Party's buying-out policy in Tibet is necessary and possible, they raised their level of political consciousness, thus enabling certain shortcomings in work to be rapidly rectified.

Through the democratic reform movement, it was possible to fundamentally change the production relations in Tibet and turn serfdom into ownership by the individual peasants. With the new production relations firmly established, the long-dormant social productive forces were liberated. The political zeal of the labouring people for being their own masters and their production ardour were heightened as never before. Over 90 per cent of the region's peasant households joined the mutual-aid teams for agricultural production. With great fanfare the peasants unfolded a patriotic bumper-crop movement and actively changed the former state of affairs where farming was roughly done with crude production tools. They built vast numbers of irrigation canals and reclaimed vast tracts of wasteland within the space of three years, and Tibet reaped bumper harvests for three consecutive years. Pastoral production conditions were also favourable and the number of cattle and animals showed an increase over 1959. The handicraft industry, too, recovered and developed. Thanks to the results of democratic reform and the development of production, the living conditions of the peasants and herdsmen and handicraft workers began to improve.

.....

Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng made the following five sugges-

tions for the work toward monasteries in the course of the democratic reform, namely: (1) the monasteries must give up the practice of exploitation; (2) they must implement democratic administration; (3) they must carry out Government orders and introduce the Constitution of the People's Republic of China into the monasteries; (4) the monasteries must engage in production; (5) the Government will be responsible for the livelihood of the old and young lamas and priests. These five suggestions are excellent and have been put into practice step by step in the monastery work. As suggested by Panchen Erdeni, a number of lamas with a knowledge of Buddhist classics have been organized to make special studies for further advancement in Buddhism.

.....At present the work is being concentrated on setting up the Tibet Autonomous Region. Of the eleven Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region now exercising the functions of the Tibet Local Government, nine are Tibetans. Throughout the region seven administrative districts, one municipality and 72 *hsien* have been set up, in addition to 283 administrative organs of the *ch'u* level and 1,009 of the *hsiang* level. Over 6,000 cadres are Tibetan, of whom more than 300 are performing leadership duties as heads of administrative districts, *hsien* and *ch'u*. For the past several years, they have become the hard core of the basic-level work. They are firm in their class stand, close to the masses, and implement Party policy. Of the Tibetan cadres, more than 1,000 of the Tibetan cadres have been honoured with Party membership and over 2,000 with Young Communist League membership. Over 100 Party branches and over 300 League branches have been set up in the villages. A large number of nationality cadres are rapidly growing up. General elections will be held in Tibet when conditions are ripe, people's congresses will be formed at all levels, and the Tibet Autonomous Region will be inaugurated. This will be a great event for the people of Tibet.

EXPLANATORY COMMENT:

In the crop-growing area, the Chinese Communists declared in 1961 that Tibet had had a bumper harvest for three consecutive years²¹, in contrast to lower production in the rest of China during the same period.

B. Economics

Document 91

3.5 Million Catties of Interest-Free Seeds and Grain Loaned to Tibetan Peasants

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 18, 1959)

According to preliminary statistics compiled during the past month or so, the several dozen teams sent by the CCP Tibet Work Committee and the Tibet Military Area Command of the PLA to handle agricultural loans have already distributed more than 3.5 million catties of seeds and grain as interest-free loans to the poor peasants in various parts of Tibet. This has solved the acute seed and grain shortage in the rural areas caused by the exploitation of the serf masters and has enabled the peasants to accomplish victoriously their spring tilling and sowing.

The interest-free loans of seed and grain issued this year were bigger than in past years and were distributed over a wider area. From Chamdo in the eastern plateau to Ari in the highlands in the west, from the Brahmaputra River basin in central Tibet to the remote Himalaya Mountain area, many peasant households whose belongings were plundered by the rebels or who lacked seeds and grain because of exploitation by the serf owners have now received these interest-free seeds and grain.....

In *Nai-tung tsung* where the rebels were entrenched at one time, practically all the peasant households' seed and food grain was plundered and large tracts of farmland were left untilled and unsown. As soon as the PLA arrived, they began to issue interest-free loans of seed and food grain to the peasants, averaging over 200 catties of *ch'ingko* [a type of grain] per household. They also loaned a number of animals to plow the land for those households which had no draft animals. In *Chamdo tsung*, *Ningching tsung* and *Kiangta tsung* in the Chamdo area, every poor peasant-household received about 50 or 60 catties of grain as an interest-free loan, together with one or two modern farm tools, free of charge.

In Shigatse and Gyangtse in the Nuangch'u River Valley, the amount of agricultural loans issued this year greatly increased over past years. In the past month alone, more than 1.5 million catties of seed-grain have been distributed among some 12,000 poor peasant households.

In the past, the peasants in Tibet had to borrow seed at high rates of interest from the former Tibetan Local Government and serf owners. The seed-grain in general was borrowed in the spring and returned in the autumn and the interest for the six months was between 25 and 100 per cent. Some of the peasants toiled year in and year out, but were never able to repay their debts. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Central People's Government has distributed interest-free agricultural loans to the peasants every year. But the Tibetan reactionary authorities and some of the serf owners obstructed this in every possible way, forcing the peasants not to take these loans or seizing the seed grain already received by the peasants. As a result, many peasants still remained under the exploitation of usurers. Only in this year have the Tibetan peasants really been freed from the fetters of usury.

The agricultural-loan work teams are warmly received by the broad masses of the peasants everywhere. Many peasants have been calling these teams "the life-saving Buddha"..... These agricultural-loan teams are now moving into the most remote mountainous villages to issue interest-free loans. They aim to bring seed and grain to every poor peasant in time for the spring sowing.

*To Comfort the Poor, Lead in Production and Make
Preparations for Reform*

(NCNA, Lhasa, May 22, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 23, 1959)

Recently, the CCP Tibet Work Committee issued a directive to Party committees at various levels in that region, calling on the entire body of cadres and all officers and men of the People's Liberation Army units garrisoned in Tibet to be both fighters to put down the rebellion, and workers to go deeply among the masses to mobilize them and lead them in production. It also urges them to pave the way for democratic reform. At present, Party committees at various levels in Tibet and the Military Control Commission have already formed working teams to go down to the villages, visit and comfort the poor, help the people in production and set the mass work in motion.

In its directive, the CCP Tibet Work Committee pointed out that, simultaneously with the thorough suppression of the rebellion staged by the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet, it was necessary to render positive leadership over the masses in production, to enforce earnestly the policy of "all who till the land of the rebels will own the crops they cultivate and will not have to pay any rent," to leave no arable land idle, and to strive for a bumper agricultural harvest in the first year following the suppression of the revolt.

As a result of the long rule of the dark, backward, cruel and reactionary serf system, Tibet's grain output has been very low and much land has been left in waste. Thus, in its directive, the CCP Tibet Work Committee urged that Party committees at various levels should, within the current and the following years, lead the people to raise per unit area output on the one hand and to reclaim wasteland and expand the cultivated acreage on the other. At the moment, Party committees at various levels should grasp the following principal links in production: build small-scale water conservancy projects and irrigation facilities; protect draft animals and forbid the reckless killing of cattle; and improve the farm tools now used by the Tibetan people. At the same time, they should

urge the masses to change their habit of ignoring the accumulation and application of fertilizer, second tilling and frequent weeding, and improve their farm work and field management.

The CCP Tibet Work Committee believed that it was necessary to meet the Tibetan people's urgent demand for democratic reform, to actively lead and organize the masses in making preparations for reform, to completely overthrow the cruel serf system, and to enable the Tibetans to advance step by step along the road to democracy and socialism. For this reason, the Work Committee asked cadres at various levels to visit the poor, to go deeply among the poverty-stricken labouring people, to live and work with them and to establish the revolutionary style of closely associating with the masses and working hard to liberate the millions of serfs in Tibet.

Recently, Chang Kuo-hua and Chou Jen-shan, two Deputy-Secretaries of the CCP Tibet Work Committee, took a few of the leading members of the committee and of the Tibet Military Area Command on a visit to Dzai *tsung* (蔡宗) and Dungge *tsuug* (東噶宗) in the Lhasa area. They called on a number of serfs and investigated their living conditions. Chang Kuo-hua also worked with the poor peasants and helped build an irrigation canal.....

*Conference of Outstanding Groups and Individuals
in Tibet Held in Lhasa*

(*Jen-min Jih-pao*, December 4, 1960)

A Conference of Outstanding Groups and Individuals from All Fields in the Tibet Region began in Lhasa on December 2. More than 400 people from various production and construction fronts in Tibet are attending this conference. Over 80 per cent of these people are middle peasants and herdsmen, and nearly 400 of them were formerly serfs or slaves.

There was bright sunshine in the city on December 2. The conference hall—the Lhasa Auditorium in front of the Potala Palace—was beautifully decorated.

At 10:30 a. m. the Conference was declared open while the national anthem was being played.

T'an Kuan-san, Deputy-Secretary of the CCP Tibet Work Committee, made a congratulatory speech on behalf of the CCP Tibet Work Committee in the midst of warm applause. He explained that the Conference had been called in conditions in which the democratic reform had achieved great success, a bumper farm harvest had been gained and tremendous achievements had been attained on other fronts of production.

He said: "Following the great victory of the democratic reform, a bumper harvest in agricultural production has been gained in the Tibet area this year. We have witnessed new developments in pastoral production, and greater developments have been seen in industrial production and communications and transportation than in the previous year. Great achievements have been made in finance and trade, culture, education, health, and the handicraft industry as well as in those trades which serve the central work of the Party, production and the livelihood of the people."

He added: "The great achievements we have made in this brief period of one year or so fully proves that the policies and lines formulated by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao are perfectly correct, and that we shall be ever victorious if only we resolutely follow the directives of the Party centre and

Chairman Mao. They also prove the inexhaustible wisdom and creativeness of the emancipated Tibetan working people.”

A message of greetings from Panchen Erdeni, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, who is on an inspection tour of the country, was read out at the conference. The message said that the convening of this conference was a happy event for all Tibetan people.

Describing the great successes achieved in Tibet in the democratic reform, he said: “All this makes us feel deeply that of all things, leadership by the Chinese Communist Party comes first. The thought of Mao Tse-tung is a beacon light for the constant victory in all kinds of our work, and the solidarity of the people of the various fraternal nationalities throughout the country is an important assurance for the common development of our various nationalities.” He encouraged the representatives to perform their work with better results and to win greater glory for the mother country and the people.

Chang Ching-wu, Representative of the Central People's Government and Secretary of the CCP Tibet Work Committee, gave a detailed analysis of the excellent situation prevailing in Tibet and the great achievements made in the past year. He elaborated upon the various policies of the Party and the future tasks of the Tibet region.

He said: “The great success of the democratic reform in Tibet has forever ended the most reactionary, dark, savage and barbaric feudal serfdom which was heartily supported and loved by imperialism. The million serfs who had suffered all kinds of exploitation and enslavement, generation after generation, have risen to their feet. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, they have established their own democratic power, the people's governments at various levels, and peasant and herdsmen associations, so that now they can run their own affairs and all the work of the nationality.

“Through the movement against the rebellion, against unpaid forced labour and against human bondage, and through rent and interest reductions and land reform, the labouring people have land, herds and other means of production for the first time in their history. The changeover from ownership of the means of production by the serf-owners to ownership of the means of production

by the peasants has freed the productive forces. The enthusiasm of the masses in production has risen greatly and good harvests have been achieved for the past two years, with a consequent improvement in the people's living standard. Primary schools, evening classes and spare-time training classes for adults are rapidly increasing in number and more and more examples are coming forward indicating the new thinking and new morality in Tibet, and that profound changes are taking place in the people's outlook. These fundamental and profound changes are a victory for the nationalities policy of the Chinese Communist Party.

Continuing, Chang Ching-wu expounded on the suppression of the rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet, the introduction of democratic reform, and the formation of the united front by the people of the upper strata in Tibet. He called on all the Party members and cadres and all advanced producers and activists to study Party policies seriously, to publicize Party policies among the masses of people earnestly, and to implement Party policies resolutely in order that they may be truly grasped by the broad masses.

Analyzing the nature of the revolution in Tibet and the present tasks in Tibet, Chang Ching-wu pointed out in his report that Tibet was still in the stage of democratic revolution. It should concentrate on carrying the democratic reform through to the end, continue to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship and proletarian leadership, completely wipe out the remnants of feudal serfdom and the ideological influences of the imperialists and foreign reactionaries, develop the economy and culture of the new democracy, rapidly raise the consciousness of the people, train more Tibetan cadres, and build up the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. He pointed out that only when this series of tasks were thoroughly carried out could Tibet properly enter into the stage of socialist revolution.

In his report Chang Ching-wu pointed out in conclusion that three major tasks must be properly carried out for the future. They were:

- (1) To continue consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, consolidating and extending the people's democratic united front, and protecting the fruits of victory.
- (2) To develop energetically agriculture and livestock-breeding.

ing, unfold a mass patriotic increase-in-production-and-practice-economy campaign in observance of the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor of the national economy.

(3) To develop vigorously culture, education and public health.

He urged all representatives at the meeting to guard against self-conceit and impetuosity, and to bear in mind forever the teaching of Chairman Mao that "modesty leads to progress and conceit leads to retrogression," so as to continue to play an exemplary role.

Present also at the conference were Pebala Cholieh-Namje and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, Ch'en Ming-yi (陳明義), Deputy Commander of the Tibet Military Area, Chan Hua-yü (詹化雨), Deputy Political Commissar, and leading members of government institutions and mass organizations in the region.

[*The Katmandu-Lhasa Highway*]

(NCNA, Katmandu, October 21, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 21, 1962)

Work will soon begin on the Katmandu-Lhasa Highway, according to [the].....Nepalese Minister of Communications. He stated that simultaneously with the surveying work, arrangements are being made to import the necessary equipment for road building. Preliminary surveying has already been completed for the highway, he continued. The Chinese experts, with the assistance of the local authorities, are carrying out careful surveying work.

Custom House Formally Set Up in Tibet

(NCNA, Lhasa, May 12, 1962, from Peking *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, May 13, 1962)

The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region on May 10 announced eight measures, including "Provisional Measures for the Collection of Import and Export Duties by the Customs House of the Chinese People Republic for the Tibetan Region," "Provisional Measures for the Enforcement of Provisional Regulations Governing Foreign Trade for the Tibet Autonomous Region," and "Provisional Measures for the Control of Silver and Gold and the Prohibition of the Circulation of Foreign Currencies and Silver Dollars." These measures will become effective throughout the Tibetan region as of the date of announcement.

Acting on the decision adopted by the State Council to set up customs houses in the Tibet region, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region also declared the formal inauguration on May 10, 1962 of the Customs House for the Tibetan region.

The customs tariff for imports and exports for the Tibetan region is lower than that of other regions of our country. After the collection of import or export duties begins, the traditional small trading by the residents of the border region with the people of neighbouring countries will be allowed to go on as usual.

[*The Handicraft Industry in Tibet*]

(NCNA, June 1, 1962, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, June 2, 1962)

In recent years the handicraft industry in Tibet has steadily increased both in output and in variety, as well as in quality. It has presented a picture of rapid growth. In the suburban district of Shigatse where the handicraft industry is more concentrated, there were only 13 different trades, including ironware, textile weaving and spinning, back in 1960. But the number has now increased to 25. In the past year, 40 additional kinds of handicrafts have been added to the *hsien's* handicraft industry. Many of the products have an improved quality and appearance. In Lhasa alone, the number of handicraft workers has increased by over 500 during the past two years and they now turn out over 800 kinds of products.

About 80 per cent of the articles in daily use and the tools of production formerly used by the people of the Tibetan region were produced by their local handicraft industry. After the democratic reform, handicraft workers, with the assistance of the Party and the Government, set up mutual-aid teams; they also received vigorous support from the Party and the Government in the way of production tools, raw materials and funds.

Last year, in Shigatse, Chamdo, and Linchih alone, the State supplied the handicraft workers with over 27,600 tools of various kinds. The Shigatse Administrative District was supplied with over 100,000 catties of wool and 20,000 pieces of leather last year for the use of the civilians. The State also supplied over ¥40,000 last year to the handicraft workers of Lhasa, Shigatse and Gyangtse where the handicraft industry is more concentrated, so as to enable them to buy more tools and raw materials.

*Lhasa's New Generator Goes into Operation;
the City's Electricity Supply Up by 25 Per Cent*

(NCNA, Lhasa, October 27, 1962)

The Ngajim [Naichin] Hydroelectric Plant in Lhasa recently put another hydroelectric power generator into operation. This has increased the city's electric power supply by 25 per cent.

This plant is the larger of the city's two hydroelectric power plants. Completed in April 1960, it has greatly added to the convenience of the local residents and has considerably facilitated production and construction in the city. The people of Lhasa call this plant the Pearl of the Lhasa River. Electricity is now universally used in the city's factories as well as for lighting purposes. Electric lamps may be seen in about 95 per cent of the homes of the residents and the city is well-lit by night. Such well-known monasteries as Jokhan [Ta-chao Ssu], Sera [Se-la Ssu] and Daipung [Che-pang Ssu] now all have electric lights.

C. Education and Science

Notes to Documents 98-100

In December 1961, it was reported that there were then four middle schools in Tibet and a newly-established Lhasa Normal School. Probably of greater significance are the "people-operated" (人民自己舉辦的) primary schools, i.e., schools financed by the populace rather than the government. This practice of placing the financial burden on the Tibetans is a reflection of recent practices in other parts of China (see *Union Research Service*, "Six Years of Agricultural Middle Schools in Kiangsu", Vol. 31, No. 19, June 4, 1963).

In the medical and health field, the Peking *Jen-min Hua-pao* (People's Pictorial), No. 4, 1962 reported 156 medical and health organs throughout Tibet. Further and more detailed information is reported in Document 99.

Scientific work in Tibet continues, though at an apparently slow rate. The scientific report contained in Document 100 was conducted by the Scientific Investigation Team of Tibet, one of the six field investigations sent by the Academy of Sciences to the various minority nationalities regions in 1961. In addition, the Szechwan Branch of the Academy of Sciences sent a compilation team to Tibet. Work on the compilation of a Tibetan-Chinese dictionary reportedly began in 1958 and was completed by the end of 1961.²³

*Lhasa Normal School Opens--
First Primary School Teacher Training Centre in Tibet*

(NCNA, Lhasa, December 27, from *Jen-min Jik-pao*, December 28, 1961)

The Lhasa Normal School opened on December 23. This is a primary school teacher training school and the first of its kind in Tibet.

The school has over 280 students in its six classes. The students of two of the classes had already been studying for one year in the teacher training class at Lhasa Middle School and have been transferred to this school for further study. Graduates from this school will be assigned mainly to teach in the public-run primary schools throughout Tibet.

Tibet has made much headway in its educational work during the past three years. There are now four middle schools and one normal school in the region. After the democratic reform movement, the number of primary schools run by the Tibetan people has reached 1,836, with over 58,000 pupils, an overwhelming majority of whom are children whose parents were formerly serfs and slaves. Various measures are being taken by the Party and the People's Government to boost the normal development of these public-run primary schools.

Medical and Health Work in Tibet Makes Big Strides

(NCNA, Lhasa, November 25, from *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, November 26, 1961)

Recent statistics from the relevant quarters here revealed that the number of medical and health organs in the Tibetan region has now increased over seven-fold compared with that in the days of the rebellion started by the upper-stratum reactionary group. General hospitals have been set up in the region's seven administrative districts. Health centres have been established in 68 of the 73 *hsien* and health clinics have been started in some of the *ch'u*. Health protection stations have sprung up in many villages in Shan-nan, Gyangtse and Linchih Administrative Districts.

According to statistics, there are now over 1,300 medical workers in the region of whom over 500 are Tibetans. There are over 600 part-time health workers and midwives in the region.

The rapid developments made in medical and health work has considerably reduced such epidemic diseases as small-pox and measles. In some areas these diseases have been basically checked.

Tibetan medicine, i. e., the nationalities medicine of the Tibetans, has also been further developed in Tibet over the past two years or so. In Lhasa, the first out-patient clinic of Tibetan medicine has been set up. This is visited daily by several hundred patients. During the past year this clinic has sorted out Tibetan methods of treatment for over 400 kinds of sickness.

*Underground Frozen Earth Stratum Found on the
Tsinghai-Tibetan Plateau*

(NCNA, Lanchow, May 6, from *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 7, 1962)

On the vast Tsinghai-Tibetan plateau, one or two metres below the surface of the ground there begins a continuous layer, over 100 metres thick of earth which has been frozen for many years. In some parts of this layer of frozen earth there is a wide layer of ice.

A scientific investigation team discovered that on the vast stretch of the Tsinghai-Tibetan plateau, one or two metres below the ground there is continuous layer of age-old frozen earth over 100 metres thick. In some sections, there is a large layer of ice above this frozen earth. The ice layer varies from one and half to metres in thickness. The ice dug out is crystal clear and contains no foreign bodies.

During the autumn or winter, mounds of ice may suddenly spring up on the plateau scores of feet high. Sometimes, on the surface of the ground which shortly before has bubbling streams of water, there may suddenly be seen crystal clear, sparking large block of ice. When the weather gets warmer, the blocks of ice will suddenly disappear and become placid ponds. Some of these ponds, between 5 and 20 metres across, crisscross the plateau like silvery patches of water. Another strange thing that happens on the plateau is that a small furnace shop may slowly sink down year by year. After rain the water-logged lowland may also cave in gradually, and slowly enlarge in size until it becomes a pond.

The secret of these strange natural phenomena has now been discovered by a scientific investigation team which consists of scientific research units of the Preparatory Committee of the Ice Rivers, Snow-clad Mountains and Frozen Earth Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and other relevant institutions of higher learning. Two years of scientific investigation conducted in this area resulted in these preliminary findings: there exists a 100-150 metres thick layer of frozen earth one and a half to two metres below the surface of the ground on the plateau. This frozen

earth will not melt even in the summer time and is therefore called age-old frozen earth. A furnace shop built on this frozen earth will, due to the induction of heat into the ground which slowly melts the frozen earth, cause the ground to cave in. Moreover, in the depths of this frozen earth there are underground lakes which, under tremendous pressure from the frozen earth, will force the earth's surface to cave in suddenly and huge ice mounds will be thrust up above the ground. When the underground water emerges above ground, it forms into huge icicles five to six or even more than 10 metres high. The investigations prove that the frozen earth is the cause of these strange phenomena above the ground. Investigation and research work is still going on, conducted by a young team investigating the frozen earth.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Early Contacts between the Chinese Communists and Tibetans

With its origins in East and Central-South China, the Chinese Communist movement had virtually early contacts with Tibetans. However, during the Long March, Communist troops came into contact with a number of minority peoples as they pushed through Southwest and Western China. Among these were Tibetans living in Sikang, Szechwan and Kansu.

Two years later, Mao Tse-tung was to discuss this contact with Edgar Snow, author of *Red Star Over China*. "This is our only foreign debt," Mao said, ".....and some day we must pay the Mantzu [Miaos] and the Tibetans for the provisions we were obliged to take from them."¹ The background to Mao's comment is briefly summarised in the following paragraphs.

In the fall of 1934, approximately 90,000 Red Army troops broke through the Kuomintang encirclement and headed for Kweichow, thus beginning the Long March. By the spring of 1935, only about 30,000 men still survived. They intended to move northward to Shensi, but Kuomintang troops blocked the way. As a result, the Red Army was forced to detour through Yunnan, cross the Tatu River on the Yunnan-Szechwan border and the Ta-hsüeh Mountains in western Szechwan, moving northward through areas inhabited by Tibetans.

In June 1935, the Red Army arrived at Maoerhkai, a city located in northwest Szechwan where many Tibetans lived. The Communist forces were extremely short of both grain and salt. As a consequence they violated their self-imposed policy of favorable treatment to minority nationalities. By their own accounts, the Red Army resorted to force to get the necessary supplies. It robbed the Tibetans of their cattle and sheep, harvested their grains and vegetables, and forced their way into lamaseries for rice and flour.² Even "women's regiments"³ and "children's troops"⁴ were sent to attack lamaseries or to collect food.

In September 1935, having obtained a considerable quantity of grain in Maoerkhai, the Red Army moved northward across the grasslands in two groups, one keeping to the left and the other to the right. The latter group eventually arrived at Panyu in Szechwan, another place inhabited by Tibetans. The other group reached Ahpa, also in Szechwan and still another area inhabited by many Tibetans. At this point, disagreements arose among the Communists. The right column, led by Mao Tse-tung and numbering some 7-8,000, kept moving northward until it arrived in northern Shensi via Kansu. The other group, led by Chang Kuo-t'ao and numbering over 10,000, turned back from Ahpa, recrossed the grasslands, and returned to the Maoerkhai area.

Having returned to Maoerkhai, Chang Kuo-t'ao's forces were attacked by Kuomintang troops, forcing them to set out for Gantse and Taofu, both located in Szechwan and both inhabited by large numbers of Tibetans. At Gantse, this force was joined by another Red Army force which had fought its way from Hunan. Once again, the food situation proved to be extremely serious. Li Hsien-nien (now a Vice-Premier) was able to conclude a "peace treaty" with a captured Tibetan *yeh-pa* (the title of the official in charge of military affairs).⁵ Also, the Communists had to win over a number of Tibetan lamas and laymen whom they asked for help in raising grain and fodder. They then established the Po-pa-yi-t'e-wa Government (i. e., the "Tibetan People's Government"). In 1949, after the Chinese Communists had captured the mainland, some of these lamas and laymen who had helped them were repaid with posts in the government, a fact which Peking made a point to emphasize for propaganda purposes.⁶

In May 1936, that portion of the Red Army which had remained in Gantse was attacked by Government troops. Acting under the orders of the Central Committee, they withdrew to the north, leaving behind 40 wounded men in the care of pro-Communist Tibetans. Among the Tibetans who left with the Red Army, the most important was Sang-chi-yüeh-hsi, now an alternate member of the Central Committee.⁷

Appendix 2

Chiang Kai-shek's Message to Tibetans

Notes to Appendix 2

Immediately upon the outbreak of the Tibetan revolt in 1959, President Chiang Kai-shek addressed a message to the Tibetan peoples, assuring them of continued and effective aid. The text of this message follows.

President Chiang Kai-shek's Message to the Fellow Countrymen of Tibet

(Taipei, Chung-yang Jih-pao [Central Daily], March 27, 1959)

Greatly concerned with the fellow countrymen of Tibet who rose against tyranny, President Chiang specially addressed a message to the fellow countrymen of Tibet on the 26th. The full text of the message follows:

In rising to wage bloody battles against communism and tyranny at this time, you have begun the first page of the most solemn and glorious history of the anti-communist revolution of all the fellow countrymen on the mainland of China. Although I myself am in Taiwan today, my heart is with you all the time as you fight against communism. I am especially concerned with and will never forget the Tibetan monks who sacrificed their lives heroically in the Battle of Lhasa. The Government of the Republic of China is mustering all forces to give you continued and effective aid, and is calling on all fellow countrymen at home and abroad to unite as one in giving you active support.

You are not alone. Your movement against communism and tyranny which seeks to preserve the survival of the Tibetan nationality as a whole and the freedom of the individual Tibetans has not only made manifest your dauntless spirit, it has also revealed your unsurpassed heroism as the vanguard of freedom and security of the different nations and religions in Free Asia. Therefore, all countries and people in the world who love freedom and stand for justice will stand on your side and back you up. They will

pray for your success.

The Government of the Republic of China has all the time respected the inherent political and social organization of Tibet, and protected the Tibetan people's liberty of religion, and their freedom to lead their traditional way of life. I hereby declare categorically that as regards the future political system and political status of Tibet, once the Tibetan people are free to express their will following the destruction of the puppet regime of the bandits, our Government will meet your wish in accordance with the principle of national self-determinations.

Fellow countrymen of Tibet! The puppet government of the Communist bandits Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung attempts to suppress and bring under control your revolutionary movement against communism and tyranny with the cruel and violent measures of terror and massacre. I am convinced that although the brutal armed forces of the Communist Bandits can destroy your monasteries and pillage your cities for a time, they can never destroy your revolutionary determination and religious belief. Provided you go on to fight unremittingly to the end with greater resolution and courage, I will very soon lead the soldiers and people of the whole country to join forces with you on the mainland at the appointed time, so that we may fight together to save the country, the nation, and our fellow countrymen.

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NOTES

Chapter I

1. According to *Hsi-tsang Ta Shih Chi* (Record of Major Events in Tibet), Peking, May 1959, page 1, "At the instigation of imperialist aggressors, the Tibetan authorities cut off telegraphic communications between Lhasa and the outside world on July 8, 1949, asked the personnel of the Lhasa office of the Kuomintang government to leave Lhasa, closed the Han Chinese school in Lhasa, and expelled the Han people in Tibet."

2. In 1949, the Local Government of Tibet was prepared to send diplomatic missions to the United States, India, Nepal, and England to seek support for Tibet. The Chinese Communist response to this was a warning that acceptance of "illegal" diplomatic missions by any country would be considered a hostile act towards Communist China. Apparently this had some effect; in any event, the Western countries were unwilling to receive Tibetan diplomatic missions. In February 1950, the Local Government of Tibet sent a delegation to India, which planned to go to the China mainland via Hong Kong. In June, the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom at New Delhi refused the delegation's request for the necessary visas; the British apparently felt that the delicacy of Hong Kong's political position made it undesirable to allow Communist China and Tibet to hold any talks in that colony. (See *Nanyang Shang Pao*, Singapore, April 29, 1954.)

3. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 23, 1950.

4. See Chang Kuo-hua, "Tibet Returns to the Bosom of the Motherland," *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 25, 1962.

5. "1,891 officers and men of the Tibetan army who laid down their arms during the battle of Chamdo have been provided with travelling expenses, released and sent back to their homes in groups after undergoing a short period of study.

"The officers and men of the Tibetan army agreed that life during the period of study was the most pleasant in their lives. At classes, they took notes in Tibetan. At group meetings, they spoke in earnest and took part in discussions. During the day and even at night, they could be heard singing happily or chanting litanies.

At the conclusion of the course of study, many of the officers and men said that they had been like blind men in the past and that their eyes were now opened, and that they now realized that the Tibetan people must drive away the imperialists and return to the big family of the motherland if they wanted to be liberated.

“Having received their travelling allowances and travel permits, they respectfully bowed to the pictures of Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Chu before returning to their homes with their horses. They hoped that the radiance of Chairman Mao would soon be shed over Lhasa and all Tibet. Some of them sang joyfully in Tibetan the song of praise: “The Graces of Chairman Mao are Higher than Heaven!” (*Jen-min Jih-pao*, December 15, 1950, from *Jen-min Shou-ts'e*, 1951, page *Wu-27*.)

6. On the night of December 19, 1950, the Dalai Lama left Lhasa, arriving in Chunpi near Yatung on January 4, 1951, to set up a provisional government at Chunpi. He returned to Lhasa on August 17, 1951, see *Hsi-tsang Ta Shih Chi*, pp. 6-7; *Tzu Kuo Chou-k'an* (China Weekly), No. 137, Hong Kong, August 15, 1953; *The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law*, page 7, published by the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1959.

7. The “Three Major Rules of Discipline” are: (1) All actions shall be in accordance with directions; (2) Do not take from the masses even a single needle or piece of thread; and (3) All booty shall be delivered to the authorities. The “Eight Points for Attention” are: (1) Speak gently; (2) Buy and sell equitably; (3) Return all things borrowed; (4) Pay compensation for anything damaged; (5) Do not beat or orally abuse the people; (6) Do not damage crops; (7) Do not molest women; and, (8) Do not maltreat prisoners of war. (*Jen-min Nien-chien*, published by the Ta Kung Bookstore, Hong Kong, 1950, p. *chia-61*.)

The “Eight-Point Contract” was proclaimed by Mao Tse-tung (as Chairman of the Chinese People’s Revolutionary Military Committee) and Chu Teh (as Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army”) on April 25, 1949. It reads as follows:

Proclamation by the Chinese People’s Liberation Army:

Since the Kuomintang reactionary clique has already refused to accept our terms for peace and persists in its stand of waging an anti-national, anti-people, criminal war, the people throughout the country hope that the People’s Liberation Army will rapidly

liquidate the reactionary clique. We have already ordered the People's Liberation Army to march forward with courage, destroy all Kuomintang reactionary armed forces who dare to resist, arrest all obdurate and recalcitrant war criminals, liberate the people of the whole country, safeguard the independence and integrity of China's territory and sovereignty, and carry into effect the genuine peace and national unification so urgently desired by the people of the whole country. It is earnestly hoped that the public will assist the People's Liberation Army wherever it is. We hereby proclaim the following eight-point contract, which we are willing to observe together with the whole nation.

(1) Protect the lives and property of all the people. It is hoped that the people, regardless of their class, convictions, and profession, will maintain order and adopt a co-operative attitude toward the People's Liberation Army. The People's Liberation Army, on its part, will adopt a co-operative attitude towards the people. Any counter-revolutionaries or other saboteurs who seize the opportunity to cause trouble, commit robbery or other acts of sabotage will be severely dealt with.

(2) Protect national industry, commerce, agriculture, and animal husbandry. All privately operated industrial plants, commercial stores, banks, warehouses, shipping, wharves, agricultural farms, and animal farms will be protected against encroachment. It is hoped that members of all trades will continue to produce as usual and that all commercial stores will carry on business as usual.

(3) Confiscate bureaucratic capital. All industrial plants, commercial stores, banks, warehouse, shipping, wharves, railways, post offices, telegraphs, electric lights, telephones, water supply systems, and agricultural and animal farms operated by the Kuomintang reactionary government and big bureaucrats shall be taken over by the People's Government. Private shares held by national industrialists, merchants, farmers, and animal husbandry men, whose rights have been proved, will be recognized. All personnel working in enterprises owned by bureaucratic capital will, before these enterprises are taken over by the People's Government, remain at their posts as usual. They are to assume responsibility for safeguarding all assets, machinery, graphs and tables, account books and files, pending their inventory and take-over. Those who render meritorious service in safeguarding these will be rewarded, while those

who commit acts of sabotage will be punished. After these enterprises have been taken over by the People's Government, all those who are willing to continue their service will be employed according to their capabilities, so that they do not lose their livelihood.

(4) Protect all public and private school, hospitals, cultural and educational organs, sports field, and all other public welfare organs. It is hoped that all personnel who are working in these organs will carry on as usual. They will, without exception, be protected by the People's Liberation Army and will not be molested.

(5) With the exception of obdurate and recalcitrant war criminals and counter-revolutionaries who have committed the most serious crimes, none of the high or low ranking officials of the Kuomintang central, provincial, municipal, and *hsien* governments, deputies to the National Assembly, members of the Legislative and Control *Yuan*, Counsellors, members of the Police Force, and *pao-chia* personnel at *ch'u*, *chen*, and *hsiang* levels, who do not take up arms to resist or plot sabotage, will be taken prisoner, arrested, or humiliated by the People's Liberation Army and the People's Government. The above-mentioned persons will be told to remain at their respective posts, obey the orders of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Government, and assume responsibility for protecting the assets and archives of the public organs, pending their take-over and disposal. Among these personnel, all those who have some skill and who have not committed any serious reactionary act or serious offence will be individually employed by the People's Government. Those who take the opportunity to carry out sabotage, theft, misappropriation, abscond with public funds, public assets or records, or who refuse to hand them over, will be prosecuted and punished.

(6) In order to maintain law and order in the cities and the countryside and for the purpose of maintaining social order, all stragglers should give themselves up to the local PLA or People's Government. None of those who give themselves up voluntarily and surrender their arms will be prosecuted. Those who refuse to surrender or who try to conceal their arms will be arrested and prosecuted. Those who shelter these persons and do not inform the People's Government of the fact will be dealt with accordingly.

(7) The system of feudal ownership of land in the rural areas is unreasonable and should be abolished. However, it will

be necessary to make preparations and take measures for the abolition of such a system. Generally speaking, rents and interest should first of all be reduced, and then land may be redistributed. For some considerable time after the arrival of the People's Liberation Army and only after work has been carried out over a period of time will it be possible to settle the question of land seriously. The peasant masses should be organized to assist the People's Liberation Army in carrying out various preliminary reforms. The peasant masses should also redouble their efforts at farm work, so that the existing level of agricultural production will not fall. Afterwards, production should be gradually raised, so as to improve the livelihood of the peasants and supply the urban populations with commodity food. Urban land and housing must not be dealt with in the same manner as the rural land problem.

(8) Protect and safeguard the lives and property of foreign residents. It is hoped that all foreign residents will carry on with their work peacefully and maintain order. All foreign residents must obey the laws and decrees of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Government. They may not carry out espionage, do anything in opposition to the cause of independence of the Chinese nation and the cause of the people's liberation, or give shelter to Chinese war criminals and counter-revolutionaries; otherwise they will be legally prosecuted by the People's Liberation Army and the People's Government.

The People's Liberation Army observes strict discipline, buys, sells fairly and is forbidden to take even a single needle or piece of thread from the people without permission. It is hoped that all our people will live and work peacefully and in contentment. They must not believe lightly in rumours or frighten and disturb themselves. This proclamation is made in earnest.

Mao Tse-tung
Chairman, Chinese People's
Revolutionary Military Committee

Chu Teh
Commander-in-Chief, Chinese
People's Liberation Army

April 25, 1949

Chapter II

1. When the Chinese Communists attacked Chamdo in October 1950, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme was Governor of Chamdo and concurrently a Tibetan *kaloön*. (The local government of Tibet is called *kasha* and its six members are called *kaloons*.) Upon the defeat of the Tibetan army, he was taken prisoner by the Communists and later worked for them. After a short period of indoctrination by the Communists, he was released and returned to Tibet.

Chapter III

1. *Hsi-tsang Ta Shin Chi*, Peking, 1959, p. 7; the Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People*, London, 1962, p. 83.

2. The Communist army entered Lhasa, Heho, Shigatse, and Gyantse on October 26, November 4, November 24, and November 29, 1951, respectively. (*Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 22 and 30, 1951 and NCNA, Lhasa, November 30, 1951).

3. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, December 12 and 20, 1951. Panchen Erdeni returned to Lhasa on April 28, 1952 (Chungking, *Hsin-hua Jih-pao*, May 8, 1952).

4. NCNA, February 19, 1952 issued the following namelist of ranking military personnel for the Military District of Tibet; the ranks and the previous positions are those given by NCNA:

Commander: Chang Kuo-hua, originally commander of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) stationed in Tibet.

1st Deputy Commander: Ngabou Ngawang Jigme, originally *kaloön* of the Tibet Local Government.

2nd Deputy Commander: To-ko Peng-ts'o-jao-chieh, Commander-in-Chief of the Tibet Local Army in 1945 and now *kaloön* of the Tibet Local Government.

3rd Deputy Commander: Ch'ang Ping-kuei, originally Vice Commander of a certain army of the PLA.

Political Commissar: T'an Kuan-san, originally political commissar of the PLA stationed in Tibet.

Deputy Political Commissar: Fan Ming, originally commander of a certain detachment of the PLA in Tibet.

Deputy Political Commissar: Wang Ch'i-mei, originally deputy political commissar of a certain army of the PLA.

Chief-of-Staff: Li Ch'ieh, originally chief-of-staff of a certain army of the PLA.

Chief of Political Department: Liu Chen-kuo, originally political department deputy director of a certain army of the PLA.

5. The official version of this was given as follows: "On April 1, 1952, Su-ts'ao Lu-k'ang-wa and Lo-sang-tsa-hsi of the Tibet Local Government, in the name of the people of Tibet, set up a so-called 'People's Council', submitting an illegal demand to

Representative Chang Ching-wu that the PLA leave Tibet and, at the same time, agitated for a revolt, with the result that the Local Tibetan Army surrounded the residence of Chang Ching-wu. ☉

“On April 27, 1952, at the firm request of Chang Ching-wu, the Tibet Local Government relieved Lu-k'ang-wa and Lo-sang-tsa-hsi of their duties as su-ts'ao.” (*Hsi-tsang Ta Shih Chi*, Peking, 1959, p. 9.)

6. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, August 13, 1952,

7. Shih Ch'eng-chih, *People's Resistance in Mainland China, 1950-1955*, Union Research Institute, Hong Kong, 1956, p. 36.

8. See interview of Liu Ke-p'ing (Chairman of the Nationalities Committee of the 1st National People's Congress) by a correspondent of the Italian newspaper *Unity*, in Hong Kong *Ta-kung Pao*, August 10, 1956; see also, “Chou En-lai Answers Questions on Tibet,” in *ibid.*, December 21, 1956.

9. P'ing-ts'o-wang-chieh (Vice-Director of the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area), “Struggle for the Building of a New Tibet in the Fatherland,” *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 23, 1954.

10. The three large monasteries are Ko-tan, She-la, and Che-pang.

11. “The People's Government Policy of Utilization, Restriction, and Transformation toward Private Industry and Commerce since the Founding of the People's Republic of China”, speech by Li Wei-han, Director of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee at the 1st Representatives Conference of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce. (*Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 10, 1953.)

12. For a convenient collection of treaties pertaining to Tibetan questions, see *The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law*, International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1959, especially pages 105-208.

13. See speeches delivered by Tibetan deputies San-to-tsang Lu-san-ke-tang and Kuei-hsiang-pa Kung-to-ne-chia at the preparatory meeting of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, *Jen-min Jih-pao*, July 4, 1952.

14. *Min-tsu T'uan-chieh* (Nationalities Unity), No. 6, Peking, March 14, 1958, p. 17.

15. According to “Sights in the Sunny City of Lhasa,” *Wen-*

hui Pao, Hong Kong, July 3, 1953, "Before the Liberation, there was a mass of currencies in use on the Lhasa market. Finance was in the hands of foreign merchants. The Tibetan dollar, the Tibetan paper-note, the U.S. dollar, the rupee, Nepalese currency, the silver dollar, and the puppet government [Kuomintang] currency were used in a confusing mixture.....After the Liberation, only the Tibetan paper-notes and Tibetan dollars remained as legal tender. One Tibetan dollar represented 10 *liang* (兩) and one *ke-lang* (噶朗) represented one fen. Both the Tibetan dollar and *ke-lang* were made of copper, the former being coated with silver. The units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet without exception used silver dollars. One silver dollar was convertible into one and a half Tibetan coins."

In March 1955, the Chinese Communists reset the value of the *Jen-min-pi*, making every *yuan* of the new *Jen-min-pi* worth 10,000 *yuan* of the old *Jen-min-pi*. See also *Hsin-wen Jih-pao*, Shanghai, January 16, 1954, according to which 23,430 *yuan* of the old *Jen-min-pi* was equivalent to one U.S. dollar, and 68,590 *yuan* of the old *Jen-min-pi* was equivalent to one pound sterling; and, *Chi-hua Ching-chi*, Peking, December 9, 1957, p. 29, where it is stated that 2.16 *yuan* of the new *Jen-min-pi* is equivalent to one U.S. dollar, and 6.63 *yuan* of the new *Jen-min-pi* is equivalent to one pound sterling.

16. According to NCNA, Lhasa, May 22, 1954: "The leadership organisations of the Tibet Military District of the Chinese People's Liberation and the Chamdo area have attached particular importance to the training of cadres of the Tibetan nationality. Now, three years after the peaceful liberation of Tibet, there are already over 800 cadres of the Tibetan nationality working in offices and units under the Tibet Military District alone. There are cadres of the Tibetan nationality working in army depots along the transportation lines, on work sites along the Sikang-Tibet Highway, and in economic, cultural, and public health departments. In their work, these cadres of the Tibetan nationality have fully demonstrated their good points, namely, their familiarity with local conditions and their good connections with the masses. They have not only done their official duties well, but also extensively and penetratingly propagated Party policies to the masses. From among them, many work and study models have emerged. Quite a few

of them have been gloriously admitted into the Communist Party or the Youth League. In the public offices in Lhasa municipality, Party members and League members account for 30 per cent of all the cadres of the Tibetan nationality. There are many fine cadres of the Tibetan nationality holding leadership posts in the departments at various levels of the Tibet Military District. The people's liberation committees at various levels in the Chamdo area have a total of 372 working members of whom over 90 per cent are people of the Tibetan nationality. In all their work, they have been accorded respect and support by cadres of the Han nationality, and have shown great activism. Pang-ta-to-chi is a Vice-Director of the People's Liberation Committee of Chamdo area. In support of the construction of the Sikang-Tibet Highway, he personally went up mountains and into valleys to look for proper transportation routes. In this way, he helped solve some of the difficulties of transportation in time.

"Apart from training cadres of the Tibetan nationality in field work, the leadership departments at various levels of the Tibet Military District have set up the Cadre School of the Tibet Military District of the People's Liberation Army and also set up training classes for cadres of the Tibetan nationality in Ch'angtu area. During the past three years, over 430 students of the Tibetan nationality received training in them. The various *tsung** under the Chamdo area have extensively set up two-term, short-course training classes for cadres of the Tibetan nationality. According to incomplete statistics, in ten of these *tsung*, a total of 696 headmen at the *tsung* level and below, who had close connections with the broad masses, have received training. The leadership departments of the Tibet Military District have also paid attention to training technical cadres of the Tibetan nationality. At present, over 100 youths of the Tibetan nationality have studied veterinary techniques. Most of them are taking part in the control of animal diseases. Concerning medical and health work, in the Chamdo area alone, 34 health personnel and 44 midwives of the Tibetan nationality have been trained. Of the cadres of the Tibetan nationality working in cultural, educational, agricultural, trade, and postal and tele-communications departments, the majority have be-

*—The *tsung* in Tibet is approximately equal to the *hsien* in other parts of China.

come familiar with their respective duties. So that personnel might be trained for the construction of Tibet, the Tibet Military District, during⁶the past three years, helped the Tibet Local Government and the Chamdo area to select and send over 250 youths of the Tibetan nationality to study in the Central Institute of Nationalities, the China People's University in Peking, or the Southwest China Institute of Nationalities."

17. See *Hsin Chung-kuo ti Hsin Hsi-tsang* (The New Tibet of New China), Peking, December, 1955, p. 125.

18. According to the reports of Tibetan refugees fleeing to India, there were Soviet experts in the "Tibet Work Teams" with students from the Shanghai Russian Language Institute serving as interpreters. For reference, see *K'ang-tsang Kung-lu* (The Sikang-Tibet Highway), Shanghai, January 1956, pp. 14 and 20

Chapter IV

1. The responsible personnel of the various committees and offices of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet as of April 1956 was, according to the *Jen-min Jih-pao*, June 3, 1956, as follows:

Secretariat

Secretary-General: Ngabou Ngawang Jigme (阿沛·阿旺晉美)

Administrative Office

Director: Dantzen Jaltso (丹增嘉錯)

Finance and Economic Committee

Director: Hsia Chung-yüan (夏仲遠)

Religious Affairs Committee

Director: Tsrijong Lozong Yiehsi (赤江·羅桑益西)
(Chih-chiang Lo-sang-i-hsi)

Civil Administration Office

Director: Tu-teng-tan-ta (土登丹達)

Construction Office

Director: Ch'a-jung Ta-sang-chan-tu (擦絨·達桑占度)

Culture and Education Office

Director: Sun-ko-pa-teng (孫格巴登)

Public Health Office

Director: Jan-pa Ang-chi-wang-tui (然巴·昂吉旺堆)

Agriculture and Forestry Office

Director: Lo-sang-ch'eng-lieh (洛桑稱烈)

Animal Husbandry Office

Director: Ch'a-ya Lo-teng-hsieh-jao (察雅·羅登協饒)

Communications Office

Director: Ch'iang-chin T'u-teng-ts'ai-pai (強欽·土登才白)

Industry and Commerce Office

Director: Pang-ta-yang-p'ei (邦達養丕)

Finance Office

Director: Pai Yün-feng (白雲峰)

Justice Office

Director: Yu-t'o Cha-hsi-tun-chu (宇妥·扎西頓珠)

Public Security Office

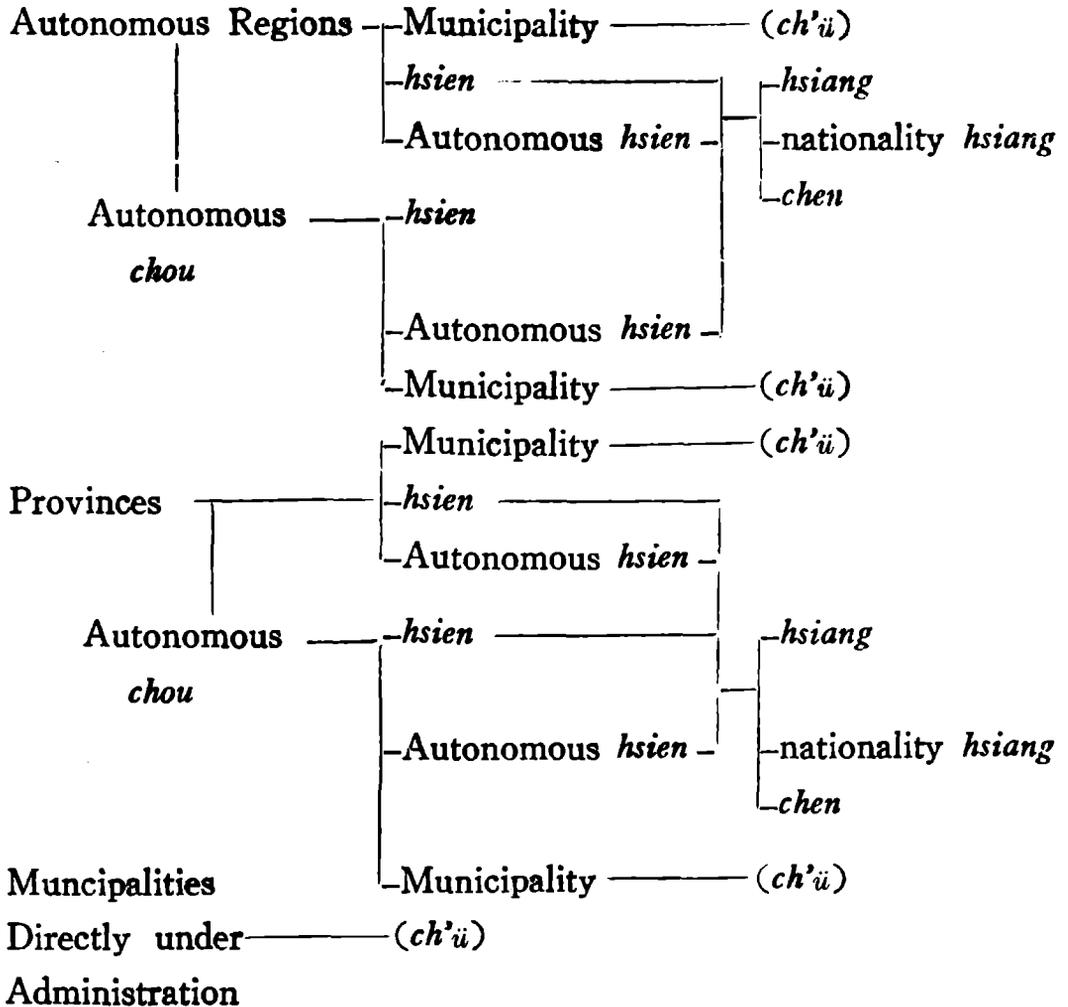
Director: Chih Tse-min (智澤民)

2. See *Hsi-tsang Ta Shih Chi*, Peking, 1959, p. 18. When the Chinese Communist army marched into Tibet in 1950, aircraft

were sent to Tibet to air-drop supplies to the troops. (See also *Hsin-hua Yüeh-pao*, Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1950, p. 301.)

3. See Chapter 2 of the Constitution, Sections 4 and 5. The following chart is taken from *Jen-min Shou-ts'e 1957*, Peking, 1957, p. 614.

Administrative Areas



4. These Tibetan nationality autonomous *chou* and *hsien* established prior to April 1956 are as follows:

<i>Location</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date Established</i>
Kansu	Tienchu Tibetan Autonomous Nationality <i>Hsien</i>	May 6, 1950

Kansu	Kannan Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Oct. 1, 1953
Tsinghai	Y shu Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Feb. 12, 1952
Tsinghai	Hainan Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Dec. 15, 1953
Tsinghai	Huangnan Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Dec. 22, 1953
Tsinghai	Haipei Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Dec. 31, 1953
Tsinghai	Kuolo Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Jan. 1, 1954
Tsinghai	Tibet-Mongol-Khazak Nationalities Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Jan. 25, 1954
Szechwan	Kantze Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Dec. 25, 1950
Szechwan	Ahpa Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Chou</i>	Jan. 1, 1953
Szechwan	Muli Tibetan Nationality Autonomous <i>Hsien</i>	April 1953

(*Jen-min Shou-ts'e* 1957, Peking, May 1957, p. 625. This same source also lists the Tich'ing Tibetan National Autonomous *Chou* in Yunnan as not yet established.)

5. The Chi-ch'iao level administrative offices (基巧級辦事處) were peculiar to Tibet, and roughly equivalent to the special administrative districts (專區) in the rest of China. (The special administrative district, administratively, stands between the province and the *hsien*.) The term "chi-ch'iao" is a transliteration of a Tibetan term. The *Hsi-tsang Ta Shih Chi*, Peking, May 1959, pp. 19-20, lists the following Chi-ch'iao level administrative offices:

<i>Location</i>	<i>Date Established</i>
Shan-nan	August 29, 1956
Lhasa	August 31, 1956
Gyangtse	August 31, 1956
Shigatze	September 15, 1956
Chamdo	September 17, 1956
Takung	October 5, 1956

Ahli
Heho

October 9, 1956
October 9, 1956

The Chi-ch'iao offices were replaced about 1959-60 by special administrative offices, a fact reflected in the 1960 *Jen-min Shou-ts'e* (People's Handbook).

Chapter V

1. "Premier Chou's Reply to Questions Concerning Tibet", Hong Kong *Ta-kung Pao*, December 12, 1956.

2. In April 1956, Indian Prime Minister Nehru invited the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama to India to take part in the ceremonies commemorating the 2,500th anniversary of the nirvana of Buddha. However, they were reportedly prevented from going there by the Chinese Communists. (*Hsing-tao Jih-pao*, Hong Kong, April 15, 1956; pro-KMT.)

3. See also, "Communiques of New China News Agency on the Incident of Rebellion in Tibet", *Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 29, 1959.

4. *Jen-min Shou-ts'e 1958*, Peking, 1958, p. 16. "...because conditions in Tibet are not yet ripe, democratic reforms have not yet been carried out there.....This can only be done after it has been decided when the great majority of the people of Tibet and their leading public figures consider it practicable....."

5. In 1951, the Chinese Communists had set up the Work Committee of the CCP for the Tibet Area. It became the supreme power organization in the Tibet area during the revolt. The Secretary was Chang Ching-wu, and the Deputy-Secretaries were T'an Kuan-san, Fan Ming, Chang Kuo-hua, Chou Jen-shan, and Kuo Hsi-lan.

6. See *Jen-min Jih-pao*, March 1, 1958.

7. See *Jen-min Jih-pao*, November 12, 1958.

8. This refers to the Eighth National Congress of the CCP held in September 1956. The important documents of that Congress include Liu Shao-ch'i's "Political Report", Chou En-lai's "Report on the Proposals of the Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy", and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution".

9. See Article 8, "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" in Document 6.

10. See Article 11 in Document 6.

11. *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao* is published in Chinese, though it contains occasional articles in Tibetan. An organ of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, it was inaugurated in Lhasa on April 22, 1956.

12. *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, November 18, 1956. This article, entitled

“Army Ranks Conferred on Tibetan Officers and Soldiers”, reads as follows:

On November 12, in the auditorium of the Chamdo Headquarters, an impressive ceremony was held to confer ranks on the officers and soldiers of the 9th *Taipen* [代本; the name of the highest unit in the Tibetan Army. It is equivalent to a regiment.] of the Chamdo Garrison of the Tibet Military Region of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Among the more than 500 attending were Major General Wang Ch'i-mei, Deputy Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Region; Senior Colonels Li Ming and Kosangwangtui, Commander and Deputy Commander respectively of the Chamdo Garrison; and other high-ranking officers of the Tibet Military Region.

Army ranks for commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers and soldiers were conferred on the members of the 9th *Taipen* by Major General Wang Ch'i-mei and Senior Colonel Kosangwangtui, on behalf of Marshal P'eng Teh-huai, Minister of National Defence. Wang then stated:

“The PLA is the armed force of the Chinese People's Republic, and the 9th *Taipen* is a part of the PLA. Conferring army rank on a soldier is entrusting him with important duties and giving high honour to the soldier by the State and the people; each officer thus honourably conferred should double his efforts in learning, in elevating his military qualifications and political awareness, in further strengthening the relationship between the soldiers and the civilians as well as between the Tibetan and Han officers and soldiers, in securing the defence of the southwest border of the motherland, and in protecting the motherland's socialist construction and peace for Asia and the whole world.”

13. See “How the Former Tibetan Government Sabotaged the Agreement on the Reorganization of the Tibetan Army”, *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 22, 1959.

14. Contrast this September 1956 statement—that the work in Tibet “has been quite slow”—with that made by Deputy Secretary Fan Ming in October 1957 (see Document 46). After noting a variety of achievements, Fan poses the rhetorical question: “Could it be said that the achievements were not the principal side of the picture?”

15. Contrast Chang's September 1956 statement that the Party

will “never interfere” in religious matters with that of Chu Ch’ing (Document 49) who describes religion as “harmful” and “not a condition for the formation of a nationality”.

16. See footnote 14 above.

17. Here, in October 1957, Fan Ming is placing most of the blame for Tibet’s troubles on “great-Han chauvinism”. In contrast, note the words of Hsieh Fu-min less than six months later: “In the struggle of criticizing local nationalism, some people say: ‘If there were no great-Hanism there would be no local nationalism’ and ‘only by overcoming great-Hanism can local nationalism naturally disappear’. As a result, criticism of local nationalism has slackened. This is wrong.” (This quotation is taken from Document 57.) Of interest is the fact that Fan Ming has not been heard of from this time.

18. See *Li Hsing Chi-hsing* (Account of Travels in Tibet), Peking, December 1956, p. 45. This account is by Ho Szu-yüan, a member of the 1956 Central Government delegation to Tibet led by Vice-Premier Ch’en Yi and a member of the 2nd National Committee of the CPPCC.

19. See “How the Lamas of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Take Part in Labor Production”, *Min-tsu T’uan-chieh*, No. 11, Peking, August 1958, p. 18.

20. According to Wu Chung-hsing, *Hsi-tsang Chi-yao* (Special Notes on Tibet), Taipei, November 1953, p. 45, lamas were not subjected to government control, had no duty to pay taxes, and their needs were all taken care of by the people. Wu was formerly (1936) Chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Commission of the Nationalist Government.

21. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 30, 1959. “...all the land in Tibet is actually owned by the Local Government of Tibet, the aristocrats, and the monasteries—the three big manorial owners, each of them owning one-third of the land of Tibet.”

22. The Tibet chapter of the Chinese Buddhist Association was established in Lhasa on October 6, 1956, with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama as Honorary Chairmen and Gahden Tsripa Thubten-Kunga as Chairman of the Board of Directors. See *Hsien-tai Fu-hsueh* (Modern Buddhism), No. 75, Peking, November 1956, pp. 11 and 17.

23. *Min-tsu T’uan-chieh*, No. 18, 1959.

24. The difficulties involved in travel in Tibet have already been described in folklore current in the local areas. One bit of folklore, for example, describes in rhyming verse the unseasonable weather of Tibet, concluding that travel is possible only in July, August, and September.

25. "Maintenance Workers on the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway", *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 3, 1958.

26. "Successful Trial Flight between Tibet in China and India", *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 26, 1956.

27. *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, April 13, 1957.

28. Anna Louise Strong, "Observations on the Sino-Indian Border Issue", *China Reconstructs*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1960, pp. 25-27.

29. Liu Ch'un, "Chasten the Sentiments of the Nationalities, Criticize Local Nationalism", *Min-tsu T'uan-chih*, Vol. 4, January 1958. (Liu is a Vice-Chairman of the State Council's Nationalities Affairs Commission.)

30. Shih Ch'eng-chih, "Resistance of the People on the Mainland", *Tzu-kuo Chou-k'an* (China Weekly), No. 334-335, Hong Kong, June 1959.

31. According to "The Backward and Cruel Serfdom in Tibet", *Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 30, 1959: "The amount of serfdom tax varies from place to place and is fixed according to the physical build and skill of the serf. The amount of tax leviable ranges from two to three up to eight to ten taels of Tibetan silver per annum, with 150 taels as the maximum. Serfs in the 18 to 60 age group are taxable."

32. This statement of December 1956 should be contrasted with that of Hsieh Fu-min in early 1958 who, in effect, argued for Han superiority: "Any conduct against the Han nationality is contradictory to the basic interests of the people of the national minorities, and therefore must be resolutely opposed." (This quotation is taken from Document 57.)

33. See footnote #17 to Document 46.

34. See footnote 32 above.

35. *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, April 26, 1956, April 28, 1957, and January 10, 1958. See also Document 91.

36. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 23, 1959 and November 26, 1959.

37. Rinderpest and foot-and-mouth disease occurred in the Chamdo area in 1954. In August 1955, foot-and-mouth disease

occurred in some areas of Szechwan, Tsinghai, Heiho (in Tibet) and parts of Tibet near the Chamdo area. Bovine tuberculosis occurred in the Heiho area in January 1957 and again in August of the same year. In November 1957, an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Shigatse had disastrous results. (See *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, April 20, November 17, and December 20, 1957.)

38. See also *Jen-min Jih-pao*, September 13, 1959.

39. "The rapid progress in industrialization in China has, as a matter of course, led to tense philosophical discussions in Tibet and will become a symbol of ideological conflict." See the report by Alan Winnington (British correspondent for the London *Daily Worker*) of his Tibetan tour in the Hong Kong *Ta-kung Pao*, December 30, 1955.

40. "The People's Liberation Army and Tibetan Merchants", *Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 16, 1958.

41. According to the April 1956 report delivered by Chang Kuo-hua (張國華) at the inaugural meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region (of which Chang is a Vice-Chairman), there were 31 primary schools with about 2,000 students in Tibet. By April 1957 (*Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, April 23, 1957), there were 79 primary and secondary schools with a total of 6,000 students.

42. The cadre schools include:

The Tibet Military District Cadre School, inaugurated in Lhasa on December 1, 1952. In the fall of 1956, this was reorganized into the Tibet Area Cadre School (see *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 1, 1957).

The Tibetan Public School and the Tibetan Young Communist League School, which were inaugurated in the fall of 1957 at Hsienyang in Shensi Province.

The training classes include:

The Agricultural and Forestry Cadres Training Class, inaugurated at Chamdo in 1957; the Cultural Study Class for Tibetan Cadres, established by the Shigatse Branch of the Tibet Work Committee at Shigatse; and the Spare-Time Cultural Study Class, established by the Enterprise Management Section of the Head Office of the Tibet Trading Company in 1958.

43. The *Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 8-9, September 6, 1961, reported nine nationalities institutes. The names, dates of establish-

ment, and locations are as follows:

(1) Northwest Nationalities Institute, August 1950, Lanchow (formed on the basis of the Third Department of the Lanchow Branch of the Northwest People's Revolutionary University). (2) Kweichow Nationalities Institute, May 1951, Kweiyang (merged into Kweichow University in 1959). (3) Central Nationalities Institute, June 1951, Peking. (4) Southwest Nationalities Institute, June 1951, Chengtu, Szechuan. (5) Central-South Nationalities Institute, August 1951, Wuhan, Hupeh (formed into a branch of the Central Nationalities Institute in July 1957). (6) Yunnan Nationalities Institute, August 1951, Kunming. (7) Kwangsi Nationalities Institute, March 1952, Nanning. (8) Tsinghai Nationalities Institute, September 1956, Sining (formed from the Tsinghai Nationalities Public School). (9) Kwangtung Nationalities Institute, September 1958, Canton.

44. Most of the books published in Tibetan listed in *Yi-chiu-wu-wu Nien Ch'uan-kuo Tsung Shu-mu* (1955 General Book Catalogue of China), Peking, August, 1957, are political documents for propagating communism.

45. The "discussions on the study of the spoken and written language of the Han nationality by personnel of minority nationalities" were started in *Min-tsu T'uan-chieh*, No. 8, May 1958, and were continued and concluded in No. 9 of that magazine. A total of six articles were printed, with separate articles dealing with the following minority nationalities: Li (黎), Li-su, Tahir (達呼爾), Chuang (僮), Tibetan, and Korean.

46. Peking, *Kung-jen Jih-pao*, December 30, 1955.

47. *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, October 27, 1956.

48. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1956.

49. *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 24, 1956.

50. *Hsi-tsang Jih-pao*, December 6, 1956.

51. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1957. See also Document 67.

52. See the report delivered by K'o Ch'ing-shih, (柯慶施) 1st Secretary of the CCP Shanghai Municipal Committee, on December 25, 1957 at the 2nd Session of the 1st CCP Shanghai Municipal Congress, *Jen-min Shou-ts'e*, 1958, Peking, May 1958, pp. 46-58.

53. See "Thoroughly Smash the Rabid Attack of the Rightists", *Jen-min Shou-ts'e*, 1958, Peking, May 1958, pp. 73-74, from

the *Jen-min Jih-pao*, June 8, 1957.

54. Sun Tso-pin was labelled as a "rightist" and expelled from the Party in March 1958. At that time he was Governor of Tsinghai. For a detailed discussion of this, see *Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an* (China Weekly), No. 282, Hong Kong, p. 17.

Chapter VI

1. This festival lasts for 21 days. According to tradition, during this period the lamas meet six times a day in the famous Ta-chao Monastery.

2. According to Chang Kuo-hua: "...for instance, the Tibet Army under the leadership of the now-defunct Tibet Local Government deliberately arrested functionaries of the Central Government working in Tibet and illegally tried them, more than once laid armed siege on the Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the offices of the Central Government in Lhasa, and distributed reactionary handbills for rumour-mongering and deceptive purposes, instigated the masses, and carried out secret activities against the Central Government." See Chang Kuo-hua's report at a Plenary Session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, *Jen-min Jih-pao*, April 11, 1959.

3. The Dalai Lama was followed by his 60-year-old mother, a 14-year-old brother, and a 17-year-old sister. The total number of fugitives, including the attendants who fled together with him, was 81. See *Tibet Fights for Freedom*, New Delhi, India, 1960, pp. 74-81.

4. "K'an-ch'iung" So-lang-chiang-ts'o (Kanchung Soanam-chiatso) was the elder brother of P'a-pa-la Tso-lich-lang-chieh who went over to the Communists. After the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, he was appointed a member of its Religious Affairs Commission.

5. Sang-p'o Ts'ai-wang-jen-tseng (Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen) is one of those who went over to the Communists. In March, 1959, he was assaulted for helping the Chinese Communists to suppress the revolt of the people of Tibet. After that the Chinese Communists appointed him to the posts of member of the National Defence Council and Vice-Chairman of the Lhasa Military Control Committee. Another post which he was holding at the time was that of member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

6. Yü-t'o Cha-hsi-tung-chu (Yuto Chahsidongchu) studied military science in India in his youth. In 1950, when Chinese Communist troops entered Tibet, the Tibet Local Government appointed him leader of the "Good-will Mission" to Britain. After

the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, he was appointed director of its Judicial Office. In 1957, he was removed from this post when the Judicial Office was merged into the Civil Administration Office.

7. So-k'ang Wang-ch'ing-ke-le (Surkong Wongching-Galei) is an aristocrat of Tibet. In his childhood, he studied in an English school in Gyangtse, Tibet. His father was once the director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Tibet Local Government. In 1947, he led troops into Je-cheng Monastery to arrest Living Buddha Je-cheng who was against the British. He was in India when Chinese Communist troops entered Tibet. In 1952, he returned to Tibet. In October 1957, when the Preparatory Office for the Tibet Local Committee of the Political Consultative Conference was changed to the Preparatory Committee of Tibet for the Political Consultative Conference, he was appointed its chairman.

8. Liu-hsia T'u-teng-t'a-pa (Neusha Thubten-Tarpa) in 1952 led the Tibet "Delegation to Pay Respects" to Peking. In September 1954, he went to Peking again in the entourage of the Dalai Lama.

9. Lu-k'ang-wa Tse-wang-jao-teng (Sitzub Lokongwa Tse-wongrouten) had to flee to Kalimpong in 1952 because he opposed the Chinese Communists. In 1958, he led a "Tibet Delegation" in India to present a "Manifesto" to Nehru, asking for support for the people of Tibet.

10. P'a-pa-la Tso-lieh-lang-chieh (Pebala Choliehnamje) is the great living Buddha in the Chamdo Lamasery. He is pro-communist. In 1956, after the founding of the Tibet Branch of the Buddhist Association, he was elected its Honorary Chairman. In April 1959, he was elected a deputy from Tibet to the 2nd National People's Congress.

11. Ch'ih-chiang Lo-sang-yi-hsi (Tsrijong Lozong-yiehsi) is an aristocrat of Tibet. In 1947, he was a trusted man of the regent, Ta-cha. In 1950, before the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet, he was on a tour in India. In 1952, when the Chinese Communists set up the Lasa Primary School, he was appointed headmaster. In 1953, he was a deputy master of classics to the Dalai Lama. In 1954, he was elected a deputy from Tibet to the 1st National People's Congress and went in the company of the Dalai Lama to Peking to attend its first session. After the

founding of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, he was named as chairman of its Religious Affairs Commission. In 1959, he was re-elected as a deputy from Tibet to the 2nd National People's Congress.

12. Ta-la Lo-sang-san-tan (Dala Lozong-Sungdin) went to Peking in the entourage of the Dalai Lama in September 1954. After the founding of the Preparatory Committee for Tibet Autonomous Region, he was appointed a Deputy Director of its Public Security Office. In 1957, he was removed from this post when the Public Security Office was merged into the Civil Administration Office.

13. K'ai-me So-nan-wang-tui (Khemey Sonamwongdui) was the commander-in-chief of the Tibet army (known as "ma-chi" in Tibetan). In February 1955, after the founding of the Tibet Committee for Signatures Against the Use of Atomic Weapons, he was appointed its Vice-Chairman.

14. Yung-lang-se T'u-teng-no-sang (Reongnamse Thubtan-Norzong) is a grand lama and the grand secretary of the Kasha.

15. P'a-la T'u-teng-wei-teng (Pala Thubtenwenten), a Tibetan from Gyantse, was an aide-de-camp to the Dalai Lama (known as "ta-tso-ni" in Tibetan). In 1950, when Chinese Communist troops entered Tibet, he fled to Ya-tung in the train of the Dalai Lama and advised the latter to flee abroad. In 1952, he took part in the "people's conference", an anti-Chinese Communist organization in Tibet. In 1957, in Lhasa, he secretly contacted the t'u-ssu, headmen, and lamas among the pilgrims from Szechwan, Kansu, and Tsinghai and engaged in the "four rivers and six hills" anti-communist movement. ("Four rivers" and "six hills" are geographical expressions among the Buddhists in Tibet; giving this name to the movement was calculated to involve the entire Tibetan Nationality.) In 1956, he went to Shannan area and there took part in military actions against the Chinese Communists. His younger brother, P'a-la To-chi-ts'ai-tan, was the leader of the guards of the Dalai Lama (known as "ku-sung-tai-pen" in Tibetan), and is also an important anti-communist personality.

16. Ou-hsieh T'u-teng-sang-ch'ueh (Nonghsi Thubtan-Song-chu) was elected a member of the 2nd National Committee of the Political Consultative Conference in 1956.

17. Lang-se-lin Pan-chueh-chiu-mei (Namselin Panchunjigme)

is an aristocrat of Tibet. In 1949, he was a financial official under the regent Ta-cha (known as "tzu-pen" in Tibetan).

18. Chia-jih-pen Ts'ai-wang-to-chi (Karihpen Tsewongdorje) was, in 1956, after the founding of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, appointed a Deputy Director of its Construction Office.

19. P'ang-ch'iu Wei-sa-hsien-tsan (Kung-te-lin-cha-sa) (Peng-chu Weisegeltseng [Kundelinchasa]) is a lama. In 1956, he went to India in the train of the Dalai Lama. In 1957, together with P'a-la T'u-teng-wei-teng and Lang-se-lin Pan-chüeh-chiu-mei, he formed the "representative conference of officials" to oppose the Chinese Communists. In March 1959, when armed conflicts erupted between the people of Tibet and the Chinese Communists, he was the "Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteers in Defence of Religion" in Lhasa.

20. Teng Shao-tung is a Communist Party member of the Han Nationality. In 1947, he was secretary of the Party committee of the 2nd Division of the New Fourth Army. In 1958, he was a Deputy Commander of the Tibet Military District. In 1959, after the revolution in Tibet started, he was appointed Chairman of the Lhasa Military Control Committee.

21. Chan Hua-yü is a Communist Party member of the Han nationality and a Deputy Political Commissar of the Tibet Military District.

22. Hui Yi-jan is a Communist Party member of the Han nationality. In 1957, he was Director of the Rural Work Department of the Work Committee for Tibet. In 1958, he was appointed President of the Tibet Branch Court of the Supreme People's Court. In March 1959, he was appointed Secretary of the Lhasa CCP Committee. In May, he was further appointed a Vice-Chairman of the Lhasa Military Control Committee. He was at the time concurrently the Director of the Organization Department of the CCP Work Committee for Tibet.

23. Liang Hsüan-hsien is a Communist Party member of the Han nationality. In 1955, he was Secretary of the Shigatse Branch Work Committee of the CCP Work Committee of Tibet.

24. A-p'ei Ts'ai-tan-tso-ke (Ngapo Tsirtenchoga) is a woman of the Tibetan nationality. In April 1959, after the flight to India of Jao-hsi Tse-jen-tso-ma, Chairman of the Tibet Association of

Patriotic Women (and an elder sister of the Dalai Lama), she was appointed to take her place in an acting capacity. She is the wife of Ngapo Ngawang Jigme.

25. Wang P'ei-sheng is a teacher of the Hui nationality. In 1958, he was Principal of the Second Primary School in Lhasa. In 1960 he was Vice-Mayor of Lhasa.

26. "Tzu-pen" Hsia-ke-pa Wang-ch'iu-te-tun studied in England in his early days. In 1948, he was appointed "leader of the Tibet Trade Delegation" by the Tibet Local Government and sent to Britain and the United States. In those days, Hsia-ke-pa was an important official in charge of the financial affairs for all of Tibet, personnel affairs, and the training of religious and secular officials. In 1950, he was further appointed "leader of the Tibet Goodwill Mission" by the Tibet Local Government. In this capacity, he had intended to go to Britain and the United States to promote Tibetan interests. The apparent lack of enthusiasm abroad for the Tibetan cause, combined with the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet, brought a change of plans, with Hsia-ke-pa going no farther than India where he subsequently remained.

Chapter VII

1. The Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni had been the two leaders of Tibet. "Dalai" means "big sea" in Mongolian, indicating that his wisdom is as vast as the sea. The formal title "Dalai Lama" was conferred by Emperor Shun Chih of the Ching Dynasty (1652 A.D.). "Panchen" in Sanskrit means "profound wisdom and knowledge", and "Erdeni" is an honorary title. "Panchen Erdeni" was a title conferred by Emperor K'ang Hsi of the Ching Dynasty (1717 A.D.).

In 1949, the tenth Panchen was in Ta-erh Monastery. After the Chinese Communists took the mainland, he joined them and in 1952 returned to Lhasa (see Chapter III, footnote number 3).

2. See Documents 83 and 85.

3. See *Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic*, International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1960. Reports vary concerning the number of Tibetan refugees who fled to India, Nepal and Sikkim. According to a *United Press International* despatch of November 20, 1960 from New Delhi, from March 1959 up to October 1960, a total of 24,800 Tibetans had fled Tibet.

4. The President of India on October 26, 1962 issued a communique declaring that the entire nation had been put under a state of emergency. On the same day a central committee was set up under the Indian Cabinet to cope with the Sino-Indian border dispute. See "Nehru's Philosophy as Seen from the Sino-Indian Border Question", *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 27, 1962.

5. See "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy" carried in the *Jen-min Jih-pao*, May 6, 1959.

6. Chou Jen-shan (周仁山), Han nationality, was transferred in May 1957 from the post of Secretary of Tsinghai Provincial Party Committee to be Deputy-Secretary to the Work Committee of Tibet; he was appointed Vice-Chairman when the First Tibet Committee of the CPPCC was set up in December 1959. In May 1960, he was appointed member of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and also member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee.

7. The planted acreage in 1957 was 2.63 *mow* per capita according to *Chung-kuo Nung-pao*, No. 5, Peking, 1958.

8. The "Eight-Point Charter" referred to by Mao Tse-tung

in October 1958 represents: irrigation, application of fertilizer, soil improvement, selection of seeds, close planting, pest control, tools reform, and field management.

9. Chang Kuo-hua, a Han Chinese from Kiangsi, was "Chief of the 18th Army of the 2nd Field Army of the People's Liberation Army in 1950. Late in 1950, he was appointed Commander of the PLA in Tibet and entered Tibet via Szechwan. He was appointed Commander when the PLA's Tibet Military Area Command was set up in February 1952. In April 1956 he was appointed Vice-Chairman when the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up. He is also Deputy Secretary of the Tibet CCP Work Committee and from time to time has served as Acting Secretary of the Committee in the absence of Chang Ching-wu. He holds the rank of Colonel General.

10. Shirou Dungchu (協饒登珠), Tibetan nationality, was elected one of the Tibetan deputies to the 2nd National People's Congress in 1959, and was appointed Vice-Chairman of the Tibet Work Committee Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1962.

11. Chantung Jijigme, Tibetan nationality, originally of the Panchen Kanpu Lija, returned to Tibet from Tsinghai in December 1951; he was Standing Committee member when the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was inaugurated in 1956, and Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee in July 1962.

12. Gahden Tsripa Thubten-Kunga, Tibetan nationality, was elected Vice-Chairman of the First Tibet Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference established in December 1959.

13. Lamin Yishitsuden, formerly Secretary-General of the Panchen Kanpu Lija, was appointed Deputy Secretary-General, Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1956 and concurrently member of the National Committee of the 2nd CPPCC.

14. Namdon Kunga Wongchung, Tibetan nationality, was named as member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region in 1956, and elected Vice-Chairman, 1st Committee for Tibet, CPPCC in 1959.

15. Tsuiko Dongchutseren, Tibetan nationality, Deputy Commander of the Tibet "Military Area", was appointed Vice-Chairman, Military Control Commission of Lhasa in 1959 following the flight

of the Dalai Lama, and promoted soon afterwards from Acting Mayor of Lhasa to Mayor.

16. Dorjetsirten, Tibetan nationality, formerly Vice-President of Lhasa Primary School, promoted to President of the school in 1959 when the former President, Tsuchien Losangyi, fled to India.

17. Fang Ch'ih-hsin, a Han Chinese, is Director of the Propaganda Department, Tibet CCP Work Committee, and Editor-in-Chief of the *Tibet Daily* from its establishment in 1956.

18. Ch'en Ching-po, a Han Chinese, was a Committee member of the Tibet Work Committee and concurrently Director of the United Front Department of the Work Committee; he was removed from the latter post in 1959 and replaced by Chang Ch'eng-wu.

19. Chang Ch'eng-wu, a Han Chinese and the Director of the United Front Department, Tibet CCP Work Committee, was appointed Secretary-General of the First Tibet Committee of the CPPCC in 1959.

20. Shurkong Thubten Nima, Tibetan nationality, is Deputy Secretary, Young Communist League, Tibet Work Committee and Chairman of the Youth Association of Tibet.

21. See *Jen-min Jih-pao*, September 27, 1961, and the "Work Report on Tibet" made by the Panchen Lama at the Second National People's Congress Standing Committee meeting which is carried in *Jen-min Jih-pao*, October 18, 1961.

22. Another hydro-electric power plant was built in early 1960 at Kan-tan-ch'iang-k'a (甘丹羌卡) on the P'engp'u River 30 kilometres northeast of Lhasa, according to an article by Lowell Thomas carried in the *Reader's Digest*, December 1960.

23. See *China News Service* despatch of December 16, 1961, published in Canton.

Appendices

1. *Red Star Over China*, Modern Library edition (New York, 1938), p. 214.

2. *Hsing-huo Liao-yüan* (A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire), the San-lien Publishing Company, Hong Kong, 1960, p. 323. This is a volume of revolutionary reminiscences written by a number of leading figures on the mainland today. Before appearing in this collected form, a number of these essays had appeared in the mainland press.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 379.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

6. Among those who took part in the Tibetan People's Government were the Living Buddha Ke-ta, Hsia-ke-tao-ten, and Pang-ta-to-chi. Ke-ta, who was born in Gantse, Sikang in 1903, was a Vice-Chairman. When the Red Army moved north, he remained behind in Gantse where he armed the local people to cover the retreat and looked after the wounded. In 1950, he was appointed a member of the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee (SWMAC), member of the SWMAC Nationalities Affairs Committee, and Vice-Chairman of the Sikang Government. In 1950, he went to Tibet where he was active until his sudden death in Chamdo. Hsia-ke-tao-ten was another Vice-Chairman of the Tibetan People's Government. In 1950, he was appointed as a member of the SWMAC. Pang-ta-to-chi, another leading figure of the Tibetan People's Government, was also made a member of the SMWAC in 1950, and now holds such posts as member of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and deputy to the National People's Congress.

7. Sang-chi-yüeh-hsi is also known as T'ien Pao. In 1949, he was made a member of the Nationalities Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government. In 1956, he was elected as an alternate member of the Party Central Committee.

Correction

In the footnote on page 2, the word battalion should read regiment.

