

TIBET UNDER CHINESE COMMUNIST RULE

**A Compilation of
Refugee Statements
1958-1975**

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**Information & Publicity Office of
His Holiness the Dalai Lama**

INFORMATION & PUBLICITY OFFICE OF
HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA
Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala, 176215

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Editorial Preface

A L L Twenty-Seven statements in this collection are faithful translations from Tibetan of the original refugee accounts bearing the narrators' signatures or thumb impressions. However, with a view to restricting the narratives as much to factual accounts as possible, and also for the convenience of the readers lacking background knowledge of Tibetan affairs, the editors have taken the following liberties:

(1) The concluding lines of the statements in which the narrators swear to the "truthfulness and accuracy of the accounts" and express willingness to "testify to it in any court of law" have been deleted.

(2) Unqualified personal interpretations of events and actions, expressions of hopes and prayers and emotional descriptions of the Chinese have been left out.

(3) Certain names, words and phrases peculiar to the Tibetan language and usage have been explained the first time they occur with their nearest translations given in brackets. This system has been adopted, in preference to footnotes or glossary, to enable uninterrupted reading of the narratives. Such names and phrases have been rendered phonetically.

(4) In the original statements, most of the dates were given according to the Tibetan Calendar. These have been replaced by their corresponding western dates.

(5) The narrators' ages given in the introductory sections refer to their ages at the time of their arrival in exile.

(6) Some of the photographs of the narrators were taken at the time of their arrival in exile and others are fairly recent ones. We have used whichever ones were more readily available. Recent political events in Bhutan have made it difficult for us to contact our people residing there. Therefore, the statements of refugees who were last heard to be living there appear without their photographs.

Officially, Tibetan refugees came into being in 1959. But a number of people, from Eastern Tibet which came into contact with the Chinese Communists before the central and western regions did, left the country earlier. Our first statement is of one such person from Amdo province who left Tibet in 1958. We have especially included his statement in this collection in order to give a complete picture of the Chinese rule in Tibet.

The prologue is a summary of events between 1950 and 1959, and is given in the hope that it will help in better understanding of the statements proper. The events described therein are common knowledge among the Tibetans and can be corroborated from any Tibetan in exile who lived in Lhasa during that period and who was at that time old enough to realize what was happening.

The sole criterion for the selection of these 27 statements from literally thousands that we have collected has been to represent all sections of Tibetan community and cover all aspects of the Chinese rule in Tibet. That is why we have included statements of persons whose identity had to be withheld for reasons cited in each case. So the number of statements chosen from each year does not necessarily reflect the proportion of refugees in that particular year. It is also important to note that over the years Chinese vigilance has been intensified to such an extent that in recent times it was mainly people from the southern regions who have managed to cross the border.

In Appendix I we have reproduced the full text of the Seventeen Point Agreement under which Tibet was 'liberated'. Appendix II, which consists of samples of Chinese proclamations, hopefully gives an idea of how the Tibetan refugee situation is viewed by the Chinese themselves. Appendices III & IV bring the Tibetan question in international perspective. Appendix V is a statistical table showing where and how the Tibetan refugees are rehabilitated in exile.

Some of the readers might feel that we could have made better use of the space by providing more statements in place of the appendices and even the prologue. However, it is our aim not only to bring facts about Tibet before the world but also to try and present them in such a manner as to leave the

least possible room for misinterpretation. We found out in the past that anything said about Tibet can all too easily, and distressingly, be misunderstood in the West. Matters are not helped much by the fact that many Western authors on Tibet have left a picture of a mediaeval European Society wrapped up in 'oriental superstitions'. Everything observed in, or heard about, Tibet was sought to be explained in terms of existing Western concepts. Thus, the Tibetans have learnt since coming into exile that their temporal and spiritual leader is known as a "God-King" (as are many other oriental heads of state); their religion is "Lamaism" (and hence, like the Anglican Church with regard to Christianity, far removed from the original Buddhism); and the society they are members of nicely falls under the category of "Feudalism" (and hence, neatly divided between the privileged manorial lords, the less privileged tenant farmers and the positively down-trodden serfs). It is these convenient assumptions which have led many theoreticians to regard the present Tibetan struggle as nothing more than an anti-Communist campaign sponsored by the indigenous "upper strata clique" and/or the ubiquitous C.I.A.

People in the West have a penchant for exactitude and pinning down every phenomenon with a name. The carefree Tibetans have so far tended to bypass such intellectual exercises in favour of less lofty activities. Most of them do not even remember their birthdates and the population of more than six million managed to carry on life quite happily without even possessing surnames. Although we find now that the pre-Communist Tibet undoubtedly possessed certain characteristics of mediaeval Europe, any attempt at total identification of the two invariably fails. Perhaps because of its very uniqueness the Tibetan society is hard to describe accurately on paper. An outsider wishing to understand it has to first of all understand the Tibetan realities and, towards this end, his first step should be to leave all his sophisticated analytical tools behind.

A reader unappreciative of these facts, for instance, may feel that the refugee statements lay undue stress on the destruction of monasteries and the persecution of monks by the Chinese. He fails to understand how religion is inextricably mixed with the everyday life of a Tibetan.

The majority of the tens of thousands of monks in Tibet did not spend their entire life praying and meditating in seclusion. They freely mixed with the lay population and some even took part in trading and other secular activities. When the Chinese atrocities became unbearable many of them took up arms, but that never undermined their ecclesiastical importance in the people's eyes. The lay Tibetan, on his part, was constantly saying prayers or counting beads whether relaxing at home, looking after his shop, or travelling. To him religion was real and part of life and not a collection of abstract philosophical mumbo jumbo comprehensible only to the scholarly elites. It is natural, therefore, that he should feel most offended at the suppression of this most integral part of his existence. The sheer size of the monasteries is also an important factor to be borne in mind. When a refugee says that he saw a monastery being destroyed, in many cases it can mean that he has been witness to the annihilation of nothing short of a small township.

And so it is hoped that this publication will help outsiders gain, or at least interest them to gain, a clearer understanding of Tibet. Our past efforts in this direction cannot claim a great deal of success. But we feel it is our duty not to give up trying.

Dharamsala, February 1976

*Information & Publicity Office
of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*

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Prologue: Before the Uprising

THE LHASA UPRISING of March 10, 1959, was only the inevitable climax of the events that had been taking place in the Tibetan capital for nearly a decade. Apart from the actual incidents of conflict, the whole period was characterized by steadily mounting tension as a result of Tibetan resentment at the Chinese presence in their country, and the Chinese determination to win them over, first through policies of appeasement and promises and, failing that, later, by force of violence.

Chinese troops had appeared in eastern Tibet as soon as the Kuomintang Government was ousted in China in September 1949. However, they were not considered a serious threat until October the following year when they began to advance further. The ill-armed puny Tibetan forces stationed along the banks of the Driчу and other frontier rivers made belated efforts at driving them out. Chamdo, the capital of Kham province, fell on October 19, 1950 and its Governor, Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, captured. In November, the Tibetan Government sent an appeal to the United Nations, but the latter chose to postpone its discussions indefinitely.

In May 1951, a Tibetan delegation was sent to Peking to discuss the possibility of a peaceful settlement. En route in Chamdo, the delegation was joined, and led, by Governor Ngabo who was also a member of the Tibetan Cabinet. Once in Peking, the delegation was forced to sign, without knowledge or approval of the Tibetan Government, the now notorious seventeen-point "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet". Since then, Ngabo has become, and still is, Red China's most prized Tibetan puppet.

Nonetheless, the *agreement* basically granted internal freedom to the Tibetans (see Appendix I for full text), and the Tibetan Government, having been forced to accept it as the less un-

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desirable alternative to war, had no reason to fear that the Chinese themselves would violate it.

Thus deluded, the Tibetan Government took every measure to create a peaceful and friendly relation between the Tibetans and the People's Liberation Army who marched into Lhasa in September 1951. Every facility for accommodation, food, transportation and other necessities were provided in various parts of Tibet for the Chinese officials and troops as they gradually poured into the country. The reception was under the direct supervision of the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of Tibet.

Communist Chinese Attitude

On 7th July, 1951, Chang Ching-wu, the official political representative of the Chinese People's Republic to Tibet, arrived in Lhasa via India with a party of seven. He was immediately followed by General Wang Che-mi, accompanied by a large number of troops and civilians, from Kham. In October 1951, more troops headed by General Chang Kuo-hua, General Chang Kuan-san, Lei Tsi-mu-tang and Lei Tu-rin arrived through Kham. In the same year, Major-General Fan Ming followed through northern Tibet with another large army. This army had 30,000 camels and a large number of horses, mules and yaks laden with military equipments. All these transport animals were requisitioned from Tibetans in the Amdo province. Similarly, General Chang Kuo-hua had also requisitioned horses, mules and yaks from Kham and only a nominal fare was paid for them.

Even in the initial stages, the Tibetans were wary of the Chinese since accounts of death and destruction caused by them in eastern Tibet were already transpiring to the Lhasans through migrating Khampas and Amdowas. Their feeling against the Chinese troops was openly demonstrated when, for instance, during a celebration of the Chinese entry into Tibet, the wind blew and smashed framed pictures of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, and the Tibetans loudly applauded the incident. The Chinese were greatly offended at this and soldiers with pointed rifles threatened the public. Against this persistent feeling of the public, the Chinese authorities adopted a policy

of restraint and tolerance. The Chinese troops and civilians were instructed not to harass the Tibetans in any way. All payments for transactions were to be made according to the market prices prevailing in the country, and nothing was to be taken without permission. The Chinese certainly made sure that their troops did not get too closely acquainted with the Tibetan people. For this reason, frequent shifts of troops were made from one place to another.

As was evidenced later on, the Chinese policy of politeness at the initial stage was exclusively directed to win over the Tibetan people into accepting the Communist ideology and reforms. They had led themselves to believe that the Tibetans would co-operate and, with sufficient response from the people, their mission to overthrow the Government of Tibet would be made easier. However, reaction of the people was quite the contrary, and the feeling of resentment remained strong. The Chinese then gave up their disguised policy of politeness and openly demanded the acceptance of their reform plans. At the same time, they also made clear some of their future plans. They claimed, for instance, that they were soon going to liberate India and, for this, it was necessary to carry out their reform programmes in Tibet. Moreover, it was said, such a step would help in the process of liberating India, and the people of India would welcome it.

Arrangements for Rent or Sale of Land-sites and Houses

The Government of Tibet had at no time sold any land-sites or houses to the Chinese. But at that time, the Chinese both with and without permission had utilized houses and land-sites belonging to the Government of Tibet. Most of the private properties sold to the Chinese were done with mutual agreement, but in some cases pressure was used by the Chinese to obtain what they required. When such transactions took place, although the Chinese agreed to be responsible for all the future land and house taxes, they never paid them.

Transportation

When the Chinese directly approached the Tibetan peasants for the supply of transportation, they were refused and ultima-

tely had to request the Tibetan Government for necessary permits. The Government co-operated by issuing all required permits with specific mention that transportation fares should be paid according to the prevailing rates. But the Chinese, after having been provided with the transportation, paid only half the rates. Gradually, even the recourse to obtaining Government permits began to be replaced by use of sheer force on the peasants. Furthermore, the animals used by them were driven to complete exhaustion which killed many of them. This created unbearable hardship for the Tibetan people.

Public Protests

In 1952, the people of Tibet organized themselves and held a public meeting in Lhasa. After the meeting they presented to the Chinese authorities a protest note. A similar note was also handed to the Government of Tibet. In this note the people expressed the following sentiments:

- (1) Full support towards maintenance of the status and powers of His Holiness the Dalai Lama;
- (2) Protection to all religious institutions;
- (3) All development programmes for a prosperous Tibet must be executed by the Tibetans;
- (4) The Chinese must make no changes in the uniforms or regulations of the Tibetan army;
- (5) The existing trade relations between India and Tibet must in no way be hampered; and
- (6) With the presence of a large number of Chinese troops in Tibet, a serious food problem has been created and this has inflicted great difficulties on the people. Since there is no existing danger along the entire border of Tibet, all Chinese civil and military personnel, with the exception of some civilians essentially required, should be withdrawn from Tibet.

Again in 1955, a peaceful public meeting was held and the Tibetan people's representatives handed over a memorandum to the Chinese authorities. The memorandum contained similar demands as the first note and protested against the way the Chinese were disrupting the peaceful life of the Tibetan people by inciting dissensions and discord among the Tibetans in order to achieve their objectives. The Government of Tibet was

immediately forced by the Chinese authorities to arrest the people's representatives on the charge of being agents of foreign imperialists. One of them—Lhachuk—died in prison in the course of the “interrogation” and the others were released only on the condition that they guarantee not to oppose or criticize the Communist ideology.

Construction of Motorways

At the end of 1952, the Chinese began to encourage the construction of motorways. They claimed that for the development of the country such roads were most essential for they make it possible to import heavy machines for industrialization. With full faith that it would be in the best interest of the country, the Tibetan people and Government gave unreserved co-operation by extending all resources of labour, food and transportation for this massive project.

Motorways were built from (1) Sining to Lhasa through northern Tibet, (2) Szechuan to Lhasa through eastern Tibet, (3) Lhasa to Shigatse, (4) Lhasa to Tsethang (in southern Tibet) and (5) Shigatse to Yatung via Gyantse. An airfield was also constructed at Damshung, some sixty miles north-west of Lhasa. However, when the motorways were completed, they turned out to be of no practical use to the Tibetans and their country: the roads were used to bring into Tibet unlimited number of troops and military equipment from China. This had a disastrous repercussion on the economic situation. Prices of food rose ten-fold and the people were faced with a severe food crisis.

Monetary Currency

Even after the Chinese occupation, gold, silver and copper coins and notes issued by the mint department of the Government of Tibet remained in circulation. The Chinese on a number of occasions tried to have the Tibetan Government stop the circulation of Tibetan currency, but this was resolutely rejected by the people and the National Assembly of Tibet. The Tibetan currency remained in use till 1959. All transactions by Chinese personnel were made in Chinese silver dollars (called Dayen) at the rate of 15 Tibetan *sangs* per dayen. The

Chinese had specific instructions not to use Tibetan currency. Later, they stopped the use of dayens and issued coupons instead. These coupons could be used at Chinese stores but they had no value at Tibetan shops.

Posts and Telegraphs

Although the Tibetan Government had their post and telegraph offices, the Chinese independently set up their own postal and telegraphic communication. Eventually, the Government of Tibet's Posts and Telegraphs system was completely disrupted.

Tibetan Army

The Tibetan Government maintained full control over what remained of the Tibetan army after the battle in Kham. In order to undermine this control the Chinese on numerous occasions demanded the integration of Tibetan military personnel in the Chinese army. Though the Government was not left with much choice, every soldier in the army and the people of Tibet vehemently opposed this idea. It was finally agreed that while the Government may continue to exercise control, the uniforms and rank titles of the regiment of the Dalai Lama's bodyguards, and officers from the rank of sergeant upwards of all other regiments were to be converted into the Chinese system. The Chinese were most suspicious even when replacements were put in for soldiers who either died or retired. Appointments of Tibetan generals or that of the Commander-in-Chief had to be made in consultation with the Chinese.

Intervention in the Law of the Country

On matters connected with the law, the Chinese authorities had put strong pressure on the *Kashag* (Cabinet) and have had judgments passed forcibly in accordance with their desire. In 1952, after the public protest meeting, the Government was forced to pass a new law forbidding criticism of the Communism. One of the people's spokesmen, Karkhang Phuntsog Tashi was abducted from Shigatse and imprisoned and punished in the Chinese military headquarters on charge of conspiracy.

The Chinese were annoyed when the two Prime Ministers—the monk Lobsang Tashi and the lay Lukhangwa—criticized

some of their activities. Ultimately, the Chinese forced the Dalai Lama to ask his Prime Ministers to resign from their post. Again in 1955 the Kashag was compelled to arrest and prosecute popular leaders Alo Chonzed, Bumthang Drungyig and Lhachuk. On the whole, the Chinese contemptuously ignored all laws of the Government of Tibet.

Police Force

The small Tibetan police force was still under the authority of the Tibetan Government. But the Chinese had a large civil intelligence force which operated both in and outside Lhasa. On many occasions they secretly arrested and inflicted punishments on Tibetans without the knowledge of the Tibetan Government. For several months in 1957/58 Lhasa was jointly patrolled by Tibetan and Chinese police forces.

State Revenue

Since the invasion of eastern Tibet, the Chinese have had full control of the administration there and all revenues of that part of the country had been collected by them. The Chinese also demanded the removal of import duties from the Chinese tea, on the ground that it had already been taxed by the Chinese Government. Apart from this, the Government of Tibet had full control over all revenues including import and export duties on goods entering from or going to India.

Administrative Control

After the Chinese occupation of eastern Tibet, this part had been under the direct administrative control of the Chinese "Chamdo Liberation Committee". The Tibetan Government no longer had the authority of sending its Governors to Chamdo. All other territories remained under the administrative control of the Government of Tibet until 1959. The appointments of Governors, District Commissioners and Sub-Divisional Officers were all done in the normal procedure with the sanction of the Dalai Lama.

Formation of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet (PCART) and Deterioration of the Situation

When the matter for setting up of a PCART was first discussed, the Tibetans were given to understand that this Committee would have no administrative power. Later, however, the Chinese decided that the Preparatory Committee must have a certain control in the administration. The Committee was formally inaugurated on April 22, 1956. The Chinese Government deputed Marshall Chen Yi to preside at the inauguration. The Tibetans at the meeting were divided into three separate groups: the Tibetan Government Group, the Panchen Lama Group and the Khampa Group. The meeting was attended by nearly a thousand people. Among them were many delegations of minority races from China who accompanied Marshall Chen Yi and who spoke for days about great achievements in their country since Communist reforms.

After the adjournment of the inaugural meeting, the delegations of the minority races visited Sera, Drepung and Ganden, the three big monasteries on the suburb of Lhasa. All officials of the Tibetan Government including Cabinet Ministers were asked to accompany the guests. In the meantime, the other officials of the Tibetan Government and delegates from various parts of Tibet were organized into small groups with important Chinese officials in each group. These groups held meetings in which the Chinese tried to impress the Tibetans into accepting Chinese reforms. A few delegates responded but the majority expressed their unwillingness to co-operate.

At a later stage, Marshall Chen Yi saw the Tibetan officials and delegates and, after presenting them with gifts, explained the reasons why difficulties were encountered in carrying out the reform programmes in Eastern Tibet. He stated that difficulties were created because those people had rebelled against the Chinese Government. He said that as Central and Western Tibet had come under a peaceful liberation, the case was different and reforms could be implemented by peaceful means with collaboration of the upper strata. The Marshall stressed that after the reform, condition of the country would improve

and, citing an example, he said that the Government would supply the monks with all their requirements, including two sets of robes—one for winter and one for summer wear. In this way, every effort was made to persuade the acceptance of their desired reforms.

The Preparatory Committee consisted of 51 members with His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the Chairman. Of the 51 members, fifteen represented the Government of Tibet, ten were from the Panchen Lama Group, ten from the Chamdo Liberation Committee, five were Chinese representatives and the remaining eleven were scholars and distinguished people. The Committee had one executive office with thirteen departments under it. The basic policy of the Committee was decided and laid down by the Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet. Thus, when Preparatory Committee meetings took place the discussions were empty and pointless. No alterations could be effected to the pre-determined Chinese decisions or resolutions put before the meetings. The Chinese also brought in a large number of Chinese personnel claiming that the Tibetans were unable to provide sufficient staff members.

The Preparatory Committee established eight regional zones to be administered by a Commissioner. Offices were also set up in all the districts under each zone and Chinese civil officers were sent to work in those offices. The local people strongly opposed this new organization and the Chinese took reprisals. To cite a relevant case, the Chinese at Lhodrak Dowa-dzong district (in Southern Tibet) arranged a cinema show for the local people. During the show the Chinese had their agents create a commotion, and in the ensuing disturbance some of the people who had strongly opposed the establishment of district offices by the Chinese were assassinated. Similarly, many patriotic Tibetans from various parts of the country were abducted and murdered or severely tortured by the Chinese.

Eventually, people in all parts of the country had the alarming feeling that the Chinese were forcibly undermining the powers of the Tibetan Government and would introduce communist reforms irrespective of the people's wishes. Then, in order to calm down the situation, the Chinese decided to change their policy of reforms. They claimed that as the conditions

were not ripe enough they would postpone the reforms for six years. It was also announced that if conditions were still unfavourable at the end of six years, a further postponement of ten, fifteen, fifty or even hundred years would be made. In 1957, after His Holiness returned to Tibet from his visit to India, the Chinese reiterated their policy of postponing reforms for six years. At the same time they called on the people to make every effort in quickening the process of creating suitable conditions for reforms and promised that the Chinese would do anything on their part to educate the Tibetan people.

The Government of Tibet had, on a number of occasions, put to the Chinese such reform proposals as would be in conformity with the general situation. "In particular," the Dalai Lama informed newsmen on June 20, 1959, "it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and the large landed estates acquired by the State on payment of compensation for distribution among the tillers of the soil." But these were rejected as they were not in line with the Communist idea of reforms by which religion and national identity would be eradicated. By mid-1957, it was evident that the Chinese would soon use military measures to deal with our people. On the pretext of not having enough soldiers to guard the borders, the Chinese brought in three more divisions of troops, hundreds of truckloads of military equipments, tanks and other heavy artilleries.

The Final Act

In Spring 1958, the Chinese began fortifying their quarters. Trenches were dug, sandbags were put up, underground passages were made, and electrified barbed wires encircled every house they occupied. Aeroplanes flew over Lhasa and paratroop landings were practised. In one of the meetings, the Chinese went so far as to remark that if the Dalai Lama did not conduct himself properly, he would be dealt with in the same manner as were Shar-Kelden Gyatsho Rimpoche and Gungtang Rimpoche of Eastern Tibet. (These two lamas were arrested and taken to China.)

It was announced that the Khampas in Lhasa would be required to obtain Chinese permission to stay in Lhasa. The

large number of Khampas, who lost everything at home when the Chinese forced their reform programmes and had fled to Central Tibet, were greatly agitated at being harassed by them again. Some of them began to leave Lhasa, but the Chinese interpreted this move as rebellious and, claiming that such designs must be prevented, had their troops spread in every part of Tibet.

By February 1959 all pretenses were dropped from both sides. The Chinese made their final move. The Dalai Lama was invited—or rather, forced to accept an invitation—to attend, without his customary bodyguards, a cultural show at the Chinese military headquarters. The date was fixed for 10th, March. At this unprecedented development, the people of Tibet became apprehensive and more than ten thousand strong surrounded Norbulinka, the summer palace, and physically prevented him from attending the function. Large crowds went around Lhasa demonstrating against the Chinese occupation and demanding withdrawal of all Chinese. In spite of these demonstrations, His Holiness and his Government endeavoured to seek friendly relations with the Chinese so as to maintain peace. However, the Chinese response was that of shelling the Norbulinka and the people of Lhasa.

This is how the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans were forced to leave their country and seek asylum in India.

The Refugee Statements

“The cause of Tibet is the cause of the Tibetan people; it is the cause of six million people. It is the struggle of a people to determine their own destiny. Until they are satisfied the struggle for Tibet will continue.”

—from the statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the occasion of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising. (March 10, 1974.)

1. Statement of Rinzin (Alias Dorji Tsering)



*Age 46; Father's Name: Konchok;
Birth-Place: Nangra, Amdo.
Occupation: Middle Class Farmer.
Arrived in India: June 1958. Now
working in the Tibetan Handicraft
Centre in Simla, H.P.*

*Rinzin gives his personal account
of Chinese invasion in Nangra and
Hormokha villages in Amdo
Province of Eastern Tibet.*

*Before Chinese invasion, Nangra
had an approximate population of
17,000 including the monks of
seven monasteries. Hormokha had
three monasteries and the total
population was approximately
15,000.*

I W A S a middle class farmer with nine members in the family. I used to own four *dzos* (a cross between yak and cow), five *dzomos* (female dzo), six horses, 200 sheep and goats and a land in which I could grow 250 *khel* (1 *khel*-12.5 Kg.) of grain.

On September 25, 1949, when the Chinese army reached Nangra and Hormokha, we all revolted against them and announced that Tibet is an independent and a separate country. We had lived in our country for thousands of years without any foreign aid and we had no need for reforms, least of all reforms brought in by foreigners. The Chinese spokesmen retorted that their aim was to control the whole world, and so these two small villages could not be allowed to escape with-

out any changes. Such exchanges went on for a while, with the Chinese steadily trying to impose their authority upon us.

Organised Revolt

The situation was becoming increasingly unbearable. In December 1949 all people of Nangra and Hormokha decided to fight against the Chinese under the leadership of Pon Wangchen of Nangra and Pon Choeje of Hormokha. Soon the two leaders had 60 assistants, about 6,000 voluntary soldiers and a sizable number of arms and ammunition collected.

Our first encounter was with about 5,000 Chinese troops stationed in Khargansa, east of Nangra. The fight lasted 15 days. 25 Tibetans, including Pon Wangchen's son Tashi Rabten, died, and the Chinese casualty numbered about 90.

After a brief pause the fighting resumed with the arrival of 10,000 Chinese reinforcements from Re Kong, south of Nangra. The month-long battle ended with the loss of 40 Tibetan and 150 Chinese lives.

In Mid 1950 about 2,000 Chinese arrived from the north of Nangra. The ensuing fight lasted about two months and the total casualty was 90 Tibetans and about 200 Chinese. Again in 1951 we fought about 30,000 Chinese from the north-east of Nangra for about three months. 150 Tibetans and about 200 Chinese died.

In Hormokha, in February 1951, we fought about 30,000 Chinese in the north and about 40,000 in the east. We killed about 500 of them. 350 Tibetans, including my cousin Rhi Wangdak, died and we lost Hormokha to the Chinese. They arrested 15 Tibetans from the village and shot them. In the course of the battle, Pon Choeje's right arm was injured. Tsering and Pangpen managed to deceive the Chinese army by lying amongst the bodies, pretending to be dead. After some time, the Chinese came to check the bodies and took away their guns. When they saw Choeje they suspected he was a leader since his dress was slightly different. They poked his eyes and nose with gunpoints and kicked him, but he remained still the whole day. Then the Chinese examined Hashen's body and thought him to be the real Choeje. They took his body to Gyashentsang and forced the people there to criticize him for three days.

Meanwhile in the battlefid, Tsering and Pangpen woke up in the dark and when Choeje saw them, he sent a message to me and his relatives asking us to take him from there. We went there at the risk of our lives and succeeded in taking him away, unnoticed by the Chinese. But when we reached the village all the women whose husbands had died in the battle gathered and blamed us for the death of their husbands. They told us that if we did not surrender to the Chinese, they would attack again and the whole population would be wiped out. As it was unimaginable for us to surrender we just left the village and headed for the rocky hills of Lhowa. When we tried to get in another nearby village we were stopped again by a hundred hysterical women whose husbands had also died in the battle. They blamed us for starting the fight and pointed out that if we stayed in the village the Chinese were bound to attack it with all their might. So we had to go back to the hills where we remained for a month.

Shifted

Finally we reached Pon Wangchen's house in Kyampa and related the whole story to him. Choeje was kept in his house. Two of my brothers and myself were advised to rent a room in Jamyang's house.

In the past three years we had fought five major and several minor battles against the Chinese. The Chinese had made 18 separate attempts to negotiate with us. They had sent four of their Tibetan employees, Karze Tashi Tushi, Geshe Sherab Gyatsho, Alak Gyalse and Woser Gyaltzen, to talk us. They told us that the Chinese were far superior to us in number and arms and that we did not stand a chance against them, so it would be better to surrender. We replied in no uncertain terms that although the Chinese were doubtless powerful compared to us few Tibetans "it would be out of the question for us to bow our heads to them. It would be an insulting and embarrassing course of action unprecedented in the history of our land. So we will continue to fight till the end."

Survey and Measurement

During this time we noted that Mao Hro-lak, Commander of the Chinese forces stationed in Nangra, spent three years

surveying the whole land. They took measurements, noted down addresses, counted the population and, as we found out later, sent recommendations to their Government on how many soldiers would be required at a particular place.

“Little Taiwan”

For our persistent opposition of the mighty Communist army for over three years, the village of Nangra had earned the nickname of “Little Taiwan”. On April 4, 1952, Wang Hru-chi, a representative of Mao, came to Hormokha and spoke in a meeting of the local population: “You have killed many Chinese soldiers during three years of fighting. But since you are a minority race we took pity on you and attempted peaceful negotiations. Unfortunately, you chose to ignore no less than 18 such attempts of ours. So Chairman Mao has now put out orders to destroy the whole of Nangra, and we are sending 32,000 soldiers for this purpose.” The special attention that the Chinese were giving us may have something to do with the fact that a number of important Kuomintang officers, who had fled from China following their defeat in the hands of the Communists, were said to be hiding in Nangra.

Anyway, the promised 32,000 soldiers arrived the very next day in four equal divisions: one from east through Khargang, one from south through Rekong, one from north of Gyaltsa and one from the west of Chuma. They had surrounded Nangra in five circles, and fighting started at about 5 a.m. at Pon Wangchen’s house. By 1 p.m. large scale hand-to-hand combats were in progress. I reckon the Chinese casualty by that time must have reached at least 500. We had lost 300 of our men, including my elder brother.

We had lost Nangra and decided to flee to the nearby Lhamo Dechen monastery, but there were about 5000 soldiers blocking our way. So we retreated back to the Gyalthang monastery in Dingsar and resumed fighting there. The Chinese opened machine guns from hill tops and about 500 of us fled into the nearby forest. Pon Wangchen and his son were left on their own, so the Chinese rushed down to his house. At the sight of this, about 30 of us ran down and fought with the Chinese for two hours. The Chinese turned back and we suffer-

ed no casualty except for injuries to the right arm of Men Pha-tse, a Chinese on our side, and to the horse of Tsepel (Pon Wangchen's son). However, we still could not get out of the place and in the evening we all went into Pon Wangchen's house where he gave us a few words of encouragement.

At 7 p.m. we walked through the forest and reached Dakka Tithung (a nomad field). Pon Wangchen told us that he was determined to go on fighting since we could not expect good treatment from the Chinese even if we surrendered. However, he announced, those of us who felt that it would be safer to surrender were free to do so. But all 500 of us vowed unanimously to fight and die alongside him. So we continued our journey and reached Sharong Dadung at 11 p.m. There we were overtaken by about 20,000 Chinese who had been pursuing us. We fought bravely and lost only three lives. Since it was dark we could not tell the number of Chinese casualty.

Desperate Plans

Little by little we were all scattered and since the Chinese had surrounded us from all sides we did not know which way to turn to. Dawa and Sangay were with me—all of us in helpless condition. I explained the entire situation to the two young boys and told them that since their father was killed by the Chinese they would have to go with me wherever I went. We also decided that in the event of running into more enemy soldiers we would fight them if there were not very many of them and run for our lives if there were. I also advised them to die fighting or commit suicide rather than be captured by the Chinese. They asked me how to commit suicide with rifles since we did not have revolvers. I showed them how and then we continued our journey through the snow-covered forest.

When we reached Hondui Doksa, we caught three horses from Chinese soldiers. Unfortunately, we encountered more Chinese and so we had to leave the horses and hide in the hills. After they had gone we came down and took the horses back. We had to go through that drill three times that night.

Disguised As Chinese Soldiers

Early next day we met 22 of our companions riding Chinese horses. In order to minimize the risk we decided to disguise our-

selves as Chinese soldiers. We wore the spare uniforms and caps which they had left in the saddle-bags. Together we resolved to take the same course of action that I had outlined to my young companions the previous evening. So we set out and spent a day near a Chinese camp without arousing their suspicion. We left very calmly at about 9 o'clock that evening, but two hours later were stopped by a large troop of soldiers. We fought for a while and then left the horses and ran to the hills. Later we came back for them. The hazardous journey continued throughout the night and at about 7 o'clock the following morning we were outside the last of the five circles of Chinese troops that had surrounded our village.

Struggle for Survival

It was only when we reached Danak Gurkhar that we realized that seven of our companions were lost. The remaining fifteen of us had become very weak through lack of food and sleep in the last few days. On the evening of 11th April we met Pon Wangchen and another 65 of our men at Chensik Thang. Together we climbed the Gangze Mazer mountain and reached its peak at midnight. Once there, we felt the need to organize ourselves and so we formed different groups and appointed group leaders. We were famished and had nothing to eat and so we stole a yak from the nomad field and roasted it. The Chinese got wind of Pon Wangchen's escape and sent 5,000 soldiers to surround the place we were hiding in. We fought our way out of there and, after two days, reached Shakyong Zawer. We could not proceed further since there were only rocky mountains ahead of us, and neither could we turn back since the whole place was littered with Chinese soldiers.

We were compelled to spend one whole month in that unbearable condition. We were all hungry, weak and frozen cold, and we remained there like hopeless patients waiting for death. There was no wood to make fire and it was so cold that we could not speak properly. Then we killed the horses and ate raw meat, but even that was frozen and kept slipping from our hands. So we cut their throats and drank the warm blood. Since we had no extra clothes we covered ourselves with

the saddle mattresses. The only consolation we had was that the Chinese could not come up to us.

Surrender

About a month afterwards, the Chinese sent Lama Shabdung Karpo and Serti Rimpoche of Dechen Monastery to talk to us. They told us that since we were in no position to continue fighting it would be better to surrender rather than die in such a pointless manner. They gave us their personal guarantee that the Chinese would grant us amnesty if we surrendered. We believed in the Lama's words and all 80 of us came down and surrendered. When we reached Nangra Kyampa we met Mao's representative Wang Hrui-chi who told us that although we had fought against the Chinese Government for over three years we would not be arrested and that we were free to return home.

Position and Reform

A few days later, the Chinese took Pon Wangchen to Sziling (Sining) to board a plane which took him to Peking to meet Mao. As we learnt later, Mao said to him, "I am glad to meet you. You are the first man in the history who fought bravely with a great power for three years and whose village rightly deserves the name 'Second Taiwan'." Mao advised him to change his mental attitude and return home. He would be awarded the position of Tan Shin Tung (a Chinese title for a village headman) and that he (Mao) had full confidence that Pon Wangchen would work diligently and help the Chinese Government. Before he left, Wangchen was treated to a banquet and shown a variety of games, sports and dances performed by 70 artists. After that he was brought back by plane to Nangra, which had been renamed Chen Tsa-shen. Wang Hrui-chi and Wangchen were appointed Tan Shin Tung of the village.

For one year, 1952-53, people led a happy life and there was opportunity for both the children and the old to play and laugh. Then came the Socialism and reforms. Henceforth, anybody who opposed the Chinese was arrested. Innocent people were accused of various crimes and put in prison. Daily village meetings took place where anybody and everybody was

criticized for his previous behaviours. At least ten people were shot dead every day after these meetings.

The Chinese soldiers were posted all around the village and there was no way to run. Everybody, whether innocent or guilty of opposing the Chinese, was in danger of being arrested. Many people committed suicide in these desperate times. Among them were my brother and six other people from Nangra, eight people from Ruche village and five from Yulche. Nine people from Nangra escaped to India, and the rest all died fighting or in prison. Only a few blinds, cripples, fools and some children were left.

Danger of Arrest

I was blacklisted in the Chinese book right from the beginning. Once I got permission to visit one of my relatives in a nearby monastery. That night, in the public meeting, a Chinese soldier threw a stone at the meeting and the Chinese authorities put the blame on me. Orders were put out for my arrest. At that time, Dhelu Bumkher Rimpoche had arrived in Nangra from Central Tibet. I visited him secretly and asked him about conditions in Central Tibet. He told me that the Chinese had arrived there but so far no reforms were being introduced. He advised me on the ways and means of escaping. Thus, I left Nangra on September 4, 1954, and travelling by road, rail and on foot through Lentu, Pochi, Kongyen, Dhintu, Dhardo, Karze and Kongpo, arrived in Lhasa on October 20, 1954.

Aim of Escape

I went to Central Tibet at the risk of my life with the sole aim of wanting to inform our Government of the miseries we in the east were going through. In Lhasa, I related the whole story to Palden Thondup and Kumbum Shasur of Drepung Monastery and asked for their help in approaching the Government. However, I was very sorry and disappointed when these two lamas left me without a word.

In Nangra I was known as Dorji Tsering but in Lhasa I changed my name to Rinzin and stayed there as a businessman until 1958. The Chinese had sent spies after me. My parents and relatives wrote to me saying that the Chinese had recently

announced in a public meeting that I was discovered in Lhasa and described in detail the house I was living in. They had further announced that there were others besides myself who revolted against the Chinese and fled to Central Tibet. I realized that I had no time to lose. So I obtained a passport from my Government by supplying false particulars and left Lhasa on 21st June, 1951.

Taiwan's Approach

When I reached Kalimpong in northern India, Taiwanese agents Amdo Tashi and Tsepel Dorji came to see me on 2nd July. They praised my deeds which appeared to be well-known to them and offered to reward me by allowing my whole family to go and live in Taiwan. I was approached twice again by the same people and informed that if I had rather live in India they would provide me with all necessities. I declined all their offers and resolved to live by my own wit.

Epilogue

Since 1954, both Pon Wangchen and Pon Choeje were put under house arrest and no one has heard about them since.

I had left Lhasa with eight other people. On the way, two of them stayed behind and joined the National Defence Voluntary Army of the *Chusi Gangdruk* (Four Rivers, Six Ranges) based in Lhokha (Southern Tibet). I was to learn subsequently that both of them died in the battle. The other six came to India with me.

2. Statement of Gyakar Gompo Namgyal



Gyakar Gompo Namgyal was born in Dergey, Kham in 1929. He entered into the household of the king of Dergey (the ruler of one of the semi-independent kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, etc. of old Kham but all owing allegiance to Lhasa) and became the steward. At home he used to keep a farm and a few herds of cattle.

Gyakar Gompo Namgyal was one of the earliest resistance fighters and together with Woma Rignam, he led more than 13,000 Khampas against the Chinese. Five sub-

districts of Dergey were under his leadership. During their battles against the Chinese and in the course of their flight Gompo Namgyal's followers were reduced to 110 although many others joined them on the way. They crossed the U.P. Tibet border in Palia in late 1960. The surviving companions of Gompo Namgyal ranged in age between 3 and 71 and among them there were 29 women and 23 children. These included his wife Kesang Tsedon, three sons and one daughter. His youngest son, aged 7, was captured by the Chinese. At present, he and his family are residing in Gangtok, Sikkim.

The details of his innumerable battles with the Chinese troops would fill a book on its own and hence, are excluded from this statement.

I N T H E year 1950, the first batch of Chinese troops arrived in Kham. At that time, they arrested and imprisoned many people, beating them severely in prison. These persons were

given a few days to recover from their beatings and, once recovered, the process was started all over again until they were on the point of death. They arrested innocent lamas and monks on fabricated charges and made them undergo countless indignities and forced them to eat and drink all sorts of filthy things. Many monasteries were emptied of all their valuables and then demolished. Any person who was seen or heard muttering prayers or telling beads was severely flogged and imprisoned.

Some time later, the Chinese announced a set of new rules and regulations to guide us in our new way of life. The first of these rules decreed that all personal wealth and property belonging to the rich and poor alike must be handed over to the Chinese. The second rule demanded hard, physical labour with minimum of rest from everybody.

According to the third rule, all expert craftsmen, tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths and goldsmiths were to be sent to China; and young Tibetans who could hardly speak were made to live with the Chinese so that they would grow up to be like them.

According to the fourth rule, all young Tibetan men and women were to be sent to China for education.

Under the fifth rule, all minerals, rare medicines and animal furs were to be taken to China. Tibetans were made to work day and night to procure these things for the Chinese.

The sixth rule encouraged the betrayal of one member of the family by another. People who were seen weeping to see the disintegration of their family were flogged.

Gradually, Tibetans were compelled to forcefully oppose them, but when the revolt took place, the Chinese killed many of our women and children as well.

Peace Talks

In 1956, after the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was set up in Lhasa, the heads and members of the 21 districts of the Chambo Administrative Area met at Chamdo town. The meeting lasted ten days. On the first day, a Chinese general named Wang Chi-mei said: "In Lhasa, while they were discussing the democratic reforms that are to be brought in Tibet, the Dalai Lama has declared:

'In the present condition, Tibet is not ready for such a change. Therefore, we must take each step gradually so that the people might be conditioned to accept it willingly.' The Panchen Lama, on the other hand, has demanded that the reforms be introduced immediately. Now, all you heads and members of the *dzongs* must give your views on it clearly."

After this, the meeting broke up into smaller committees to discuss the matter and finally about a hundred persons including Karupon (head of the Chungpo-Karu district) said, "We will have reforms neither before, nor after, but together with the rest of Tibet."

Another group of about 40, including the heads of Lhodzong, Shotarsho Sum and Hortso Tatukpon declared that they had no objection to reforms being introduced immediately. Yet a third party, comprising Chamdo-Shiwalhas, Dragyabpas, Gonjowas, Markhampas and we Dergeywas, totalling about 200, said: "Tibet does not need reforms from the Chinese at all. We have no desire to end this era of the Lord Buddha which shines on us like the sun."

On the final day of the meeting, the Chinese general said in his concluding speech that it had been decided to bring democratic reforms into Tibet as finally desired by the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas. Before dispersing, each representative was presented with a picture album, pen, ink, paper and some toilet articles.

There were more meetings in the following weeks. On the second day of the fifth meeting, 210 heads and members of the sub-districts of Dergey were called to assemble at Jomda Dzong (in the east of Chamdo). This is the most important town between the Drichu and Chamdo. Besides the old route, a new motor road lies through it. Formerly, the district officer of Dergey of the Tibetan Government used to reside there. At present there are more than three thousand Chinese troops posted there permanently. In the course of the meeting there, two Chinese officers, Tang Mi-shu and Yang Tei-phieu, said: "Since the reigon of Jomda Dzong lies along the Szechuan border, it has been decided that democratic reforms will be initiated there." We vehemently protested to this, saying, "We will have no democratic reforms here since it will only mean

that the sufferings from the other side of the Drichu will be brought here. Nothing else will come out of it.”

That very day, a huge convoy of Chinese trucks began pouring into Jomda Dzong both from up across the Drichu and from Chamdo below. More than two thousand troops suddenly appeared (to reinforce the three thousand already there) and surrounded Jomda Dzong. They built barracks and dug trenches on the hills and, with this show of force, compelled us to concede, at least verbally, to their plans of bringing democratic reforms.

The meeting lasted for three more days in the course of which the Chinese themselves appointed to offices members of Dzong staff of their own choice. Gradually, the battle-ready troops also relaxed a bit.

Even after the meeting was over, the Chinese kept us in Jomda Dzong and told us to go to the other sub-districts of Dergey to propagate the need for democratic reforms. Before going, however, we were told that we must undergo a course in it. Preparations to begin our lessons took three days after which we were told that the course would start the next day. By that time our reluctance to co-operate with the Chinese had reached its peak. That same night, all 210 of us escaped into the hills and from there, began to launch periodical guerrilla raids on Chinese camps.

Distinguished Negotiators

Two months later, Ngabo (Ngawang Jigme) and Tsurpo Karmapa (Head Lama of the Kargyupa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism) came to Chamdo town and another meeting of the representatives of the various districts of Chamdo Administrative area was called. In the meeting, Wang Chi-mei is reported to have said that democratic reforms had been postponed for five years. At the end of the month, Yaptsang Lobsang Kunchok of Chamdo, his wife and Prince Kesang Wangdui of Dergey came to Jomda Dzong. They brought with them a letter from Ngabo and Tsurpo Karmapa together with literature from the meetings. They sent messengers with the letters, 16 loads of *Dayen* (Chinese silver dollar), 12 loads of tea, 2 loads of cigarettes and 4 loads of wines and spirits. We kept the letters and

returned all the gifts through the messengers and replied that we had no faith in the words of the Chinese.

Another two months later, the Chinese sent Dergey Tsunmo (the Queen of Dergey) to us. She advised us to come to terms with the Chinese but we remained adamant. The next batch of negotiators included both the queen and the prince of Dergey along with Yaptsang Lobsang Konchok. They declared that they brought with them a command from His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressed to Khardo Chime Gampo (one of the former stewards of the Dergey king who had become the leader of the resistance group from Dergey). They sent letters to all the places we were scattered in. These letters informed us that reforms would not take place and asked all the resistance leaders and their assistants to meet them at Dergey Ranta to discuss possible agreement with the Chinese. Our scattered units replied that we were ready to meet them at Ranta provided no Chinese was present.

Since it was a direct command from His Holiness we met the three negotiators at Ranta. After discussions, we decided to send Gyong-khang Pema Thinley to Jomda Dzong to talk with the Chinese. Again the Chinese sent us the same gifts of Dayens, cigarettes, tea and wines which we accepted this time and distributed among the men. When the Dergey Tsunmo and the rest left, we sent them reports of our activities to the Dalai Lama. Then we returned to the mountains, took up positions and remained in hiding.

In the beginning of February 1957, the Dergey Queen and Prince with Pomda Topgay (another prominent Dzong staff appointed by the Chinese) once again came to Jomda Dzong. Their letters to us said: "It will not do you to live like this any longer. All you leaders and assistants must come to Jomda Dzong and work with the Chinese. If you do not listen, reforms will be introduced in Tibet. Therefore, it is up to you to decide your own fate."

The tone of the letters was very desperate and, while we were discussing what to do, the people told us that we could never reach an agreement with the Chinese and pleaded us not to go. In the end, however, it was decided that 23 leaders, including myself, and assistants should go. Thus, accompanied

by 100 armed men on horses we came to Jomda Dzong. The Chinese welcomed us with a big banquet. We met various Chinese officials and the three Tibetans who had sent us the messages. Wang Chi-mei, all smiles, told us in a cunning and diplomatic speech: "Until now you have made a big mistake in your ways. However, we are glad to see that now you have decided to follow the good road and we welcome you all. While you were on the wrong path you killed many soldiers of the Liberation Army, captured arms, damaged and destroyed roads which were improving Tibet, disgraced us before the Russian technicians and committed many other follies. All the same, the Central Government has decided to forget and forgive these past mistakes. At the moment, democratic reforms have been postponed for five years. After that it will be up to you Tibetans, the upper class as well as the rest of the people, to decide when and how such reforms shall take place. In the meantime, the Chinese Government will take away your arms."

We discussed the matter among ourselves and decided to come to an agreement with the Chinese. All of us leaders and assistants accepted posts in Jomda Dzong and were determined to live in peace.

Road to Socialism and the Final Dissent

For over a year we were forced to study five textbooks on 'The Stages of Socialism'. The lessons lasted about two hours each day and for the rest of the day, we carried out various assignments. An important part of our course was the need for 'The Four Big Oppositions' which were: opposition to religion, opposition to personal power, opposition to privileges and the opposition to counter-revolutionaries. Our work consisted of passing on to the people the Chinese orders to clear forests, carry the goods of Chinese soldiers when they were travelling, construct barracks for the Chinese soldiers which had by then grown into a formidable 20 or 30 thousand strong, etc. We also had to collect taxes from the people exactly according to the old Tibetan laws—only this time it had to be handed over to the Chinese. In spite of the difficulties created by the presence of soldiers and the forcible change of lifestyle, no reductions were made in the taxations. Sometimes, we had to collect as much

as 15,000 *gyamas* of meat and 20,000 *gyamas* of hay. (one *gyama* = one lb. approx.)

Soon afterwards, Khardo Chime Gampo and some others asked the Chinese for a short leave stating that they had not seen their relatives for a long time. Others followed suit and soon only Yargo Bu and myself were left. We continued to stay in Jomda Dzong and tried to devote more interest and determination to work and studies. However, the Chinese treatment of the Tibetans was getting worse and worse every day. We realized that all our efforts were in vain and that we had been fools to be enticed by their words.

One day, towards the end of the year, Yargo Bu and I, while inspecting some wooden houses under construction, escaped to the hills and remained in hiding. Although the Chinese must have found out about our escape, they did not send anyone after us. After crossing the pass we reached Nyashi where we re-joined our forces.

3. Statement of Tashi Palden



Age 27. Birth-Place: Serdrag, Dragyab, Kham. Occupation: Monk in Upper Tantric College, Lhasa.

After arrival in India on December 12, 1960, he resumed his Tantric studies and is still continuing it at the Upper Tantric College rehabilitated in Bomdila, Arunachal Pradesh.

Turmoils in Lhasa

IN OCTOBER 1958, I started a three-year long *tsam* (meditational retreat) in my room on the top floor of the Tara Tsamkhang (retreat house), situated at the rear end of the Ramoche Cathedral. From there I could see everything that was happening in Lhasa at the time of the Uprising.

During March-April 1959, it was rumoured that the *Chusi Gangdruk* forces were closing up on Lhasa from Dakpo, Kongpo and Lhokha regions and were expected to take over Lhasa from the Chinese any day. In the city itself, people were demonstrating everywhere, shouting slogans and carrying banners. All the monks were being requested to hold special prayers for a swift and happy end to the sufferings of the Tibetan people. I had already known from my early years in Kham that in times like this the monks and monasteries became special

targets of the Chinese wrath, and so I was seriously considering breaking my *tsam* and going to stay with my parents in the Tsang province until the troubles were over.

Many eminent lamas from my college had gone to the Norbulinka to hold special prayers. They came back on the 17th March and informed us that His Holiness had already left Lhasa. On the 19th lots of shots were heard. 50 *lamagyupas* (Tantric monks) had volunteered to defend our college. They were armed with knives, axes and some even had guns. Some 30 monks had decided to break into Zimbook House occupied by the Chinese and seize their arms. The house was surrounded by a wooden fence and I had seen from my vantage point that the Chinese had dug trenches all around the inside of the fence.

So at night the monks went towards the house, carrying old prayer flags and cans of kerosene in order to try and burn the place down. Soon I saw them cutting a hole in the fence and as soon as it was big enough, some of them crawled in. The defending Chinese were headed by two women who shot two monks down as soon as they had stepped inside the fence. But there were another two already inside the yard, running around, swinging their axes. Lots of shots were fired at them but somehow they managed to come out unscathed. The monks gave up their attempt and came back to Ramoche.

Meanwhile, from a house next door, ten Tibetan policemen started shooting at the Zimbook House. The Chinese, however, remained in their trenches and did not return the fire. After a while the neighbours asked the policemen to stop the shooting since it endangered their lives.

On the 21st morning, two shots were fired at the gilded Twin Wheels of Religion on the roof of the Ramoche. One was destroyed but the other remained intact. His Holiness' chamber in the Ramoche also got destroyed the same day by artillery fire. Around midday, a beggar who used to come begging at Ramoche quite frequently, came to us with a horse saying that he found it on the way. We realized afterwards that he had been sent by the Chinese to find out where we were staying. We had all gathered in the internal courtyard. Soon shots were fired at the courtyard from all directions continuously for about

an hour. At the end of it we went to the top floor to find it full of dust, smoke and smell. So we came back to the courtyard. A shell landed right next to me and I fainted on the spot for a while. When I came to I found that my charm-box (worn round the neck) had come open and its contents were lying scattered all over the place. The shell, however, had failed to explode. Then about 100 Chinese soldiers came. They were also led by two women. (This was a familiar Chinese tactic of being on the safe side since the Tibetans believe that the protective powers of their charm-boxes are ineffective against attack by women.) They threw petrol bombs on the roof setting fire to it and the temples surrounding the cathedral.

It was no longer possible to stay in the Tara Tsamkhang. At midnight we decided to come outside. There were half a dozen dead bodies lying on the steps leading downstairs. It was dangerous for us to stay on there because everything was on fire and there were lots of exploding and unexploded bombs lying around.

Once outside, we headed for Tsomoling where we knew a nun from Markham, Kham. There were six of us. There was already a Drepung monk at the nun's place. He had totally given up all hopes and was wanting to hang himself by the ceiling. We prevented him from doing so by making him see that it was pointless to commit suicide no matter how bad the situation. The house behind that of the nun turned out to be the Lhasa residence of Andrutsang Gompo Tashi (founder-leader of the *Chusi Gangdruk*). At about 1 a.m., two shots were heard from there. We found out later that it was fired by two Khampas from inside the house. They had managed to escape out of the back window when the Chinese charged in.

The next morning, the Chinese made a general announcement through loudspeakers saying that the Potala, the Norbulinka and the Ramoche had all been destroyed and that the Tibetans holding the Jho Khang (Central Cathedral) should surrender before it gets destroyed too. At about 9 o'clock, the nun told us that it might be safe for us to come out now, seeing that there were lots of people going towards Ramoche to put out the fire there. So we also went there, *khata* in hand (a gesture of surrender). The streets were filled with bodies of

men, women, children and monks who had died in the course of the fighting. People were trying to extinguish the fire raging in Ramoche by drawing water from a nearby well, but to no avail. We went to our dormitory. It was in shambles.

The Chinese had gathered all the beggars living in the vicinity of Ramoche and made announcements telling all the monks of Lhasa to gather there as well. When we all gathered there, everybody was searched for weapons and lined in four rows, facing a line of soldiers with machine-guns at the ready.

A tall, thin officer, who looked like a Tibetan and spoke fluent Tibetan and Chinese, told us to bring our weapons wherever they may be hidden. Five rifles were handed over, but that did not satisfy him. "You have killed a very important officer last night," he explained. "He was worth more than a hundred ordinary soldiers. So how do you expect us to believe that this is all the weapons you have got?"

But there really was no more. We learnt that the death of the important officer and 35 other soldiers had occurred in the Zimbook House, and we knew that it was the work of the policemen who were firing bren-guns at them from the house behind the Ramoche. But the Chinese still thought that it was we, the monks of Tantric College, who were responsible. All the manual-worker monks were tied with ropes and taken to the Zimbook House in the afternoon. For us, there were more lectures. All the lay people found in the locality were also arrested and brought there. Bags of tsampa were brought from our monastery and each of us given a mouthful to eat. All the time we were facing a line of soldiers with an impressive variety of firearms trained at us.

At about 6 p.m., we were taken to the Bholshol house. The house was already packed with hundreds of people, so we were taken to the back garden and made to face the wall while the soldiers took up positions behind us. From there we were taken out in small groups at regular intervals. I and six others were taken back to Zimbook. On the way, the streets were strewn with dead bodies. I panicked and tried to make a break for it. I got stabbed with a bayonet on my thigh and I fell there. However, the wound was not very deep and so I was dragged along.

At Zimbook we found that everybody was brought there and was guarded by about 200 soldiers. 11 of us were taken to our monastery where we were made to bare our chests towards pointed guns. An officer said to us, "You have seen the corpses all around Lhasa. You must remember that it need not have come to this if you Tibetans had not acted foolishly. Now it is too late for you to repent. You will all end up like those corpses but first we have some work for you."

We were given wheel-barrows and ordered to pile all the bodies in the courtyard to one corner. There were about 40 bodies there, including that of my personal tutor. By the time we had cleaned the place it was dark.

We were taken to Zimbook for the night. Half a dozen people were tied with ropes but the rest of us were left untied but surrounded by guards. I thought of throwing my charm-box and jumping at the nearest guard so that he would put an end to my mental ordeal swiftly and efficiently. But I did not have the courage and just went to sleep quietly.

When I woke up most people had already been taken away. The remaining of us were marched off about 1 o'clock towards Norbulinka. On the way, we were stopped below the Potala in front of the stone pillar. The whole palace looked black, part of it in ruins, and there were five Chinese flags fluttering on the roof. "Look at your precious palace carefully," we were told, "for you may never get another chance. It now belongs to us!"

We were kept there for about a quarter of an hour and then prodded along towards Norbulinka. This road was also covered with bodies. We were marched in a strict formation and we could not avoid stepping on many of them. Some of them still moved when we trod on them.

At Norbulinka, there were hundreds of women, children, beggars and monks. About 500 of us were locked near Chensel Phodrang in a house where *dzomos* used to be kept. We were given nothing to eat until the 24th, but the people had lost all hopes of living and so no longer worried about food. On the 24th we were each given a mouthful of tsampa and a piece of pork fat. All the bodies in Norbulinka were collected and burnt the day we arrived there. It took three whole days for them to

burn. In Norbulinka, the recently-built personal residence of His Holiness was completely destroyed, but all the other buildings were intact. On the 25th all the properties and weapons from various parts of the Norbulinka were collected and piled in one place. All the personal belongings of His Holiness and the rare manuscripts were taken to Lhasa immediately. These included a complete set of *Kangyur* (Buddha's Teachings in 108 volumes) written in seven precious inks (i.e. inks made of melted gold, silver, etc.).

Next we were classified in groups according to where we used to belong, such as the various monasteries, various regiments of the Tibetan army, etc. It was rumoured that all the Khampas were sent to China, but later we found out that most of them were sent to Golmo in Amdo province to work in the construction of railroads. The voluntary guards for the Ramoche and Tsukla Khang were set apart as were the monks in lay clothes. It was declared that all the Government officials and monastic dignitaries would be released first and a list of their names was demanded. A few people responded but the majority remained quiet since they realized that it would lead to nothing better. Then one of the Chinese officers addressed us: "You people have opposed us a great deal even though we have come here to liberate you. We know that you used to think the *Chusi Gangdruk* will drive us out easily because most of their members are full adults whereas most of our soldiers are in their teens. Moreover, you used to believe that most of our guns were mere toys. So much so that even your women had the cheek to demonstrate and order us to clear out. Now you know what our soldiers and our weapons are like. So I hope it is clear to you that you stand as much chance of getting your independence as you do of seeing the sun rise from the west!"

Later on they informed us that we would not be killed but taken outside Lhasa to work in the construction of an electrical plant. They said that the people who had volunteered to guard the various religious institutions would be kept at Norbulinka for a week and the rest of us would be taken there the next day. They said that the work might take a week or two—"at the most two months!"

So the next morning we were packed in Chinese lorries with guards and taken to the place of our work, called Nachen Trang (a few kilometres outside Lhasa).

At Nachen Trang

Only the men were taken to Nachen Trang. There were women in the hired labourers' camps that were already there, but we prisoners were kept separately in two camps. Later we were divided into three camps. Those detained at Norbulinka were also sent to join us a week later, but all the well-known officials and dignitaries were missing from there.

The camps were along the bank of the Tsangpo river and they were fenced on the three open sides with barbed wires. There were altogether 3,700 prisoners and 500 soldiers to guard them. None of us had any personal belongings like extra clothes or blankets. All we had were the clothes we were in.

Our work consisted of carrying stones from the river and taking them to the construction site. They already had more than sufficient number of tools gathered there. They also had brought lots of foodstuff confiscated from wealthy people. So in the beginning, we were given two solid meals a day. Apart from carrying stones, we had to dig irrigation canals and construct a dam. Each of us had to carry about eight cubic-metres of earth each day. The dam, when completed, was about six miles long, 18 metres high and 18 metres broad.

After a while our food became worse and worse until it was standardized to a cup of boiled water and a little tsampa for breakfast, more boiled water with either tsampa or bread for lunch, and just boiled water for supper. In the beginning we had to work 8 hours a day and attend meetings in the evening. In the meetings we were asked questions like what were we doing and what were our thoughts at the time of the uprising and who, we thought, had caused the uprising.

Some replied that the uprising was probably caused by the 'reactionaries'—a term which we learnt the Chinese used to denote the Government officials and the Chusi Gangdruk. However, the most common reply was that they were too confused to know for certain who caused what and that they did not take sides and were too busy trying to save their lives.

Then one day, a young monk from *Gyume* (Lower Tantric College of Lhasa) joined us. The Chinese earlier had announced that the meeting that evening would be of special importance. At the meeting, the young monk said, "During the uprising, I longed to go to Lhokha to join the Chusi Gangdruk, but the senior monks at the college would not let me. So I escaped from the monastery taking two horses with me and got out of Lhasa fighting the Chinese on the way. But I was caught at Zhide and imprisoned and beaten badly. Then I thought that I was going to be killed, so why not try telling them the whole truth. So I confessed everything, even telling them how many Chinese I had killed on the way. I was immediately released, congratulated on adopting the right attitude by confessing, given good food and good clothes and the title of a Tu-ring."

The young Tu-ring was decked in brocades and he certainly looked very healthy and well-fed. The temptation was too great for us to ignore. So lots of people ended up making frank confessions. I had not done anything active, so I decided to say that I prayed for Chusi Gangdruk's victory. Every single one of us was told to reveal our thoughts, and it revealed that nobody had a good thought for the Chinese. The whole confession took over a month because during day time, we continued to do our work as usual.

Then one day, 25 of us were taken by car to Lhasa early in the morning. These were 10 monks from the Tantric College, selected on the basis of their seniority in the college, and 15 members of the *Kusung* (His Holiness' bodyguards) and *Drapchi* regiments of the Tibetan army. I was one of the monks selected. We were all donned in good robes and the ex-soldiers had on the uniforms of their respective regiments.

In Lhasa, we were taken to the Magar Sarpa (headquarters of one of the Tibetan regiments). There we were handed over to another Chinese officer who took us to the ruins of the Kundeling monastery. There were already several Chinese soldiers and officers there. We were each handed an unloaded gun. One of the officers said to us, "We are gathered here to make an important documentary film about the uprising. You must display anger and other emotions exactly like you felt at the time

of the Uprising. Anybody who does not take the whole thing seriously and ruin the shooting by smiling or showing boredom will be severely dealt with afterwards.”

So we enacted mock battles ending with some of us pretending to be dead and the rest emerging from the debris of the monastery with raised hands. One of the Kusung soldiers had burst into tears as soon as he was handed the unloaded gun. He was arrested after the filming was over and taken away. The rest of us were told:

“When you go back you must never tell anyone that you have been participating in shooting a film. If asked, you are to say that you were taken around Lhasa where you saw the Potala, Ramoche and other important buildings repaired and the people looking very happy.” Then we were taken back.

In Nachen Trang, six days later, the Chinese announced that in the meeting that evening, a film will be shown which will clear up the controversy as to who was responsible for the uprising and also whether monks had taken part in the fighting. Those of us who had participated in the film were kept in the back row when the film was shown. However, everybody had known that we were taken for a special purpose that morning and as soon as they recognized us in the film the entire set-up became clear to them. However, they did not say anything and pretended to be engrossed in the film. Afterwards, everybody was made to sign a statement saying that he thinks the reactionaries had started the uprising and that the monks had also participated in the fightings.

Two months later, relatives were allowed to visit Nachen Trang but they were not allowed to stay there more than a few minutes. It was then we found out that our film was shown in Lhasa too because the mother of Wangchuck, one of the monks who had participated in the film, visited him and rebuked him for having taken part in the fighting because she had, in an effort to effect his release, testified to the authorities in Lhasa that he had never had anything to do with the uprising.

Prisoners in each camp were divided into companies of 100's and further sub-divided into groups of 25's. Each group had a leader and an assistant leader appointed from within the group. They were responsible for ensuring that everybody in

their group worked hard throughout the day without a rest. They kept count of the baskets of earth carried by each person with the help of pebbles. One was required to carry at least 75 baskets of earth each day, and the maximum distance to which they have to be carried was about 1,000 metres. In the evening meeting, the total number of baskets carried by each group was submitted to the Chinese authority who praised the hardest working group and punished the poorest one. In Nachen Trang you never saw people walking in normal pace. They were forever running.

One day, after we had signed the documents saying who was responsible for the uprising, we were told: "From now on you are not mere prisoners, but workers for the *Tang* (the party). So you will have to bathe in the water of liberty and offer your heart to the *Tang*!" Thereupon, a celebration called "Offering Your Heart To the *Tang*" was held, the highlight of which was the announcement that working hours had been raised to nine hours.

The nine-hour working day remained in force only until July. After that it was raised to ten hours. In the meantime, a number of activities with interesting names were introduced. The first of these was the "Opposition to Three Big Evils" which were the landlords, the moneylenders and the serfholders. This was accompanied by the "Two *Chayongs*" under which all previous debts were written off. From then on there were meetings at lunchtimes, too, and most evenings there were two meetings. So many things, the likes of which we had never heard before, were said that it left us thoroughly confused. It was really getting too much for our minds. We genuinely tried to shorten these sessions by giving them what we considered to be satisfactory answers. However, it was not always an easy job because so many new information had been drummed into our heads and it was difficult to pick the right answer.

The most favourite question in the beginning was "What is oppression and deception?" It was some time before we discovered that the right answer to that question was "The Old Society." Once everybody had this fact right, the next vital question was launched: "How and by whom were you oppressed and deceived in the Old Society?" A number of people cited

examples of oppression and deception. But when the monks' turn came, we replied unanimously that we never suffered any oppression or deception because we were earning our living by saying prayers for others and we never had a reason to complain.

Our interrogators were very patient. "So you did not suffer in the old society," they noted. "But we are all agreed that the old society was synonymous to oppression and deception. This means that you must have oppressed and deceived others, because it is a fact that everybody who was in the old society have either suffered themselves or have inflicted sufferings on others. So now tell us, one by one, who did you oppress and deceive and how?"

We were dumbfounded. No explanation of ours was satisfactory to them. In order to break this deadlock, the Chinese next asked us to give a detailed account of our lives since the age of eight. So faults were found in the lives of most of us. A few had managed to give fool-proof accounts, but they were not acceptable. The Chinese simply did not believe that there were people who never had anything to do with sufferings. They were urged to think carefully and bring out even the most trivial incidents. So people began to say things like once they were robbed by a thief, etc. The Chinese interrupted them by saying that that was not what they had meant by oppression and deception. Thefts and robberies, they explained, could not be avoided and moreover those culprits cannot now be apprehended. "What you have to do is name the names of the Government officials who were directly responsible for your sufferings. There must have been plenty of such cases since there are instruments for gouging eyes, castrating, amputating, etc. at the Lhasa police Court. Don't tell me they were never used."

Occasionally, guest speakers were brought in from outside to tell us all about the sufferings they had undergone in the old society. After the speakers had left we would be required to make eloquent denunciations of the society which had permitted those outrages. After a while these meetings got so much on our nerves that we preferred hard work to them any time. So when the working hours were raised to 12 nobody complained.

Next we had to learn songs denouncing the old system and praising the Communist ideology. Even this created extra

problems for us *lamagyupas* because we could not sing in tune (The tantric monks are trained to cultivate a peculiarly deep voice required for the chanting of their own special brand of invocations). The Chinese criticized us for possessing 'bourgeois voice'.

We were urged to find faults in each other. Those who criticized others were praised and received special privileges. Those who did not were regarded with suspicion. Soon there developed a group of people who specialized in finding faults in others. After a while they were kept separately with the Chinese guards and they did not have to work. Their job was to watch others.

One day, it was announced that we were going to have visitors from foreign countries. For days we were instructed on what kind of questions to expect from them and what should our replies be. One of the Gyumey monks confided us at night that he intended to spill the whole truth to the visitors. The next day he was betrayed by another Tibetan, and was put under arrest.

The day the visitors were expected, an enormous quantity of bread was baked. We were made to clean and scrub all the houses thoroughly and issued clean, decent clothes to wear. When the visitors arrived we were kept in groups of ten, with piles of bread, pork and vegetable dishes displayed in front of us. The visitors arrived in two cars, the first one containing just a man and a woman—Russians, we were told. They appeared to be the important people. The people from the other car just stayed at a distance. We did not even know where they were from. The visitors stayed there the whole day, but they did not ask any questions. They just took photographs. Four meals were served that day. There were nine different vegetable dishes altogether. We felt that we would not be able to eat much in the next few days.

And we did not get much to eat in the next few days.

There were discussions about what ought to be done to the Gyumey monk who was put under arrest. There were about ten people who kept shouting that he ought to be given *thamzing* (public trial). It became common knowledge afterwards that they were instructed and planted by the Chinese. The Chinese

announced that since we all demanded thamzing there will be a thamzing. They said, however, that it would have to be a small thamzing and selected only one out of every ten people to attend it. I was one of the selected.

Thamzing was a very difficult job because if you did not denounce the person on trial wholeheartedly, it would be your turn next. When it was my turn to speak I said, "He was a reactionary, but I think he has learnt a lesson today. If he behaves like that again in future, I think he ought to be executed." We were all made to beat him and by the time we were through he was half-dead. All the same he was forced to go back to work the next day.

There were many other thamzings in Nachen Trang, but, fortunately, only a few of them were brought about by mutual criticism. Most of the accused were brought from Lhasa. There was a case of an elderly monk being denounced by a younger one. Both of them were from Kundeling Monastery—the elder one being in-charge of monastic discipline. It appeared that he had once beaten the younger one slightly for having sneaked out of the monastery in lay clothes to do business.

There was another case which received even greater publicity. A man who was under the employment of Gankhar Chode Monastery had once slept with the wife of his next door neighbour. The indignant husband had complained to the monastic disciplinary authority who, we were told, had punished the man by castrating him. It so happened that the castrated man and the disciplinary authority were both among the prisoners in Nachen Trang, and the former had accused the latter. The accuser was made to stand on the platform facing us and take off his trousers to show us that he possessed no testicles. The disciplinary authority—a frail, old man—was beaten by all of us in turn.

A few days later, yet another activity called "Tracing the Root of Suffering" was launched. People who were "oppressed and deceived" were asked a series of questions which were designed to reveal that the origin of all sufferings was the Dalai Lama. However, the Chinese themselves appeared to intercede on His Holiness' behalf saying that he was too young and could not be directly held responsible for all the injustices perpetrated

in his name. So the blame was shifted on the previous Dalai Lamas and the tutors of the present one. A group of actors were brought from Lhasa who staged plays attacking well known dignitaries. Trichang Rimpoche (Junior Tutor to His Holiness) and Lhalu (a former Governor of Chamdo) were always chosen to represent the corruption of the monastic and lay powers respectively. In one of the plays, Trichang Rimpoche was shown making a pass at one of the women who had come to seek his blessing. At that point the audience started shuffling about and coughing and gradually left the hall. The next day the Chinese criticized us for retaining green brains. "Last night we showed you a play based on actual facts. But you failed to show due appreciation. You must change your attitudes."

On 1st October, we were all taken to Lhasa to celebrate the People's Day. Even the Chinese from Nachen Trang wore Tibetan dresses. Models of the Nachen Trang dam were also taken for display during celebrations.

After that the work became harder and harder and the food became worse and worse. People started committing suicide by jumping in the Tsangpo. All loads were carried in wheelbarrows now. Two people had to work with the wheelbarrows—one to push and one to pull. They had to run both up and down the slopes and the slightest change in the balance was liable to cause accidents. Many people got literally run over by these barrows, but the work continued unabated. No slackness was tolerated even in pouring rain. One day this announcement was made: "We have come to the conclusion that people from U-Tsang region have flexible mind but they are being adversely influenced by the Khampas who still have green brains. So we have decided to send them back home. We'll send them in two separate batches. The first batch will consist of Khampas from the other side of the Dri-chu. They would be given free transportation, travelling allowances and travel permits."

The travel permits were cards with Chinese writings on one side and a large, impressive red seal on the other. We learnt later that the writings were list of "crimes" we had confessed to earlier. All Khampas were issued with these cards and the ones in the first batch were sent to Lhasa the very next day to

collect their belongings. Many people took advantage of the possession of cards and managed to escape from Lhasa, and it turned out that they were wise to act like that, for the rest were not sent home but again taken to Golmo to work in the construction of railroads. I was to be sent in the second batch.

After the news of some Khampas having escaped was known, security in Nachen Trang was tightened. "You can't escape because soldiers of the People's Liberation Army are posted everywhere," we were warned. "However, if you really desire to leave, all you have to do is tell us, and we will send you wherever you wish to go."

Not many people from Nachen Trang attempted to escape because the only way of doing so would be to swim the Tsangpo which was well nigh impossible. Moreover, most of us did not even know how to swim. Then the Chinese revoked all the travel permits issued earlier saying that they will be replaced by three different types of permits. I did not want to hand over my permit and found a way of avoiding it. My brother, Ngawang Gelek, also a Tantric monk, was in Nachen Trang with me. He was at that time in a hospital in Lhasa with a broken back caused by a wheel-barrow accident. I sent a message to him through a visitor telling him not to surrender his permit pretending that it was with me at Nachen Trang. And I informed them that my own card was with Ngawang Gelek. So we both succeeded in keeping our cards.

Round about that time, they started paying us one yuan a month in cash on top of our meals. Henceforth, we had to sing a Chinese song before the commencement of each meeting. Inter-group competitions were urged in observing rules of hygiene, killing flies, etc. Film shows were also held more often. After each show we were asked what we understood by it. Soon it was possible for us to deduce from the theme of the film what new activities were in store for us. Every month the groups and companies were reorganized and new leaders were appointed.

Our batch of Khampas were not sent to Golmo after all. Our company was to work in another electrical project in Dotingboog (about two kilometres from Lhasa).

At Dotingboog we received two meals a day, and there were no meetings either. We were even permitted to amuse

ourselves in the evening singing or playing cards. Visitors were also allowed more frequently.

One day, my sister, Dechen Palmo, came to see me with some food. I was carrying some loads at that time. As soon as I saw her from a distance, I rushed out to meet her and told her not to speak to me but to go to the Chinese officers and tell them that my mother was seriously ill. I told her to try and see if she could get me released altogether, or at least obtain a month's leave of absence.

Later I was called to the office and asked if I had any relatives. I informed them that I had my parents and brothers and sister living in Batang, Nyemo District of Tsang. My sister had made the request I had instructed her to do. "But what can you do," the Chinese observed, "if your mother is about to die? Here you are serving the Tang and the people. Look at the PLA soldiers. They've been away from home for nine years, but still they don't complain. Most of them do not even remember what their parents looked like. Do you think you really deserve to be sent home?"

I promised that if I were granted a short leave I would come back. In the end, the Chinese gave me 15 days' leave and I went home.

My father used to manage a large estate in Batang. All the other Khampas in the locality had either escaped or been arrested, but my father had stayed put and had even refused to hand over his horses to the Chusi Gangdruk because he was intending to use them for the escape of Rato Chuwar Rimpoche (a high lama from Dragyab who now resides in Dharamsala). So when the Chinese got there they found him stolidly guarding the place. They showered praises on him saying that even though a Khampa, he was not a reactionary, and rewarded him by making him the Turing of Batang. His job was to "weed out reactionaries" from Batang.

When I reached home, he had gone to the district office in Nyemo to attend a meeting. I went there and told him all about my experiences. I pointed out to him that I had already spent nine miserable months in Nachen Trang and that I had no intention of going back there. I suggested to him that we all escape together. My father said, "It would be very dange-

rous to attempt it since we are a large family. I suggest you go back there and think about it carefully for another three months. Then see how you feel about it." So I went back.

Soon afterwards we were transferred back to Nachen Trang.

In the beginning of 1960, it was announced that there were two important new projects: one was farming in Dakpo and Kongpo regions. The other was mining *tsala karmo* (borax) in the vicinity of lakes Nagtsang and Pongog. We were all asked to volunteer for one of them. There did not appear to be any other name for the place where *tsala karmo* was to be mined, and was just called Tsala Karmo. It was further announced that mining *tsala karmo* was quite hard work but of utmost importance. The project was expected to take two months, during which time volunteers were promised good food.

We all thought it was yet another ruse to send us to Golmo for railroad construction and so most people volunteered for the farming project at Dakpo-Kongpo region. When the total counts were taken, the Chinese declared that this would not do. They decided to help us:

"We think all those between the ages of 20 and 50 should volunteer for Tsala Karmo and those below 19 and above 51 should go to the other place. We should also add that the Tsala Karmo project is so important that even if you did not volunteer we have no alternative but to conscript you according to these age qualifications. So don't you think it is best for you to volunteer freely?"

So now most people volunteered for Tsala Karmo. They had put up two specimen tents outside: one of a thick khaki material looking extremely warm and cosy and another, drab and ordinary one. The first one was for people going to Tsala Karmo and the other for the Dakpo-Kongpo region. Furthermore, the first lot were also promised warm, woollen clothes, thick quilts and other amenities. We were to be taken in a few weeks' time.

In the meantime, it was suggested that we monks should break our vows of celibacy by picking ourselves wives from among the 300 women employed in the non-prisoners' camps in Nachen Trang. Many elder monks had decided that was the last straw. They had made up their minds to jump into the

river if they were forced. The younger ones accepted it with a philosophical shrug, seeing that they were not able to practise their vocation anyway. It was announced that in three day's time, the women would be brought to our camps so that we could get used to them. However, some of us were not prepared to give in that easily. And we had a plan which was at least worth trying.

There was a small shop in the camp where prisoners could buy cigarettes, matches, sweets, etc. The wife of the Chinese shopkeeper, who spoke a little Tibetan, was young and extremely attractive. We went there and started flirting with her, chatting, teasing and occasionally throwing small pebbles at her. Soon the husband became morose and complained to the authorities, who became livid, and demanded an explanation from us. We told them that we were prepared to get married, but only to the shopkeeper's wife and other Chinese girls equally attractive.

The Chinese were flabbergasted. "Do you realize what you are saying?" they roared at us. "You should not even dream of ever marrying a Chinese woman. Well, if you worked hard, say, for three years and proved your worth, then you might be allowed to marry a Chinese girl—but that also only by mutual consent. And certainly not somebody else's wife!"

Anyway, our plan worked since they never again brought up the subject of women or marriage.

Then our day of departure for Tsala Karpo came. We were issued blue civilian clothes, and nothing else. There were 500 of us. We were taken in lorries very early in the morning from Nachen Trang. We were given a cup of tea each just outside Lhasa. We travelled the whole day and the night and reached Nagchu the following afternoon. There we were given a bowl of rice porridge each. The Chinese drivers and guards had stopped at every transport station on the way to have their regular meals. The next stop was Tsala Karpo.

At Tsala Karpo

Tsala Karpo was a huge area of land containing pure white soil. It is said that it used to be a big lake which had dried up since the Chinese arrival. It is also said that it took three whole

days on horse to go around the land. The whole place was extremely cold and every afternoon it was swept by heavy storms when we could not even see a yard in front of us.

Everyday, we had to stand in the muddy soil and dig for borax. Sometimes we only had to dig about a metre deep, and sometimes we had to dig as deep as the height of a house before we found anything. Soon we were joined by 300 prisoners from Nagchu and another 300 Chinese prisoners who were given exactly the same treatment as the Tibetans. There were 500 guards to watch us all. It was February 1960.

There were no stones to be found in Tsala Karpo, so even the cooking pots had to be rested on three-legged iron prongs. Water was available at a distance of about a mile. The Chinese brought the requisite quantities in lorries every day. Each day we were given three cups of tsampa made out of uncleaned barley and hence containing saw dusts and other inedible matters. It was meant for two meals, but of course it was not enough even for one.

There was no scientific way of mining tsala karmo. We just had to dig around everywhere. Tsala karmo came in white, yellow, blue and reddish lumps. After extraction they were cleaned and transported in seven Russian lorries kept exclusively for that purpose. The Chinese officials told us that a lorry of tsala karmo was more valuable than a lorry of *dayens* and that they are, in fact, more valuable than gold and silver.

We had to work from dawn till dusk. Our hands and feet were cracked open in innumerable places, The evening meetings lasted till midnight. Among other things, competition with the Chinese labourers was urged.

There was no wood either in Tsala Karpo. On Sundays, each group had to send three people to collect wood at a place about six hours' walk. Incidentally, I was in Group One, Company One. There were lots of grass growing at that place and pieces of wood, about six inches in length, could be found among them. Each group had to bring back at least 75 *nyakas* (1 *nyaka*-1/10th. *gyama*) of wood. Once our group could only bring about 50 *nyakas*. Our group leader was rebuked and, as a punishment, everybody in our group had to go and collect wood after work the following day.

By the time we got there we were totally exhausted and it was pitch dark. We scattered and got back at different times. I found myself alone and lost my way several times. By the time I got back it was already morning. The person I was with most part of the evening was found just outside Tsala Karpo—frozen to death. The Chinese praised me for my initiative and sturdiness and granted me the day off. However, it was very boring not to do anything and I could not even sleep. So I went back to work. The Chinese were extremely pleased with me and set me up as an example of dedicated worker for the rest of the prisoners.

The work was getting harder and harder and there was no indication that it would ever come to an end. One of the ex-soldiers confided to me that he intends to escape. He said he knew the way because he had been there before and suggested that I go with him. I suspected that he might be planted by the Chinese to test me. I replied that what we were doing was important for the people and the country and that it would not be proper to leave the work unfinished. He said nothing but it turned out that he had meant everything he said because he did actually escape three days afterwards. I regretted not having listened to him but it was too late then.

The following week three more people escaped and a few days later yet another three. The security was tightened after that. The group leaders and their assistants were made answerable for people escaping from their groups in future.

The work was also made more difficult and conditions atrocious. Until then there had been no mutual criticisms or thamzings in Tsala Karpo. Then one day the Chinese made the following announcement: "So far you have been working hard, but we can see that the escape of the seven is changing your attitude. So we will have to find ways of stopping this tendency before it gets out of hands."

And so the entire process of questions, accusations and trials and punishments were started in Tsala Karpo, too. There were small modifications though. It was declared that there would be no thamzings and we would also be allowed to—indeed persuaded to—criticize the Chinese policies too, if we felt they were unfair. We were also asked what were the thoughts of the seven escapees.

I decided to take a risk and give them a piece of my mind since they themselves were asking for it. "I think we have no freedom at all," I plunged right into it. "I feel as if I am in an alien land. In Nachen Trang and here I have undergone so much misery that I have quite lost confidence in the Communist system. We know how you have deceived us but there is nothing we can do about it. For instance, before we were sent here, you had promised us good food and other amenities. But we never get to see meat, butter and other decent food although we know that you yourselves eat it regularly. You have made us work like animals and tortured us both mentally and physically. You ask us what were the thoughts of the seven people who escaped. How can we tell you what their thoughts were. It is easy to see though that they must have escaped because they could stand it here no longer. What else can we say? Now I don't care even if you kill me. I can't see much difference between death and the kind of life we are living here. In the old society, only the people directly responsible for a certain crime were tried. Now you even try people for crimes which, you say, were committed by their ancestors. In short, I don't think there is a more persecuted people on this earth than us Tibetans."

Many others also spoke out their minds. Somebody said, for instance, that although he was a beggar in the old society he always had enough to eat and that although he was now supposed to be a worker for the Tang he had difficulty in making his ends meet.

There was a person called Tempa Dawa who used to criticize everybody at Nachen Trang and was later awarded a title. But at Tsala Karpo he was once more just an ordinary prisoner. Once he fell ill and could not go to work for several days during which time his ration was cut off. He also bitterly criticized the Chinese policy which claims to have raised the status of the common people, but at the same time even fails to look after a sick worker. Everything we said was taken down by two secretaries and afterwards we had to sign the transcriptions of our statements.

For three days nothing happened. Then all the leaders were called to a secret meeting. Another three days later a mass

meeting was called where we were addressed by our company leaders. There was no Chinese present. This was in effect what the company leaders said to us: "We are doing an important work here, but recently a lot of mistakes were committed. So further progress can only be made after each one of us had confessed our mistaken deeds and thoughts. The Chinese has a relaxation policy, but it will not be a relaxation without limit. There will be a certain amount of leniency towards everybody who confessed. So the group leaders should make everybody in their respective groups make his confessions."

Three or four people in my group confessed. When I was approached I told them that I had already said everything that I had in my mind and now it was all in writing and duly signed by me.

Then a full meeting of the Tibetans and Chinese was held. The officer in charge wanted to know who was it who said that there was no life worse than that in Tsala Karpo and that he had lost confidence in the Communist system. I decided to leave everything to my *Karma* (the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect) and owned up that it was me who had said all those things. The officer said that I would have to explain those remarks. In Nachen Trang this would have been a cue for everyone to get up and start beating me, demanding the explanation. I braced myself for the onslaught but nobody stirred. After a while the officer spoke again: "We will end this meeting now. Tonight you will be guarded by nine soldiers as well as your group leader and his assistant. Tomorrow the members of your company shall try to extract that explanation from you. If they fail you will be tried by the other companies in turn. And if they all fail, our own soldiers will have a go at you."

The following evening, the Chinese company leader and his interpreter, called Wangdui, came to our group. They made me kneel down in usual thamzing position and asked me who was behind me and what had I meant by all those vile remarks. They kept on asking me the same questions again and again and I repeatedly maintained that there was no one behind me and that I had nothing more to say. I was quite prepared to die. Then he asked the others in my group what they thought of me. Nobody came forward to denounce me. "I see, So you are all in it together!" he concluded and left.

Nobody knew that I had a knife hidden in my clothes. I had brought it with me when I returned to Nachen Trang from my leave. I had kept it in a carefully sewn pocket down the inside of my trousers. After coming to Tsala Karpo I had hidden it underneath the ground wrapped in a piece of rag. Before the questioning started that night I had taken it out of the ground and kept it in my pocket again. I thought I would be killed that night and before dying was determined to take at least the Chinese leader and his Tibetan interpreter. But as it turned out it did not come to that.

Tempa Dawa, the former accusation specialist in Nachen Trang, was also harassed for his remarks. When prompted, he was beaten eagerly by all. Afterwards he was not even able to walk. He evidently suffered a great deal and looking at him I knew that it was only a matter of time before I suffered the same fate. And I knew I would prefer to be shot.

Another company tried me the following evening. They were asked what ought to be done with me. Some suggested burying alive and some wrapping me with a cotton blanket and setting fire to it. It was quite late by the time all the suggestions were collected. The officer decided to call it a day. "We'll make the final decision tomorrow since it is a Sunday."

That night, three of my closest friends advised me to try and escape. I said that I was determined to escape and persuaded them to come with me too. I suggested that they should volunteer to collect the wood the next day. At night I tried to get out several times but the place was too heavily guarded. At 4 o'clock in the morning the whistle blew. It was time for the wood collectors to set off.

I put on two extra pairs of trousers underneath my Chinese suit and wore two chubas on the top without tying the sash on it. Then I walked out casually. There was only one guard left. All the others had left as soon as the whistle was blown. He shone a torch on my bed and saw it empty. Then he whirled around and noticed me. I immediately pretended to be urinating. He looked at me for a while and then left. I rushed inside, called my friends and went out. It was about two hours before daybreak. It would be risky to head towards Lhasa so we went east towards a little hill. Almost immediately, there were lots

of flashlights, whistles and shouts. One of my friends had brought a small bag with him. When whistles blew, he panicked and dropped it on the way.

On The Run

We met several nomads on the way. At first we posed as traders for the Chinese and asked them to give us a list of everything they had for sale. We found out that the Chinese had made announcements promising rewards for the capture, dead or alive, of escapees from Tsala Karpo. Later, we stopped posing as traders and just told whoever we met that we were going home on three months' leave from Tsala Karpo. Nobody suspected anything because nobody knew whether the people working in Tsala Karpo were entitled to leaves or not.

When we neared Tö we found that we could go no further in that direction since there were endless caravans of soldiers going to Nagtsang (near Tö) to fight the Chusi Gangdruk forces there. So we went towards Lhasa again. On the way we met three more people—all Dergeywas—who had escaped from Tsala Karpo after us. They told me that if I had not escaped that day, I would have been tortured to death, and that many people were dispatched in all directions in search of us. Those three decided to go towards Tö while we continued our journey to Lhasa, hiding by day and walking by night.

As we approached Lhasa we split in twos. We decided to meet later at the place of a nun we all knew. I looked up my brother Ngawang Gelek and went to see him. He never had recovered fully from his broken back and hence, even after discharge from the hospital, did not have to go back to Nachen Trang.

He looked frightened to see me. "Everybody knows about your escape," he said, "because the Chinese have made announcements about your escape over the loudspeakers. Wangdui, the interpreter at your place, is also in town looking for you. So I don't think you should stay here long." I told him that I had come to Lhasa for the sole purpose of taking him along to Batang so that we could take our entire family to India. I said that while he was getting ready I could hide in his house. He said that I could not stay there at all because he had investi-

gators calling in five times every day and three times every night. Furthermore, he said that he could not embark on an adventurous trip because his back still hurt at the slightest strain.

He made me a cup of tea before I left. I also asked for his travel permit issued at Nachen Trang since my own permit would not be of much use now. I went to the nun's place to find out if my friend had got there. She also got frightened at the sight of me and told me that my friends had not been there. I decided not to hang around there much and escaped to Chushul.

In Chushul I went to the place of a pupil of Rato Rimpoche and asked him if the Rimpoche had escaped. He had not and was living on top of a small hill near by. I went home to Batang.

Only my mother was at home. I learnt that my father was no more a Turing and was locked up in a prison in Rewo Shamjen in Tsang. All the brothers and sisters had also been sent somewhere for 'education'. I told my neighbours that I was on three months' leave from Nachen Trang. I asked all the people I could trust to call me Ngawang Gelek and not Tashi Palden. I got away with this story everywhere on the strength of my travel permit. I also sent a message to my father telling him that I was coming to see him and that I was to be addressed as Ngawang Gelek.

My father and Dalah, the steward of Rato Rimpoche, were locked in the same prison. I requested permission to see them both but it was denied. While I was standing outside wondering what to do next I saw the Rato steward being taken to fetch some water. He greeted me calling me Ngawang Gelek and I knew that my father had received my message. After a while, my father and about 30 other people were marched out of the prison house, accompanied by guards. I followed them. They were being taken to work in the field. I sat in a corner of the field and waited. Two Tibetan prison staff came and asked me who I was. I told them that I had come from Balang to see my father but I was not allowed to. They told me to stay there and keep out of the Chinese guards' sight. Presently, my father was there. I gave him a brief summary of my adventures and told him that he and the Rato steward should try and escape from there and that it was no use worrying about mother or

the Rimpohce. I also told him that I was going to escape whether anybody came along or not. By that time the Chinese guards were in sight and so I left.

I went back to Batang and stayed there for three months. One day, some Chinese officials happened to pass by and stopped to make enquiries about me. I gave them my well-tested story and showed them the travel permit. One of them read it carefully and asked me if I had participated in the uprising. I replied in the negative.

It turned out that the card said that I had since Ngawang Gelek had confessed to walking around with a knife in his possession at the time of the uprising. The Chinese officer was furious and asked me why I had lied. I told him that I would go and see him at his office after an hour. In the meantime I told my mother not to worry about me for I knew enough about Chinese officials to be able to deal with such minor catastrophes.

I knew that if I acted guilty the Chinese would get tough with me. So as soon as I entered his office I threw the travel permit at his face and banged my fist hard on his desk three times. "I am a faithful worker for the Tang and I have this permit to travel wherever I liked. Please give me a note saying that you don't recognise it. And then I'll go wherever you send me," I shouted literally at his face.

The Chinese was at once apologetic and said that if I was going back to Nachen Trang he had no objection to it. I sat there glaring at him for a while. He offered me cigarettes and apologized for his behaviour at my home. I asked him, still very belligerently, to give me another travel permit so that I would not be inconvenienced again by someone like him. Having got the new permit, I returned home.

After 15 days, I went to Chushul and stayed with an acquaintance. One day, I went to see Rato Rimpoche at his hill-top retreat and we made plans to escape together. Rimpoche, myself and four others left one night. We travelled by nights and slept in the mountains during day time, scrupulously avoiding all people and inhabited places.

We reached safely in Bhutan on 12th December, 1960.

4. Joint Statement of Lobsang Wangmo and Rinzin

Lobsang Wangmo, 51 and Rinzin, 45 were both of Nepalese extraction but born in Lhasa. When the Chinese invasion took place, they were both nuns at the Nichungri Monastery situated in the suburb of Lhasa. They arrived in Gangtok, Sikkim on March 2, 1961.

Their friends inform us that Lobsang Wangmo died a few years ago and Rinzin is now heard to be leading a life of seclusion in a remote part of Kalimpong, in West Bengal.

W E L E F T on February 21, 1961, by car and travelling via Yatung in Chumbi Valley reached Gangtok on March 2. The Chinese released us because we were of Nepalese origin.

One day in April 1959, four Chinese dressed in blue (civilians) and a Tibetan interpreter named Thinley Dorjee came to our monastery to find out if there were any reactionaries among us nuns and whether we had any weapons hidden in the monastery. When we replied to both the questions in negative they ransacked the whole place and, finding nothing, returned to Lhasa in the evening. On 5th June we had our next visitors: a Chinese officer named Du Tang accompanied by a thin Tibetan woman interpreter. He told us that we had helped the fleeing reactionaries. He said that if we did not name the responsible culprits he would have us all killed. We pleaded innocence and requested him to grant us an interview in his office the following day so that we may explain everything.

The next day, we were all taken to the Chinese office in Tsangra (on the outskirts of Lhasa). There we explained to Du Tang that all we had done was give some tsampa to the fleeing reactionaries. Du Tang told us that we had committed a grave crime. We, the nuns of Nichungri, about 70 in number, together with about 100 nuns of Khari Gompa, Nekhodung and Chup-

sang monasteries, were imprisoned at Drapchi for two-and-a-half months. During that time the Chinese had thoroughly searched our monasteries. They accused us of having accumulated worldly goods. They said that the younger nuns must marry; so the 12 of us elder nuns were taken back to our monasteries, while the rest were kept back. The 12 of us made a living by clearing a hillside and growing crops.

Once while we were in prison, foreign visitors were reported be coming to Lhasa. The Chinese, in preparation, restored the goods of the monasteries and lighted butter lamps before the images. The working prisoners were given good food that day, while the visitors photographed them. We knew that all was done to deceive the foreigners for, usually, the prisoners did not even see—let alone eat—such food as was laid before them that day.

In March 1960, the Chinese raided the wayside temples in Nichungri area and threw out all the clay and stone images. Next they pulled down the roofs of those temples and took away the wooden beams. All the clay images were ground to pieces, made into bricks and used in the construction of lavatories. Similarly, the unusually large sacred temple at Gyapung Thang in Lhasa was completely destroyed and its clay images were ground to pieces and scattered on the roads in that area.

The living conditions of the people of Lhasa are extremely poor. An able-bodied worker receives 20 seers (about 40 lbs.) of coarse tsampa (usually meant for animals), and half a seer of butter a month. A weaker worker receives 10 seers of the same tsampa and $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of butter. All Tibetan shops in Lhasa are closed down and provisions have to be bought from the Chinese stores.

Many people died of starvation in Lhasa and adjoining areas. When Charong Chihoak Shasur died of starvation, the post mortem on his body revealed that his stomach was filled with grass and horse dung. Countless prisoners have also died in Lhasa. From Drapchi and Taring prison alone, two to three cartloads of dead bodies were taken daily either for burial or for use as manure on the fields. People were not allowed to say that those deaths were caused by starvation. If they were caught saying so they would be punished severely.

On October 21, 1959, a 60-year hold nun named Gyanisha Anila was seized by the Chinese and taken around the Barkhor in Lhasa. The Chinese ordered the people to beat her but no one would do so. Then the Chinese gathered some thieves and beggars, gave them some money and had them beat her at her house and in Tsoksya Khangsar. They pulled her ears and nose and kicked her on the face. She died on the 31st of the same month.

No Tibetans are allowed to enter the Potala palace. It is heard, however, that the Chinese are breaking open the images in search of the treasures of the Potala. People are allowed to visit the Tsugla Khang cathedral once a day early in the morning, but they are not permitted to stop for prayers. Thus, people have to visit the temples as if on a sight-seeing tour. A few butter-lamps adorn the temples but these are put off as soon as the visiting hour is over, leaving the whole temple in utter darkness for the rest of the day.

In July 1960, the Chinese started their third re-ckecking programme to weed out the reactionary elements from the community. They gathered the people in Thomsi khang and declared that the Dalai Lama was an evil man and that the people must reject him. An old man of 60, who lived in Thomsi Khang and whose name we are unable to remember now, rose from the crowd and told the people that we could not reject the Dalai Lama for he symbolises everything that is Tibet and, moreover, there has never been an evil Dalai Lama in our history. He further told the people that the real person that we should reject is Mao Tse-tung and the Red Chinese. At this the people shouted in support and raised their hands. The meeting was dispersed at once. The same evening the old man was arrested at his home and, after that, we have not seen or heard about him.

The Chinese held a separate meeting of the religious heads. Here also they made the same demand. The highest ranking lama there—Gongru Khentrul of Drepung Monastery—told the Chinese that he could not reject the Dalai Lama even if his life depended on it. On returning to his house, the lama, in an insane moment, tried to kill himself by jumping out of the window; but his neighbours caught him and begged him not to

do so. The next day, the Chinese arrested him and, chaining his hands and feet, imprisoned him in Taring.

About a month before that when I, Lobsang Wangmo, went to Lhasa, I met Yangchen La, a nun at the Tsang Khu Manastery. Yangchen La, in tears, told me that she had been forced to marry a man of the hand-cart squad and that, like her, many nuns had been robbed of their virginity and forced to marry.

Towards the end of September, 1960, the Chinese were gathering the metal images collected from various monasteries and hermitages in Alo Chonzed's house near Phalay Tsongkhor. On the way to there I, Lobsang Wangmo, found a thumb-sized image of the Buddha which I have brought with me to India.

In October 1960, in a newly built house near Maksor Dopung, we saw the Chinese grounding holy scriptures into pulp and making new papers out of them. Wood-blocks, on which these scriptures were printed were, being made into chairs.

The Nepalese, the half-Nepolese and the Muslims of Lhasa are granted adequate rations and other facilities, but the Tibetans are being made to experience an earlier hell.

Before we left, many people called on us in secret and begged us to request the Dalai Lama to free Tibet without further delay and to inform him that under the oppression of the Chinese, they are in constant danger of punishment and death in every word they utter and in every action they take.

5. Statement of Ashang Lobsang Jhampa



Age 57. Birth-place Ladakh, India. A monk of Loseling College in Drepung Monastery in the outskirts of Lhasa.

Ashang arrived in India on July 22, 1961 and is at present a monk in the Nechung Monastery in Dharamsala.

A T T H E time of the general uprising in 1959 I was sick and lying in bed in a room outside the Ramoche cathedral. On the night of March 22, five armed Chinese soldiers came into my residence, ordered me out of my bed and thoroughly searched my clothes. Then I was taken outside and ordered to wait there standing. Two hours later, I was taken inside the walls of Sampho house where I found about 500 others—monks and lay—imprisoned. I was searched once more and relieved of the 6,500 *sangs* (Rs. 1,000 approx.) and the note book which I had brought with me. Most of the prisoners were sick, wounded and disabled. Among them, Shuypa Khenchung Tsultrim Nima was in a really bad way. We were all locked there for the night.

The next day we were given some boiled water and *tsampa* (staple Tibetan diet of barley-flour). Then we were each given a *khata* (white ceremonial scarf) and photographs of us holding *khatas* (a symbol of surrender) were taken. Next we were made to stand in a line, the able were made to carry the sick and were marched to the Norbulinka. At Norbulinka the seriously wounded were taken to the prayer hall and the rest, including myself, were taken to the Chense Photang (personal residence of the 13th Dalai Lama).

There were about 50 women, children and Tibetan soldiers already imprisoned in the Chensen photang. We were kept there for four days. Our daily food consisted of a little *tsampa* and some boiled water. Since our prison was an open courtyard we had great difficulty when it snowed. From there we were taken to Kusung Magar (former headquarters of the Dalai Lama's bodyguards), where there were already thousands of prisoners. All prisoners were divided into groups according to their former residences and kept separately. These groups were: Sera, Drepung, Ganden, Gyu-tö Gyu-mey, Namgyal Dratsang, Nechung, Meru, Shaythay, Kundeling, the different Tibetan military regiments, Mentsi-khang (astro-medical college), and the common people.

On the 2nd May, 16 truckloads of monks, including myself, were taken to the construction site of the new Chinese hydro-electric plant at Nachen Tgang. There were already about 500 Tibetan soldiers and laymen working on the sites. At first we had to work six hours a day, but later it was increased to fourteen hours. We had to carry heavy loads and were driven up and down the hills without ever pausing for a rest. As punishment for slackness some people were made to carry three loads at a time—one on the back, one in the front and one over the head. Many died of exhaustion. Nine people, including a Tibetan Government official of the Mentsi khang, died when a roof of the tunnel they were digging collapsed. Many people were run over and killed by lorries and horse-carts.

One day, I was given an extra heavy load to carry. After a while I fainted from exhaustion. On regaining consciousness, I found myself in my bed at the worksite camp, my backbone damaged. For a few days I was laid in my bed with no one to

look after me. Finally, I was taken to hospital where, after a month, I got a little better. Then I had to report back to work.

About ten days after that, the Chinese ordered Lawa Tridul Rimpoche of Sera and myself to pack our beddings. We were taken in a lorry to Norbulinka where I worked for two months. From there, I was chained with a monk of Nechung Monastery named Gendun Sonam and driven to Drepung Loseling. At Loseling, 298 monks and lamas were kept in the prayer hall with no lights. They were not allowed to talk and were only taken out three times a day to urinate.

On October 25, all the prisoners of the Drepung Loseling were transferred to Drapchi Magar (headquarters of another Tibetan regiment). We were joined by 150 monks from Sera Monastery. The Chinese announced that they were particularly dangerous prisoners and kept them in specially secure cells. At that time, there were about 1,700 prisoners in Drapchi. Among them were Won Gyalsey Rimpoche, Tsawa Mani Tulku Minling Chung Rimpoche and lamas and abbots of Sera, Drepung and Ganden.

In winter we were made to drill a well within the walls of Drapchi. We were also made to carry manures and plant vegetables. Our ration consisted of boiled water twice a day, a small amount of tsampa twice a month and a little boiled beans and peas daily. We could not even get cold water to drink. Having no utensils to eat in, we were forced to eat in the pots used to urinate during the night. Between November 1960 and June 1961, about 1,400 prisoners had died. Our food conditions were so bad that we ate anything edible thrown by the Chinese. All belts, garters and ropes were taken away from us because many prisoners had committed suicide by choking themselves to death.

In prison, I used to pray quietly, but one day the Chinese guard detected my beard quivering and knew what I was doing. I was given several public beatings for that. There is a small door in the north part of Drapchi which was known as the "death door" among prisoners and the Chinese staff. Prisoners taken through that door never returned.

Early one morning in June 1961, a Chinese woman official came to me and asked me to pack my beddings and accompany

her to the outer prison wall. My belongings were thoroughly checked and the propaganda literature they had given me earlier were taken away. Then she took me to a small cell and said, "My name is Shao Li and I am from the Intelligence Office. I am to tell you that the reason for your arrest and imprisonment is your careless talks against the Chinese Government and your irresponsible behaviour. Normally, you would have faced execution for your crimes but we have been very lenient with you since you were born in Ladakh and hence an Indian citizen. India is our neighbour and we wish to maintain good relationship with her. So we will soon send you back home and you are never to set foot on the land of the Chinese Government again."

I had to sign a document extolling the socialist system and the reforms brought in Tibet by the Chinese. I was allowed to visit my monastery, Drepung Loseling, but when I got there I found all the doors locked and no sign of monks anywhere. Before departure, I also requested permission to pray in the chapels of Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries, the Potala, the Norbulinka and the Tsukla Khang, but my request was rejected.

On July 25, I was taken to the Lhasa Transport Centre and put in a jeep with a Chinese guard. Tibetans gathered at the station bade me farewell and some gave me money and bread. When we reached near the Indian border in Sharsingma in Dromo (Yatung), my escort took away all my money as my passage and left me. I arrived in Kalimpong via Gangtok on 28th July.

Additional Information

While I was in Norbulinka I saw the goods of the Drepung monastery being taken away in Chinese lorries. The Chinese are still claiming that they are allowing freedom of religion in Tibet. However, they forbid people to pray and present offerings to the images saying that those are empty and useless deeds. The prisoners as well as the common people are forced to kill rats, flies, birds, dogs and insects and deliver them to the Chinese authorities.

Food is extremely scarce in Tibet now. For instance, Khachi Abtu (a Muslim) paid 400 *sangs* (Rs. 66 approx.) for a yak

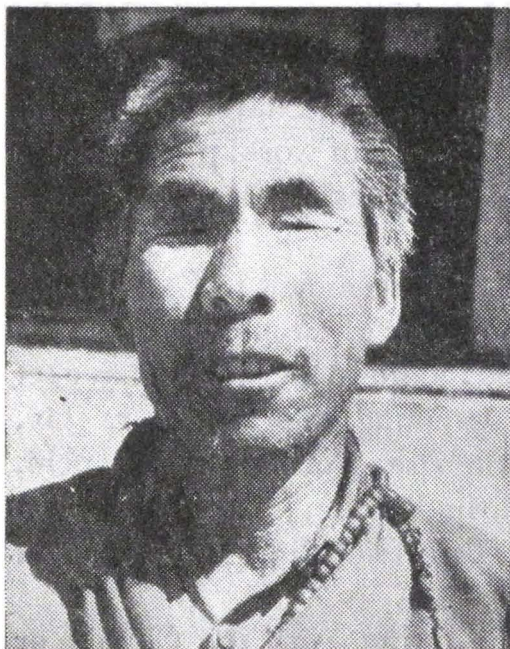
tongue. No foodstuff can be sold openly. However, those sold secretly fetch extraordinarily high prices since people are facing starvation and willing to pay anything for whatever is available.

In the political studies given to people, the Chinese claim that all the countries in the world, with the exception of the United States, are in sympathy with the communists and that the Soviet Union and China could easily liquidate the U.S. but have refrained from doing so for the sake of world peace. It was also announced that India has occupied vast territories of Tibet which must be regained soon.

The numerous Tibetans who have been sent to China have not returned yet. Instead large numbers of Chinese settlers are being brought into Tibet. In Lhasa alone, the Chinese have set up prisons at Drepung Loseling, Drepung Photang, Sera Jay, Gyalchay Khangchen, Ganden Shartse, Norbulinka, Drapchi, Magar Sarpa, Northoe Linka, Taring House, Sampho House, Meru, Bhensui, Tsukla Khang, Dip Tsiholing and Namgyal Khang.

All Tibetans—whether collaborating with the Chinese or not—live in constant fear of death.

6. Statement of Tsesum



Age 35. Father's Name: Bhagdro Tsesum began to lose his eyesight at the age of 25 and, before the Chinese invasion, he used to earn his living by begging in the streets of Lhasa. He fled to Kathmandu in September 1961. On arriving at Dharamsala he was sent to the Home for Old & Infirm people at Dalhousie. In 1972 when the Home was shifted to Mundgod in South India, Tsesum also went there. However, the climate of the south did not suit him and he was taken ill for nearly two years. He came back to Dharamsala for

treatment and, after recovery, chose to stay there.

Confused Days in Lhasa

O N T H E day of the Lhasa Uprising in March 1959, a huge crowd of people was gathered outside the Norbulinka Palace demonstrating against the Chinese and shouting slogans, declaring the independence of Tibet. The entire population of Lhasa seemed to have poured there and there was a great deal of confusion everywhere. I also went there to see what was going on but the crowd was so big that I could not get much near. I hid myself in a corner and listened to the voice of the demonstrators. After some time a part of the crowd returned shouting and dragging the dead body of Phakpa-la (an ex-monk official of the Tibetan Government who was collaborating with the Chinese) who had just been murdered.

I also joined the procession which went through the main street. The resentment was so strong that people started burning and destroying everything that was Chinese, such as, Chinese notice boards and sentry posts. After learning about the events that were taking place I too got angry and started destroying the traffic sign-board. Some Khampas joined me and we burnt that. When we reached home everybody was busy filling all available pots with water so that they need not suffer on that account in case of full-scale war. I also followed suit.

On the morning of the 12th March I went to Nachen Trang with a deaf beggar girl to meet my sister, Choedon, who was then working in the construction of the Chinese power house. The entire area was fenced and there were two Chinese guards and an interpreter at the gate. They enquired what we wanted and said that in a situation like that we should not have come to such a place. I told them that I wanted to see my sister. They told us to wait for some time.

After about half an hour, the guard brought my sister and her group leader. My sister burst out in tears as soon as she saw me and the guards warned her not to do anything like that. Then I was taken inside while my friend was turned back. There were a great many tents inside and my sister was putting up in one of them with about fifteen others. My sister gave me some refreshments and after a while they went back to work. The leader told me not to ask any questions since they themselves were not very sure what was happening. However, they told me that there was going to be a meeting that evening and asked me to listen carefully.

Their work finished at 8 p.m. and after an hour's break for supper they all went to the meeting. It was held quite near my sister's tent and I could hear everything that was said. Two Chinese officers and an interpreter were presiding over the meeting. One of the officers announced that there was no need to be scared and anxious since they were all like members of a big family. The leaders were told to ask the opinion of people in their groups and report them frankly. There were seven groups. Some people voiced full support for the Chinese and begged them to be armed so that they could also help fight

the rebels. Some others said that they had come to work there only because they were asked to and that they wished to leave the place the following day. The officers praised the wish of the former group of helping the Chinese Government quash the rebellion and promised to give favourable consideration to their request. He also informed that out of the three trenches being dug two are meant for the use of the Tibetans and the middle one would be occupied by the Chinese and that these trenches would be dug right up to Drag-yepa (a holy place about a mile north of Lhasa) where they would have enough reserve of food to last them for three years.

As for those who wished to quit the job, the Chinese officers said, they were ignorant since they were unable to realize that the Chinese esteemed the lives of Tibetans as they did their own; that His Holiness was as much revered by the Chinese as by the Tibetans and that they should jointly destroy the rebellion that is trying to hinder their unity. It was also announced that from the following day onwards they would have to work only three hours a day and the rest of the day could be spent as they pleased.

At midnight on the 15th March some cannon shots were heard and all those who were in tents were ordered to go to the trenches and lie down on their chests. We all went and did accordingly. All the people were crying and screaming out of fear and the Chinese were spreading in all directions but none came near us. At daybreak the fireworks had subsided and the workers went to their respective tents to prepare tea. While we were having tea, Tsering Samdup from Dergey, Kham suggested that we should leave that place, seeing that many others have already done the same. So we carried some provisions for the way and left for Lhasa.

At Gangthoe Chagthag (about half-way between Nachen Trang and Lhasa) where we reached on the 17th, the Chinese prevented us from proceeding further. They had also detained others who had left before us saying that they would be killed by rebels if they went any further. They announced that the Chinese considered those who were working for them as their own men and would look after their security and well-being. So saying, they took back all the labourers, including

my sister, leaving me behind without a word. I went on to Lhasa with a muleteer.

On the 18th I personally went to Tengayling, the headquarters of the Lhasa People's Committee, which was established some years back. I reported to Tsatul Tsang's secretary and a Tibetan doctor, Annan, who were there, that the project at Nachen Trang was not meant to wash away Lhasa as was thought but to build a tunnel and hoard ration, water and weapons.

After having listened to my report, Dr. Annan asked me if I would undertake a mission of utmost importance. It appeared that on 24th a number of Khampa guerrillas were arriving in Dechen (about two days' journey from Lhasa) through Gagar pass and the Lhasa People's Committee was looking for someone to carry an important letter to them. I volunteered to do that for them and they asked me to come back on the 21st to take the letter and my allowance for the way.

However, the mission could not be carried out because at midnight on the 20th shelling of important places in Lhasa started and did not cease until 10 a.m. on the 23rd during which time we all remained in hiding. At about 10.30 the same morning, Chensal Kunphel-la (an important Tibetan official who was being used by the Chinese) announced that both the Jho Khang and Ramoche cathedrals had surrendered and that if the Norbulinka and Chakpori ("Iron Hill" on top of which the Astro-Medical College was situated) did not surrender at once all the sacred and valuable objects in there would be destroyed. There was no more gunfire but the air was filled with smoke and the smell of gunpowder.

In the afternoon of the 26th five Chinese officials and an interpreter came to us and told us to come out of hiding place and surrender any weapons supplied by the rebels that we may have possessed. We replied that we were all poor people and did not even possess a knife. They searched us thoroughly and looked pleased when they found nothing. They told us that from that day onwards, we can have a lot of things to eat and drink. But first we were told to go to Kalingoshi (a prominent temple in Lhasa) to listen to the latest news and to look around. When we reached there we found that the Chinese had released

all prisoners from Langtseshar (the Lhasa criminal court and jail) and they were all shouting and rejoicing. Then one of the Chinese officers made a speech announcing that from now on we were all at the mercy of the Chinese authorities and that they were going to liberate the poor people from their serfdom.

The Chinese established seven new offices in the city and told the people who were in debt to go to these offices with their documents. They divided the beggars in three groups; those who stayed around Loboog were told to go to Ladang Nyingpa after three days; those from Banag-shol and Thal-pungang to the Phala house; and those from Ramoche to the Lhalu house.

About 15 of us, all blind, went to Ladang Nyingpa as we were told. There were two Chinese officers and an interpreter there. They promised us "the same opportunities as were enjoyed by our former Lords" and asked us to name the exploiters under the former regime so that we could "have our revenge". Quite a number of us replied that they had been exploited by certain nobles and officials. When my turn came, I told them that I was born in Shigatse where my widowed mother earns her living by polishing potteries, that I had come to Lhasa with another beggar since Lhasa was known for her generosity to beggars. "Another reason," I continued, "why I came to Lhasa was because I had heard that there is a good Chinese hospital for eyes. Unfortunately, my eyes could not be cured since my blindness was caused by evil spirits. As for exploitation by the aristocrats, I personally have had no such experience." I told them that I wished to visit my mother and requested them to either put me in a motor-vehicle going there or at least issue me a travel permit.

In answer, the official told me that there is no such thing as "evil spirits" and gave me a lengthy lecture on how religion has deceived and blinded the people of realities. He also said that I "could be allowed to go to Shigatse and express my opinions there" but no mention of motor vehicles or travel permits was made. Later they announced that those who wanted to stay in Lhasa should come again the next day to get their ration allowances and those who wanted to go elsewhere should come after four days to make travel permits.

The next day the others brought back good quantities of tsampa, butter, etc., but I do not know how long they were meant to last. I went to get my permit on the fourth day. The interpreter this time was a former monk from the Tashilhunpo Monastery in Shigatse. He asked me questions about Shigatse and found my answers satisfactory. He told me to wait a month and then report to the Co-operative Office. When I went there after a month there were lots of blind people gathered there from Lhasa and surrounding areas. They had appointed Yagchoe Nyonpa as their leader and spokesman. As I went in and pleaded my case one of the blinds got up and shouted that I was not from Shigatse but from Metogonkar (a small village in the suburb of Lhasa) and that he heard several times that I asked many Khampas to joint the *Chusi Gangdrug* Guerilla Army to fight the Chinese. Of course, that wiped out all my chances of getting a permit.

Later, when I had finished my ration, I requested Lobsang the interpreter, whose mother I happened to know, to try and obtain me a permit. I kept on pestering him whenever I met him and after a year he was able to get me a permit.

Journey to Shigatse

There was a woman called Tashi Lhamo from Kham who also wanted to go to Shigatse and asked if she could accompany me. I agreed and advised her to act dumb to minimise unnecessary interference on the way and, with some provisions, left Lhasa. At Kuru bridge outside the city, the Chinese guards checked our permits and found everything in order. We spent that night at a place called Chushol. One of the local people asked us where we were going. We told him that we were from Lhasa and wanted to go to Tsang (the province in which Shigatse falls). He told us that strangers were not allowed to pass through Chusol since the Chinese were transporting arms and ammunition there. He also said that he would have to inform the local Chinese authority of our arrival. So at dawn we returned back to Kyishong and took another route, passing through Gompa and Rompa to Rinpung. Again in Rompa somebody told us that even with permit, nobody is allowed into Rinpung district and so we took the Dzalui route and came to Gyangtse.

Our arrival at Gyangtse coincided with a session of *Thamzing* (public criticism and trial). They were staging a play about oppression of the poor by feudal lords. We put up at Pekhor Chodei temple which was packed with beggars although no monks were allowed in. The Chinese guards did not even check our permits and we stayed there for two days. When we left we were joined by a few others beggar that I knew from Lhasa. Passing through Namjong and Zampashar we finally reached Shigatse without further obstacle.

State of Affairs in Shigatse

We stayed in Shigatse for nine days and during that time no one came to check our permits. The people had divided themselves into two parties—‘Ladang Hog’ (under the Panchen Lama’s administration, meaning permanent residents of Shigatse) and ‘Shung Hog’ (under the Government, meaning people from other regions of Tibet who were in Shigatse at that time). The Chinese once called a meeting of the latter group and asked them whether they would like to be “liberated” or not. The people said that they would like to be “liberated” since they were about to die of starvation. But nothing was done about it. People queued outside shops in the morning to buy tsampa. 1 *khel* (12.5 Kg.) of tsampa cost 10 Chinese dollars and a box of matches cost 1 dollar. There was an acute shortage of everything in Shigatse.

At first, there were rumours that the Panchen Lama was expected from China within seven days, and everybody was making preparations for his arrival. However, when he did not arrive after seven days, people began to speculate that he may not return at all. Two monks from the “Tehor House” of Tashilhunpo Monastery pinned a notice outside saying that the Dalai Lama had already left for abroad and the Chinese are asking us to accept the Panchen Lama as the supreme religious head of both Tibet and China. However, the notice continued, the Panchen Lama had been secretly taken to China without knowledge of the people and it is feared that he might not even come back. The monks would never tolerate such treatment. The notice concluded by asking the Chinese authorities to think over it properly.

About two hours later, the notice was taken off by a local official and taken to the Chinese office. The next day, the entire population was called to a meeting on Jhaothang ground. All the Tibetans were encircled by armed Chinese troops and a high ranking Chinese official made a speech. He said that the Dalai Lama was being kidnapped by 'reactionaries' to Pandit Nehru's country. Nehru was unable to look after him and his followers since millions of people has been dying in India for the last three years because of famine. The Dalai Lama could not work in the ship where they were given a job and the Chinese office in Calcutta, where there were about 15 Tibetans and Chinese, fed him for 21 days and, later, sent him to Peking by air. "In Peking", the announcement continued, "the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama and Mao Tse-tung are sharing the same residence, having the same meals and enjoying equal status. Furthermore, the people of China have great regard for the Dalai Lama because when the thirteenth Dalai Lama was there during the British invasion of Tibet (1903-4), he had promised the people to take the place of Emperor Shon Dong after his death. Therefore, it has been arranged that Mao Tse-tung will come to Tibet to take the Dalai Lama's place and the Dalai Lama himself will stay in China. The Panchen Lama will also be coming to Tashilhunpo in three days."

He also told the people to call their relatives back from India where they would, otherwise, die of starvation. It was announced that the current shortage of food in Shigatse would soon be taken care of by transporting foodstuffs from China and that people should not pay heed to the malicious rumours. People were asked to submit their opinions on pieces of paper the next day and they were also told to stop classifying themselves as "Ladang Hog" or "Shung Hog" but to be one.

Departure from Shigatse

After the meeting, we went to our house, collected our beddings and set out towards Lhatse. On the way we spent a night in a monastery the top floor of which was occupied by a Chinese officer and an interpreter. He asked us where we were bound and we replied that we were going to Dhingri to see some relatives who had become quite well-off by the grace of the

Chinese. He was pleased with our answer and allowed us to proceed. We stopped at two more monasteries—Narthang and Gangchen. Both the monasteries looked bare and empty since all the valuables had been taken to Shigatse for “distribution among the people”. All the people were shedding tears and telling us to pray.

At Jelung there was not a Chinese in sight but the local inhabitants refused to let us in for, it seemed, they had instructions from Shigatse not to let anyone pass through there. To their enquiries my friends, full of tears, replied that they were on their way to see some relatives and pleaded them to let them. As for me, I could not even think of crying. One of them, obviously some sort of leader, held my hand and asked me why a blind man such as me had come so far. I replied that I had been sent from Shigatse for a special purpose and if he did not believe me, we could both go to Shigatse and verify it from the Chinese authorities there. He told the others that we might be more than what we appeared to be and that he felt it would be advisable to let us through. So they released us and we got up to Phuntsoling without any incident. There we were stopped and the Dzungpon (district officer), in Chinese uniforms, told us to come to the district headquarters. Over there again we were asked the same questions. Some of our friends claimed that they came from Tö (in western Tibet) but that made the official even more suspicious since none of us could imitate Tö-pa accent. They searched us thoroughly and found a small statue of a Buddhist deity in the possession of a retired Tibetan soldier. He informed them that the statue was with him for a long time and that he was already retired from the army when the Chinese arrived in Tibet. He had come across many Chinese since then but none of them had asked him to discard it. However, he continued, if it pleased the *Dzungpon* he was willing to throw it away. Thus saying, he raised the statue above his head and, staring at it, thought for a long time. At that moment, the Dzungpon ordered his assistants to leave the room and when they had gone, bolted the door from inside, asked us to take our seats and offered us tea and tsampa.

While we were having that he told us that if we could not give a convincing reason for our journey, it would be quite

difficult for us to pass. He told us that he had to threaten and feign anger at us in front of his assistants who were in fact appointed by the Chinese and watching his every move. He took a charm box (containing holy relics), placed it on his head and prayed hard for a while. Then he asked us if any of us could read scriptures. The retired soldier's wife could. He brought a thick volume of scripture from the inner room and asked her what it was. She told him that it was the *Dorjee Choepa* (Sanskrit: Vajrachetika). He placed the book on the heads of every one of us and told us to pray. He revealed that he was also a member of the Tashilhunpo Monastery and had been holding the post of Dzongpon for the last five years, but he was certain that he would be arrested and killed by the Chinese any day now. He told us that his name was Jhampa Gelek and asked us to pray for him from time to time. He gave us some tsampa, a little butter and 20 silver dollars and asked us to tell the people outside that we were treated very badly by the Dzongpon. We did accordingly and spent the night with a family.

The next day we started our journey again and reached Lhatse without interruptions.

When we arrived in Lhatse, the head of a wealthy family had just died and it was announced that alms would be distributed the following day. So about forty of us went there the next day. A big canopy was put up outside the house and *thukpa* (a broth prepared with dough, meat and vegetables) was cooking in a big cauldron and bags of rice and grain were being piled outside for distribution. All of a sudden six Chinese appeared on the scene and accused our hosts of wasting food by practising 'reactionary' customs and ignoring the new rules and regulations introduced in the country. We were also told not to gather there. The deceased—for whose death rites the alms were being given—was survived by his wife, son and daughter-in-law. They were all arrested and taken in a jeep. Then the Chinese asked us—who were strangers in Lhatse—who we were. We replied that we were beggars on our way to Dhingri to see our relatives. They advised us not to listen to reactionaries or accept offerings of food from them for they contain poison. The cauldron of *thukpa* was thrown out and

the bags of grain taken to the Chinese office. Since there was no point in hanging around there, we continued our journey and reached Shekhar.

Last Stage of the Journey

Once in Shekhar we went around begging. A lady—who, I was told afterwards, was the wife of Rupon Kunga from Dhingri—asked me to tell her fortune. More specifically, she wanted to know about her husband who was taken to Nachen Trang the previous year and from whom she had not heard a word since then. While I was telling her fortune, two Chinese arrived and she rushed into her house and bolted the door. The Chinese told me to go to the public meeting that night.

When I returned to our lodging, 11 more Chinese came there and told us to pack and accompany them. We were taken to a big house which used to belong to someone called Gompapa. All of us were interrogated in turn there. When my turn came, they told me that I was sent from Lhasa by the reactionaries with a message for the refugees in India and that if I confessed and told them what the message was I would be set free and given food and provisions. I replied that I had nothing to confess and the sole reason for my leaving Lhasa was because I was having problems with getting enough to eat there. The interpreter, whose name was Baba Tashi Phuntsog, told me that he was posted in Lhasa in 1960 and that he had seen me there coming to the Chinese office to get my travel permit. He said that he was sure there was an important reason for my journey. He said, “You had better tell everything frankly now. Otherwise . . .” He stopped without finishing his sentence and jammed the point of a gun at my stomach. I still maintained that I had done nothing wrong and that he could kill me if he wished. They persisted for a while and then left.

The next morning they came back again and took me to their office. There, they put a handful of Chinese dollars on my lap and asked me the same questions over again, but in a very polite tone. I, however, remained adamant.

So, for six months, we were all imprisoned in Shekhar. Each day there were three sessions of interrogations. The last three months, we were kept in the main Shekhar prison of Lingahor.

Among the prisoners I saw there were one lama and three former Government officials, who were made to carry loads of stones everyday. Tsang Delek Rabten's wife and two other ladies were sent to fish everyday. Our daily ration was two spoonfuls of tsampa and two cups of boiled water.

On the last Chinese New Year day, we were each given 2 biscuits, 3 sweets, a packet of cigarettes and a box of matches. There were about 160 of us. For lunch, there was a meat and vegetable dish. As soon as we had finished eating it they brought in a head and a pair of legs of a dog and passed it around to each of us for inspection. Then someone stood in the centre of the room and made a speech.

"You people say that you don't eat dog meat." he said. "Well, that's just what you have been eating today. You spend a great deal of resources on unnecessary things like religion and make fuss about practical things like eating. It just shows the absurdity of the attitude you hold towards life. Now, you all listen carefully. We are here to rule you, and that is a fact. And nothing can alter that fact. There is nobody to equal our strength. We shall gradually conquer all the other countries of the world. India, where all the reactionaries are hoping to escape, will be taken just as a matter of course. No special effort needed there. We have already got all the plans worked out. So, you see, there is no point in your trying to escape. So, you should all return to your homes. We shall issue you the necessary permits the day after tomorrow. In any case, it is not safe for you to stay here now because there is a threat of invasion to this part of the country and we will have to make preparations to meet it. That is all I have to say. Now, you should all applaud." We all clapped and the meeting was adjourned.

The next day, we all got photographed and travelling permits were issued in our names. They said to me, "You never confessed your motives, although we all know it very well. Now that you'll have to go back to Lhasa, what will you reply to those who sent you?" I said again that I came of my own free will and, "I won't have to reply to anyone. I shall just take my time and go back slowly."

All my friends, except the deaf girl, left for home. We two stayed the whole day there and at night headed towards Tö Tsibiasing. We did not meet anymore Chinese on the way although we stopped in many places to ask the people the way. Finally, we crossed into Nepalese border near Zongga Keyrong.

7. Statement of Tashi Dorjee



Age 20 Birth place: Hor Yethar, Eastern Tibet. Occupation: Nomad. Arrived in Ladakh in February 1962. He has held various posts of responsibility in the Tibetan communities in India. Since April 1975, he has been appointed the Tibetan Welfare Officer in Kulu Valley.

ON JUNE 13, 1959, two Chinese generals, Lo Lo and Liu Hri-tang, accompanied by interpreter Lobsang of Amdo came to Yethar and made the following speech in a public meeting: "As you know we had to use force in liberating other provinces of Tibet, for instance, Lhasa the capital which was brought under complete control by the People's Liberation Army in a matter of minutes. During that time the upper-class clique had hidden the reactionary Dalai Lama in a forest for about ten days. However, our forces caught up with them and brought the Dalai Lama back and shot his reactionary followers dead.

"Since India and China have great historical ties, the Government of India has decided to return all the reactionary people who have gone to their country from Tibet. So you can see now how futile it is even to think of fleeing. Even if any of you leave the country you will be brought back in no time and

subjected to severe punishments. This is the law of the Communist Government and, under the same law, you will also have to return all the arms and ammunition in your possession”.

Our village headman and some other important dignitaries replied that they were pleased to welcome the representatives of the People's Government but declared inability to surrender their arms since they had been handed down to them by their forefathers and been in their possession for as long as they could remember. “And as for the laws and orders of the Communist Government, we are quite willing to observe them and put them into practice in our daily lives as long as they do not interfere with our culture, religion and tradition,” they concluded.

The Chinese generals were furious at this reply and told us that we had to obey each and every wish of the Communist Government without laying down our own terms and conditions. Then they left promising to return after a week by which time we should have our arms ready for surrender, or else we would have to suffer the same fate “as that of the reactionary Dalai Lama and his followers.”

The next day, the village headman and dignitaries called a meeting of the people in which everybody pledged that he would not give up his arms to the Chinese. I was barely 17 then and knew nothing about the deeper significance of all these goings-on. However, I was glad that our heads had taken such a firm stand on the issue. My uncle, Wangden, aged 55, spoke in the meeting: “As we all know, yesterday the Chinese officers claimed that they have captured Lhasa and His Holiness. But we must not be discouraged by what they say. It is their policy to make propaganda like that and we must not be influenced by it. As demonstrated by their actions in other parts of eastern Tibet, the Chinese see our religion as the main obstacle on their military advancement. I for one am not prepared to give in to their demands at all and further, I think that we all must jointly fight the Chinese for preserving freedom of religion, equal status and equality before the law.

“We know that about 30,000 of our people have already escaped and, in my opinion, if the majority of us managed to escape up to Damshung we could fight against the Chinese with the help of people who are already there.”

And so it was that about 600 of us voluntarily left Yethar that night for Damshung. Although the remaining 400 or so were mostly women, children and old men, they also undertook to defend the village at all costs.

On 27th June we reached the banks of the Sokchu river. It was mid-summer in Tibet at that time and it was very difficult to cross rivers. We could not wait there on the bank until the river was calmer since there were no hiding place around and we were extremely vulnerable to Chinese attacks. There was a bridge near the Soktsen Dan monastery but it was heavily guarded by the Chinese since the Monastery itself was being demolished brick by brick. At that time we were joined by 27 nomad families who had also escaped from the Chinese. They had in their possession a *dreng* (from which a rope-bridge could be improvised) and then we were able to cross the river one by one.

After the destruction of Soktsen Dan Monastery, about 30 monks including a 17-year-old incarnate lama, Kunsang Gyatsho, had managed to escape and were believed to be on the way to India. Some of the menial workers of the monastery were still there and they told us that about 400 Chinese troops had been sent after us. So we left that place immediately and travelled for 18 days with little break. When we reached a place called Tsam Lung our leaders went around looking for suitable hiding place but there was none to be found. Still, after a great deal of discussions and consultations with the lamas in our group we decided that it would be better for us to stay there for the time being. So we stayed there for about three months. There were about 900 people in our party.

We were informed by the local people that there were about 20,000 people from Tra-chu, Sokdai, Dhingkhung and other villages near Damshung hiding in the surrounding hills. It appeared that they had been unable to fight the Chinese so far because there were only two or three able-bodied men in families of ten and even they had been weakened greatly as a result of nearly ten years of hardship under the Chinese rule. Their leaders, Amdo Tashi Tsering, Sokdai Norbu Tsering and others had decided to fight against the Chinese, but when they gathered in Damsol Sang it was discovered that only about

7,000 of them were fit for battle. They had nevertheless decided to fight whatever the outcome and were only waiting for a suitable opportunity to launch their attacks.

On 12th December, three monks from Patsang monastery escaped to Baisol Sang. They told us that they left their monastery since it had become quite impossible to live under the brutal laws of the Chinese occupation forces. The Chinese in their area had not only put an end to the religious pursuits of the people but also were putting increasing restrictions in the freedom of thought and movement. The main hall in their monastery, where some 500 monks used to congregate daily for prayers, was now being used for holding public trials of former upper class people. The rest of the monastery was being used as stables and for other equally sacrilegious purposes. About 50 trucks were used to transport all the gold and other valuable images and the rest were all destroyed then and there. The abbot, his attendants and about twenty other important monks were subjected to public trial and then sent to some unknown destination.

Round about that time, thousands of Tibetans were recruited into forced labour gangs to build roads. Roads were built from Lhasa to Nagchukha, from Nagchukha to Soktson Dan and from Sogtson Dan to Yetharpa Tsang. During that time, many people died of starvation and under landslides. The Chinese told the people that they died because they had no experience of working on the roads.

People who had escaped from Damshung joined forces with people from Chakra Palbar and it was from there that they decided to launch their attacks on the Chinese since the terrain there was very suited to guerrilla warfare. At that time none of us had thought to escaping into exile. Instead we were all determined to stay there and fight to the last for our independence.

At dawn on the 9th February, five jet-planes started hovering over us and dropping bombs. This did not cease until midday and took a heavy toll of lives among our people. Then the planes started dropping leaflets. These leaflets reminded us that there was only one good path and one bad path. The "good path leads to the Great Motherland and the bad one leads to the reactionary Dalai. People should surrender and return to the

Great Motherland and if they decided to follow the reactionary Dalai clique and go to America, we can easily destroy them by a handful of bombs." One good thing these leaflets did in raising our morale was that it discredited the earlier Chinese claim of having captured the Dalai Lama and his followers. So we did not bother to surrender.

However, the bombing continued for ten more days in the course of which hundreds of our people, including one of the leaders, Amdo Tashi, died. Another leader, Norbu Tsering, his brother Tsoknyi and his wife and children were captured by the Chinese. Out of our original strength of 20,000 only 12,000 were left at the end of these heavy bombings. We left that place and made towards Amdo which we reached after 20 days. We had several clashes with Chinese troops on the way and, when we finally got to Sirhor in Amdo, there were only 280 of us left.

However, when we reached there, we found that the whole village was under the control of the Chinese who were busy preaching the virtues of Socialism to the people. We stopped in a nearby place inhabited by nomads. There again we clashed with the Chinese. Among the dead was my uncle Wangden and 12 people from Teru Bomchen who were captured and then killed by pushing them out of a flying aeroplane. My elder brother sustained five bullet wounds but was later able to escape into exile.

After the death of our twelve friends, the remaining 268 of us left Sirhor and went towards the lakes Tsaring Nor and Oring Nor. When we stopped near these lakes, our road was blocked by about 1,000 Chinese troops. Although we were very exhausted and poorly armed we had no choice but to fight them and lost another 100 of our people there. My father and mother, both 53 years old, narrowly escaped the machine-gun fires.

When we reached Morgangsang after 14 days of precarious journey, there were only 15 of us left—all tired and famished. We stayed there about a week. The Chinese planes caught up with us again and in the ensuing shelling Gugu Tenzin and two others died. Sokpon Sangay Namgyal and Sonam Wangdui were seriously injured—the former having stopped seven bullets in his body.

We took them under a safe shelter but we had neither any food nor utensils even for boiling water. We killed some wild animals with our remaining ammunition and subsisted on raw meat until the two patients got well enough to start travelling again.

We travelled through the Jhangthang plains—after having bought some horses on the way—and came to western Tibet. From there we made a steady descent towards India and crossed into Ladakh in February 1962.

8. Statement of Chomphel Sonam



Born in Lhasa, Chomphel Sonam was a monk official of the Tibetan Government and was posted at Shigatse.

He arrived in India on March 12, 1963, and is, at present, working in the Finance Department of the Central Tibetan Secretariat in Dharamsala.

THE CHINESE came to my place and arrested me on March 12, 1959, at about 4 p.m. All the other government officials and the officers of the Ghathang regiment of the Tibetan army stationed in Shigatse were also arrested the same day. The commander of the Ghathang regiment was isolated from us and put in the Chinese army prison called Hri Hao-pu.

In the next four months I was continuously subjected to rigorous interrogation day and night. I had to give an account of everything I had done since the age of eight. I was asked whether I had anything to do with the Khampa guerrillas and whether I could provide any information on them. I had to submit details of all my friends and relatives, whether I was in touch with Tsipon Shakabpa (a high-ranking Government official) who was residing in Kalimpong at that time, whether I could name the participants in the meetings held in Shigatse during H.H. the Dalai Lama's recent visit there, etc.

We were subjected to *thamzing* where we were labelled as reactionaries and the public was made to beat us. The Chinese insisted that we should confess all our 'crimes' and warned us that there was no point in denying any of it since they already had documentary evidence against us.

While not being interrogated or tortured we were made to do strenuous manual labour such as digging wells, extracting rocks and hauling them away, working in the fields, constructing army barracks, making bricks and cleaning lavatories and pigsties. Our daily ration consisted of a small amount of tsampa and a piece of bread at night, there were two tea breaks every day. As a result of hard labour and insufficient food people contracted various diseases. Soon, most of the prisoners had swollen faces and yellow skins and were unable to walk properly. Notwithstanding all these we were still driven to work like animals.

After three years of this life, I was finally released from the prison probably because the Chinese realized that they could gain nothing of importance from me. However, I was far from free. I had to report to the Chinese authorities once every week and submit a detailed report of my activities. I had to account for every day and prove that I had been working all the time without a break.

I requested them to grant me a small piece of land that I could work on, but I was told that all the lands had already been distributed and advised me to take up bicycle repairing instead. So I obtained a licence from the Chinese authorities and set up this trade. I had to display my enthusiasm by undertaking to do a certain amount of work every month. I had to report the total number of bicycles that I had repaired and give 3% of my earnings as tax. After the first three months my tax was fixed at an amount much higher than the 3% of my average monthly earning. Moreover, I had to pay fines for any number of days that I could not account for to their satisfaction. So I had to pay the high amount of tax irrespective of whether there was any repair work or not. Soon I found myself selling what little possession I had in order to meet the taxation. Although no longer a prisoner, I was still branded as a 'reactionary' and discouraged from mixing with ordinary

people. I was frequently visited by inspectors and if I was ever caught brewing tea or preparing a meal I was taken to public meetings and criticized for my bourgeois tendencies.

Once I obtained two weeks' leave to visit a relative in Lhasa. What I saw and heard in Lhasa during those two weeks confirmed my fear that conditions in the rest of Tibet were just as bad as they were in Shigates. But about that I shall say more in detail later. First let me recount some of the incidents of atrocities that I had witnessed while still in prison.

During a session of public trial on January 20, 1960, Thubten, a monk of the Dagon monastery, was accused of being one of the leading reactionaries and was held responsible for several killings. He was executed then and there.

Later the same year, Ngodup, the steward of the Tsarong family, was accused of assisting the 'reactionaries' and taken to the nearby village of Nedrak Jug where the local people were forced to stone him to death.

Shalu Noryon committed suicide by jumping off a cliff when he was unable to withstand the regular criticisms and punishments. 18 monks of the Tashilhunpo monastery also committed suicide after witnessing the fate of their friends.

My brother Lhakpa Dorji, aged 38, was also sent to prison without any specific charges. On March 2, 1962, I was summoned to the Chinese office and was told that my brother was in hospital and that I should take him some food. At the hospital I was told by a Chinese nurse who spoke a little Tibetan that Lhakpa had just undergone a major operation of the stomach and was badly in need of some blood transfused in him. Three of my friends and I volunteered and 3 bowls of blood was taken from us. However, that was insufficient and I was told to get another ten volunteers. I explained my inability to get more volunteers and requested them to use some of the blood from the hospital. When this was refused I went out and got six people to volunteer after paying them 5 Chinese dollars each.

After Lhakpa regained consciousness, we tried to talk to him. At first he was unable to recognise us. When I explained who we were he held me by the hand and asked me what was the matter with him. All he could remember was that he had

an acute pain in the stomach and was taken to hospital with two other prisoners and a guard. We started weeping but were interrupted by a tall Chinese in white overalls who said that we would not be allowed to stand there crying. Later, I was informed that he died shortly after I had left.

On February 19, 1963, I obtained permission to visit Phari to collect some of my belongings which were left there while I was posted there a few years back. I stayed in Phari for about a week by which time I had made up my mind to flee the country. I went near the border and investigated which routes were being patrolled by the Chinese troops. Having made all the preparations, I left Phari at midnight of the 27th and crossed the Bhutanese border early next morning. I was questioned in various check-points in Bhutan and was finally handed over to the Indian border police on 12th March.

General Situation in Tibet

In general, every Tibetan has retained his faith, reverence and hope in His Holiness the Dalai Lama. People still put up prayer flags on his birth-day and other religious occasions. In Lhasa, every Wednesday (which is considered an auspicious day by the Tibetans), people continue to go to the Tsugla Khang and the Bhumpari hill to offer incense and prayers. Since there is no freedom of movement in Lhasa during day time, people go to pray before dawn and return before commencement of the work. The Chinese criticise these actions during public meetings saying that on the one hand, people were abandoning their sleep and going at dawn to offer prayers and incense while, on the other hand, they were not working diligently enough during the day time. Tibetans are also criticized for buying cheap, flimsy materials to make prayer flags while spreading gossips that they were not getting enough to make both ends meet. When the Chinese threatened the people who wasted time in all these 'useless deeds', the Tibetans expressed their feelings in the form of widely-distributed leaflets which read thus: "The Chinese have reformed us as much as they can—we have all been reduced to beggars; now we have actually nothing to eat or wear. However, even if you kill us, you cannot indoctrinate us. Even if we starve we shall

continue to buy cheap, flimsy materials to make prayer flags and put them up for the long and prosperous life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.”

In view of everything I have seen and heard, if I have to estimate the number of Tibetan people who have died under Chinese oppressions, I would easily put it over 10,000. Out of the five or six thousand monasteries in Tibet the outward structures of Sera, Drepung and Ganden as well as that of the Tashilhunpo have been preserved for the benefit of tourists, but the rest have all been destroyed either by bombs and cannons or by pulling down the wooden structures for the purpose of building new Chinese houses. The residential quarters of the medical college at Chakpori which was shelled in 1959 are still left in ruins. Meru Monastery in the city of Lhasa has been drastically transformed to serve as the Chinese Finance Office. Todhi Khangsar, Sidhi and Tsiholing monasteries are now permanently occupied by Chinese cultural troupes. Kundeling monastery is turned into a transport office.

The monastic libraries containing thousands of volumes of scriptures have been turned into Chinese assembly halls and storerooms. All the gold and silver images and other valuables from monasteries and hermitages have been taken away to China. Objects made out of other metals have been melted down and used in the manufacture of arms and ammunition; clay images have been thrown into cesspools; the scriptures are either burnt or mixed with manure or used as wrappers in Chinese shops. These scriptures are also used as toilet papers in the rural areas. The particularly thick papers are used as paddings between the sole of the shoes. The wood-blocks and wooden boards used as covers for the scriptures (which are engraved with sacred images and writings) now form parts of chairs and floor planks. Many large wall scrolls with sacred figures wrought in brocades were cut into pieces and distributed among the poor (who still consider them sacred). All religious costumes have been altered for use by the cultural troupes. It is also heard that a large number of very old religious articles were given to Russia in payment of debts.

In the Drepung, Sera and Ganden monasteries (which used to house a cumulative total of about 18,000 monks), there

are only about 50 monks each. During the visit of some Russian and Czech tourists, and also during the arrival last year of some British newspaper reporters, these remaining monks were allowed to hold religious assemblies in order to show the visitors that the Chinese were respecting religious pursuits of the Tibetans. Usually, these monks are forced to collect manure and carry it to the fields, carry earth and bricks, plant trees and work in the vegetable gardens. Several thousand monks from all over Tibet were sent to Sining in the Kokonor region for construction of railroads. Others were engaged in the construction of military roads all over the country or sent to mine borax in the northern regions. In the Nachen Trang area where the existing hydro-electric plant is being enlarged, a large number of people employed there are dying every day of extreme hardships and torture.

In Lhasa, Lamagyupas (Trantric monks) and nuns were forced to have sexual intercourse in front of the Central Cathedral. I came to know many monks and nuns who were forcefully recruited into the Chinese cultural troupes and then persuaded to break their vows of celibacy. Even the ordinary people are not allowed to keep holy images in their homes or hold prayers or read scriptures as they used to in the old days. Of course, they do not even have time for such activities now. In Shigatse, many monk prisoners could not help muttering prayers and the Chinese guards stopped their meals by saying that if they continued praying as before, God will provide them with food.

Deprivation of Rights to Property

From 1959 onwards all the well-to-do traders have been put under great pressure. The Chinese sent away many petty traders to forced labour camps. The remaining were given special permits to buy merchandise from the Chinese themselves and sell them out. Most of them had to sell their houses and properties to raise the capital. Besides the 3% trade tax on the capital they were also levied an extra tax payable every three months. Moreover, whenever anyone was found to be fairly successful he was arrested on flimsy excuses and fined heavily.

Tibetan people have no liberty to stay in their houses. Most of the people are shifted far away from their usual dwelling

places. The house numbers are also changed completely and often people are forced to leave cities and shift to rural areas. Since no one has what they might call their permanent dwelling places, maintenance and repair are greatly neglected. Most of the old houses are ready to collapse. The Chinese are not engaged in any large-scale construction projects in Lhasa city itself. However, in the parks, meadows and fields in the outskirts, they are building innumerable houses in Chinese design for use of their staff. All properties of the wealthy people and the Government employees have been confiscated and even the poor are allowed to retain only the barest necessities. Frequent searches for hidden radio sets and other articles are made without warnings. People are criticized for wearing Tibetan costumes, unless they are tattered and dirty. So when all the old clothes wear out they are forced to wear Chinese boiler suits.

Economic Exploitation

China recently had a series of crop failures. So, large quantities of butter, peas, wheat, barley, etc. have been transported by plane out of Tibet. In Shigatse area, every year after the harvest, ten to fifteen truckloads of grain are transported to China via the north-east motorway. When people continuously complained about it the Chinese leaders in a recent meeting of the Shigatse District Officers remarked: "Recently, the reactionaries have been circulating malicious rumours to the effect that we transport barley to China. The Chinese do not eat tsampa, so why do we need barley? All the truckloads of barley that is being transported is taken to feed the nomads of the northern regions. There is no need at all to send barley to China. Instead, China is giving aid to Tibet regarding foodstuffs."

However, everyone knew that the barley could not have been sent to the nomads since nomad traders coming south buy barley from the Chinese at Shigatse and take them back with them. Besides, the nomad population is very small and would not even require a fraction of all the grain that is taken away. Moreover, the Chinese did not even bother to explain away the wheat, peas, butter and other products that are also taken away.

9. Statement of an Ethnic Tibetan of Nepalese Nationality

The informant who was residing in Lhasa came to Nepal in October 1964 with his wife and three children. When the uprising broke out in 1959 he was in the crowd outside the Norbulinka Palace. He was arrested, imprisoned and forced to do various labouring work. However, he was able to prove his Nepalese descent and was released. At the moment he travels back and forth between Nepal and Tibet as a trader, hence his desire to remain anonymous.

1. In the city of Lhasa, everyone, with the exception of old people and children, are engaged in such forced labour works as constructing new buildings, digging canals and underground tunnels. An 18-foot-wide tunnel from the back of Chakpo-ri to Yuthok Bridge (a distance of about a mile), has already been completed. The road between Maghar Sarpa and Drepung Monastery has been tarred.

Those labourers who had no hand in the uprising, and who have never offended the Chinese in any way, are paid 3 yuans a day. (\$1=approx. 2.50 yuan in 1971). The general public are paid 1.7 yuans, and the former noblemen, landlords, lamas and businessmen are paid 1 yuan a day and are made to do the hardest and most disagreeable work.

2. Many new buildings have been constructed at Parikhook (a hitherto empty piece of land between Sera and Drepung). The Chinese military headquarters called Silling-bu which used to be at Maghar Sarpa is now said to be shifted there.

Many new buildings have also been constructed to the right of Drapchi, where a large military supply office is established. Another such supply office is located between Tsel Gungthang and Dechin.

From a mine called Tshala Karpo in Tsari (in Kongpo District), huge quantities of borax is being extracted. A military establishment is also located in this area. Many Chinese forces are concentrated in Potamok and Drangpo near Lachin close to the Sikkimese border.

3. This year, most of the prisoners from the Lhasa prisons of Drapchi, Taring and Maghar Sarpa have been sent to Jhang, Damshung and Tö Gyertse area for road construction.

4. Dhedruk Rimpoche is the principle man under Chinese payroll. He has been informing the Chinese about everything that goes on among the Tibetans. He has also accused his steward of having "oppressed the serfs" under the former Government, and had him subjected to public flogging.

5. The former meeting-hall of the so-called Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was burnt down last March, but no discovery of the culprits responsible has yet been made. In its place a new meeting-hall for representatives from all parts of Tibet has recently been constructed. In a new building close to this, the former bank has been shifted.

6. No one, irrespective of his nationality, can travel anywhere from Lhasa without obtaining permission from the Chinese authorities. In applying for travel permits, a person must clearly state his intended destination, purpose and name of the person he is going to meet. Permission to visit the Tö area is particularly difficult to obtain.

7. The public hospital of Lhasa is still in being. The Lhasa Medical College-cum-clinic has been completely renovated with addition of new buildings. Most of the doctors are Tibetans and still only Tibetan medicines are being used.

8. During the Indo-China border clash, an exhibition of captured Indian arms and ammunition was held in Lhasa in the meeting-hall of the PCART. Only heads of the various committees and those trusted by the Chinese were allowed to visit the exhibition. Among the Indian prisoners-of-war who were kept at Lhokha Gyertse, the officers were sent to China while the others were reported returned to India.

9. Barley, rice and flour are said to be arriving from China, but they are never sold to the Tibetans. Articles that have

arrived from China this year are: thermos flasks, toffees, chili and cigarettes containing a mixture of grass and tobacco.

The shopkeepers of Lhasa are obliged to sell only the goods purchased from the Chinese Trading Organisation. Ceiling prices are fixed for all commodities, and though the Chinese claim that shopkeepers are left with a 10% profit, in reality they never get more than 2%. Every three months, they are required to pay a monthly 3% sales tax, 4% profit tax and 3% "standard tax".

Local liquor vendors are taxed 80% and industrial workers 3% of their income. Each horse-cart is taxed 200 yuans a month as road tax and statute tax. Regarding foodstuffs, only meagre amounts of meat and butter are available in the Lhasa shops. It is extremely difficult to procure barley from the shops and even if the farmers do bring some, it is extremely risky to conduct a secret transaction.

10. At present, there are three schools in Lhasa: Seshing school, Lhasa Toongsho (Secondary school) and Murulinka school for younger children. In these schools only a little Tibetan is taught. The children mostly have to study Chinese language and Chinese communist philosophy.

11. The Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Tibet, Tang Go-ha, still resides in the Maghar Sarpa Silling-bu. Tibetan officials still in power are the Panchen Lama, Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, Tshogo Dhondup Tsering, Samding Dorji Phamo, Phakpala Gelek Namgyal and Sampho Tsewang Rigzin (all former aristocrats of high ranks). The Panchen Lama, however, is said to be under strict surveillance.

10. Statement of Changchub Thargay



Age 44. Birth-place & Residence: Shekhar, Dhingri District, South-West Tibet. Occupation: Farmer. Changchub Thargay arrived in Kathmandu on 8th. January 1965 with wife, Tenzin Dolma, one son, three daughters and a friend, Mrs. Tashi Dolma. The family came to Dharamsala and lived there for some time. In November 1971 they went to Switzerland and are now settled there in Lichtensteig, S.G.

A B O U T A month after the Tibetan Uprising the Chinese army came and took control of Dhingri. They arrested the Tibetan civil and military officers posted in Dhingri and disarmed them. Of the army personnel, the officer Gyapon Tamdin Tsewang was shot dead on the spot and the rest were sent either to Shigatse or to Lhasa. The abbot and leading monks of the Shekhar Monastery were also arrested and sent to Shigatse. In the meantime the common people were called to meetings where they were instructed on methods of subjecting Tibetan officials and leading monks to public torture known as *Tham-zing*. The people were also categorized into three classes—rich, middle and proletariat. I was put in the middle class and was promised rewards by the Chinese if I could point out the defects

and crimes of the leading Tibetans. When I told them that I could not do so, the Chinese at once declared me a "reactionary" and arrested and imprisoned me in "Lingasarpa".

My properties were confiscated; I was manacled in spiked cuffs and tortured in public denunciation sessions to make me confess that I possessed firearms. Fortunately, the people gathered there testified that I had none, so the hand-cuffs were taken off. I was sent to Shekhar where I was kept in a prison for one month and 13 days with about 100 prisoners. From there I was sent to the Shigatse granary which was also turned into a prison, and kept there for a month and a half. The prisoners there were made to build high walls around the prison house. There were about 700 prisoners there. From there I was sent to Lhasa where I was kept in the Drapchi prison for five days. The food supplied to the prisoners there was fit only for animal consumption and even of that we were not given enough quantity. At that time there were about 2000 prisoners there.

Next I was taken to Taklung Drag where we were ordered to put barbed wires around Rhalo Monastery which was then converted into a prison house. We were put inside it and guarded by many Chinese sentries.

The monastery was emptied of all its images and scriptures. The precious images were sent to China while the clay ones were thrown into the rubbish heaps. The holy *Kangyur* and *Tengyur* scriptures were utilized in making fire and as toilet papers. The prisoners were made to furrow and harrow new fields in batches of eight substituting the draught animals in a bid to increase production. We were made to work a total of 18 hours daily. Our food consisted of insufficient quantities of soup made of rotton rice and grains rejected by the Chinese. No vegetables were supplied and we had to live on grass.

Deaths

Lobsang Tenzin and Changchub Thinley, both monks of Shekhar monastery, were accused of being reactionaries and killed in Lhasa's Drapchi prison. We were made to pull carts loaded with goods, which the Chinese had pillaged in Sera and Drepung monasteries, and fetch them to a huge office below

the Drepung monastery. We were goaded at the point of bayonets to pull them faster and in the process two persons named Nyima Dhondup of Shigatse and Tseten Ngodup of Kongpo came under the wheels and were crushed to death.

Gonshar Tse (upper) Monastery was demolished and the Gonshar Shö (lower) Monastery was turned into barracks by surrounding it with walls which the Chinese forced the prisoners to erect. While demolishing the former monastery, Tsengdhon, an officer of H.H. the Dalai Lama's bodyguards and some other persons were buried inside the debris and many others were maimed. As the prisoners had to carry loads like animals, many of them had sores on their backs. I still have the marks of these sores on my back.

During winter for five months we were made to wade deep inside the cold waters and forced to construct canals along swamps. Food was made more and more meagre. As a result out of our batch of 187 prisoners working in that area only seven survived the rigours. So we were reinforced by 308 more prisoners from Khana Lingka.

In 1961 seventy of us were packed like sardines in a car and taken to a place called Metofuke Sang where we were supposed to get fresh ration. But when we arrived there no rations were supplied and not even a drop of water was given. From there we were immediately taken to Bhatselung Thang (in Kongpo Province). On the way, owing to thirst and hunger, twelve persons including Kunga Gyaltzen of Sakya, Bhu Lobsang, Choeje of Lhaka and Zibuk Yeshe Topgyal of Shekhar died.

At Kongo we were made to fell trees and make charcoals. We were only given a small quantity of boiled rotten wheat to eat and boiled water to drink three times a day. The hard work, insufficient and bad food claimed six more lives, including that of Nisar Namgyal of Shekhar.

From Kongpo, we were transferred to Lhokha Palding where for two months we were made to fell trees and make wooden planks. If anybody fell ill and could not work, his food ration which was already insufficient was drastically cut down. Three of the prisoners from Kongpo tried to escape, but they were caught on the way and their leader, Jampel, was shot dead before all the prisoners. They were warned that anybody

trying to escape would face the same fate. The other two were subjected to public torture for several days as a result of which they also died.

Nyima Ngodup, aged 23, of Ghechi and Sopo Gyatsho committed suicide by jumping into the river. Many succumbed to sheer fatigue and hunger. As a result only half the original number of prisoners survived. 49 people who were too ill to work were taken out of the camp under the pretext that they would be hospitalized, but we have never heard about them since.

At last, I was released in Lhokha Palding with the warning that unless I kept secret all the experiences of my prison life I would be killed.

At Shigatse, two persons named Satha Kunga and Tsenam were castrated. As a result the former died but the latter survived.

Back home in Shekhar I had nothing to eat because the harvest was taken by the Chinese. I requested them to lend me some food-grains but I was given nothing and was told instead that Tibetans in Tibet were far luckier than those who escaped abroad, the latter having no food at all to eat. The Chinese advised us to write to our relatives who had escaped to India to return. They also promised to bear the travelling expenses if we went to India to bring them back. We were also promised rewards if we could bring arms and documents from India.

The Panchen Lama has also been declared a reactionary. They also told us that the United States and India in collusion with the Dalai Lama are planning to reinstate him back in Tibet. But, they added, there should be no fear as China had 650 million people as her manpower; and besides, the Chinese army consisted of patriots who volunteered themselves into the service of their country.

The Chinese took two persons from each village and told them that they would be taken to China for communist indoctrination. But we do not know where they were actually sent.

The Chinese told us that we need not pay taxes of any kind. But whenever the Chinese officers travel we are forced to carry their luggage without remuneration. We are not even allowed

to visit our relatives living in a different village without the permission of the Chinese authorities which again is very difficult to obtain.

I decided to escape one way or other from Tibet. Gradually I gained confidence of a Tibetan assistant of one of the Chinese officers. I got a travel permit from him which was valid for six days and utilized that opportunity to escape.

11. Statement of Lobsang Tempa

Age 34. Birth Place: Markham, Kham, Eastern Tibet. Lobsang Tempa was a monk in the Upper Tantric College. of Lhasa. He reached Bhutan on March 3, 1966 and is now believed to be settled there.

I WAS staying at Ramoche Cathedral in Lhasa when the Uprising broke out in 1959. I joined the volunteer force who tried to defend the cathedral from Chinese attack. In one of the street fights I was wounded by a shrapnel of a mortar. My two brothers were arrested and tortured to death. My father died of shock.

The people who were killed in the Norbulingka gardens were buried inside the gardens in groups of five or six corpses tied together. But later on as the corpses began to rot and smell, Tibetan prisoners were made to dig them up again.

The barracks of the bodyguards of His Holiness the Dalai Lama were turned into prisons, and seven thousand prisoners were interned there. I was one of them. From there I was transferred to Chunju Magar in Cheton Lingka at Lhasa.

The monks who took killing of any being as sin were intentionally and especially forced to kill flies and to smash images which they deemed sacrilegious. At regular meetings we had to confirm the persons pointed out by the Chinese as reactionaries. For food we were given only a small quantity of tsampa made of pea flour. As a result many people could not do the work forced upon them by the Chinese. But such people were beaten with the butt ends of the rifles. As a result many of them died.

The highest Chinese military officer was known as Tan Kuan-san. Among the Tibetan assistants who came to interrogate the prisoners the persons whose names I knew were:

Tsokho Dhondup Tsering, Shokhang Jedung, Karchung Depon, and his wife.

Lhasa metropolis has been divided into four sections, north, east, south and west. There are three small offices known as Wu Yun under a big office known as Dhun Joey, which again is under an office known as Mimang Sechung, and a court in each of these. I was in the northern section. In this area out of the three Wu Yuns, one run by two Tibetans known as Chimi Wangdu and Ngawang Kesang assisted by people appointed as Chutans at the rate of one from every ten of them. But they had no power at all. They were directed and controlled to the smallest detail by the Chinese officer of Dhun Joey who was known as Tan Fu Tang.

At Chokpori the Chinese have built an underground barrack. The barrack was meant for artillery forces. In Lhasa there are barracks also at Gompa Sarba, Khato Rheto, and Peting. The Chinese soldiers did not come out of the barracks in military uniform. They came inside the town of Lhasa dressed in blue, posing as civilians.

Most of the military forces are stationed in the border areas. Endless convoys of military trucks carried Tibetan foodstuffs to these places. The Chinese forced the Tibetan women to marry them and already two-thirds of the Chinese personnel have Tibetan wives.

The Chinese told the people: "We kept the post of the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee reserved for the Dalai Lama and also had his salary earmarked. But as he refused to come back, we have outlawed him. The imperialists are trying to wage war against us. But we are not afraid because we have made a new bomb". They called people to their meetings and told them to shout the slogan, "We will uproot the Indian expansionists, the Dalai Lama and reactionaries." They told the people that it is not the Chinese but the Indians who committed aggression and China was forced to retaliate.

In 1962 the Chinese brought 768 Indian soldiers in 36 trucks to Ngamcho Dhachang at Chetang. They were treated very badly. While they were given food, the people were called to watch them. The Chinese told the people that they had

won the war against India and seized tens of thousands of arms and ammunition and four thousand trucks. They further told that the Indian soldiers did not like to go back to India, because they were forced to fight the Chinese against their wishes. The people were also told to have a good look at the good-for-nothing Indian war prisoners. Of them 15 were sent to Lhasa.

Persons of 18-30 years age group were X-rayed and their blood tests taken. They were told that these tests were made for sending them for military training at Kongpo. Irrespective of the volume of crops harvested the Chinese took away all the foodgrains leaving the farmers only 22 lbs per month per head. This was all a farmer had to meet his needs of food and other essentials.

Even for one day's travel a person has to submit to the Chinese authorities detailed plan informing them of the route, purpose, duration, the person to be visited, and so on and get their permission. This permission was given only at their sweet will and a person could not even visit a dying family member if they withheld the permit.

The city dwellers could not have any foodgrains unless they had a ration permit which was very difficult to obtain. Even when a person obtained it he was given permit for only 18 lbs of grain per month. And then again it was very difficult to get enough money to buy them.

Tibetan children were taken to China against their wishes and the wishes of their parents under the excuse that they would have training there. But actually they were made to do the menial work. The Chinese have opened schools in Tibet but the main lessons consisted of instructions to oppose the religion, monks and Lamas of Tibet. The farmers were not allowed to settle in a particular place to do the farm work. They were constantly migrated from one place to another.

I myself saw three people who starved to death and one who hanged himself owing to the hardships in the Rhamoche locality. Similarly many people committed suicide by slashing their throats and jumping into the river and died of hunger in other areas of Lhasa.

Many people displayed their dislike of the Chinese by distributing leaflets and setting fire to the meeting-halls of the

Chinese. Even now there are guerrillas sniping at the Chinese in Amdo and Kham forests.

The Chinese took away all the products of Tibet like food-grains, meat, wool, etc., to China and the border areas and brought from China only toffees, flasks and tea.

When the Chinese first came to Lhasa they announced that traders were free to carry on their business. But later they declared that the traders were the blood-suckers of the people. They eliminated the traders except a few who were made to sell the goods on a paltry commission. Trading was monopolised by the Chinese authorities.

They said that people were free to profess their own religion. But in reality they destroyed the monasteries and temples, burnt holy scriptures and smashed holy images. Even in the three principal monasteries of Tibet, Sera, Drepung, and Ganden, there are now only 50, 70, and 90 monks respectively. I managed to visit my native place Makham once and found that the monasteries and temples there were also destroyed. The Chinese wanted to put a stop to the people visiting and worshipping in the main temple of Lhasa—Tsulhakang. But they dared not stop it as the people thronged there as usual. But they were not allowed to visit the Potala. Chakpori, another holy place which was shelled by the Chinese, is still in ruins.

The Chinese authorities dubbed the Panchen Lama and his teacher Yunchin Rinpoche leaders of reactionaries and subjected them to public humiliation and torture for two weeks. A woman from Chamdo beat the Panchen Lama. Chinese officers abused the Panchen Lama publicly. A Tibetan assistant of the Chinese known as Gyatsoling Rinpoche abused and thrust a finger at the nose the Panchen Lama. His teacher declared publicly that he was responsible for whatever the Panchen Lama had done because he had been teaching the latter that the Communists were devils. Therefore, he pleaded for the release of the Panchen Lama reserving all tortures for himself. But the Panchen Lama declared that his teacher should not be tortured at all as he himself was responsible for all his deeds and that he could find no reason at all to go against His Holiness the Dalai Lama, though instigated by the

Chinese. Eventually the teacher and the valet of the Panchen Lama were imprisoned and killed. Panchen Lama was taken to China. Similarly Tendong Dzasa was subjected to public humiliation and torture and then taken to China with his hands fastened to a wooden plank.

Ngapo, Sangpo, Tsokhor, Phakpa La, Shokhang Jedung, Ponda Topgye, Chenshap Gyamtso Ling and others numbering 18 persons, all prominent pro-Chinese officers of Tibet working under the Chinese authorities, were invited to China. Of all the Tibetan people inside Tibet, only a few like the above who got favours and preferential treatments from the Chinese might show their liking for the Chinese. All other Tibetans hated the Chinese Communists unreservedly. They are hoping that the Tibetan refugees who could flee Tibet would be able to secure the independence of Tibet. Escaping is difficult. For instance, while I was at Lhasa three girls aged 17-18 tried to escape from Lhasa but were caught at Nangtse and imprisoned. Of them two were released after three months, one is still in prison.

The Chinese have been sending their soldiers to the borders of Tibet. They say they are soon going to annex Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and Mon (NEFA) of India. They have expanded their airfields at Damdung. They also say that they will uproot the Indian expansionists, and that at present China has very cordial relations with Nepal, which is as good as under China. But even if China had to take Nepal by force, they add, they can easily walk all over them.

There are many prisons in Lhasa. Of them I am naming some which I knew of. They are: Kusung Magar, Chunche Magar, Taring, Rigyal, Samye, Dhapchi Magar and Dhapchi Mint.

The Chinese tell the Tibetan people that now that they have made atom bomb the subjugation of the world by China is a matter of time only. Even before they made this bomb they got two such bombs from Russia which, if used, could have finished the world. Their good relations with Russia, they say, has now been restored with the ousting of the Russian Premier (Kruschev).

12. Statement of Pema Lhundup

Age: 41. Father's name: Karma Paljor.

Pema Lhundup was born in Lhodrak, Western Tibet and was a farmer by occupation. He arrived in Bhutan on October 20, 1967 and now is believed to be settled there.

THE CHINESE have imposed very strict rules on the movement of Tibetans within the country. In our village, the Tibetans are divided into five working groups and the daily routine is as follows:

Get up before dawn; inspection to check possible infiltration of the community by 'upper strata' and 'reactionary' elements and then report to work on building and road construction sites. There is a half-hour break for lunch at 11 o'clock and fifteen minutes for dinner when it gets dark. This is followed by compulsory attendance to study-cum-meeting sessions which drag on till well after midnight. In the meeting, those declared the poorest workers are punished with flogging and imprisonment. The old and infirm people are sent to look after the cattle. Slightest damage to the fields is punishable in the form of humiliation, beating and torture as well as fine in money. Nice and ten year old children are sent out in groups to hunt birds and in the evening they are required to submit their kills before the Chinese. Here also strong competition is urged and those declared the least ardent bird-hunters are subjected to brutal punishments. Insults and punishments are also given to the concerned parents for breeding 'reactionary offsprings'.

The farmers were told that 1 *khel* (12.5 Kgs.) of seeds yield 13 *khels* of barley of which they would be allowed to retain 11 *khels*. However, when the harvest is completed, nearly the entire product is taken away by the Chinese in the form of a number of taxes. A certain amount is "bought" but the pay-

ment for it is supposed to have been deposited in the People's Bank on behalf of the seller who actually never sees it. During summer many people live on nettles and other wild plants. Most of the people have become so pale and weak that they look as if they are going to collapse any moment. Many have died of starvation. In the nearby village of Yamdrok Karmoling, I personally saw five people die of starvation.

Since 1966 all pasture lands of Yamdrok Karmoling, Chokpodrang, Sogay Shaldai and Dongga have been dug up and converted into arables. Notwithstanding the shortage of grass created by this conversion, Tibetans are often ordered to deliver certain amount of grass at a certain time to feed the Chinese horses.

Condition of Nomads

The nomads are required to pay regular butter and wool taxes for every head of animals in their possession with complete disregard of the fact that many of the yaks and sheep do not yield their products regularly. The conversion of pastures to arable land has gone to deteriorate their situation further.

Devaluation of Human Life

The Chinese have built motor roads from Lhasa to Thonggya, Drigou, Tamshol, Lhakhong and Sangzong through Tsethang. Another road from Lhasa to Dozong is under construction. During these road constructions my friends, Yeshi Gyatsho, Jepa Pasang and several others died under landslides. The Chinese praised them for giving their lives in the course of selfless service to the nation. On the other hand, people who died of starvation or sickness were called not worth living in the first place as they were unable to contribute anything worthwhile to the country.

The Chinese declare in the public meetings that all the roads under construction must be completed soon so that they could set free without further delay other countries that are suffering under the imperial yoke and are anxiously waiting for democratic reforms. They further proclaim their intention of spreading democratic reforms throughout the world in the next five years. Of course, it would be better for the masses, they add, if

they can do so in much shorter time. Hence, Tibetans are forced to work day and night "for the benefit of the entire mankind."

In Dozong Karpo, the Chinese have set up an office with mostly Tibetan employees whose main job is to keep watch on the landlords and "reactionary" people. These Tibetans are paid handsomely to inflict brutal tortures on their fellow countrymen. These Tibetans are responsible for the violent death during public trials of Jigme Tashi, Dorji and his wife Kesang Yudon. Some other Tibetans, including Menthang Yeshi, Tsekyi Dorji Palmo and Yuthok's daughter Chodon were beaten so badly that they had to spend several months in bed.

Even those who collaborate with the Chinese lead a very precarious life. For instance, Mr. Wangyal was a very influential person both among the Chinese and the Tibetans until April this year when we saw him brought to public trial and later taken to Tsethang prison. A few days later, An Trou-chi (Chinese), a district officer of Chonggyai and several Tibetans were also brought to trial. Afterwards, the Tibetans were sent to Lhasa and Kongpo prisons while the Chinese officer was sent to China.

In Sangzong, a boy named Phurbu and some of his friends made some poison with local herbs and managed to slip it into Chinese food which caused the death of several officers. In Lingkhul, another nearby village, many Chinese and Tibetan officers died of food-poisoning, the work of a group of young Tibetans led by one Wangdrak. In both cases, everybody responsible was caught, tried, convicted and sent to unknown destinations.

Results of the Cultural Revolution

Until 1965 freedom of religion existed at least in theory. However, it came to a total end in 1966 with the arrival from China of Red Guards to launch their programme of cultural revolution in Tibet. Many Tibetan youths in the Chinese payroll also joined the Red Guards and destroyed some fourteen monasteries and hermitages in Menthang alone. All the gold and silver images were transported to China while clay images, ritual objects of no monetary value and *thangkas* (religious paintings) were smashed to pieces or burnt. Former landlords

and 'reactionary people' were forced to carry these images and objects and throw them in the streets or into the lavatories. In Lhodrak, all nine monasteries of various sizes were also pulled down and their contents also suffered the fate similar to those in Menthang. For several days the air was filled with smoke and smells of burning scriptures and thangkas.

It was, in fact, the Tibetan cadres who carried out the actual burning and destruction while the Chinese issued instructions and supervised their work.

Monks previously living in these monasteries are now forced to work in the land with scarce means of subsistence. With the death and vandalism rampant all around them, many people felt that the whole country was going to be destroyed. Many committed suicide by strangling or stabbing themselves out of grief and many others jumped into rivers.

Former members of the upper class are made to carry supplies for the army through routes which are not motorable. They are made to walk with the loads on their backs while their Chinese guards ride on horses.

Resistance

Even some of the trusted Tibetan cadres have begun to hate the Chinese. One such prominent Tibetan working for the Chinese, by the name of Wangyal, made secret contacts with Dorji Drak Gyalsay (a renowned resistance leader) and one night they ambushed two Chinese lorries on a lonely road and managed to throw both of them into the river.

At that time, the Panchen Lama called the people of Tibet to revolt against the Chinese. Gyalsay went to Lhasa, and in Tsethang organised a resistance group comprising of 50 members from Chushul and 30 from Trago. They planned to burn Chinese military camps, pay offices and ammunition depots in Tsethang. At that time a group of Chinese officers were visiting Tsethang from our area and I was sent with them in order to bring back their horses. In Tsethang, I secretly called on the Gyalsay who informed me that His Holiness the Dalai Lama was working hard in exile for the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion and independence of Tibet and that it was our duty to revolt inside the country. He asked me to make the

people of Lhodrak also rise against the Chinese. I promised him to try my best to contact as many people as I could and raise a resistance group in my area. I knew that the Chinese had a large stable of horses in Menthang. I assured the Gyalsay that I would be able to bring all the horses from there to his place when the revolt breaks out there.

Unfortunately, the Chinese found out about the Gyalsay's plan and arrested him and all his colleagues. They were all given public trial and nowadays it is heard that the Gyalsay is locked up in a specially constructed cell in the Tsethang prison. It is also heard that both his hands and legs are chained in iron and that he is allowed to wash his face only once a week. The Chinese also found all the weapons and explosives hidden by the Gyalsay in the backyard of the Dorji Drak monastery.

My brother, Gyurmey, who is in the local 'Policy Making Team', sent me a note hidden in a torch-light through a porter. In it he explained that the Chinese had found out everything concerning the Gyalsay's plan and my involvement in it and advised me to confess frankly in order to avoid punishment. Since there was no way of escaping it, I went to Shang-tang (Chinese title equivalent to a district magistrate) Pema Tsewang (a Tibetan) and confessed everything to him and asked for his forgiveness. Pema Tsewang replied that it was too late to do anything and reprimanded me for my foolishness.

Two days later, a meeting was called at the ruins of the Menthang monastery and all the people were made to march there carrying red flags, beating drums and cymbals. I was summoned there for a public trial which lasted the whole day. In the afternoon, the Chinese read out a list of my crimes: how I rendered help to the *Chusi Gangdruk* forces; how, while transporting ammunition, I threw several bags into the river and finally, how I intended to help the Gyalsay in his plans of sabotage. Throughout the proceedings I was beaten continuously, my hair was pulled and my teeth kicked out. I was bleeding heavily through my nose and mouth and, in the evening, they released me saying that they had decided to be lenient with me this time.

Forced Indoctrination

After the cultural revolution, increasing restriction is put in the practice of Tibetan customs and traditions. Both men

and women are discouraged from wearing traditional hair-style and rings and ornaments. People are not even allowed to talk about the old system. Instead they are made to memorize Mao's Red Book. It does not seem to matter whether they understand it or not as long as they are able to recite it like a 'mantra'. In the meetings people are asked to recite certain passages from the Red Book. Anybody who fails to comply is rebuked severely saying that he is deviating from Mao's teachings and following the reactionary path. Former landlords who fail to display their earnestness to reform are at once subjected to beatings and imprisonment.

In March this year (1967) bilingual editions of Mao's Books are published and with each book is issued a red purse with red strings to put it in. Inscribed on the outside of the purse is the slogan "Long Live Chairman Mao Tse-tung!"

At school children are taught very little Tibetan. Selected students are sent to the Dozong Government School where the curriculum is mainly devoted to Chinese language, mathematics and Communist ideology. A further selection is made there and the chosen candidates are sent to some unknown destination. Thus, the parents have virtually no right to decide the course of their children's future.

Rationing

Food and clothing are strictly controlled. One is allowed to purchase 250 gms. of tea, 10.8 gms. of sugar and a candle a month for each family. Regarding clothes, no one is allowed to purchase more than a shirt and a pair of trousers in a year. Even then people are obviously discouraged from buying anything more than the barest necessities since the prices of these articles are exorbitantly high.

Since February this year the Chinese have greatly intensified their military preparations and huge quantities of food and clothes are transported to Dozong, Lhaxhang Sangong and other border areas for storage purposes. The largest military camps are in Lhodrak, Tamshol, Mondah, Dozong, Taikhar, Songzong, Lagyab, Lhaxhang Sagong and Lhaytsoboog. In Menthang, the army camps completely surround the town so

that it is not possible to guess the increase or decrease in the number of prisoners.

Although I was released at the end of my public trial, I was put under constant surveillance and was fast becoming unpopular with the Chinese. One day I was sent to Lagyab with a group of people to fetch some wooden planks. Some of my friends had heard that I was going to be arrested on my return from Lagyab and informed me of this. So I decided to escape leaving my wife and children behind since I realized that I would not be of much help to them from now on even if I did not escape. So, hiding in the mountains and forests by day and travelling by night I arrived in Bhutan on October 20.

13. Statement of Wangdu Dorji

37 year old Wangdu Dorji was a farmer in Galing Gang, Dromo (Yatung). He arrived in Bhutan on April 5, 1968 and is living there in the Tibetan Settlement Camp.

E V E R since the Chinese arrival in Dromo, I tried to keep to myself knowing that the Chinese were constantly looking for excuses to punish former landowners. Last month the head of the Chinese occupation force in Galing Gang, a General Wang Rao-chi, called on me and advised me to come out 'from my hiding' and confess to the people my crimes of 'atrocities and oppression' before the people can accuse me. He also reminded me that I had failed to participate in the destruction of temples and images in our locality.

The following day, the general called a meeting of the people where he told them that it was their duty to denounce upper-class reactionaries who committed atrocities on them before the 'liberation.' He appointed a man working in the Security Department to keep a close watch on me. I knew that it would not be long before I was arrested and so, left Dromo on the night of the 29th, of March and escaped to Bhutan. The Chinese probably did not suspect that I would take such a course of action since I left my wife and children behind. After some interrogations at the border I was handed over to the representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Thimpu on 5.4.68.

There is no Chinese settler in Dromo but there are military camps in Nathu-la, Jalee-la, Tso-la, Sharsingma, Donggyu, Rinchengau and Jeemer. I was not allowed to go beyond Sharsingma as I was classified as a landowner.

Before the liberation, the population of Galing Gang was approximately 700. Now it is only about 400, the rest having been either executed, or tortured to death, or having escaped

into exile. Most of the young children have been sent to some unknown places where they are supposedly being given education. The remaining population are formed into so called "Mutual Aid Teams" of ten families each who are required to work together in cutting wood for building purposes. They are paid a wage of 1.2 to 1.3 yuans, a portion of which has to be deposited in the Mutual-Aid-Team Bank. Being a landowner I was not allowed to join these aid teams. There were altogether 9 members in my family. The Chinese allotted us a piece of land that could not take more than 2 khels of seed. It was an extremely poor land and we could not expect it to yield much. The four working members of our family dug it day and night and finally managed to make it suitable enough to plant 25 khels. We were not allowed to hire outsiders to help us. Indeed, we were not even permitted to mix freely with other people.

In Sharsingma, Rinchengang and Jeema, the Chinese have brought vast areas of land under cultivation, and in Drodoling, almost all existing land is now turned into fields. In Phari too the Chinese have created vast new fields but the yield from it has been very poor. Despite the creation of all these new arable lands the Tibetan people are getting barely enough to eat as all the products from these lands are taken away for consumption by military personnel.

Movement within Tibet is extremely restricted. Even a most ordinary person has to apply for a permit to visit another place and it takes days to get his application cleared through various bureaucratic channels, if it does get cleared through at all. Direct contact between people, such as for the purposes of obtaining loans, is strictly forbidden and no more than three people are allowed to eat together.

There was no official ban on practice of religion—although every possible obstacle was put on its way—until 1967 when Gen. Wang Tru-chi told us that the cultural revolution has started and, henceforth, all traditional values must be discarded. "The reactionary people won't die," he explained, "unless the mass destroy them, just as the dust in the room won't go unless one sweeps it out!"

A massive campaign to get rid of old traditions and customs was launched. People were rounded up and forced to destroy

temples and hermitages. All valuable objects were taken to China. It took about a month to destroy everything of cultural value in our locality. I failed to turn up one day and I was severely reprimanded for negligence of my duty. People are not allowed to burn lamps, say prayers or count beads even on the death of a relative. Even singing of songs with old tunes is prohibited.

My mother, Kyizom, was arrested in 1959 along with 16 other people from Galing Gang. They were taken all around Dromo and brutally flogged in ten different sessions of public trial after which they were sent to an unknown destination. My own turn came in 1961 when I was arrested with three others and put to public trial three times. After that we were sent to Phari where we were made to do extremely hard manual labour and live on a daily ration of two bowls of tsampa and some black tea. After seven months of this I was released.

In 1962 I heard that my mother was in Lhasa and sought permission to visit her. I got 24 day's leave and went to Lhasa where I found out that she was locked in the Drapchi prison. I applied to the prison authorities to visit her and was given one day.

When I went to see her, at first I could not recognise her at all: she looked so thin, pale, and hardly human. I had to ask her if she was really my mother. When she replied "yes" we both burst into tears, but the Chinese guards did not allow us to talk and so I had to go back to Dromo. My second request to see her was rejected on the grounds of "insufficient reason". That was the last time I saw, or heard about, my mother.

Just before I escaped, three people from Galing—Jhampa, Golay and Kagyu Amjee (a doctor), were subjected to public trial and beaten for no apparent reason. An elderly monk, Geshe Dhondup, was also severely flogged in public for possessing a photograph of the Dalai Lama.

Although all the former landlords were deprived of their property and their lands divided among the 'common people', there is still an acute shortage of food for reasons I have mentioned earlier. So many people have to live on nettles and wild

herbs. In 1959, 63 and 66 there were crop failures in Dromo and Phari, but still people are made to boast about unprecedented successes in harvest and attribute it all to the brilliant leadership of Mao.

Nobody is allowed to buy or sell anything except in the Chinese shops. The Chinese have set up two saw-mills—one at the upper end of the Thangkar valley and another in Gugthan—where both Tibetan and Chinese workers are employed. In Sharsingma, there is a telegraph office, a bank, a warehouse, a rest house, a shop and ten army barracks. There is also a military camp at Chophir.

People of all ages are required to memorize Mao's quotations by heart. The Chinese say that the Red Book contains Mao's revolutionary ideas which guides one in the present day situation. The Chinese propaganda maintains that the upper-strata Hindu reactionaries and Soviet Revisionists are the root enemies of communism but the general masses even in those countries support Mao's ideology and desire for reforms and rule by the proletariat. During the 1962 border conflict, thousands of people were recruited into gang labour forces to construct roads and transport military supplies to the border. It was evident that if there was a large-scale war with India, the Chinese intended to use the Tibetans first.

In 1965, Jeema-la and Nathu-la were connected by a new motor road and another one was built between Targu gon and Jalee-la in 1967. Some 4,000 Tibetans from Gyantse, Shigatse, Rong and Woyong were forced into labour camps for this purpose.

So far they have not set up communes in Dromo and Phari but they are certain to do so soon since they are already moving in that direction. For instance, during harvest time, everybody is made to work together on meagre wages.

A two-storey hospital was recently built in Sharsingma. There are 13 people employed there including some Tibetan sweepers, cooks and nurses. The hospital gives special treatment to military personnel and Chinese officials, but the common people are always sent off with some white tablets whatever the nature of their illnesses. So the number of patients going there has now declined considerably.

There have been several cases of suicides too. One such case that comes immediately to my mind is that of Lobsang Dorji, a former landlord from Phongang who was subjected to public trial in 1962 and who later stabbed himself to death. Besides, there have also been cases of Tibetan girls marrying Chinese soldiers. In Rupon Gang, Tsering Dolma and Penpa married Chinese men following “encouragements” from Thon Su-chi, a company leader of the local Chinese forces.

14. Joint Statement of Lama Karma Tenzin



(1) Age 37. s/o Pema (2) Gayul, 36, s/o Sangay (3) Tsultim Tharchin, 27, s/o Sherab (4) Dhodrag, 21 (5) Trogyal, 24, s/o Karma Norbu (6) Karma, 25, s/o Konehok Tsering (7) Gadrag, 34, s/o Lhagoe (8) Sonam, 26, s/o Sangay

All born in and residents of Zurmong in Nangchen, Kham. They arrived in Bhutan on December 4, 1969 and are now living in the Tibetan Settlement Colony of Bylakuppe, Mysore in South India.

IT IS 20 years since the Chinese came into our part of the country. Till 1957, they deceived the local leaders and religious heads by giving them money and presents. Then the communes were established and the people were forbidden to worship in the monasteries or dress well for festivities.

All the people under the King of Nangchen spontaneously rose against the Chinese and there were fierce battles that lasted—almost without interruption—for over three months. The Chinese soldiers who were based in Namgyal Tse in Zurmong sent for reinforcements and we had to surrender. I, Karma Tenzin and Gagon Ghazod Lobsang Namgyal led 30 people to the hills and resorted to guerrilla fighting. After about 9 months, all the people of Zurmong were arrested and kept without food for several months. Many died of starvation. Corpses could be seen everywhere for miles.

Meanwhile in the course of guerrilla fighting, our strength was gradually reduced and finally only we two leaders and a few servants were left. We escaped via Zurmong Dogon and after crossing a pass came to Lho Dzong. When we arrived there the Chinese proclaimed a “No Reform” policy. All the people of Showa Do, Palbar Dzong and Lho Dzong surrendered. By early 1961 we also had to surrender since we were reduced to eight men. The Chinese welcomed our decision and told us to go home and resume our former occupations. When we reached Zurmong we found that all the young men had died either in the battles or of starvation. The woman and children were herded together to work in the communes and all goods and animals were collectivized. Only a few old men were left in the town. The workers were given only one spoonful of tsampa each day which they had to supplement with wild plants and the flesh of dead horses and goats. They had one day off in a year. Otherwise they were constantly kept busy in making roads, building barracks and some were even yoked for ploughing.

Since we were classified as landlords, we were subjected to public trial once every month. We realized how precarious our future was and decided to escape.

We learnt that there was a group of Gyenlok (Revolutionary Rebels) faction of Red Guards operating in Khyungpo Thangchen area. We sent secret messages to them and travelling by night on Chinese horses we reached there in ten days. When we reached Khyungpo Thangchen we found the Gyenlok and Nyamdrel (United Alliance faction, supported by Peking) locked in fierce combat. We joined the Gyenloks and

fought for five days and nights. Later, more Nyamdrel soldiers arrived from Chamdo. Both sides suffered heavy losses. The authorities then declared that no outsiders can support either faction and so the Gyenloks had to surrender. The seven of us decided not to surrender and made for Gyeru Thang instead. On the way we killed three Chinese soldiers and took their 3 rifles, 300 rounds of ammunition and one hand-grenade. They also had a pack-horse carrying two loads of Mao's book which we burnt immediately.

Just before reaching Sog Tsenden we were seen by two shepherds who informed the Chinese. Soon we were surrounded by a large number of troops. We abandoned our horses and baggage and fled to the hills. Once on the hill we found ourselves seven stray horses and riding them arrived at the foothill of Sogtey-Trapo pass. We heard that the people of that region also supported the Gyenlok faction. There we met Gyadrag who decided to join us. That night we fought with 35 Chinese soldiers, killing five and wounding many of them.

We fled again and after several days of riding through Nasho-la pass and Amdo Tagnang we reached Namling in the northern plains of Jhangthang. There we were joined by Sonam. At night, we crossed the Tsangpo river near Tagdrul (in Jhangthang) and came into Gyangtse area. We met an old man who told us that communes had been established in Gyangtse and that all properties had been collectivized. There was an acute shortage of food and many were dying of starvation. He advised us not to let anyone know that we belonged to the Gyenlok faction. He informed us that the whole place was crawling with Chinese soldiers and that our best bet would be to escape through the hills. So we once more abandoned our horses, buried our baggages and fled into the mountains. The Chinese once more knew about us and sent 50 soldiers after us. Fortunately, we were able to elude them.

However, no sooner we reached the top of the hill in Khangmar we came across two Chinese soldiers and both sides immediately opened fire. About 100 rounds of ammunition were fired during which time both the Chinese and one of our companions were killed. We appropriated their two rifles, 175 rounds of ammunition and 1 hand-grenade. By that time

another 30 Chinese soldiers had arrived. We climbed the hills and returned their fire from there. We managed to escape unscathed and, hiding by day among boulders, we travelled for eight nights and reached Pampar. There we met a shepherd and gave him 175 Chinese dollars in notes and received in return about 10 Kg. of tsampa, a bowl and a cooking pot. At dawn we found ourselves near a motor-route that ran from Tsang to Phagdor and so we immediately began climbing the snow-covered mountains and watched from there. We could see Chinese camps and convoys going to and from.

We finally moved from there and came to a valley where we met some more shepherds and asked them the way to Bhutan. At first, they were apprehensive since they were not sure which side we were on. However, they told us that across the pass lay Bhutan. Once reassured, they told us that if we were not able to cross the pass that night we were sure to be discovered by the Chinese since they were keeping very close watch over that area. They gave us some food and we immediately set off from there. Travelling as unobtrusively as possible we reached Tashi Ghar on the Bhutanese border two days later.

Additional Information

Many young Tibetans of poor families from our region were sent to China for training in 1959. They returned after about 3 years and now they are toiling with the farmers. Apart from this, they have nothing to show for the three years they spent in China. The Chinese propaganda says that World War III is about to begin and we must raise production and save as much as possible. As a result, all Tibetans, whatever class they belong to, have not enough to eat or wear.

It has been about 8-9 years since communes were established in Kham. It is compulsory for everyone between the ages of 8 and 75 to join the communes. All properties and animals are collectivized without compensations. In the beginning everybody was forced to work like animals whatever their age or state of health. Then the Chinese separated the people into grades according to their work capacity. The aged and children who do not work were given no means of subsistence.

The produce of the commune, grains, meat, butter, etc. are mostly siphoned off to meet the needs of the "State Grain Reserve", "War Preparation Reserve", etc. and only a small fraction is left for the consumption of the commune members. The best workers receive two measures of tsampa each per day. Over two-thirds of Tibetans have died of starvation and, in many regions, there are hardly any Tibetans left.

Revolutionary committees have been established everywhere. The leading officers are Chinese but there are also a number of Tibetan cadres recruited from poor families. However, the Tibetans wield no authority and all they do is carry out the directions of the Chinese. The Tibetans are selected solely on the basis of their poor background and not educational qualifications or other criteria.

In schools, a little Tibetan is taught in the beginning. The rest of the time is spent on learning Chinese, arithmetic and other subjects. The students are taught to deride and look down upon their own culture and religion and to praise the Chinese policies. After completing their education, they are invariably sent to a different locality to work.

Practically all Tibetans from the poor classes wear Chinese dress and the younger ones are even speaking mostly in Chinese. Tibetan clothes and language are forbidden. The wealthier people are still wearing their Tibetan dresses but these are already tattered and will soon have to give way to Chinese boiler suits.

In 1968, the Chinese began the construction of a big airport at Phungpo Riwoche in Tsang. Tunnels were dug in the nearby hillsides and I heard that the Chinese have constructed barracks and storehouses there. Once we were near Riwoche and found the area full of motor vehicles. The whole place is brightly illuminated at night.

In Sining and in Kyilghu Dola there are workshops and factories producing motors, guns, ammunition, tea, textiles, matches etc. However, the Tibetans get no extra allowances for purchasing these articles and consequently, no one can afford them.

There are innumerable soldiers stationed in all parts of the country. On our way to the border we saw convoys of trucks

from Sining carrying heavy firearms, freights, meat, salt and going towards central Tibet via Nagchu. We could only get information from isolated hamlets and from lone shepherds. They told us that countless number of soldiers are gathering in Lhasa, Tsang and the border areas. From our vantage point on the hills, we could often see entire villages bustling with Chinese, and hardly any Tibetans.

Since the beginning of the cultural revolution, the trouble between the Gyenlok and Nyamdrel spread from Shanghai to Phungpo Thangchen (in Chamdo), Bachen, Sog Dzung etc. Many Tibetans and Chinese were killed in these clashes and it gradually spread to Lhasa and Tsang area. Even among the Chinese there are some fierce opposers of Mao's policies. Chinese have been seen to burn Mao's pictures or throw them in the sewers. Almost all the Tibetans were on the side of the Gyenloks since they were against the militia. The most influential Gyenlok leader in Chamdo is the Chinese, Wang Chi-mei who is now believed to be in Lhasa following the arrest and trial of all Gyenlok leaders in Kham.

At Sogti we heard that the Panchen Lama had revolted and fled to a foreign country, but we do not even know for certain where he was when he revolted let alone where he is now.

Before we decided to escape, we were given the hardest work to do since we were, as the Chinese said, "classified as proletariats but turned out to be reactionaries". We were also given various punishments after every public trial. In winter we were immersed in water for so long that stones began to stick in our bodies because of the cold. I still bear the wounds caused by it. We were beaten with all kinds of instruments, had our hair pulled, and made to parade around with placards hanging from our necks and paper hats on our heads.

All people in Tibet have the greatest hope and faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama and are anxiously looking forward to the day when His Holiness, with aid from outside, could return home and help them drive away the Chinese.

15. Statement of Yeshe Chophel

The 41 year old Yeshe Chophel, son of Sithar, was born in Pannam in Tsang Province and was a monk of Gaga Monastery in Pannam. He arrived in Bhutan on 18th August 1970 and is believed to be living there.

IN 1959 I was studying philosophy and logic in Drepung Monastery. After the Lhasa Uprising I was arrested and taken to my monastery in Pannam. There, before a large gathering, the Chinese accused me thus: "you have been residing in the Drepung nest of bandits and have been plotting against the state and have not handed over your arms." Then I was beaten severely and put into prison. During day-times I was made to work in the fields and road construction sites while at night I was manacled and locked in a cell.

For three years I was kept there with 400 other prisoners. Then I was transferred to the Taklung Drag Monastery where there were about 200 other prisoners who were engaged in building a new motorway. There were five Chinese officials and three Tibetans in the prison administration. There were no arms depots, barracks or offices in that area. Arms depots are located in Drepung and Gungthang monasteries and I heard in 1969 that there were also many barracks and soldiers stationed there.

In prison our food consisted of two small helpings of tsampa a day. There were times when I almost died of hunger and exhaustion. I heard that many prisoners at Samye and Drapchi died that way.

In 1965, I completed my sentence and was allowed to return to Pannam. The Chinese classified me as a 'vagabond' and gave me a small plot of land. Besides tilling this land I also had to work in the construction of houses and military roads where I had to carry enormous loads. I was not allowed even

a day's rest. I began looking for opportunities to escape and one day it came.

A person named Kyiloh had returned to Pannam after finishing his studies in China. He had a relative called Nyima Gyalpo who was a nomad in Duna (near Phari). I was sent there to call Nyima Gyalpo. As soon as I was outside Pannam, instead of going to Duna, I headed for Gyenkhuth and, hiding in the mountains during day-time and travelling by night, I arrived in Bhutan after nine days.

Communes

In 1967 communes were started in Pannam area and since then, all lands, animals, farming implements, etc. were placed under common ownership. The Chinese declared that compensations would be paid for the properties collectivized, but when the people went to claim it they were told that no compensations would be paid in our case since that area was being developed into an advanced cooperative farm.

The best workers in a commune are paid about 140 kgs. of grains each a year to cover all his expenses and those of his dependants. Most of the produce is collected as "Patriotic Grains Tax" and taken away without compensations. The remaining harvest is "purchased" at a nominal price which again is never paid, the claimants always being told that it went towards maintenance of the commune.

The year before last some people in the commune had nothing to eat for several days and they made repeated requests to the Chinese to sell them back some of the grains. The Chinese, after about the tenth request, did sell them some but at twice the price at which they had originally 'bought' it from the people. However, even this sale came to an end last year when the Chinese declared that they needed all the grain for their war preparation efforts. Since then many died of starvation, some hanged themselves and some jumped into rivers.

In Lhasa food is even more scarce. For example, last year a tin of cooking oil cost 50 yuans and now this too has gone up by another 30 yuans. Even then such transactions must be conducted in the black market since the Chinese do not allow any private trade to be carried.

In February this year, the Chinese launched "Class Cleansing Campaigns" the main feature of which is forced self-criticism. Everybody from the age of eight upwards are required to participate in it by making the following confessions in public meetings: (1) whether he disliked the Chinese policy in Tibet; (2) whether he has ever criticized the Chinese Government; (3) whether he has made any plans to revolt; (4) what rumours has he spread among the poorer people; (5) whether he hoped for Tibet's independence and; (6) whether he joined or supported the Gyenlok faction of Red Guards. The outcome of these meetings were many imprisonments and even some executions.

While the Nyamdrel and Gyenlok factions were fighting, the Gyenloks proclaimed that Tibetans would receive 165 Kg. of grains instead of 140. That is why all Tibetans supported the Gyenloks and actively participated in the fightings. In Nyemo a 25-year-old nun named Thinley became the leader of the Gyenloks in her area. She, with 15 others, led the people and was responsible for the death of several Chinese. Then she was captured and posters were put up everywhere with her pictures and list of charges levelled against her. The other leaders were also captured. They were all taken to Nyemo (from Lhasa) and all 16 were executed together. Likewise six people were arrested in Tö area. The poster pictures of five of them showed their foreheads marked with a red cross, indicating that they were to be executed. Those five were taken to Shigatse and put before a firing squad while the sixth was—according to the Chinese proclamations—sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

The Chinese claim that in Tsang area, the able-bodied workers receive half a tea ball per month and 4 yards of cloth per year. However, in actual fact, the last tea ration was seen about a year ago and new cloth has not been seen around for over two years. That is why everybody these days has to drink boiled water. It has also been a long time since matches, candles, kerosene, cigarettes, etc. were seen let alone bought by anyone. Whenever the subject was brought up the Chinese assured that matches were all ready to be dispatched from the factories and would have been there by now had it not been for the disruptions in communication as a result of the factional

fighting. Now that the fighting is over all transports were being used for carrying war materials. The Chinese proclaim again and again that once the war preparations are completed consumer goods would be available in plenty. The scarcity is so acute that even during the mass meetings at night not more than two candles are ever used for an assembly of 100 people. So it is not surprising that at home the Tibetans live in total darkness.

In 1969, the Chinese began construction of an airport near Phungpo Riwoche in Tsang to serve the Dromo area. I was there two months ago and saw the work in progress. About half-a-mile in length of space had been cleared and two-thirds of it had been cemented. The width of the airstrip was about 250 feet. There were about a thousand Chinese and 3,000 Tibetan labourers working there. The Chinese stress that the airport has to be completed by the end of this year for use in the Third World War. Later they conscripted another thousand Tibetans from Shigatse, Gyantse, Central Tibet, Phari and Dromo. West of the Airport at a place called Bumri, the Chinese are digging tunnels and building underground store-houses for arms and food. Most of the workers there are Chinese and only a few trusted Tibetans are allowed in there.

The Chinese really seem to be expecting the Third World War to break out any minute. Not only have they conscripted many young Tibetans into the army but also have formed the civilians into logistic groups to carry out various duties at the time of war. There are 115 newly constructed barracks in Teyder at Gyantse, 50 new houses have come up in the gardens of Dechen Phodrang (Panchen Lama's palace at Tashilhunpo) in Shigatse, another 400 houses and office buildings at Tashi Kyitsal and 100 at Kyethang in Gyantse. A new transport centre stands on one side of the Changlo bridge with petrol stores and a new barrack near by. All these new constructions are made first with stones and then with bricks a few roofs are painted red but most of them are white corrugated sheets. The walls are not painted. All houses are single-storeyed.

There is a new power station being built at Chungram, at a distance of three mail-posts from Shigatse. It has four Tibetans and ten Chinese working there at the moment. There

are also electricity plants in major Tibetan towns, but electricity is supplied only to Chinese offices and buildings, and the Tibetans, as I have said before, are left in total darkness.

The Chinese have boasted that they have 25,000 troops stationed at Shigatse cantonment in support of the troops on the border at Dromo and Tö areas. If foreign troops invaded Tibet, they added, they would be allowed to enter as far as Dromo so that they could be surrounded from all sides.

The Chinese are constantly changing their policies, but never—as far as the people are concerned—for the better. For instance, in 1969 before the commune's crops were harvested they declared that after the salaries have been paid and "Patriotic Grains" and seed requirements have been set aside, the remaining of the grains would be distributed among the commune members. However, when the grains were being winnowed, they declared that the same amount of grain as in 1968 must be handed over. Since last year's crop was not good, the Chinese searched the houses for grains and even confiscated the seeds kept for this year promising to lend the seed requirements when the time came. However, when it was time to plant this year, they did not distribute any grains and all fields had to be left fallow. I am lucky to have got out in time. I tried to imagine how the people in the communes are managing this year.

16. Statement of Thondup



*Age: 42. Father's Name: Lhakpa
Birth-place: Lendup, Kyerong,
S. Tibet. Occupation: Farmer.*

Thondup reached Nepal on March 11, 1971 along with wife, Tenzin, 48 and daughter Dawa, 24. They have settled in Nepal.

WE ESCAPED from Tibet because life was getting more and more difficult, and tension and fear of persecution was increasing every year. We had nothing that we could call our own. Everything belonged to the commune or the Chinese. But what was most unbearable was the unceasing hardship and mental torture.

I was classified as a middle-class peasant and continually harassed for the "crimes" I had never committed. Last year, I decided to escape. The Chinese, somehow, came to know of it. I was blacklisted and accused of "turning away from the proletarian socialist revolutionary path and following the way of reactionary Dalai bandits." I was given the alternative of either

making a frank confession of my crimes and wrong thoughts or else facing public trials, imprisonment and torture. I could not change my thoughts as the Chinese wanted and knew that the only change I was going to bring to the whole situation was escaping from Tibet. On the night of March 2, 1971, while everybody was attending the nightly study-cum-meeting session we fled and headed towards the Nepalese border.

The flight took nine nights of travelling which, if we had taken the usual routes, would have taken us only two days. When I reached the Nepalese border I felt as if a new life was given to me and my happiness knew no bounds.

The Chinese have claimed that we are free to worship, but in practice, there exists no such freedom. No one is allowed to say the sacred mantra "Om Mani Padme Hum". The three main images enshrined in the Samdeling (the most important monastery in Kyerong) are no more. Those who say prayers are called ignorant and are continuously harassed and made to confess their crimes of holding on to superstitious beliefs.

Another Chinese claim is that we are free to travel and go where we like. This is also false since we are not even allowed to go to the hills to collect firewood. We must seek the permission of the Chinese authorities and it is very difficult to obtain. They stress the need of working for the community rather than the individual. People are prevented from going to collect firewood so that the lack of fuel will force them to join the common kitchen. They want to establish common kitchens for whole towns and villages.

The Chinese demand labour from the people and take away most of the products from the lands for themselves. The people are, in fact, slaves of an alien conqueror. The amount of food available is barely enough to feed half the population. Heavy taxes are levied on every article of daily need.

Yet it is common knowledge in our area that we can still call ourselves fortunate—at least for the time being—compared to the condition of people in central and eastern parts of the country. It is truly sad that no one from those parts can escape now and tell the world about their sufferings.

We are also told to change our dress and hairstyles but they are not able to enforce this law yet because of shortage of cloth

in Tibet. The Chinese said that all available cloth in Tibet is being sent to Nepal where there is a grave shortage of textiles because of their strained relationship with 'reactionary India'. We are told that China is helping Nepal because the people there are heeding to the thoughts of Chairman Mao.

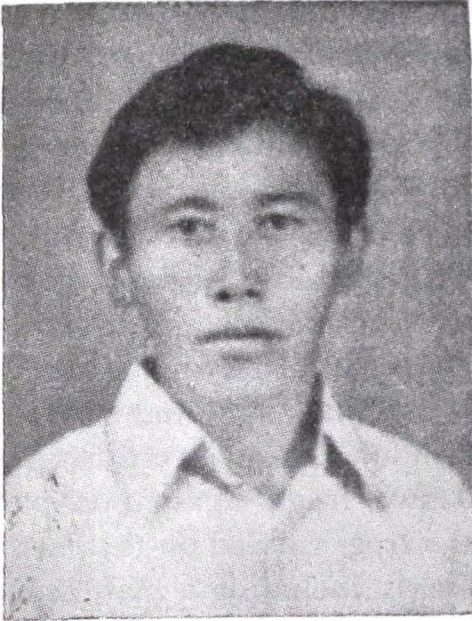
A school has been recently built in our village but so far no students have joined. The Chinese officers and cadres have met there frequently but the exact nature of their discussions is not known to us.

Preparations for World War III are in full swing and all people between the age of 15 to 50 are being constantly urged to be on the alert and ready.

Convoys of lorries go back and forth every day between Dzonga and Kyerong, but they mostly seem to be carrying supplies of some sort for the army.

There are Chinese offices and officials in Kyerong Thel (Kyerong town) and Pangshing. In Chungla Kar there is said to be a military establishment but I have not seen it myself.

17. Statement of Pasang Tsewang



*Age 31. Father's Name: Dorjee
Birth Place & Residence: Phari.
Occupation: Farmer Arrived in
Bhutan on 18 August 1971. Present
Address: Tibetan Settlement,
Hunsur, Mysore District, India.*

Theories of Evolution

AFTER the Uprising of 1959, the Chinese authorities classified me in the poor peasant class. I was taken to Gyangtse for political indoctrination which the Chinese said would be good for my future. The main subject at these classes was research on our ancestry. We had a Chinese lady teacher, Mrs. Li Goudrog, who on the very first day asked us how human beings evolved on earth. There were various replies, the most common one being that our ancestors came into being as a result of sexual intercourse between a male monkey and a mountain ogress who were in fact incarnations of *Chenrezi* (Avalokiteshvara Buddha) and the Goddess Tara respectively.

Mrs. Li was derisive: "You have been under the cap of ignorance for so long that you cannot even distinguish between myth and reality and that is why your progress have been

hindered so far," she explained. "Just now you all believe in abstract theories, for instance, in the existence of a place of eternal peace and happiness which can be reached through prostrating and offering prayers and butter lamps to lamas and the Triple Gem (The Buddha, The Teaching and The Order). These are all abstract myths which do not exist in reality. If you want peace and happiness it can only be reached through hard work. These absurd beliefs have been inculcated in you by the lamas and the manorial lords who have a vested interest in your remaining ignorant and uncomplaining."

According to Mrs. Li, the correct theory of evolution is as follows: Long, long ago, nothing existed in this world except the Five Elements. One day, a leaf from a tree fell into a swamp. Many years later, the leaf got rotten and gradually transformed into a pair of fishes—one male and one female, one with backbones and one without. Those two fishes had sexual intercourse and produced two frogs, again one male and one female. In their turn the frogs carried on this tradition and produced many wild animals including a male and a female monkey. These monkeys lived on insects in the water and learnt to eat fruits on the trees. They learnt to walk and began to cover their genitals with big leaves and, when they increased in number, they split into three groups. The first group lived on fish, the second on wild animals and the third on grains and rice. This was the dawn of the civilization. Each group elected a leader from among themselves and learnt to exchange food through their leaders who began to hoard the major portion for their personal use. Soon there were inter-group rivalries which led to battles. The leader of the group which won the first battle was pronounced the King and the rest of that group became ministers, and the members of the other groups his subjects. Since then the human race have more or less stuck to that pattern.

Public Trials

After a month-and-a half of such lectures, 200 of us were taken on a tour of Gyangtse Monastery. There I saw more than 200 people, monks and laymen, bound with thick ropes. They were brought there from the local post office where they

had been imprisoned for some time. They were joined by another 200 monks, chained and manacled, along with the Oracle of Gyangtse Chodai Monastery and its abbot, Lobsang. Both Lobsang and the Oracle were publicly assaulted and charged with several crimes. The abbot's ears were torn and his entire face was soaked in blood pouring out of his mouth, nose and ears. The Oracle was also severely tortured and, donned in his ceremonial robes, he was challenged to go into a trance which he was forced to do while the Chinese were continuously beating him.

We returned to Phari after staying in Gyangtse for a month and a half. Two months later I was sent to Yatung to work in a Chinese office as a peon. In June 1962, President Liu Shao-chi announced that the bureaucracy would be streamlined with the surplus staff concentrating on the agricultural front. I was sent back to Phari where I had been working as a farmer until my escape.

Secret Organisation

During the Indo-China war of 1962, Gashi Thinley Wangchuck, Serpon Tsewang, Rading Topgyal, Gegen Choephel and many others secretly formed an underground organisation called "Deydhon Tsokpa" (meaning Welfare Association) in Phari. The aim of this organisation was to help the Indian forces, if they managed to get to Yatung, by burning Chinese military camps, seizing arms and ammunition and cutting off communication lines. Every member took an oath of secrecy towards these goals of the Society.

When India and China clashed again in October 1967 at Tsola pass, about 60 Tibetans were sent from Phari to help the Chinese in logistics. I was also in the group and, before leaving, Gashi Thinley asked me to seize this opportunity to cause as much damage as I could if the clash assumed major proportions. Unfortunately the clash was brief and limited and all I could do was cut off some telephone lines. I took a piece of wire to show Gashi when I returned to Phari.

The Chinese did not know about the existence of this organisation until December 1970 although they must have begun to suspect something for some years. Thus, in September

1966 Rading Topgyal was arrested on the charge of planning a reactionary uprising. He was followed by Gegen Choephel in February 1967. Under strong suspicion he was transferred from Phari to Shigatse on the excuse of job requirements. Two months later Gegen secretly escaped to Phari in a Chinese truck but was immediately betrayed on arrival by the Chinese driver. He was arrested and sent to Shigatse prison. In the ensuing trials although both Rading and Gegen were tortured cruelly, they did not disclose the existence of the society. However, an unfortunate incident occurred in November 1970 which sealed the fate of the organisation.

The organisation had decided to shift its headquarters to a new venue. The house of one of the members, a blacksmith by trade, was chosen as it was likely to draw the least attention. However, there was a problem: Kyizom, the wife of the blacksmith, was a well-known gossip monger and it was feared that she would surely leak out the identity of the members if something was not done about her. It was finally decided that, for the sake of our cause, she would be silenced for good. So one evening, Lowang and his wife Sangay put poison in a bowl of *chang* (barley beer) and offered it to Kyizom. It took her some time to die and in the meantime, she was visited by her neighbour Nyima Yudon's son Kesang Tsering who had come to call her to the evening's public meeting. Kyizom sent him back with the message that she had been given poisoned *chang* by Lowang and his wife and that if she died, they should be held responsible for it. By the time the local official arrived, she was dead. Two days later, a doctor and an army chief was brought from Yatung. Autopsy of the body revealed that she had been poisoned.

Lowang and his wife were arrested on 13th. November 1970. In the course of the interrogation and torture, they confessed the crime and said that they had no personal grudge against the deceased. Finally, they had to divalge the real motive behind the murder and disclose the identities of the members of the "Deydhon Tsokpa". Thus all 21 members of the society including myself were arrested on 25th December 1970 at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

That night we were locked in five different rooms. From the next day onwards we were subjected to alternate sessions of interrogation and torture, followed by public trials. We were all beaten severely. All my teeth were knocked out and all hair on my head plucked in bunches. In the end we had to confess and reveal our aims.

Serpon Tsenam, Lowang and his wife Sangay were taken to Shigatse and executed. Gashi Thinley was sentenced to 15 years of hard labour; his wife Kesang got 20 years; Nyima Tsering, Samkhar Tseten and Dinkhor Lobsang each got 10 years; Gelek 8 years and Damdul 6 years. The remaining ten members were taken for "re-education" during which time they would be subject to suitable punishments if they harboured any bad thoughts or violated the People's Constitution in any way. I was imprisoned in Phari for 15 months for my crime of having cut off telephone wires back in 1967.

Escape

Upon my release I went home. As my family was very poor I went to collect medicinal herbs in the mountains and sold it to the soldiers. The Chinese authorities found out about this and called me to a meeting on 10th August this year. An announcement was made about me as follows: "Pasang Tsewang, who opposed the regime, was recently let off with a mild sentence. Now he has been found selling medicinal herbs to the soldiers at very high prices. This is not only violation of the People's Constitution but is also likely to have adverse influence on the people. He will either have to make a frank confession of it or else he will have to face trial in accordance with the laws laid down by the People's Constitution."

For fear of being punished and imprisoned I escaped, taking along my deaf and dumb brother and leaving behind my wife and children. We reached the Bhutanese border and were handed over to the Tibetan Welfare Office on 18th August.

Additional Information

Richung Monastery in Phari is now an army camp. All the large houses in Phari are also billeted by Chinese troops.

There are 100 soldiers in Sandutsang's house; an artillery detachment in the Pomdatsang house; a bren gun detachment in Lachi Dolkar's house. The telephone exchange is situated in Dhego Tenzin Chodon's house with five Chinese operators permanently residing there. Companies of troops have also billeted the Surkhang House, Kutsab House, Hagang and Ngodup Khangsar. The commander of all these forces is General Ah-Yin who resides in the former Sikkimese representative's residence.

There are also approximately 7,000 to 8,000 troops in Yatung area. I saw Chinese troops digging underground bunkers in Jalee pass and Tso-la pass. In Pipithang the Chinese have stored up enough clothes and supplies to last them several years. All motor vehicles are stationed at Gyaldegang in Sharsingma.

The Chairman of the Revolutionary Headquarters in Phari is a Chinese national, Son Tru-rin and the two Vice-Chairmen are Tibetans, Norbu and Yeshe Dorjee. There are four more Tibetans under them—Dorjee Dhondup, Nyima Logyal, Shelog and Tempa Tsewang. Their work is to encourage people to constantly increase the food production, to reserve surplus grains for war times and to propagate among the people the need to oppose imperialist, revisionist and reactionary elements. They frequently lecture us thus: "People who leave for imperialist countries instead of working for the motherland are making a big mistake. Those who went into exile are suffering immeasurably; many have died in the heat or of starvation. So very few of them are left now and they are suffering like hell under the reactionary Dalai and foreign imperialists. We tried to dissuade people from leaving, explaining to them how difficult life would be in foreign lands, but they did not heed us. Now they cannot come back even if they want to because it is like trying to come through an iron door—so closely they are guarded!"

Chinese men are encouraged to marry Tibetan girls. In Phari, the daughter of Ngodup Khangsar got married to Chu Trang-kun, a Chinese working in the telephone exchange in Yatung. Many Tibetan girls were raped by Chinese soldiers

and as a result there are many bastards as well. However, Tibetan men are not allowed to marry Chinese girls. Some Chinese told me that it was Mao's express wish that some Chinese youths should go and settle in Tibet. "Tibet is a big land with few inhabitants," he is said to have explained, "but the land itself is full of resources." Since 1969, many educated Chinese are being sent to Tibet. These youths are sent to different villages with the purpose of educating the people and eventually settling down themselves. They are often heard singing a song the words to which go something like this: "Revolutionary cadres of Mao Tse-tung/Come and listen, it is the order of the Central Government/We must go wherever we are needed/And we must settle wherever there is difficulty."

The Chinese claim that the purpose of their settling in Tibet is to build the "New Tibet" and to protect the boundaries of the "motherland".

I heard that in Lhasa there is a high school. In Shigatse and Gyantse there are secondary schools. The main subjects taught are Chinese, political science and mathematics. Very little Tibetan is taught—that also only in the beginning. Tsewang Gyalpo of Dromo passed his secondary examination from Gyantse and was sent to Phari to teach in a primary school. But after two years he was transferred to Dromo primary school. All the other school leavers that I know have been sent to work in the farms. Class discriminations are strictly observed in the schools, factories and other institutions.

A new road has been built from Yatung to Khamba Dzong and Shigatse, thus providing an alternate route to that of Phari. The Chinese authorities said that this alternative route was necessary since the Phari route was vulnerable from the Bhutanese border. I heard that this road leads through Gyaru Valley, Gampa Dzong and joins the old road in Shigatse. Moreover, it has been kept so secret that no other road is being joined to it.

Conscription into the army is mainly from youths of poor peasant class between the ages of 17-25. The Chinese use clever persuasion and guiles to win over these youths. In Phari

alone, there are 5 or 6 Tibetans in every 100 soldiers. There have been no cases of genuine volunteering.

Tibetans in Tibet continue to have hope in His Holiness the Dalai Lama and daily look forward to his return. They have even composed songs on this theme and like to sing them whenever there are no Chinese within earshot.

18. Statement of Tashi



Age: 57. Born & Resident of Dhingri, Southern Tibet. Occupation: Merchant. Date & Place of Arrival: January 6, 1972 Kathmandu.

THIS is not the first time that I have escaped from Tibet. In November 1970 I escaped and stayed in the border village of Tsosham until September 1971 and then went back. This time I left Dhingri in October 1971 but got arrested in Rongshar Tutpha and interrogated by the Chinese officials. After very strict checking I was allowed to cross over to Nepal. I left all my family members behind and I shall not go back now. Before leaving I promised the Chinese not to disclose any secrets and in return requested them to take care of my family. The only possessions I have brought with me are a little tsampa and a mule.

Before the Chinese invasion I was a businessman and hence I was put in the middle class category. My wife and children

were all put in the lower class. There were altogether seven members in our family. The Chinese told us that we were eligible for a piece of farmland that would take 10 khels of seed. However, as it turned out we got even less since our land would only take 8 khels. I brought this matter before the Chinese authorities and pointed out the impossibility of managing such a large family with 8 khels of seed a year. However, my request was of no avail. We were forced to sell our clothes and ornaments which we had managed to keep hidden. Still, the condition remained very poor.

Life in Tibet is becoming increasingly unbearable for Tibetans. Despite repeated Chinese threats and torture people's faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama is unshakeable and he is the only ray of light for a future, happy Tibet that is making the people keep on struggling. As I advanced in age I began to find it more and more difficult to live under the Chinese. Many of my relatives had already escaped to India. So I left my six children behind and came into exile.

It is very difficult to give the precise location of Chinese offices and the strength of their personnel because of their temporary nature. Offices and military camps appear and disappear without notice in all sorts of unlikely places. In my sub-district the headman is Damdul and he is assisted by Sonam Norbu and Yudon—all Tibetans.

General Situation

“The State Grain Tax” collected at the time of harvest is the greatest burden on the Tibetans. They are required to meet this tax whether the harvest has been good enough to justify it or not.

These days the Chinese propaganda lay greatest stress on the imminent ‘revolutionary war’ and making preparations for it. Alongside it they also advocate the strictest observance of the four laws: Loyalty to the Red Chinese Government; fearlessness of death; hard dedicated labour; and following the path shown by Chairman Mao. People are told that the “reactionary foreign governments are sharpening their swords to destroy socialism” and that the people should be ready to face their attack.

For the “war preparation efforts” they recently conscripted 200 persons from Dangtsoe and 300 from Shekhar. They were taken in trucks through Dhingri Dagmar to their training camps. At the same time 170 yaks, all available horses and food supply were also requisitioned for the need of the “war preparation army”. Even the civilians are not exempted from their “war preparation” programmes. In Dhingri region, they are divided into the following age groups, each assigned with a particular duty:

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Assigned Duties</i>
18-25	Students	To destroy monuments reflecting the obsolete life-style and to establish new ones.
25-35	Security	To maintain security, to spy on doubtful characters, to prevent and report on people trying to flee the country, and to look out for corruption in the army.
35-45	Aid to War Preparation Army	To accompany the army at any time wherever they are required.
45-55	Medical Assistants	To carry medical supply to the battlefields, to remove the wounded and bury the dead.
55-65	Support to Army	To march in front of the Army in the battlefields as protection to the main force.

Establishment of Communes in the Border Areas

People in Dhingri Rongshar had been hearing for a long time that communes were going to be established in their area soon. Preparations were at last launched towards the end of last year. A large number of People’s Liberation Army and

“War Preparation Army” marched into Rongshar to “help” the people start communes. The pro-Chinese Tibetan officials—Sonam Dorjee and Pasang—were there too. The people had no choice. Those who opposed this policy were severely punished and imprisoned. There were several special meetings to encourage people to accept the establishment of communes. In the course of one such meeting we were told, “We are well aware that there are amongst you supporters of the upper-strata reactionary clique. You hope that Tibet will one day become independent, but that day will never come. There are about 37 nations who support our policy. The handful of reactionaries are on their own. In fact the common people in every nation wants to join us, but their leaders forcibly prevent them from doing so. We are the only nation in the world who can maintain a War Preparation Army and as such, we are the only one who can effectively solve the problems of war. . .”

Lin Piao

Last December, the Chinese in Rongshar called an extra special meeting that lasted about ten days. The topic for discussion was Lin Piao’s recent attempt to assassinate Mao.

It was said in the meeting that about two months back when Mao was returning from a trip of Southern China, an abortive attempt was made to assassinate him by Lin Piao and his associates—Liu Chue-kon (wife), Ling Tue-tel and Li-Jen.

It was claimed that these people hid some explosives in the train that Mao was to board. However, the Chinese authorities were informed of it at 7 o’clock that morning by Lin Piao’s daughter. Apparently, it was planned that after the assassination Lin Piao would be picked up by an airplane in which his son would be waiting with a collection of photographs, films, documents and foreign currency. The airplane was forced to land and everybody in it was arrested. At 3 p.m. Lin Piao suddenly flew to Outer Mongolia but was shot down by the communists. He was burnt along with the plane.

After announcing this news, the Chinese asked the Tibetans whether we thought their action was justified. We replied that we could not understand their actions and policies at all. “Sometimes you praise Lin Piao”, we explained, “and refer to him as

a great patriot. But now he plotted to kill Mao. We do not understand how these things work out. Anyway, we think the attempt on Mao's life was bad."

In the end we were told that we can still continue to hang pictures of Lin Piao alongside those of Mao and we need not destroy the works of Lin Piao either. However, people were asked not to pay respect to him as before. We were further warned not to disclose these matters outside and anyone found guilty of doing so would be severely punished.

19. Statement of an Ethnic Tibetan of Nepalese Nationality

The informant was residing in Lhasa until late 1973 when he came back to Nepal and submitted the following statement. He wishes to remain anonymous for security reasons.

IN Lhasa this year, an announcement was made through loudspeakers that if the Tibetans abroad returned to the Motherland, a political compromise could be arranged. It was rumoured in Lhasa that some important Tibetans had returned from abroad and that they could be seen in the office of the Tibet Revolutionary Committee. It was explained that they had come back to participate in the administration of their country.

The Chinese authorities have secretly assumed the full burden of reconstructing the Jho Khang (Central Cathedral) in Lhasa. However, they have had to delegate the skilled task of repairing icons and religious structure to Tibetan craftsmen, who possess the necessary traditional artistry. The Chinese have also been forced to recruit Tibetans who have detailed knowledge of the original layout of images and the religious connotations they carry in the central cathedral. As a result secrecy has failed and the public know about these developments.

Former upper-class Tibetans are excluded from jobs in the reconstruction work; a few who were already working have been expelled. However, the Chinese have found it well nigh impossible to do without skilled craftsmen—sculptors, masons, painters—who are ironically enough from the upper section of the old Tibetan society.

The Chinese possess virtually no knowledge on the religious history and architectural details of the Central Cathedral. Forced to rely heavily on Tibetan expertise their main contri-

bution to the reconstruction work is the provision of a protective screen of Chinese guards.

A few Tibetans have taken advantage of the access to the cathedral disguising themselves as authorized craftsmen, to pray and pay homage to the deities. But an old Tibetan, who was pro-Chinese, reported this and complained about it at a meeting.

He criticized those Tibetans who secretly prayed. He argued that the reconstruction of the Central Cathedral was undertaken because it was an historical building and not for preserving old superstitions. He moved that the Tibetans who went there to pray should be punished severely.

The Chinese official who presided over this meeting agreed that the old man's suggestion was very good but demanded that he report any instances of upper-class Tibetans who damaged or obstructed the reconstruction work on the Cathedral. That very day, the old man spat and threw ashes on some repaired statues and, several hours later, he was found dead.

During the reconstruction, many wonderful and surprising events took place. For instance, a portrait of the religious king Songtsen Gampo appeared miraculously through a wall. In another incident, a heavy pillar of the cathedral that no one could lift suddenly became light and easy to move after burning a traditional Tibetan boot of one of the Dalai Lamas found in the Potala. It was burnt as incense and the pillar was easily lifted. Again, a lower part of the image of *Jowo Mikyoi Dorjee* was found under a fallen wall at that time. This image was completely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution and the new found piece now enables Tibetan craftsmen to build the upper part.

When the Jowo image was being repaired every Tibetan craftsman in the Central Cathedral was allowed to sleep and granted one month's food ration. It was further reported that everyone would be allowed to pray in the Central Cathedral once the reconstruction work is completed. The Chinese warned that although everyone was free to worship, it was forbidden to force others to do so.

After the New Year a religious conference was held. A Chinese official in charge of Sera and Ganden Monasteries

disclosed publicly that during the Cultural Revolution many images, icons, prayer manuscripts and important religious articles were destroyed. Most of the delegates at this conference were Tibetans and they felt that the Chinese officials' regret at the Cultural Revolution vandalism was not sincere. The Tibetan delegates visibly showed their unhappiness and suspicions at what they regarded as Chinese hypocrisy.

Suddenly another Chinese official, responsible for Drepung Monastery, stood up and expressed his feeling and attitude towards religion. He said that during the Cultural Revolution when many sacred and important religious and cultural objects were being destroyed, he was able to protect Drepung successfully. He explained that this was possible because of his full faith in Mao Tse-tung who has said that everyone was free to pray and worship his choice of god. Hence, the official argued, the destruction of religious articles was against the wishes and feelings of Mao Tse-tung. The Chinese official had as a result strongly opposed any kind of vandalism until and unless a written authorization could be procured from the Tibet Revolutionary Committee. He craftily conceded that his actions and attitude could be wrong. If so, he said, he was willing to accept any punishment. The Chairman of the Conference—a Chinese—replied that he adopted the right policy because if Drepung had been destroyed it would have necessitated a lot of reconstruction work like those at other religious structures. As a result the Drepung Chinese was appropriately rewarded for his work. Significantly, the Drepung monastery was opened to the public very shortly after the conference. Tibetans pretending to be tourists visiting an historical site paid homage at Drepung monastery.

It is a fact that 50% of the reconstruction work at the Central Cathedral is being secretly financed by the Tibetans. Although many changes have been brought to Lhasa, like broadening of roads, the main market area has only shops belonging to Tibetan-Nepalese citizens. There is no sign of Tibetan shops.

Before the Anti-Liu Shao-chi campaigns we saw many slogans such as "Long Live Mao Tse-tung" on the walls of the

Potala. However, since the purge of Liu Shao-chi many such political slogans have been wiped out from walls, gates and buildings. Portraits of Mao Tse-tung are seen less frequently on shops and public establishments.

Many Tibetans of the upper class and those who worked for the Tibetan Government during the 1959 struggle have been released this year. Their lands and wealth have been returned to them. Many letters from the upper class Tibetans living in the U.S.A. are coming here. Mails are also coming from Pakistan. But it is not known who receives and replies them. The Norbulinka Park—renamed People's Park—is opened to the Tibetan public only during the Chinese New Year celebrations and Children's Day Festival.

In Lhasa, the monthly ration is 1 Kg. of butter or oil and 26 Kgs. of barley. Generally there is a shortage of basic necessities throughout Tibet, but it is not so severe in Lhasa. Especially this year, there was a surprisingly large number of beggars who had migrated from Uyug Zomthang area in Namling District, north of Shigatse. These beggars were brought to Lhasa by Tibetan drivers of Chinese trucks without the knowledge of Chinese officials. Whenever these beggars from neighbouring areas leave Lhasa, they face the Potala with folded hands and pray that no harm may fall upon the Tibetans of Lhasa who had supported them. Once when there was a very large number of beggars the Chinese announced that no one should beg or give alms. However, the beggars just kept pouring in because of food shortage in surrounding areas. One day the Chinese police arrested some beggars in the main market. The beggars told the police that if they feed prisoners they would not mind being arrested.

At present there is a rumour that 70% of the Chinese population in Tibet will soon be leaving for China. Among those to go will be the Sino-Tibetan couples. It is said that by New Year (the coming one in 1974) the Chinese population in Tibet will surely decrease. Tibetan youths in Lhasa working in different departments and offices of the Chinese are very deeply loved by the Tibetans. These Tibetan youths have strong feeling for their country and are sincerely concerned for their country-

men. Although they have to obey the orders of the Chinese authorities, they are always tactful and diplomatic not to hurt the feelings of the Tibetans. They carefully avoid the use of force on their countrymen. They also support and help the poor and the sick with every means within their capacity and power.

20. Statement of Pasang Wangdai



The 41-year-old Pasang Wandui comes from Dhingri, southwest Tibet. He arrived at Solu Khumbu, Nepal, on November 25, 1973, along with two males, aged 30 and 40, and a female, aged 51. At the moment they are all employed in the Tibetan Handicraft Centre in Solu Khumbu.

T H E R E are five *chue* (sub-districts) in Dhingri *hsien* (district). They are Damtro, Shalshol, Khata Yulbar, Khadug Gara and Dhing Gang. These are further sub-divided into 37 *hsiangs*.

One of the Dhing Gang *hsiangs* has four divisions. The first division is headed by Tsewang Namgyal, 28, and a women's leader, Turing Tan; the second group by Sonam Tsering, 31, and he is assisted by Phuntsog 45; the third group by women's leader Nima, 37, assisted by Kyizom, 32. The last group is led by Tsering Dorji, 35, assisted by Tessa Tsamcho and Tsering Thakcho.

In the Dhing Gang *hsiang* there is a commune, named United Association of People's Commune. All members of the commune have to work for nine hours during day and attend three hours of study in the night. During the study period one

has to note down the number of hours worked by each and discuss the following day's programme.

About 15,000 khels of seed can be planted in the land allotted to the four divisions of Dhing Gang hsiang. In the past only 2 khels of seed could be planted per head, but now it has been increased to as much as five khels. However, the Chinese authorities are constantly urging people to plant between 12 to 15 khels a head "so that the people and the Government could obtain the maximum benefit from it."

For five years Tibetans have been trained in the modern methods of farming. In September 1973 seven types of agricultural techniques were taught to the people in order to increase production.

The Chinese have announced their decision to increase the amount of seed for 1974 and realise a record harvest. When the United Association of People's Commune was drawing up plans for the next year, everyone had to provide seeds according to the target requirements. Those who were not able to provide the requisite amount had to buy them at the rate of one khel of seeds for 1 yuan.

In April this year, a mass meeting was held in Dhing Gang *chue*. The occasion was the inauguration of the United Association of People's Commune. Many books, flags, sheep, goats, farming tools and other gifts were distributed among the people at the meeting. Among the animals given out were five horses, six dzos, three yaks and one cow which had been confiscated from Jamyang Wangdui, a trader, in November 1972. The other sheep and goats were purchased from nomads at the forced rate of 10 yuans a head.

In Dhing Gang *chue*, there are about 120 families with a total of 520 people. There are altogether seven families with a total of 34 members who are not in the commune. There are three families with upper class background who were allowed to join the commune. They are: Ajolak with eight members in the family, Sopa with four members and Karma with three members.

The tailors have to pay 70% of their earnings to the Government. Out of the remaining 30% taxes took another 24% thus leaving them with only 6% of their income.

Against the wishes of the people, the Chinese asked them to hand over their agricultural tools, horses, yaks, bulls and dzos to the Government for use in the commune. Compensations for these were: 150 yuans for the best horse, 115 yuans for a dzo, 70 yuans for a bull, 30 yuans a donkey, 30 yuans a ploughing tool, 5 yuans a hammer, 4 yuans a ploughing knife, 3 yuans a spade, 2 yuans a rope and 3 yuans a saddle.

The best labourer in the commune gets 8 *kungpen* per day. The value of the *kungpen* depends upon the agricultural output. During good harvests, a *kungpen* is worth one-tenth of a yuan, but when the harvests are below previous records, its value falls to half that amount.

We were told that there were certain reasons for dividing the hsiangs of the Dhing Gang chue into four groups. It would, first of all, induce competition among the various groups creating work incentives. Secondly it would be easier to maintain unity among members of smaller groups than larger ones. Every member in the group is expected to achieve "Three Vital Benefits": benefit for the Government, benefit for the group and benefit for the individual.

There are 17 schools in Dhingri district. There is a teacher named Kunsang, 55, who was once secretary to the Ling family in Dhing Gang. He teaches Chinese, mathematics, new songs and Tibetan. He is paid 45 yuans a month.

The highest officials in Dhingri district are Chairman Wang, 40, Vice-Chairman Wu, 56, and a Tibetan woman called Dawa Dolma, 40, from Shigatse who is the Secretary. In the Dhing Gang hsiang, the chairman is Wangpo, 37; vice-chairman Damtso Norzing, 40; *Uyon* (representative) Dawa, 37; secretary Sewang, 40, and Wangyal, 25. Sonam Tsering, 30, is the leader of the 100-strong People's Militia in Dhing Gang and Dorjee, a thirty-year old woman is the political adviser. There are altogether 50 different ranks above that of the group leader.

Capital to set up the commune was raised as follows: contribution of 75 yuans from each member in the first group, 70 yuans from the second group and 112 yuans from the third group.

When the Chinese demanded the names of Tibetan youths willing to join the regular army, there was no response forthcoming. So they resorted to compulsion and conscripted Dhondup, 17; his brother Tsering, 22; Lobsang 26; Ngawang, 22; Mingyur 21; and 25 others. They are all in battalion 7908 in camp 208.

21. Statement of Dhargyal

Age: 24. Father's Name: Tenzin Khechok. Birth Place: Lhasa. Came to Thimphu, Bhutan on 8th December 1973 along with his twenty-year old wife, Tsering Wangmo.

IN 1968, when I was 19 years old, I was conscripted into the Chinese army and given the basic military trainings at Jarak Lingka, outside Lhasa. We were told that we were special members of the community for we would, if necessary, be required to sacrifice our lives for the sake of our country. We were warned to look out for both internal and external enemies and faithfully observe all the rules and regulations laid down in the military hand-book that every soldier is issued with. Violation of any of those rules would lead to punishments, but no one was allowed to disclose—upon pain of further punitive measures—the exact nature of those punishments.

During my two months' stay in the training camp I was not once permitted to go anywhere, even to visit my home in Lhasa. Even within the cantonment inter-group visitations were allowed only after furnishing satisfactory reasons for them.

In 1970, I and four other Tibetans along with 150 Chinese soldiers were sent to Phari to report for duty to a military base known as Yi Ing, situated in the heart of the town.

Army Life in Phari

Our training mainly consisted of practising movements by day and night. In our spare time we were made to grow vegetables. However, we were required to be ready for operational duties at all times. There was a road leading right up to the Tremo-la pass and tunnels were dug all around the town.

No soldiers—of whatever rank—was allowed to talk or to have anything to do with the members of the public.

During our study periods we were told quite a lot about other countries. It was said about Bhutan, for instance, that it is such a small and weak country that it could be captured within a day by a mere three companies of the Phari force. In fact, it was deemed quite unnecessary even to do that as far as Bhutan was concerned. India and Russia were, however, considered important targets which they were determined to conquer. The soldiers were constantly urged not to be discouraged or worry about anything as “there are enough ammunition and foodstuff in our stock to last us several centuries!”

Important Army Bases in Tibet

The Number One military headquarters in Tibet, known as *She Tsang Tsun*, is located in Povolinka in Lhasa. Its branches are in Sera, Drepung, Jaralinka and in the vicinity of Kur bridge. The Number Two headquarters is in Dechen Phodrang at Shigatse. This is the biggest military base in the Tsang province. Its branches are called *Dowen* and they are located in Lhatse, Drongtse and in Yatung. It has actually some more branches in Gyangtse but I do not know their exact locations. The third biggest headquarters is at Nyitri in Kongpo. This is also the headquarters of the *Yi Ing* base where I was. It has got another branch in Phari—on top of the Dangla hill, and I gather that is an airforce base.

The total military strength of Phari—excluding the Dangla base—is estimated at 600 soldiers and the total number of Tibetan soldiers is reported to be 20. But these are just estimates and I don't believe any Tibetan would be in a position to be able to give the exact figures since they are very closely guarded secrets. It is not even known for sure exactly how many soldiers make a company.

Factories and Industrial Set-ups

The Chinese are always proud to enumerate the factories and industrial set-ups in Tibet, so their locations are no great secret.

Nyitri in Kongpo contains a match factory, a paper mill and a textile mill as well as a printing press. A large factory called

Trak Shao Tang in Lhasa produces transport vehicles and another one there called *Chee Shao Tang* is a hydro-thermal electricity plant. Even the Nechung Monastery below Drepung houses a cement factory, a lime factory and a flour mill. Just outside Lhasa there is the biggest hydro-electric power house in Nachen Trang. It is called *Machen Tan Trang*. In Shigatse, there are said to be a number of factories producing soap, tooth-paste, ink and biscuits.

Military Officers in Phari

There is only one person, namely, Lee Heh-tse who holds the designation of *Yin Tang*. One of his assistants, Soon Pao who is known as a *Phau Yin Tang*, is my company leader. Lao Chun is second in command. The regimental commanders are called *Bah Tang*. The first, second and the third regiments are commanded respectively by Lee Lao-nung, Chang Chee-dran and Dran Nain. Kau Tse-tung was the captain of the second company and his designation was *Lan Trang*. There were of course many other officers but these are the only names I can remember off hand.

Among the civilian officers, Dran Chee-ling is the Tu Rin (Chairman) of Phari District and he is assisted by a Tibetan called Wangdui.

Civilian Life in Phari

I was often sent as an interpreter to look after the labourers or to purchase fuel. In those occasions I was not allowed to say anything other than what I was required to translate. That nevertheless did not prevent me from observing how poverty-stricken the people were. None of them obviously had sufficient to eat or wear. There were no freedom of any kind at all. As a result they had become very servile and weak. They were saying whatever they were required to say and doing whatever they were commanded to do.

For the purpose of civil administration, Phari had been divided into three sections. When I was there communes had already been established in the first two sections and the preparations for establishing it in the third was in full swing. It was stated that a certain amount of food and clothings were

being made available to the people who were living in remoter parts of the town, but in reality several cases of starvation were being registered in that area every so often. It has been reported that such cases are twice as bad in Central Tibet where people are being made to work day and night with very little to eat and drink.

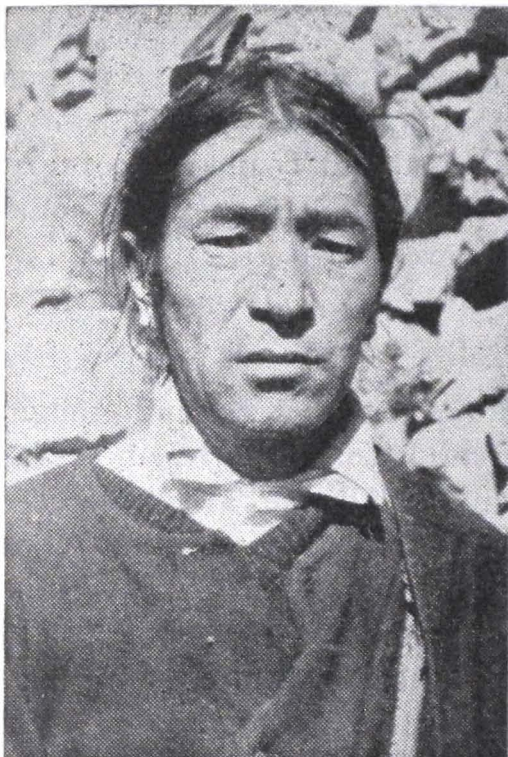
Generally, every male between the ages of 18 and 24 is given compulsory military training for a period of four to five years. At the end of their training some of them are posted in offices but the majority are sent back to assist the civil populace. The Chinese stated that the idea behind this policy was to lay the basis for a militarily strong country.

Escape

In the course of my duties as an army interpreter in Phari I had met Tsering Wangmo, now my wife, and started exchanging letters with her. We had both seen enough sufferings in Tibet and we planned to escape together. I took two days off from work in order to make preparations. Fortunately, the cultural troupe from Shigatse had just arrived in Phari and they were scheduled to give a performance on 5th December at 7.30 p.m. Everybody was told to attend the performance.

So on the night of the 5th, I left with Tsering Wangmo on the pretext of going to the show and reached Bhutan the next morning. After interrogations on the border check-posts, we were handed over to the Tibetan Bureau in Thimpu.

22. Statement of Kunsang



Age: 42. Occupation: Farmer Born in & Resident of: Gangkhar, Dhingri District, Southern Tibet. He reached Nepal in February 1974 with his wife, one daughter and two sons. At present he is working at the Tibetan Carpet Manufacturing Centre in McLeod Gunj, Dharamsala. His wife, who was already ailing in the course of their flight, died a few months after their arrival in India. The children are living with him in Dharamsala.

THE CHINESE categorized us as 'poor class farmers' and hence we were not tortured or imprisoned like members of the higher classes. Still the condition had become increasingly difficult even for us. There are two main reasons why we did not escape earlier. Firstly, my wife was in a very poor state of health for a number of years, and many of our children have died at or shortly after birth. This kept us constantly busy and we had no time to make plans of escaping. The second reason was that for the past several years it has been rumoured that Tibet would be getting her independence soon. Many people have therefore postponed or cancelled their plans of escape. People in Tibet are still desperately hanging on to this hope.

Mutual Aid Teams

Mutual Aid Teams were established a few years ago as a kind of forerunner to the communes. This was the real beginning of the hardships. All families were grouped together in small work teams in order to eliminate private enterprise. Those who had large fields were taxed heavily and sizable proportion of their grains taken away, thus reducing them to the poorest worker. Thus the setting up of Mutual Aid Teams did not raise the overall standard of living as the Chinese claimed it would do, but instead reduced it to the lowest level.

The Cultural Revolution

In 1966, the Cultural Revolution came to Tibet and brought with it wholesale destruction of temples, monasteries and every aspect of our culture and tradition. All the Tibetans were ordered to join in the destruction act. The Chinese themselves would not do anything. They would just issue orders to the Tibetans to burn or pull down anything that reflected the old system. When one of the destruction teams tried to get into the Lhatong Monastery, the caretaker-monk stood guard near the door and would not budge from there. The Chinese accused him of having an "unreformed brain" and dragged him out of there. The monastery was then torn apart brick by brick before the eyes of the caretaker who, since then, has become completely insane.

The Gongar Choeten (stupa) was situated just outside my house. When the Red Guards were destroying it I stayed in my house and did not participate in the destruction. The stones and the bricks of the stupa were ground to small pebbles and laid on the street. There were slogans and shouts and all sorts of confusion outside and the Chinese did not even realize that I was hiding in my house. However, the whole incident left a deep impression on me and I have never felt quite at ease since then. At times I even felt that I might lose my sanity. Even now I tend to be rather absent-minded and sometimes feel quite muddled.

All monasteries having been destroyed, there are no monks at all now in our town. Many of them have been tortured and

imprisoned and the rest have been forced to marry. Keeping altars and reading scriptures at home have also been totally banned. Many people have hidden their images and scriptures in the hills with the hope that they would be able to use them again when Tibet gains her independence. Some people have images hidden away in trunks at home which they occasionally take out and pray to. But they are doing it at great personal risk since the Chinese have publicly declared such practices illegal.

It was not only the religion that the Chinese have attacked. Old-fashioned dresses and hair-styles have also been banned. My own hair was cut off in front of the public. The use of jewellery and ornaments is also forbidden. Women are made to take off even their simple bangles (which were so universal that they were regarded not so much an item of jewellery as a part of the women's dress).

Communes

Communes were started in our region just over a year ago. This has brought added hardships on the people. Very rigid systems of working hours and rationing allowances were introduced. The workers get between 11 and 13 khels of barley a year. The rest of the produce was taken away as "State Grain Tax", "War Preparation Reserve" and many other such compulsory savings. No provision is made for the aged and the children. The aged and disabled people are looked after by collective efforts of all the Tibetans. So far they are just about managing to do so. However, if there is further adverse change in the system, such as cutting down of the rations, these aged and disabled people are sure to die of hunger since the Chinese themselves would not lift a finger to help them. So far, there has been no case of starvation reported in our area, but we kept hearing of several such incidents taking place in the northern regions.

There are schools in the towns but they do not have very many students. This is because the parents cannot afford to send their children to school. Only the tuition is free at school. Clothes, meals, books and stationeries have to be provided by the parents, which of course they cannot do with the merely

11 to 13 khels of barley which is their annual income. So the children stay at home, collect yak-dungs and wood to sell to the Chinese, and pick semi-edible plants growing in the fields to supplement the diet.

Only the bed-ridden and extremely serious patients are given medical treatment. Less serious illnesses are not considered good enough excuses for not going to work. Thus, except for the bed-ridden cases, failure to appear at work is always punishable in fines.

Propaganda and study sessions are held every night. In these we are told that the Tibetan people have suffered greatly in the old society and that they are now free and their own masters. Although we know better, we can do nothing but agree to everything they say.

All work—even the minor administrative ones—are done by the Tibetans. Before the introduction of the communes, the Chinese used to directly appoint staff-members to look after the day-to-day running of the affairs. Since the communes have come up, they have let the people choose their staff through elections. However, all these are superfluous since the elected staff never wield any authority. They are only there to supervise the daily work and carry out specific instructions emanating from the Chinese authorities. Moreover, they are not paid salaries and their administrative duties are just over and above the usual manual work that any other Tibetans have to do.

Former landlords are not admitted in the communes. Still they have to do their share of the daily work, but are kept isolated under constant surveillance and are not allowed to mix with the ordinary people socially.

Every now and then, the Chinese announce that the Tibetans who have fled into exile are welcome to return home and “enjoy the unlimited peace and prosperity that abounds here now.” As a result, there have been a few Tibetans returning home. But we were not allowed to meet them at all. The Chinese gave them a little bit of tsampa and tea as reward for returning, and then they are kept isolated. However, it is no secret that all those who came back so far have always made a point of escaping again at the first opportunity.

There is a new military camp at Rongshar. I have never been inside, but I am told there are at least 300 soldiers in there.

Escape

Towards the end of last year, the Chinese announced that the Dalai Lama was soon giving a "Dhungkhor Wangchen" (Kalachakra Initiation—given in Bodh-Gaya, Bihar, from 7th to 9th January, 1974) in India. They said that the Dalai Lama was doing this to deceive the people "and make money for his reactionary activities." It was further announced that anybody who wishes to go and attend the initiation can do so by obtaining exit permits from the local authorities.

Many people applied for permits. I don't know what the criteria for eligibility was but only a few were allowed. My application was rejected too, but by that time I had determined that I have had enough of life under the Chinese.

One of my neighbours had a *dzo* (a cross between yak and cow) and we had decided to leave together. However, in the last minute he pulled out, but gave his *dzo* to us. We loaded the *dzo* with a few essentials hidden under bundles of wood and left the town at night. If we were questioned we could pretend that we were going to deliver the wood to some nearby place. We had further cut down the chances of suspicion by sending our daughter ahead of us and arranging to meet at the border. We travelled by night and hid in the hills through the day and managed to cross the Nepalese border without interruption.

Unfortunately, once we got to Nepal, my wife's health took a turn for the worse. By the time she was fit enough for travel again the Kalachakra Initiation was over and people were already returning home.

23. Statement of Wangyal

Age 23. Father's Name: Dhondup Gawa, Wangyal spent his last years in Tibet in Nyero, Tö (Western Tibet). He arrived in Bhutan in June 1974 and is now believed to be settled there.

MY FATHER was in the Tibetan army and I was born in Amdo when he was posted there. Many years later, he left the army, had a quarrel with my mother and decided to live separately in Nyero, Tö. My mother and I moved to Shigatse. Shortly afterwards she died and I entered the Narthang Monastery in Shigatse.

In 1959 our monastery was seized by the Chinese occupation forces. All important monks and lamas were sent to Karkhang prison. Out of the remaining, those who had families went home and about 37 of us who had no relatives in Shigatse were ordered to stay there looking after the monastery and tilling the adjacent farm. At that time the Chinese told us that our work would be hard only for a short while. "Soon we will mechanise the farm and then you will have less work and plenty of spare time. The monastery will be turned into a social club and you shall have all the recreational facilities there to keep you occupied," they promised.

Actually it was not very hard work in the first year, even without mechanization. Then the number of monks gradually dwindled as they began to leave the monastery to take up secular trades in the village. So the remaining few of us had to do the same amount of work. And then I discovered that I had a distant uncle living in the village. He requested the Chinese officer in charge of us to let me live with him and help him in the domestic chores. So in 1964 I left the monastery and went to stay with my uncle.

Memories of the Cultural Revolution

The fightings between the 'Great Alliance' and the 'Revolutionary Rebel' factions of the Red Guards is still vivid in my memory. There were interminable lectures too, but still I was too young to know or bother about the reasons for the clash. Almost all the young people joined it just for the sake of excitement. There were Tibetans on both sides but nobody had the slightest idea what the differences between the two factions were. We not only fought among ourselves but also had a great time harassing passers-by. The Tibetans were only allowed to carry knives and lances whereas the Chinese also carried guns. We made our own weapons and some of us spent days carving elaborate designs on our lances.

Then a group of Red Guards came from Chushar country near Shigatse and ordered us to destroy the Narthang monastery. The local authorities feared that all the valuables would be taken out of the monastery if outsiders took control of it, and ordered the local people themselves to destroy the monastery. So a whole lot of people barged into the monastery and brought home everything they could lay their hands on. The wood-blocks were given to the people to burn as fuel. (It should be noted here that the printing press of Narthang Monastery was the oldest and largest in Tibet, and had in its stock the entire Buddhist scriptures and commentaries on them in wood-blocks). After the demolition of the monastery, the wood from it was used in building a school, a People's Assembly Hall and a Youth Organisation Hall.

I could only get hold of a few small bells hanging from the ceiling in the main temple. On the way out I saw some people dragging an image of Jho and I managed to take the crown off it. However, later somebody snatched it from me. Incidentally, all clay images were broken and scattered on the roads and all scriptures were burnt.

People sold the various goods brought from the monastery to the Chinese bank in Shigatse. They got paid about 20 yuans for a silver *gyaling* (a clarinet-like musical instrument used during religious rituals). However, this practice soon came to an end when the Chinese announced that all goods pillaged

from the monastery will have to be returned to them who will preserve them on account of their historical value. But not very many people obliged, and so the Chinese conducted a house-to-house raid and confiscated not only the articles brought from the monastery but also those in their private shrines. They even took down the prayer flags from the roof-tops. All the wood-blocks were stacked up on an open field and from a distance the pile resembled a small hill. Many of the blocks had already been used as fire wood and many others were made into handles for farming implements.

Another thing I remember about the Cultural Revolution was that all the youths were issued with a red arm band and a copy of Mao's Red Book. We were constantly urged to commit the whole book to memory. Bands of Chinese youths, called "security groups", often stopped people on the way and asked them to recite certain passages from the Book. Those who could were then asked to explain the meaning of the passage and those who could not were rebuked severely. Actually, I suspect many of the Chinese themselves did not know what Mao was on about in his books. I knew many Tibetans who, on being stopped, recited the desired passages fluently and then asked the questioners themselves the meanings of it to find that more often than not they were unable to do so.

My Life in Nyero

In 1968 somebody brought me a message from my father asking me to go and live with him in Nyero. So I got a lift from a lorry transporting building materials and went there. I stayed with my father doing a little farming work until 1971 when I got employed as a cook in the Chinese office in our *chue* (sub-district).

I had to prepare three meals a day for the Chinese staff. It was there that I noticed the difference between the living standards of the Tibetans and the Chinese in Tibet. The daily meals of the Tibetans hardly ever consisted more than that of tsampa and black tea whereas the Chinese had in plentiful supply rice, flour, mutton, yak-beef, pork, chicken, butter, eggs and vegetables.

Besides cooking I also had to look after the horses and the pigs. My salary was 30 yuans a month, out of which I had to pay an average of 20 yuans towards my board.

In our *chue* the highest ranking Chinese officer was called Chao Hru-chi and he was assisted by a Tibetan called Samten from Shigatse. Like him, there are some other Tibetans who hold quite high ranks in the Chinese offices, but in each case there is always an even higher ranking Chinese official to whom he is directly subordinated. Theirs were not enviable positions even from the point of view of salaries, because the Chinese always pay on the basis of the length of services and not according to the ranks. And of course, even an ordinary Chinese staff would have served much longer than a Tibetan officer.

Accusation and Counter-accusation

In 1973, during the Chinese New Year, all the Chinese staff went to the dzong headquarters to celebrate the New Year and all the Tibetans went either to their homes or to those of their close friends. I was left there as a caretaker. During that time a batch of soldiers stayed there for a few days and I cooked for them. In return they gave me some rice and petrol before they left. The petrol can, as indeed all my other belongings, were left in the kitchen, a corner of which served as my bedroom.

One evening, I accidentally set fire to the petrol can while cooking. I tried in vain to put it out with rags and mattresses. Our house was a three-storeyed wooden affair and the kitchen was on the ground floor. The fire gradually spread to the ceiling and I had already burnt my quilt and pillow and four saddles in trying to put it out. Luckily the floor above was unoccupied and the Chinese were engrossed in playing cards in a room on the top floor, totally oblivious to what was happening in the kitchen. I got very scared even when the fire was virtually put out because the ceiling had got charred and there were a number of other damages to the furniture. So I locked the door and went to the nearby village on a horse and fetched a Tibetan carpenter back with me. He did what little repair he could to the damages and I paid him a little money and gave him a meal and a bag of rice that the soldiers had given me.

Most of the damages including the charred ceiling remained unrepaired and were discovered by the Chinese the next day. Chao Hru-chi accused me of deliberately attempting to burn the house and summoned an emergency session of the staff meeting. The Tibetan officers informed me that I would be denounced by Chao Hru-chi in the meeting and that it would be advisable for me to retaliate with any facts detrimental to his rank and reputation that I may know.

In the meeting, as expected, Hru-chi accused me not only of attempted incendiary but also of being a bad cook and of acting on the instigation of reactionaries. At first I tried to defend myself by explaining every detail of the accident which had caused the fire, but it was no good since he kept on raising his voice and proposing that I should be given the sack. I could see no way out except to retaliate and this I did by accusing him of adultery.

Chao Hru-chi was married and his wife worked in the *Shen* (district) office. However, he had a strong affair going with a Tibetan girl called Nyima Bhuti who worked as a treasurer in his office. I knew about it because I had often seen him making love to her by candlelight in her room. She lived in a house quite near ours and the inside of her room could be seen quite clearly through the ventilation above the door when looked from the top floor window of our house where I had to go frequently in connection with kitchen work.

So in the meeting, I recounted several instances of his adulterous life in great details. I knew that he would be particularly vulnerable to this accusation because he was often giving moralistic lectures with special reference to sexual misconducts. However, he refused to give in to my accusation and instead went on calling me names. I burst into tears and picking up a burning piece of wood from the stove in front of me hurled it at him with all my might. It smashed the glass top of his desk, bounced off to the wall and hit him only slightly on the left shoulder. I was immediately overpowered by the guards and confined in an empty room for two days.

After that I was taken to the *shen* office and confined there for 22 days with Tibetan officials interrogating me every day. They asked me what Hru Chi's attitude to me was usually. I

replied that he had always disliked me intensely because I did not pay him much respect knowing about his relationship with Nyima Bhuti. Asked whether I could prove my accusation, I pointed out that everybody knew about Nyima Bhuti's son who looked remarkably like Chao Hru-chi and what was more, she was obviously pregnant yet again. So, I said, I felt confident of being able to prove it if he were made to face Nyima Bhuti and her son in front of all. As for my not being a good cook and serving cold meals, etc. I explained that under the circumstances such cases were unavoidable since I not only had to cook but also had to tend to the horses and the pigs and, moreover, some of the officers were never punctual for meals.

Later I heard that Chao Hru-chi confessed that he was having an affair with Nyima Bhuti, but I do not know whether he was given any punishment for it or not. I was released after 22 days, but I did not get my job back. I had worked there for three years and two months and so I was given, as compensation for losing my job, 20 gyamas of rice, 20 gyamas of flour, a small slab of pressed tea and about $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. of butter.

By then I had made up my mind to leave the country and so, after release, I did not go to live with my father because he would be confronted with unnecessary problems with the Chinese authorities when I left. So I stayed in a private lodging in Nyero. Later, however, I went and stayed with my father because he insisted on it.

Last Days in Tibet

My father was living in the commune and they had already collected that year's harvest. So even if I stayed there I would not be entitled to anything for another year. In any case, I would not be admitted in the commune because only those who could contribute something in the form of land or livestock were eligible for admission. So the longer I stayed there, the harder it would be for my father to support me. Anyway, the atmosphere in the commune was not to my liking. There was not only the insufficiency of food to cope with, but even the personal relationships seemed very strained. For instance the parents no longer confided in their children about their true

feelings. This was because there had been several cases of children informing the Chinese authorities about certain facts which led to trouble for them. The children in question had done it quite inadvertently. The Chinese often used to lure them by giving them rides in jeeps and offering them sweets and tempting promises. In return the Chinese used to ask them what conversations their parents had, what kind of visitors they had, etc.

Anyway, life with my parents only increased my determination to escape. There were five of us who planned to leave together. Lobsang, 24, was a member of the former upper class and hence ostracised from the commune. The other four wanted to leave because they were not getting enough to eat. We vowed to keep our intention a secret and determined to fight with the security guards if we got stopped on the way. We escaped individually and planned to meet in Bhutan. I escaped while grazing the sheep and it took me six days to reach a place called Tashi Makhar (an army camp) in Bhutan.

24. Statement of Ngodup

Age 32. Father's Name: Phurbu Dhondup Birth-place: Gangkhar, Dhingri, S. Tibet. Occupation: Low Class Farmer.

Ngodup arrived in Nepal in December 1974 and went to Mysore to live with his brother for sometime. Recently, he left Mysore in search of suitable employment.

The Mountaineers

TOWARDS THE end of 1958 about 400 Chinese cavalry soldiers arrived in Dhingri and started a number of associations. I was made a porter in the "Mountaineering Association." There were 1,000 climbers including 350 Tibetan porters.

Once, our party attempted to climb Mt. Everest but could only reach up to 7,000 *kungti* (a Chinese measure according to which the total height of Mt. Everest is 8,880 *kungti*). The Chinese, however, announced afterwards that two climbers—Gompo, a Tibetan from Nyanang and Tan Shi-Chue, a Chinese, climbed right up to the peak and hoisted a Chinese flag and a portrait of Mao there. They further added that many foreign expeditions had made unsuccessful attempts to climb the Everest and also that the news that Sherpa Tenzin and an Englishman (Edmund Hillary) had reached the top of the Everest was totally unfounded.

I don't know whether Tenzin and his friend climbed the Everest or not, but I know for a fact that the Chinese expedition itself did not reach beyond 7,000 *kungti*. What actually happened was when we reached 7,000 *kungti* we set up a camp there and installed meteorological equipments. They took some of us to climb further but the scales were very steep and there was a great deal of snowfall. Many of the porters were injured. The well-publicised climbers, Tan Shi-chue and Gompo, remained at 7,000 *kungti* all the time. In fact, by the time they

decided to return to the base, their arms and legs were frozen and they had to be carried on stretchers by the porters. And that was how the famous expedition had ended.

Nevertheless, they claimed that they had conquered Mt. Everest. It was called a great triumph for the Chinese for it now brought the highest mountain in the world under Chinese control. They further claimed that Everest contained many minerals like iron, copper and various precious stones which the Chinese Government planned to extract in the near future.

Education in China

On 12th June, 1960, I left for *Len Tse* (National Minorities) School in the Kansu province of China. There were 500 Tibetan students from different parts of Tibet.

The main subjects in school were Chinese literature, language, mathematics, map reading, arts, military training, patriotic songs and physical training. The main purpose of our education appeared to be to make a select number of Tibetans proficient in Chinese so that they could help the Chinese administrative staff in Tibet. Before we left for China we were told that we could eat anything we wanted at school and gave us extremely good meals on the way. However, when we reached China, they said that the Chinese National Welfare had decreased the rations. And so, for the entire period of our studies we had to live on bread, vegetables and broths—that also of insufficient quantity.

We were given 10 *dung* (=5 moatse= $\frac{1}{2}$ yuan) per head per day as food allowance. Out of this, 2 *dung* had to be paid towards the National Welfare Contribution, 2 *dung* was meant for breakfast and 3 *dung* each for lunch and supper. Other allowances, payable monthly, consisted of 6 *dung* for bread, 10 packs of cigarettes and 3 Chinese notes (yuans) for other expenses. At one time, the school authorities cited a quotation from Mao's book saying that we had to minimise our expenditures and revolt against good food and good clothes. It was claimed that a third of the world population was still suffering under the bourgeoisie exploitation and that we had to economise to help and support them. Since the food was very poor and the discipline strict we felt that it would be difficult for us to complete the six-year course.

So about 80 students approached the authorities directly and asked themselves to be sent home. They added that if their request was not granted they would return of their own accord. The arguments led to an open clash between the Tibetan students and the Chinese staff. Stones, sticks and knives were used. 52 Chinese and 18 Tibetans were killed. An official investigation was made immediately afterwards and the main Tibetan culprits—Dhondup from Gyantse and Kondrag from Sakya and a few others were sent to prison. The rest of us, 50 in number, who were involved in the fight, were expelled from the school and sent back to Tibet.

I Returned to Tibet

It was late 1963 when we returned to Tibet. I was posted in the meteorological station in Dhingri for a while. The station also sent telegrams and my job was in that department. After that I was sent to Nyanang as interpreter. I used to get 80 *pheu* (another name for Chinese notes) per month out of which I had to pay 18 *pheu* to the mess. The remaining 62 *pheu* was for clothing and other daily necessities. With this money I also had to support my family. My financial state, therefore, was very poor.

Once, a friend of mine introduced me to a Sherpa trader who had 13 foreign watches he wanted to get rid of. They promised me part of the profit if I could sell them to the Chinese. It was not very difficult for me. I sold the 13 watches to 13 different Chinese. Unfortunately, one of them had tried to resell it to someone else who reported the matter to the authorities. An enquiry was made and it was discovered that I had acted as the seller's agent in the transaction. I was arrested in December 1964 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in Emagang, near Shigatse.

In Prison

The prisoners were divided into four categories—(1) upper and upper-middle class, (2) monks, (3) poor and lower class and (4) old and sick. There was one prison house for each category and there were 10 rooms in each house. Ten prisoners were kept in each room. None of them had lights.

Every day we were assembled and given instructions on how to reform and change our thoughts. There were also endless lectures on how the common people were deceived and oppressed by the bourgeoisie and the monks in the old society.

There were three different types of prisoners:

- (1) The counter-revolutionaries.
- (2) Those who oppressed the masses through religion and politics.
- (3) Those who participated in the 1959 revolt.

Sentences varied between 3 years and 20 years, and of course life imprisonment and death sentences for very serious offences. All prisoners had to observe the following rules and regulations very strictly:

- (1) Every day we had to pay respect to and sing praise of Mao and the Chinese Communist policy.
- (2) No freedom of movement or speech.
- (3) No right to establish friendly relationship with members of other groups in the prison.
- (4) No business transactions allowed among the prisoners.
- (5) No one is allowed to possess any offensive weapons in prison.
- (6) Constant endeavours to drive away desperate thoughts and to cultivate proletarian attitudes.

Violation of any of these rules by the prisoners was liable to provide enough excuse for extending his sentence to life imprisonment or even death.

Food and Clothes of Prisoners

The *chubas* (the main feature of the Tibetan costume consisting of a long full gown tied round the waist with a sash) given to the prisoners were made of a very coarse material woven in Gyangtse. It was so rough that it was difficult to tie the belt on it. Besides that, we got a pair of baggy trousers (to be worn under a *chuba*) and Tibetan style boots. All the clothes were stitched by the prisoners themselves.

Regarding food, each prisoner got one Chinese *gyama* (about 75 grammes) of inferior *tsampa* per day. In the evening, they gave us each a small ladleful of light porridge of flour and little vegetable. On Sundays, we were given a cup of Tibetan butter tea.

Work and Punishments

Working hours were from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. with a one-hour break for lunch. Prisoners were divided into small work groups and each group was allotted a certain amount of work to be completed within a given time. Thus, there was always a competitive atmosphere and we did not even have time to sneeze or blow our nose. If someone passed any bad remarks or grumbled about the problems, his fellow prisoners were required to report him to the authorities; and if they failed to do so and the matter was discovered, they themselves would face punishments. So there was no end to the miseries and hardships.

Gyaltzen, who comes from Sakya, was serving an 18-year sentence for "having deceived the masses through religion and politics." The specific charges levelled against him were that of doing subversive work and sending icons and images of the Sakya temple to foreign countries. Unlike other prisoners, he never obeyed their orders and openly recited religious prayers in the prison every day. Once he told us: "I am a religious prisoner and I will die for it." He always used a part of his share of tampa for religious offerings before eating the rest himself. Because of his open defiance the Chinese became helpless before him and could do nothing. They raised his sentence to 20 years and later to life imprisonment. Gyaltzen remained unperturbed. Then they reported his case to the headquarters in Lhasa which passed a death sentence on him.

The Chinese sent all the group leaders of the Emagang prison to Shigatse to watch Gyaltzen's execution. I was also there and saw the entire procedure with my own eyes. Before leaving the prison, Gyaltzen stood in the middle of more than 400 prisoners and in a loud voice raised slogans of "Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama!" after which he turned to the guards and said, "Now kill me. I will not regret."

The guards tied Gyaltzen's hands behind him and hanged a placard down his neck with "Death Sentence" written on it. They took him like that around the town and finally stopped at Jhawoe Thang. There they announced the charges against him and then shot him on the back.

During my three years' stay in prison they gave death sentence to Gyaltzen and extended the prison terms of many

prisoners, but they did not reduce the sentence of anyone for good behaviour which they had proclaimed they would do.

Release

I completed my sentence on 12th December, 1967. I was ordered to work in the land for five years under their supervision since, it appeared, I had not yet completely got rid of my old 'reactionary' thoughts. So I was employed in collecting wood for the prison mess. There were a few other prisoners also working with me: some as porters, some as gardeners and some as wood-cutters.

Our wages varied according to our work capacity. The hard workers got 45 yuans a month, the medium workers 35 yuans and the poor workers 28 yuans. With this money, we were allowed to purchase 30 gyamas of tsampa, one ball of tea, one gyama of either oil or butter and one gyama of sugar.

After a year in Emagang, I worked with a lorry driver who carried wood between Yatung and Gyangtse. I stayed with him for five years, that is, until 1972. Towards the end of the fifth year, one of the prison authorities, Wang Tung-shin, told me that I had completed my probationary term to their satisfaction and that I was now free to go and mix with the masses or return home if I wanted to. But I was warned not to give bad impressions of prison life to outsiders. I went home to Dhingri in December 1972.

Communes in Dhingri

When I reached Dhingri I found my family in a very poor condition. And I being a prisoner had nothing to bring them.

In March 1973 communes were started in Dhingri. All private properties were collected and everybody was turned into farmers. All farming implements and livestocks also became the property of the commune. It was a totally new experience for us and we faced tremendous difficulties. We went directly to the Chinese authorities and complained that the establishment of communes has created grave problems of scarcity all around. We pointed out that in the old society, when everybody was doing whatever they were good at and exchanging their respective products with each other, there was never any scarcity problem.

The office-bearers in the commune told us that there was no compulsion to join the communes. They wished us luck if we wanted to engage in private enterprises and hoped that we would be able to contribute more to the commune that way. However, our properties gathered in the commune were not returned and so we had no capital to start private enterprises.

For that matter, there was not enough capital to open the communes either, and so the people were ordered to contribute 111 yuans each. But the people were already so impoverished that hardly anyone could afford to make that contribution. Look at my own case: I had five members in my family which meant that I had to contribute 555 yuans. I was at that time so poor that I could not even afford to buy a ball of tea, and, moreover, what little possession we had had already been submitted to the commune. We told the Chinese that we simply did not have that much money and so we were unable to contribute the said amount. Finally they said that we could borrow grains and pay that instead of cash. But no one had enough grains to lend us either. So the Chinese themselves lent us the required amount of money and we were asked to pay it back at harvest time.

Even if we were able to disregard the problems of livelihood, there were still other difficulties to face. The communes brought not only food problems but also a great deal of restrictions which did not exist before. The Chinese propaganda claims that Communism in Tibet has transferred the power from the *Kashag* (the Cabinet) to the people themselves "thereby making them their own masters." I don't know what kind of masters we are who cannot even move freely without obtaining somebody else's permission. Even in the meetings we are constantly urged to air our views, but whatever we said carried no weight at all unless it just happened to coincide with their own plans.

In the beginning we had to work during spring and autumn from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. In the evenings there were compulsory study sessions between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. in which he had to study Mao's Thoughts. During summer and winter we had to work eight to nine hours a day. Besides working in the fields, we were also used in building roads, bridges, collecting manures and cutting grass.

Tibetans had to do all these work while living on a starvation diet of tsampa and black tea. The average wage is 12 khels of grain a year and the specially hard workers were entitled to an extra four khels. Since all the produce except these 12 khels a head is taken away as taxes and reserves there is no surplus grain to barter with tea, butter, meat and other necessities. In any case private business is forbidden. Once some of us complained about our problems and pointed out that in the old society we all used to have plenty of good food to eat. The Chinese assured us that our problems were temporary and that the conditions will soon improve. They criticized us for speaking about the rich food and drinks under the old system and said that we were "spreading the old poison again." Thus there was no change and no effect.

Army

The military personnel in Dhingri cantonment are equipped with various modern arms including machine-guns, hand-grenades and cannons. There are approximately 500 soldiers divided into a number of camps, each assigned with a particular duty. The duties of the Camp No. 2, for instance, is to look after the bridges. Another camp, called *Poa Len*, has to guard the transport centre and an oilfield behind that camp. The camps whose duties it was to guard the frontiers and to look after the crops are located in Dhakmar.

Reason for Escaping

Once the Chinese discovered that a certain amount of grain was missing from the commune storage. For some unknown reason the blame was put on me. The Chinese swept aside all my protests and ransacked my house. I showed my resentment on being suspected of theft even though I felt I had proved my honesty and diligence over the years.

The search revealed nothing incriminating and so I was told to continue my work in the commune. However, they warned, they would put me on public trial as soon as they found enough evidence to convict me. I realized that from now on there would be people who would be following my every movement and making life miserable for me. I resolved to

leave the country and look for a relative of mine who had escaped earlier.

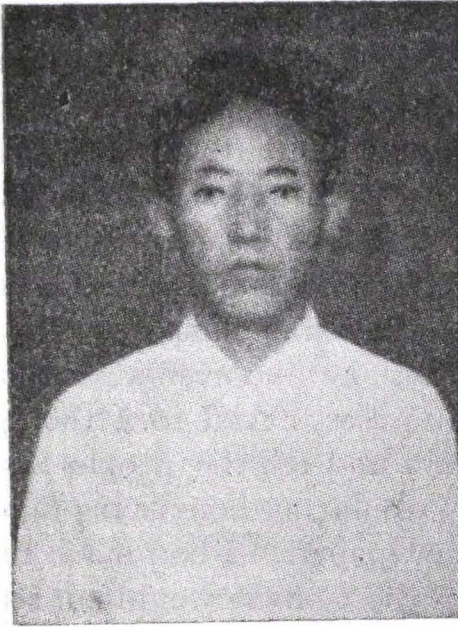
Last year I left home with a map and two newspapers and stayed the night in a rest house at Dhakmar. Unfortunately there was a group of Chinese staying there who searched me and found the map and the newspapers. On being questioned I told them that I was going to Rongshar in search of food. They did not believe me and beat me badly. In the end I had to tell the truth.

I was sent back to the commune with two guards. The authorities asked me the reasons for my attempted escape and also why I had taken the map and the newspapers. I replied: "I had worked for many years under Chinese Communism and moreover, I was a member of the working class. However, I was sent to prison for a small mistake and even after being released I was compelled to live in misery. And so I thought I would flee to some foreign country and tell the people there the whole truth. I felt that they would not believe me unless I showed them the map and the newspapers." I had made that frank confession in the hope that the Chinese would not send me back to prison.

They did not. They sent me back to my work with the warning that from now on I would be watched closely by all the workers as well as the Chinese to make sure that I worked hard and behaved properly. They added that that was the last chance I was getting. So I continued my work, but as days passed my wish to escape increased since I could see no future for me in Tibet. I decided to take a risk and grab the first opportunity that came my way.

So I left Dhingri again last month, on the 24th, at about 2 o'clock in the morning. I travelled through Kyarak, La Tse and reached Solu Khambu in eastern Nepal the following afternoon.

25. Statement of Kunga Thinley



Age 39. Father's Name: Dorjee Paljor. Birth Place: Lhokha Yarto, Yarsang Horma, Western Tibet.

Kunga Thinley was an attendant secretary in the household of Yongzin Ling Rimpoche, Senior Tutor to H. H. the Dalai Lama. He arrived in India in January, 1975, with his cousin Jamyang Palden, 37, and is now settled in the Tibetan Colony in Mundgod, Karnataka State, South India.

I N 1958 I went to Ngari to work under Khenchung (Government official of fourth rank) Thubten Khenrab. In 1959, after the Lhasa uprising we were all arrested by the Chinese. Khenchung was tortured to death in prison. I myself was sentenced to hard labour along with thousands of others in Ngari and had to put up with insufficient and bad food and ceaseless interrogations every night for two years.

All the members of my family were subjected to public trial and criticized for our connection with the household of Yongzin Ling Rimpoche. My father was arrested, all our property confiscated and, keeping all the valuables for the Chinese themselves, the rest was distributed among the poor people. My father was eventually released, but the torture, imprisonment and criticism proved too much for the family and so, soon afterwards, he, my elder sister Namdrol, her daughter and

brother Lobsang together committed suicide by jumping in the Yarla Shamchu river.

I was released from prison in 1961 and sent to Lhasa to work in the road construction sites. The following year, I was sent to the Kusung Magar in Norbulinka where I was employed in the "Zopa Menkhang" (hospital for artisans) as a kitchen help and gardener. In 1972 I was made a cook, the job which I held until my escape.

One Sunday evening in mid-1974, I was returning from Lhasa to Norbulinka. There were two Chinese walking in front of me and talking loudly. At one point I heard them criticizing the "unhygienic" habits of Tibetans. I went to them and told them that they should not have come to Tibet if they found the Tibetans so dirty and bad.

We had a good deal of argument at the end of which, one of them said, "I am related to Chao Mau, head of the Zopa Hospital." And I told them that I worked in the hospital.

A few days later I was summoned to the hospital office by Chao Mau. He told me that my peculiar argument with two Chinese the previous Sunday had been reported to him, and that if I did not confess it I would have to be prosecuted. I confessed that I had such an argument. He said that since I had criticized the policies of the Chinese Government, I would have to submit a written and signed confession of not only this but all the other similar crimes that I was likely to have committed.

Having had lived under the Chinese for so many years and having witnessed so many similar incidents, I recognised the patterns at once. It was obvious that they were going to "try" me, and that invariably would lead to torture and imprisonment. So I made up my mind to escape from there as soon as possible. One day in September 1974 I got a lift in a car going to Lhokha. Once there, I got in touch with my cousin Jamyang Palden and together we escaped through Tsona and safely crossed the Indian border.

About Lhasa

Tibetans are made to work like animals and they have no freedom of any kind whatever. In an effort to keep up Maos,

ideology of constant class struggle the whole of Lhasa has been turned into a huge prison. Public trials, torture and imprisonments have become a daily feature of life. Everybody has to do manual works by day and attend public meeting by night. Everybody is liable to be arrested at the slightest provocation. People live in constant fear of their lives. Added burden is created by the Chinese emphasis on "High productivity and low consumption" which has resulted in an acute shortage of food-stuffs.

In 1966, the Cultural Revolution came to Tibet and launched an active campaign to destroy anything and everything "old": Tibetans wearing traditional long hair were given short-back-and-sides; wearing of national costumes was forbidden; practice of religion were explicitly banned; and all old values and ideas was declared illegal. All valuable items were taken out of centuries old temples and monasteries such as Tsuklag Khang, Ramoche, Zhide, Meru, Kundeling, Tsemonling, Tsecholing and Tengayling and transported to China. All clay images were crushed into powder and scattered on the streets so that people are forced to tread on them. Public bonfires were made of countless volumes of scriptures and religious paintings. Houses were raided and private shrines and objects of worship also suffered similar fate. In Thomsikhang (situated outside the inner circular street of Barkhor) market, the Chinese put on display samples of every item of religious and ornamental value with a large poster over it proclaiming the possession of those items illegal and ordering their possessors to bring them there and hand them over to the Chinese authorities. Among the items on display was a portrait of His Holiness.

All important lamas and former Government officials were made to wear paper hats and paraded through Lhasa with Chinese guards whipping them all the way. The Red Guards also saw to the expulsion from the ranks of some of the Tibetans who were in the Chinese payroll since 1959. The clash between the two main factions of the Red Guards which lasted about three years also resulted in the death of countless Tibetans all over the country. The Chinese themselves suffered a heavy loss through economic and administrative disruptions. There was an overall loss of confidence in the People's Government. Some

of the topmost Chinese officials were purged. The highest military authority in Tibet, Chang Kuo-ha, was not immune to it either. Once he fell from grace, he was transferred on some pretext to Dri-du, near Datsedo (known to non-Tibetans as Tatsienlu). But it was heard later that he was killed as soon as he got there.

The next important event was the start of anti-Lin Piao, anti-Confucius, anti-Dalai and anti-Panchen campaigns which lasted about a year. Nevertheless, the Tibetans continued to revere the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. The Chinese often criticize the "incongruous" behaviour of the Tibetans in readily joining in the anti-Lin and anti-Confucius campaigns but not the anti-Dalai and anti-Panchen ones. Still, a number of Tibetans were made to denounce the Dalai and Panchen Lamas by using a combination of bribery and threat.

In 1972, the King of Cambodia was expected to visit Lhasa. It was then that a hasty repair of some of the important and well-known religious institutions in and around Lhasa, such as the Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries and the Tsukla Khang Cathedral, was carried out. The pressure was so hard that the Chinese rounded up all the skilled craftsmen from all over Tibet and brought them to Lhasa. Many important images and religious trappings were transported back to these institutions by night.

Again in 1974, we were told that a foreign trade delegation was arriving in Lhasa. We were sternly warned not to speak to them or answer any of their questions. The parents were ordered to instruct their children not to accept offers of sweets and money.

During the last *Saga-Dawa* (the fourth Tibetan month which corresponded with June/July when all Tibetans celebrated Buddha's attaining of the Enlightenment by practising religious activities and doing as many good deeds and as little bad deeds as possible), people of Lhasa went on sacred rounds of the Bakhor street and offered prayers. It was learnt afterwards that the Tibetan lackeys of the Chinese were sent to mix with the crowd and report all that were said and done on that occasion. In the evening meetings people were criticized for retaining their "green brains". The Chinese admitted that they could well understand the inability of the elder people to

discard everything from the past all at once, but voiced strong regret that even some of the younger generation found attraction in these superstitious practices.

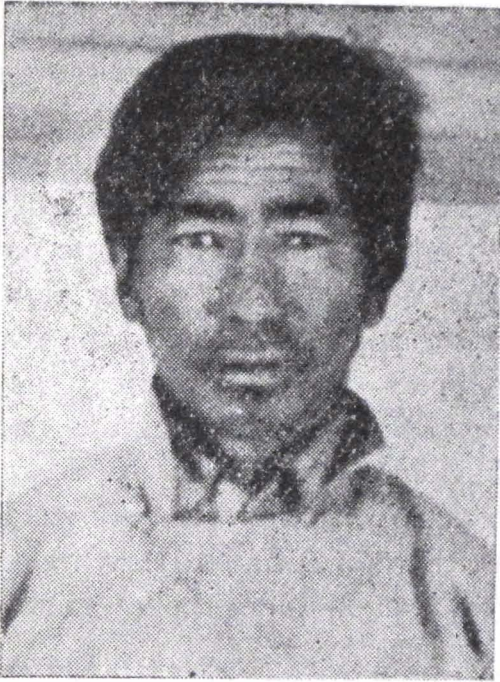
During summer months the lackeys are often sent in small batches wearing beautiful clothes and carrying empty tiffin-carriers and thermos flasks to the beautiful gardens of the Norbulinka and other parks where photographs of them smiling and enjoying a picnic are taken.

I have seen many important lamas who were quite young when the Chinese invaded Tibet. It is highly gratifying to see that despite all the hardships and threat they have still not broken their vows of celibacy and still are practising Buddhist monks. Ever since the Constitution of (free future) Tibet that was promulgated by His Holiness (in 1963) was made secretly known in Tibet, the hopes of the Tibetans have greatly increased. The first known copy of this Constitution had come into the hands of Reting Rinpoche (the young incarnation of the last Regent of Tibet) in 1969. He gradually managed to pass it around to many people and eventually the Chinese got wind of this. So he was arrested in 1973 and is at the moment serving a three-year sentence of imprisonment. In the meantime, many other copies of the Constitution had found their way into Tibet. The people in Tibet consider it a very sacred document and their hopes of regaining independence have greatly increased since their arrival. This is because the Constitution proved that His Holiness was not sitting idle in exile as some of the Chinese propaganda used to claim but was working hard to enlist the support of other nations for our cause. Besides this, many mysterious signs have in recent years been observed in different parts of Tibet and people regard them as good omen (this is because in the past whenever such signs were observed, such as prior to the discovery of the present Dalai Lama, there had always followed a good event of national importance).

All in all, the actual conditions have also taken a favourable turn for the Tibetans since 1971. Young Tibetans have discarded all Chinese teachings and have started adopting traditional values. The Tibetan girls have altogether stopped marrying Chinese men, however hard the pressures may be.

Even the climate has improved considerably.

26. Statement of Jamyang



Age 45. Occupation: Small farmer. Birth Place & Residence: Dhingri, S. Tibet. Arrived in Nepal on 5th, March 1975 along with 11 other people, including his wife, Tsamcho, and five children all of whom now live in Dharamsala where Jamyang is working in the Tibetan Carpet Manufacturing Centre at McLeod Gunj.

IN 1959, the Chinese allowed the people of Dhingri to work their fields in the usual manner since the farming season was already underway and the Chinese did not have time to “redistribute” the land. The following year, however, the land reforms were introduced.

In Dhingri there were not much private estates and so the process of redistribution was not very complicated. Chalee Secretary, a former Tibetan Government official, was subjected to public trial for being a member of “the reactionary clique” and his son was sent to the Shigatse prison. There were no other cases of public trial during the reform. The entire population was divided into graded categories. I was put in the “poor class peasant” category. There were a total of 754 people in this category.

There were three working members in our family and we were allotted a plot of land which would hold 6 khels of barley. One ploughing ox was also provided for every three people. Those who had the wish and means to purchase anything extra were allowed to do so. Houses belonging to former landlords were also made available to poor people with large families. we were also given a few household articles but no distribution of food or clothes was made.

In 1963, they took back all the land and again redistributed it with the imposition of a new system called "Two-and-Eight" taxes. Under this system, the produce was divided into ten parts, two of which had to be paid as tax. Out of the eight remaining parts, two had to be set aside for seed and the rest is allowed to be kept by the producers. But in practice, they ended up with much less. This was because the Chinese had assessed that one khel of seed yields 7 khel and 10/15 *drai* (1 khel=20 *drai*) of grain whereas, in actuality, it never yields more than 5 khels. The Tibetans, therefore, had to pay higher level of taxes than what is their due, even under the laws made by the Chinese themselves.

In 1964, the poor class peasants were grouped into "Mutual Aid Teams", each consisting of seven families who were either related or close friends. A team had to work jointly on the fields of each of its members on a rotation basis. People who were not in the "Mutual Aid Teams" were entitled to one ploughing ox upon payment of a certain sum of money.

The working hours and payments varied from Team to Team. On average, in autumn, each worker got 2½ *drai* of grain on top of his daily ration and, in spring, the amount went up to 5 *drai*. The average working hour was 8 hours in winter and 14 hours in spring. Every evening there is a "Study Session" lasting three hours which everyone has to attend. Later, they increased the membership of each team from 7 families to 10 families. There had been no further change until the introduction of communes in 1973.

In 1973, the communes were introduced though not abruptly. Every day for three months there were public meetings where the Chinese tried to propagate the importance of communes. People were lectured on the need to preserve unity among themselves,

to revolt against the landlords and revisionists and to cultivate abilities to think and express their thoughts.

Of the young Tibetans who were sent to China for education, some have returned. Many of them were given the task of starting the communes.

And so, after those three months of intensive education on the commune life, the Chinese established four communes in Dhingri. The President of the commune was a Chinese officer, chang Tre-boog. All the other staff-members are Tibetans. I was elected as the accountant. The people were divided into a number of groups, each with group leaders and work supervisors.

In my group there were 24 families with a total of 124 people. So theoretically we were eligible for a plot of land holding 385 khels of seed. However, when the work started, we got a plot which would only hold 100 khels.

In summer we had to work from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. and in winter from 9.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. Three-hours "study sessions" were on every evening throughout the year. Each worker got an average of 10 khels of barley as annual salary. Only people between the ages of 15 and 55 are allowed to work and only they get this ration. Young and old dependents outside this age limit have to be provided by the working members of the families. Old and infirm people who have no relatives at all are given 10 khels of barley a year, but the ones with relatives are given nothing. People who are sick and unable to go to work can apply for sick leaves, but they are not paid any wages for the days they have been absent from work.

Workers are divided into three categories according to their working capabilities and they are paid according to the "Karcha System". One who earns one 'Karcha' gets 1 mogtse (=one-tenth yuan). The best workers get 8 karcha, the medium 7 karchas and the poor 6 karchas. Each labourer is given a work book where he has to keep a record of his daily work. His entry is verified by the supervisor who also calculates from it the karcha earned by him.

The best quality grain costs 3 yuans 5 mogtse per khel; the medium quality 3 yuans and 2½ mogtse and the poor, 3 yuans. On the whole the food production has increased considerably since the establishment of the communes. However, the people

themselves have not benefitted from it in any way. Quite the contrary, in fact. For instance, there are 7 members in my family, but only 3 of us fell in the working age-group. It was exceedingly difficult to manage such a large family with the income which was, after all, barely sufficient for three. Of course, we were allowed to borrow from the commune, but this created added worry because the debt kept mounting and we could not see any way of being able to repay it in the foreseeable future.

Each group in the commune has to provide ten people as country levy towards People's Militia. These are youths between the ages of 20 and 25 and their job is to help the regular army by carrying their supplies when they are on the move and providing other assistance. They are liable to be sent anywhere and at any time. The People's Militia was established in 1969.

When the commune was first established, a top army officer of the Tibet Autonomous Region came to Dhingri and told the people that there would be freedom of religion and movement for all. But once he left, all his promises were broken by the local authorities. There is no freedom of religion at all and only the very poor people have a modicum of freedom of movement.

There are eight divisions of army stationed in Dhingri permanently. The seniormost officer is one General Yin Tang. The seniormost Tibetan officer is named Phuntsog. There is also a military store which provides rations, armaments, etc. and looks after the needs of the military personnel in the entire border area. A tunnel has been dug from Dhakmar to the border via Kumbu Gan-la pass. There are only young people in the army—some of them are Tibetans. All soldiers are equipped with modern arms and they wear fairly warm fur clothes. In Dhingri district, there are about 5000 troops.

There are five towns in Dhingri district and each one has a prison in it. The prison guards are soldiers put all decisions regarding prisons are made by the Intelligence Office.

In November 1973, I obtained a travel permit to visit a relative in Shigatse. I spent eight days there. There are about 400 prisoners working in a coal mine near Shigatse. I did not have time to find out if they included any well-known persons. Another prison in Gyamtsho Shar had 200 prisoners in it.

In Shigatse itself, part of the Tashilhunpo monastery was under repair when I was there. One evening, the Chinese held a film show outside the monastery. In the audience, we saw about 5,000 women soldiers dressed in khaki uniforms. There were some Tibetans among them.

Some of the Tibetans who have returned from China were saying that the Panchen Lama was alive and well and living in China. He is reported to be very tall and growing a beard. The Chinese propaganda claim that he is living with his brother's wife. They also say the Dalai Lama has also married. After the Cultural Revolution, we have not had any reliable news of the Panchen Lama.

The reason why there are not very many Tibetans escaping into exile these days is the rumour current in Tibet that we shall be regaining our independence soon. The condition in Tibet is so bad now that this is the only hope that is stopping them from attempting another mass exodus. Once about two years ago, the entire population of Dhingri was planning to escape. Then the rumours about independence began circulating and the plans were abandoned.

I decided to escape when I received a letter from a relative who is already in India. The letter was sent with another Tibetan who had gone to India to attend the Kalachakra Initiation given by His Holiness. Incidentally, the Chinese themselves had announced that the Initiation would be given on such and such a date and anybody who wishes to attend it would be granted a leave of absence. However, when they returned from the Initiation, they were punished for having retained their "superstitious beliefs".

27. Statement of Lodi Gyatsho



Age 50. Father's Name: Chodak. Birth-Place and residence: Gertse, Tö, W. Tibet. Occupation: Nomad

Lodi Gyatsho and his wife Dickey Dolma, 36, crossed the Indo-Tibet border on May 25, 1975. They are now settled in Leh, Laddakh.

FROM our family only we two have fled from Tibet. My wife's parents and her two sisters, Chokey and Bamchu, are left behind.

In Tibet the Chinese have deprived the Tibetans of all freedom. No one is allowed to pray. No one is allowed to possess private properties. The parents have virtually no right in deciding the course of their children's future. The Chinese take

them away and teach them whatever they want to teach. People have to listen to propaganda lectures every day. Common people are told that they were oppressed and constantly made to work by the old Tibetan Government and as a result they did not even have time to learn the alphabet. They are told that they were wrong in calling the Dalai Lama a "Precious Jewel" because precious jewels are buried under the earth and can only be extracted by working on the soil. The Dalai Lama is called a "red-handed butcher who subsisted on the people's flesh and there is still a red mark on his hand to prove it."

I had to kill animals when I lived as a nomad but the Chinese had turned me into a farmer and since then I had stopped killing animals. However, the Chinese ordered me to kill animals and I found it impossible to carry out this order.

In February 1974, Liu Tung-rin, a Chinese officer from Nyaphug County, burnt and destroyed all the religious scriptures, icons and images belonging to a nomad called Dhakmien. As punishment for keeping these objects, all his properties and animals were also confiscated. The four of us—Dhakmien, myself and two other persons—were subjected to *thamzing* for three days. I had kept all my religious scriptures hidden in a nearby hill. The Chinese had somehow come to know of it and they told me to bring it all before the public meeting in two days' time. That was the first time that I decided to escape from Tibet.

The reason why, despite all atrocities, I had not thought of escaping until then was because I hoped and believed that we would gain our independence soon. There were several religious indications of it observed in Tibet. For instance, it was said at one time that the Panchen Lama, in one of his mirrors, had witnessed a fight between a red swan from the east and a white swan from the south in which the former was finally driven back to the east by the latter. In another vision a big river from the south had surged upwards and swept away a heavily forested place in the north. All these signs were interpreted by the people as forewarning of imminent withdrawal by the Chinese forces from Tibet. This hope was further strengthened by encouraging news from time to time. One such news was brought by a friend of mine called Geytook.

He was once sent to other parts of the country to sell salt and wool on behalf of the commune. On his return he told us that he met some 20 families who had recently come from the Sino-Tibetan border areas. According to them, rebellions had broken out in Lhasa and many Chinese had been killed. Besides there were also news of internal feud amongst the Chinese themselves. In China itself, both Lin Piao and Liu Shao-chi were said to have risen against Mao. This gave us added encouragement and made us believe that the days of our freedom were not very far off.

Commune Life

There are three communes in Jhangtö. All people irrespective of their age have to work in the commune. Men have to work in the fields and look after donkeys and cattle and women have to tend to sheep and goats. Women who can weave and knit are sent to the handicraft centre. The recent policy has been to pay each labourer according to the amount of work he has done. The best workers are supposed to get an annual ration of 160 *gyamas* (107 kgs. approx) of grains per head but in reality they only get about 115 *gyamas*. My wife and I fell in the "best workers" category but we were paid only 90 yuans a year with which to purchase our food, clothes and other daily necessities.

Since the introduction of the commune, the number of sheep and goat and the amount of wool, cheese and butter have increased by about 40%. But the Chinese officers kept telling us that the production was not sufficiently high and this was attributed to negligence on the part of the people.

Admittedly, the yields from the fields have not been very good. But the people are not to be blamed for this. Although we worked hard every day, nothing would grow in those fields except greyish grass. Perhaps it can all be changed by mechanising the farms but the Chinese have done nothing in that direction.

The Chinese announced in the beginning that old, sick, crippled and otherwise handicapped people can get help from three sources: their children, from the commune and from the Chinese Government. However, if the children did not look

after them, they were bound to die of starvation since the other two "sources" are never known to have lifted a finger to help the aged and the disabled. When the earnings for a particular year is not sufficient to support the whole family, people are allowed to borrow in advance from the commune and pay for it in hard labour.

The Chinese announcement that they have adopted a policy of relaxation with regard to Tibet is pure fiction. It was said that people who confessed their "crimes" and "mistakes" voluntarily would be pardoned. But if somebody confessed his "crimes" he would be constantly subjected to public criticisms and many even face punishments. Mao has said in his "Third Book" that people have right to (a) freely express their views on any subject, (b) practise whatever religion they choose and (c) wear traditional dresses and speak their own languages. In practice, however, none of these rights is enjoyed by the people and, instead, they are preached the virtues and necessities of revolution all the time.

Nightly public meetings are held for the following purposes: (1) To discuss the work of the commune, (2) to study Mao's Thoughts and discuss ways of putting it into practice, (3) to oppose capitalism and capitalistic tendencies, (4) self criticism and (5) mutual criticism.

Usually, people under suspicion are made to stand before the public and give an account of their lives or cite their views on certain topics. Gradually, their entire past is dragged out into the open and excuses are found to criticize, torture and punish them. Everybody is forced to cite examples of atrocities committed on the common people by the former Government and made to praise the new regime under which "peace and prosperity abounds in the land".

In actual fact, the condition of the people had deteriorated further with the establishment of the commune. So much so that many people risked their lives to bring about a drastic change in the system. For instance, in 1971, my friend Dhakmien and the Tsering brothers made an elaborate plan to kill every Chinese in the commune. Unfortunately, some selfish

people, in the hope of getting favours from the Chinese, reported the matter to the authorities. As a result, the plan could not be put into operation and everybody connected with it was arrested and tortured.

Military Preparations

I know the existence of five main army bases: Zijang, Chagang, Tsanga Shing, Nhaphug and Tashi Gang. But I do not know the number of troops in each centre. The Chinese call the army base in Nhaphug "Tsa Len Khang". I do not know what the other centres are called. At one time a huge number of troops arrived in Tö Gertse and all the Tibetans were made to evacuate their homes to provide lodgings for them.

Poor people between the ages of 15 and 50 are recruited in the "People's Militia". They are instructed to take any person or material arriving from foreign countries to the commune. If it is something they cannot carry, they have to note down all the specifications and report it to the authorities. Besides, everybody is told to be ready for war. The People's Militia is also assigned the duty of preventing people from fleeing the country. Tibetan soldiers posted at the border are very inadequately armed, for it is claimed that the Tibetan people have not yet got rid of their "old thoughts" and hence cannot be trusted with modern equipments.

Education

There are said to be district, county and commune schools in most places but I have not seen any myself. The school we have in our commune was set up by the people themselves.

Only children from poor families are admitted in the district and county schools. Some of the school-leavers are sent to Peking and the rest are posted in various parts of Tibet. Three Tibetan students, Chophel, Dhondup and Tsering Lhundup, came back from Peking. For some time, Chophel and Dhondup held important posts in the district office. Then one day, Dhondup was accused of corruption and humiliated and beaten in front of the public. Later he was taken to Zijang village. Chophel, too, was brought to public trial but he con-

fessed his mistakes and was released with a demotion. Tsering Lhundup started off as an interpreter. Than he was given the rank of "Tung Tang". He is also believed to be an army officer since he often goes around in full military uniform.

Transportation

The Chinese have constructed roads linking Tsakha Chu with Zijang in the north and Lhasa in the south. Two more roads link Zijang with Sinkiang and Pu Rheng.

The Chinese have also built many bridges: one on river Pher Phung which flows from Zijang to Nhaphug; another large one on Sengey river in Zijang. These are strong, concrete bridges.

All the roads and bridges are used in transporting foodstuffs, troops and arms. The Chinese used to claim that the tax collected from the people would be used to build roads for them. However, I see no justification in calling them public roads since they are almost exclusively used for military purposes only. There is not even a public transport vehicle in Tibet. In Gergyal county, they have recently ordered the people to begin work in the construction of an airfield.

The coalmine in Ngarigar was recently opened but I do not remember the exact date.

Latest on the Panchen Lama

For a long time we had no idea where the Panchen Lama was. However in a recent meeting the Chinese told us that he was in Peking and we were not to believe any false rumours about him. During the years 1961-62 people did not have much respect for the Panchen Lama because we thought he was a puppet of the Chinese. In the widely distributed photograph showing the Dalai Lama the Panchen Lama and Mao together, in Peking taken in 1954, people used to cut off the pictures of the Panchen Lama and Mao Tse-tung and throw them in the streets. However, since he revolted against the Chinese and subsequently got arrested, people began to respect him with renewed faith.

The Panchen Lama was arrested in 1964-65 when the Chinese discovered that he was secretly training about 300 Tibetans in the use of machine-guns, 30 in driving and 20 in

cavalry warfare and was planning to use them against the Chinese. Once in a mass meeting they ordered the Panchen Lama to confess to these crimes. The Panchen Lama firmly and boldly replied: "My crimes and mistakes are bigger than mountains and deeper than oceans. If I have to confess them I shall do so in front of the World Body (the United Nations), and not in front of the Chinese."

Ngabo Ngawang Jigme is the only important Tibetan who is still favoured by the Chinese.

Every time the subject of His Holiness is brought up in meetings, the Chinese tell the people that he is scared to come back to "New Tibet" because in the old days he used to live on people's flesh and blood. They are also told that it is quite wrong to hope and believe, "as many of you do", that the Dalai Lama will return to Tibet and that the Chinese will go back to China. The Dalai Lama, it is claimed, used to punish people by cutting of their arms and legs and the people used to suffer untold miseries under him whereas everyone is happy now by the grace of Mao Tse-tung and everyone enjoys equal rights and freedoms irrespective of class and sex.

As for the rest of the Tibetans who went into exile, we are told that they are facing famine and that many have died of starvation. They could not even get firewood and had to make fire by cutting sacks into pieces and lighting it by dipping it in a little kerosene. The Chinese informed us that in India the average life expectancy is 18 years, and so, "by now all Tibetans in India must have died." They also claim that all the Chinese troops deployed along the Indian border have been recalled "since these days India is ruled by a woman who is so scared of the Chinese that she would not dare come anywhere near the border."

Appendix I

Text of "The agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet"

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 or 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 previously 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 have 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 Chinese 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 co-operation, composed of all its nationalities. Within this big family 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 Ertini shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ertini is meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th. Panchen Ertini 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 reorganised 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. Insofar as former pro-imperialist and pro-KMT official resolutely sever relations with the 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 to take part in the work. Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the Local Government of Tibet, various districts and various principal monasteries; the name-list 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 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-yuah

Delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet:

Chief delegate: Kaloon Ngabo Ngawang Jigme

Delegates: Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdi, Khenchung Thubten Tenthar, Khenchung Thubten Lekmuun, Rimshi Samposey Tenzin Thondup

Peking, May 23, 1951

Appendix II

Chinese Proclamations on Tibetan Refugees

P O L I C I E S to be applied to the Tibetan brothers who have fled to other countries after taking part in the revolt, and who now return and surrender:

To return and surrender is an honest and patriotic act which the people of the motherland will welcome. Following are the policies to be applied to those who return and surrender:

1. Those who return and surrender, irrespective of their rank and seriousness of guilt, will not be questioned about their past deeds.

2. All those who return and surrender will not be imprisoned, killed, subjected to public flogging, or be held legally responsible.

3. If those who return bring with them arms and ammunition or documents, they will be given rewards according to the nature of articles they bring.

4. All personal belongings brought by those who return and surrender will be left at their own disposal, and will not be confiscated by the Government.

5. Those who return and surrender bringing along with them their relatives and friends, or those who led resistance movements, will be given rewards.

6. Those who are able to induce Tibetan brothers who took part in the revolt and fled to other countries to return, will be given rewards.

7. Those who return and surrender will be free to choose their own profession, according to which the Government will arrange for their accommodation.

Freedom of religion will also be guaranteed.

From the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Tibet.

December 10, 1963

Passport for Safe Travel

Of Tibetan brothers who have participated in the uprising and have fled from Tibet, are now welcome to return with this passport. They may either bring this passport and surrender to our army headquarters or voluntarily give up their weapons to our forces on the battle-field. Our forces will, in accordance with our Lenient Policy, accord them warm receptions and implement in toto the provisions of the following guarantee.

1. Personal safety will be guaranteed.
2. No recourse will be taken to public accusation, torture, imprisonment and killing.
3. No property will be confiscated from its owner.
4. The sick and wounded will be given medical treatment.
5. Travel expenses will be given to those who wish to return.
6. Authors of meritorious deeds will be rewarded in accordance with their merits.

From the Commanding Officer of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Tibet and the Political Bureau.

January 1, 1964

Radio Lhasa Tibetan Broadcast

“The State Council of the People's Republic of China held its 151st meeting on 17th December, 1964. At the meeting it was decided to relieve the Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatsho of his

office of Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

“The Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatsho, chairman of the Autonomous Region of Tibet, had staged the traitorous armed counter-revolution of 1959. And after his flight from the country, set up an unlawful exile government, proclaimed an illegal constitution, supported the Indian reactionaries in their intrusion of our country, organised and trained the remnant bandits and harassed our frontier areas, and alienated himself from the motherland.

“These clearly prove that he is a stubborn running dog of imperialism and foreign reactionaries.

“The State Council, in complying with the request of the people of Tibet, has, therefore, decided to dismiss the traitor Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatsho from his posts as Chairman and member of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region of Tibet.”

December 26, 1964

Appendix III

Will Tibetan Refugees Return Home?

(Editorial of Tibetan Review May-June 75 issue reproduced with permission of the Editor)

ONE of the most embarrassing problems that the Marxist type of liberation forces invariably face is that the to-be-liberated people, instead of gratefully welcoming the “liberators”, try to flee the imminent “liberation”. To the concerned orthodox Communists who believe in the infallibility of the party, this is nothing but the scheming work of the counter-revolutionary forces—the enemy. And to their friends who feel the need to be more precise, the scheming CIA becomes very handy to save their face and their team’s.

The Tibetan case is no different, though the exodus of Tibetan refugees has not been as large as that of Vietnam for obvious reasons. In the case of the Tibetan refugees the escape is not simply from an advancing Red Army to a nationalist stronghold; it is from an occupied Tibet to neighbouring countries. And the neighbouring countries, it should be noted, have not been always willing to give refuge to the Tibetans, especially after 1959. It is on record that India which China suspects to be involved in the Tibetan revolt has on a number of occasions sent back refugees from the borders. Recent escapees from the border town of Phari say that Bhutanese police authorities literally handed over several refugee parties to the Chinese counterparts on the borders; and in return, the Chinese gave the brave Bhutanese policemen presents such as thermos-flasks, clothes, etc.

Another reason why the Tibetan exodus has not been as dramatic as those of Vietnam or Bangladesh is the insurmountable physical barriers. There is no ladder from the roof of the world to the Indian subcontinent. The Himalayas which

separate Tibet from the subcontinent make the borders between India and what was East Pakistan or between North and South Vietnam look like mythical lines. It is not only the Himalayan barriers but the whole continental Tibetan plateau with the exception of a few towns. It is for this reason coupled with further Chinese military entrenchment that after the 1959 Revolt there has been practically no refugee from Kham or Amdo province, about 2,000 miles away from the Indian borders. It is again for the same reason that after 1959 nearly all the refugees were from the border areas, particularly from Western Tibet along the Nepalese borders.

The Chinese response to the flight of the "liberated serfs" from the "socialist new Tibet" has been rather shrewd. During past 26 years the Chinese People's Liberation Army, whose strength in "Outer Tibet" alone is estimated at 300,000, has been deeply entrenched, and Tibet's Himalayan borders are carefully sealed off. An efficient network of people's militia and security guards operating throughout the length and breadth of the country makes it practically impossible for groups or even a complete family to escape. Hence, most of the recent refugees have been young couples or singles.

In addition the Chinese of course make good use of their propaganda machinery, though its successful impact is doubtful. However, apart from the usual depiction of suffering, unhappy India, the Chinese in recent years have been more down-to-earth in their propaganda aimed at aspiring refugees: the neighbouring countries would return any refugee to the Chinese if anyone is foolish enough to do so. This warning has deterred many, according to Tsering Dorji who escaped from Phari during the Cultural Revolution chaos. In Phari at least this point is driven home by the Bhutanese handling back several refugees to the Chinese. Moreover, taking the geopolitical factors into account Chinese pursues a special lenient policy along the border areas called "10-Point Border Area Policy". Under this policy, Tibetans living near the border areas are given more ration, less work and indoctrination, etc. than in interior Tibet.

The longish explanation is an intended as an excuse for the modest figure of 85,000 Tibetan refugees as compared with

that of Vietnam or Bangladesh. But the current fashionable infatuation with the People's Republic of China makes many an honest man blind to certain realities that would not fit a neat thesis advocated by those who see the world in ideological blacks and whites.

According to such a thesis, which is in essence Chinese propaganda but "non-Communist" in form, the Tibetan refugees are noblemen and high lamas. Nothing can be further from the truth than this. It only goes to show how far removed these advocates are from the realities of the situation. Instead of seeking refuge behind Communist cliches and living in a make-belief world, they should find out the truth of the matter themselves. India, where most of the refugees are living, is an open society, and they should study the composition of Tibetan community in exile. According to the Tibetan administration in exile, the number of noblemen is 30 and that of high lamas 11. The rest, about 84,960, are common people, peasants and herdsmen. It should be noted that immediately after the 1959 Revolt, almost the entire ruling class of Tibet was arrested on the pretext of taking part in the Revolt and except during the confusion caused by the fighting very few, if any, noblemen or high lama could escape. Thus of 33 leading Lhasa-based aristocratic families only 11 managed to escape during the fighting.

Why the "liberated serfs" should flee the "liberators" is a mystery only to those who are blind to the realities of a strange situation, to those who see the world in ideological blacks and whites, and to the committed Sinophiles. Much of this mystery will be cleared if only one keeps in mind that so far when Marxist type of liberation crosses its national boundaries, it becomes a handmaid of crimes that China is so fond of accusing other powers—imperialism, colonialism, expansionism. Otherwise why should a humble Tibetan peasant or herdsman risk his life on foot across the Himalayas? Is it a primeval human instinct for freedom? Or a terrified student running away from his tyrannical teacher?

As published in January issue of the *Review*, China has intensified its appeal to Tibetan refugees to "return home". Taking advantage of her improved relations with Nepal and Bhutan, where altogether about 10,000 refugees have settled

down, Chinese have used almost every conceivable method to bring back the refugees. Although they could not extradite the refugees for fear of world opinion, Nepal and Bhutan tried their best to create favourable conditions so that the Tibetan refugees would "return home". In Bhutan while the entire Indo-Bhutanese borders are sealed off for Tibetans moving in or out, the Tibet-Bhutan borders are purposely kept open for any Tibetan wishing to cross. Furthermore, as reported by a Calcutta daily, some pro-Peking elements in Bhutan carried out Chinese propaganda work among the Tibetan refugees, pointing out that instead of staking their lives in Bhutan where they had earned the displeasure of the Government or going over to India where their future prospects looked bleak, they should return to Tibet. But instead of going back to Tibet a number of Tibetans escaped to India. Nepal also has been very strict on Tibetan movement along the Indo-Nepal borders, while her southern borders with Tibet are wide open. Therefore it is not surprising that as long as the 40 Khampa leaders roamed within the Tibetan territory for about 28 days there was no Nepalese persuer of any kind. But the moment they turned towards India, the Nepalese police started chasing the Khampas and shot Khampa leader Wangdu in a place about 30 kms from the Indian borders.

Therefore, it is evident that if the Tibetans, at least living in Nepal and Bhutan, wished to return to Tibet, they could have done so without any fear of hostile reaction from their fellow refugees. But the fact that they did not fall for Chinese baits—cash rewards, good employment, good reception etc.—the 85,000 Tibetans, whose overwhelming majority are peasants and herdsmen, do not wish to return to Tibet as long as Chinese are ruling their country.

Appendix IV

UN Resolution on Question of Tibet

So far, the General Assembly of the United Nations has discussed the Tibetan Question three times: in 1959, 1961 and 1965. The following is the text of the resolution passed in its twentieth session in 1965 with 43 votes to 26 and 22 abstentions.

“The General Assembly:

“*Bearing in mind* the principles relating to human rights and fundamental freedom set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

“*Reaffirming* its resolution 1353 (XIV) of October 21, 1959, and 1723 (XVI) of December 12, 1961, on the question of Tibet,

“*Gravely concerned* at the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet and the continued suppression of their distinctive cultural and religious life, as evidenced by the exodus of refugees to the neighbouring countries,

“1. *Deplores* the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet;

“2. *Reaffirms* that respect for the principles of the Charters of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;

“3. *Declares* its conviction that the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet and the suppression of the distinctive cultural and religious life of its people increase international tension and embitter relations between peoples;

“4. *Solemnly renews* its call for the cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan people of the Human Rights and fundamental freedoms which they have always enjoyed.”

Appendix V
Geographical and Occupational Distribution of Tibetans in Exile

<i>Place</i>	<i>Agri- culture</i>	<i>Handi- crafts</i>	<i>Indus- tries</i>	<i>Students and Teachers</i>	<i>Monks and Nuns</i>	<i>Business and Office</i>	<i>Old & Retired</i>	<i>Labourers, House- wives, etc.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Dharamsala, H.P.		212		1200	147	1772	60	200	3591.
Mysore, Karnataka	12127	50		1800	2062	250	548	240	17077
Mainpat, M.P.	957			310	80				1347
Chandragiri, Orissa	2662			445	241			342	3690
Arunachal Pradesh	3094			395	97	677		1984	6247
Bhandara, Maharashtra	903			106	70			30	1109
Ladakh	2162			315		200		1500	4177
Darjeeling Area	194	564		1084	401	1900	100	232	4475
Kalimpong				285	99	1386	50	153	1973
Dehra Dun & Mussoorie Area	515	84	389	1591	240	1550		7000	11369
Kulu Valley				240	112	300		1408	2060
Simla Hills		151	907	377	209	1190		306	3140
Bir Area	1305	840		100	191				2436
Dalhousie, H.P.		464		354	46			250	1114

Calcutta, Bombay & Bangalore				100		315			415
Delhi & Chandigarh				80		1500			1580
Gaya & Varanasi				6	116	420			542
Sikkim	588			506	202	100		1010	2406
Nepal	857	3122		641	512	1541		2000	8673
Bhutan	2000			186	89	1000			3275
Switzerland			758	300	8	50		54	1170
Canada			220	50				30	300
United States			40	50	75	15			180
Europe & Japan (excl. Swiss)				180	20				200
GRAND TOTAL	27364	5487	2314	10701	5017	14166	758	16739	82546

Note : This table does not include the number of Tibetan refugees who are known to be scattered in various parts of the world, but untraceable for various reasons.

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