

TIBET
THE UNDYING
FLAME

KUNSANG PALJOR

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by
KUNSANG PALJOR
(Translated from Tibetan)

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Editors' Note

Because of the vast difference in the language, mentality and presentation, translation of any Tibetan work into a European language—unless it is specifically for the purpose of studying these differences—needs to be edited to a certain extent. Kunsang Paljor's *Tibet: The Undying Flame* is a straightforward political narrative with no literary pretensions. The purpose of the work, and especially its translation into English, is solely to make it accessible to as wide a public as possible. The style of translation and editing, therefore, seeks to meet the demand of the laity—as opposed to experts and scholars on Tibet—in the Western world.

The original Tibetan version of the work contains a fair amount of invectives and abuses directed at the Chinese, and paragraphs, especially at the beginning and end of each chapter, of messages, morals and instructions to the Tibetans in exile in particular and the world at large in general. Although this is quite an acceptable practice for Tibetan readers, especially in the context of its subject matter, we have decided that Western readers are not likely to be interested in them. However, on the other hand we felt that a wholesale elimination of such paragraphs from every chapter may deprive the book of its personality, thereby making it totally unrecognizable from the original. The compromise we have finally adopted leaves out most of these paragraphs but retains some in condensed form wherever they do not appear to be totally out of place. The author is aware of these liberties, and in fact the entire project of translation and editing has been carried out under his supervision.



Author's Foreword

I wish to briefly introduce myself and explain the purpose behind writing this book so that readers might find it easier to follow it and not take offence—wherever some of them may otherwise find it offensive—at the style in which it is presented.

I was born in 1942 in Tanag Lholing village of Shigatse district in Central Tibet. My father's name was Dordak and mother's Chonyi. Before the Chinese invasion, we occupied ourselves with both farming and trading. During the "Democratic Reforms" of 1959, the Chinese put us in the Landlord Class. All our properties were confiscated and my parents were subjected to a series of tortures. Eventually my father was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, while my mother was allowed to stay in the village under the constant surveillance of the people. We had no freedom of movement at all.

In 1961 my father died in the Karkhang prison of Shigatse. My mother died two years later in the course of the "Three Big Advices" campaign when she was subjected to severe *thamzings* (all these terms are explained in the text proper).

As for me, I attended the Shigatse school from the age of 9 till 12. In 1956 when I was 14, the Chinese selected me along with many other Tibetan youths to go to China. Our parents were deceived into letting us go since the purpose was given out to be mere "sightseeing". I was also under the impression that it was going to be just a short tour and had no idea that I was to be indoctrinated in Maoist ideology.

In Peking I was put in the Minority Nationalities Institute where I had to study Communism, Chinese history, Chinese language, and the importance of rejecting religion and criticising one's parents. Gradually we began to see through the Chinese policy of making our conditions worse through deception and

by learning things that we had no interest in. We made several requests to them to send us back home, but to no avail. Meanwhile I *was* learning new things. For instance, I realized that the Chinese treatment of us was like making us wear a hat made out of wet leather—it would get tighter on our head every day. However, I also realized that we should not act in haste but should wait for a suitable occasion before getting rid of these hats. So I concealed my feelings towards the Chinese and studied all their subjects diligently.

When I returned to Tibet in 1961 I found that a great deal of changes had taken place there during my absence. In Lhasa, I felt immeasurably sad to see that lots of atrocities had been, and were being committed against my fellow countrymen, and that hundreds of them were languishing in prominent houses recently converted into prisons. Tibetans who knew me would not speak to me frankly, since I had just returned from China. The Chinese, on the other hand, were all praise for me. Although my parents were what they called “reactionaries” they were pleased to notice that I had studied and adopted Socialism and had never been known to deviate from its path. Accordingly I was made a cadre.

In 1962, I joined the staff of the *Tibet Daily*—a Lhasa-based, Chinese controlled propaganda newspaper—first as a translator and later as a reporter, a post which I held till I left the country in 1969.

In the course of my work there I travelled all over the country and could see for myself innumerable examples of the atrocities and deceptions perpetrated by the Chinese in Tibet. The conclusion I have arrived at is simply this: Without exception, people everywhere in Tibet are living in constant fear, without a right of any kind. I used to get enough to live on by working in the press. However, the sufferings of people all around me constantly pricked my conscience. I realized that the only contribution I could make towards alleviating their difficulties would be to escape to India and make the facts about the true nature of the Chinese occupation of Tibet known to the outside world.

Thus I left Lhasa and came to India via Gyangtse and Phari. Soon I was in Dharamsala. I was happy beyond belief when I first met His Holiness the Dalai Lama and heard him speak. I was greatly encouraged by him to write and publish this work.

My knowledge and experience in Tibet and China forms the basis of this book. I have described how the Chinese have carried out their plan of torture and destruction in Tibet. Incidents that occurred in Lhasa and its vicinity in 1968 and 1969 are treated in greater detail. Most of the incidents were witnessed by myself, and the rest are based on first-hand accounts by reliable witnesses. I apologise for the lack of details on Kham and Amdo; it is impossible to get reliable information from that part of Tibet since even Tibetan cadres are not allowed to cross into those provinces. Communication by letters arouses suspicion and, in any case, they would all be censored. I have made use of only those Chinese terms which have been imposed on the Tibetans and which are in daily usage in Tibet now. I hope it shows to what extent the Chinese language is being forced on our people.

I wish to take this opportunity of thanking the Government of India and all the voluntary organisations and individuals throughout the world who are helping with the resettlement of Tibetans in exile. At the same time I should also like to request the United Nations Organisation and all people concerned to take notice of how the Chinese have deprived the Tibetans of all rights accruing to them under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Please do not be deceived by the Chinese propaganda and support us in our struggle for independence.*

Dharamsala
October 1970

KUNSANG PALJOR

*(Since coming into exile, Kunsang Paljor has worked in various departments of the Central Tibetan Secretariat in Dharamsala. In 1974, he resigned from his post to concentrate on running his shop in order to support his wife and three children. However, in 1976 he came back to public life with his election as a representative of Tibetan refugees from Central Tibet in the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies. Ed.)

CHAPTER ONE

Social Conditions in Tibet

During 1949, in complete disregard of international law and custom, the Chinese began the conquest and subjugation of Tibet. In 1959, after suppressing a popular revolt, they achieved complete control over the country and deprived the Tibetans of all their rights. They then divided the Tibetan population into seven occupational divisions: Farmers, Nomads, Townsfolk, Traders, Cadres, Primary School Students and Middle School Students. In the following pages I shall describe their life-styles, feelings and sufferings under Chinese occupation.

(a) **Farmers**

During the "Democratic Reforms" of 1959, the Chinese divided the farming population of central Tibet into six classes: manorial lords, manorial representatives, rich, middle class, poor and reactionaries. The Chinese regarded the first three and the sixth class as enemies. They proclaimed, on the other hand, that the middle class and poor peasants deserve to be supported, relied upon, and distinguished from the enemies.

The class division was followed by redistribution of land, animals and agricultural implements. Properties of the first four classes were confiscated. Many adult members of these classes were imprisoned, some were summarily executed and the others simply vanished. As a result the number of people in these four classes has been gradually declining since 1963.

After actively wooing and using the middle and the poor peasants for some time, the Chinese began to crack down upon

them by selectively imprisoning persons suspected of anti-Chinese feelings on various charges. These people were spirited away to unknown destinations and their fate is a mystery. These classes soon realized the aims behind the Chinese policy and they also began to be discontented and antagonistic.

Following the "Democratic Reforms", the Chinese introduced a series of other measures aimed at the poorer classes. These were "Class Policy Review", "The Three Big Advices"—which were advice on Thought, Class Consciousness and Political Ideology, and "The Four Cleanlinesses" (of Thought, History, Politics and Economics), etc. In the implementation of these propaganda drives, the Tibetan people suffered unlimited hardships, scores of them undergoing imprisonment and unknown fates. The Chinese employed various forcible methods to humiliate the dissident Tibetans, as a result of which many Tibetans resorted to suicide by drowning or hanging.

After redistributing the land, the Chinese set up agricultural co-operatives comprised of middle and poor peasants. These co-operatives were sustained temporarily to mislead the people. They never fulfilled their objectives, since the peasants in the co-operatives did not have sufficient agricultural implements.

In the review of class policy, the Chinese decided that certain people in the first four classes had "reformed" and were revolutionary enough to be admitted in these co-operatives. But at the same time certain people in the other categories were branded "reactionary" and were imprisoned and punished. Thus the Chinese were at that period employing a hard and soft policy simultaneously. It was to ensure the success of their "Three Big Advices" drive that the Chinese had instituted the three means: democratic reforms, class policy review and the establishment of co-operatives. Tibetans viewed this development in the following terms: "They (the Chinese) first make us laugh, and then cry."

It is in the Chinese nature to start taking the next step in their plans as soon as they are certain of the success of the present one. Thus even before the completion of the Three Advices campaign they already started plans for setting up the People's Communes as their fifth measure. Although people resisted the move to set up communes, by 1962 these had been

established in many areas of Tibet. Anticipating such opposition, the Chinese had held a meeting of the leading elements of the middle and poorer peasants and had lectured them on the merits of the communes. They said: "The delegates gathered here today love the party and the people, and are in the forefront of the working class activities. We have already taken note of your revolutionary awareness and the high degree of class consciousness. Today we are here to discuss the imperative need for setting up people's communes. But there are some people who oppose such a move. It is, therefore, highly important for you delegates to lead the way. We must today finalise the arrangements. If you voluntarily establish communes, you will have our full support. Tractors, seeds and other agricultural equipment will be supplied by us. All of you are followers of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. And as such, after the establishment of the communes you will be promoted to 'Turings' (Chairmen) and 'Dhutangs' (Overseers), and not remain in your present ranks of 'Tsoutangs' (Group Leaders). But it is necessary to weed out the reactionaries and criticise their crimes first."

It was obvious afterwards that the Chinese were saying such things in order to use the Tibetans against each other for the implementation of their policies. After the meetings, the middle and the poor peasants were forced to subject members of the first two classes to *thamzing* (public trials, which will be described later on). The Chinese coaxed them thus: "The upper classes are your enemies, and they oppose the establishment of communes." They were beaten mercilessly in public. Members of the lower classes soon began to feign eagerness to join communes, knowing what their fate would be if they refused. Some people would even plead in the meetings: "Even if the communes cannot be established today, please set them up tomorrow!"

Once some communes were established, the Chinese selected the best of the hard-working leaders and sent them to other parts of the country to set up communes there. It became increasingly clear that if the people did not express a desire for communes, they were certain to be subjected to a calculated series of pressure-tactics such as *thamzing* and beatings. Hence the people were *forced to volunteer* to participate at meetings where they had to display their willingness to join the communes

by raising hands and signing documents.

If there were complaints afterwards, the Chinese dealt with them by replying thus: "When we announced the plan you volunteered, signed and submitted your name in favour of it. We did not force it on you. Now, is it right that you should complain? Let us explain our policy to you: If you co-operate, we will be liberal. But if you persist along reactionary lines we will have to be hard on you. This is the policy of our great Communist Party. If you do not understand it, we will educate you in public meetings (meaning by subjecting you to *thamzing*)."

Using such a hard-and-soft approach, the Chinese gradually lowered the living conditions of the Tibetans. Tibetans had no choice but to express open admiration for the communes while bitterly resenting them at heart. The *turings*, *dhutangs* and other ranking Tibetans in the communes soon began to curry favour with the Chinese by enthusiastically following their directions. These Tibetan puppets were very few in number and they were hated by the vast majority of the Tibetan masses. The rapid Chinese progress in Tibet from co-operatives to communes in such a short period of time was made possible through the application of deceit and naked force on a scale unparalleled in the world. In China, for instance, they first began with "Mutual Aid Teams", then a few years later co-operatives, then advanced co-operatives, and only from 1958 to 1960 were communes introduced.

In Tibet there was no such gradual approach. Instead, a direct short-cut was adopted. In 1962 the Chinese experimented with communes in Lhasa, Shigatse and Lhokha. The main advantage that accrued to China was external propaganda value inasmuch as: 1) the Tibetans were portrayed to be economically progressing, 2) the Chinese Government was given out to be providing the Tibetans with adequate livelihood, and 3) it was made to appear that the communes were making the Tibetans more than self-sufficient and in a position to be able to give grain to other areas. This policy is obviously selfish and detrimental to Tibet, but China still continues to practise it to this day.

The communes were nothing like what they were made out to be. The actual conditions existing there were deplorable and heart-rending. Tibetans suffered in the following ways: 1) Regardless of age they were all forced to work eight hours a

day. 2) All the grain was confiscated on the pretext of a multitude of taxes. 3) The prospect of starvation was a certainty for a Tibetan who could not work. 4) Tibetans do not have any right over their private as well as national property. The Chinese said that Tibet was a part of China. However, this privilege did not have any practical benefit for the Tibetan masses. The annual grain output would be divided into five parts and only the smallest of those portions would be allocated to the Tibetan farmer who, if not careful in his consumption habits, would face the prospect of starvation. Although the Chinese heavily propagated the virtues of communes, the Tibetan people were not fooled for long. They realized that on paper the communes appeared a grand prospect but in reality had little to offer by way of food.

The Chinese next started the Tachai Movement which, for the Tibetan people, turned out to be even worse than the communes. Tachai is in China's Shensi province and it has in recent years become famous because of the prominence it was given in Chinese propaganda. Tachi was successful in increasing output per acreage, and people there live in communal style in common dormitories. The Chinese hope to emulate the Tachai mood in Tibet and thus gain propaganda advantage.

In 1965 the Tachai plan of operations was tried on the "Red Flag" Commune at Taktse, near Lhasa, which was set up in 1962. The Tibetans did not like this at all but the Chinese were forceful. "If you don't follow the Tachai, think about the future consequences," they explained. "In 1962 we gave you the flag of commune movement. We did this for your benefit. Now if you don't follow the Tachai model, there will be no publicity of your work efforts in the newspapers and radio. The Chinese Government will also be displeased with your attitude."

Similar events took place in Dana Dzong, Lhokha. In 1962 the mutual aid teams there were converted into a commune and, soon afterwards, its members were exhorted to follow the Tachai model. There were many oppositions but the Chinese, through a mixture of deceit and forceful tactics, overcame them.

And then there was the drastic transformation in the living conditions of the people of Phari. In Phari, the unusually short summer makes it impossible for the crops to ripen. So before 1959, people used to harvest the unripe crop and earn their

livelihood by selling it for animal consumption. This practice was particularly suited to Phari because it was situated on one of the main trade routes and lots of animals used to pass through there all the time. However, since the Chinese occupation all trade came to an end and the people of Phari were left with no alternative but to use the unripe crops for their own consumption. Thus their living condition has been steadily declining since 1959.

However, for external propaganda purposes the Chinese presented an altogether different picture. They said: "In the high-altitude Phari of the Tibet region, farmers have successfully planted wheat under the guidance of Han personnel. The Tibetans in Phari have hailed it as a great victory for Chairman Mao's thoughts." This was the manner in which the Chinese had the effrontery to twist reality into totally false claims. Many other similar instances have been distorted in this way. For instance, the Chinese were able to set up communes in Phari only in 1969, but in their propaganda claims it was referred to as a Tachai model as far back as 1965. Similar outrages were perpetrated in the Namling district and many other parts of Tibet.

At Paynak in Shigatse district, there was an acute shortage of food in 1968-69. The people demonstrated in front of the district headquarters demanding food, failing which they asked for license to go begging. The Chinese officials reacted violently and had the leaders of the demonstrators arrested. Here readers might well wonder how the grain harvested in a land as vast as Tibet disappeared? Food shortage in a land where famine was never experienced until recently can only be explained by looking at the various newly-introduced devices controlling the agricultural output.

At harvest time the Chinese would send scores of officials to the villages where they would assiduously compile a check-list of the grain output. The farmers would then be levied a variety of taxes on their harvest under such categories as: 1) State Grain, 2) Surplus Grain, 3) Seed Grain and 4) People's Commune Grain. After levying these four major taxes the Chinese would leave the industrious farmer 30 *gyamas* (1 *gyama* = $\frac{1}{2}$ Kg. approx.) a month as his ration. The less successful peasant received only 26 *gyamas*. In such a scheme of rationing, a family that had old folk incapable of working found it very difficult

to make ends meet. If they were not careful with their consumption, the risk of starvation became real. Whereas before 1959 a farmer, no matter how poor, always had a sufficient quantity of butter, meat, oil and other nutritious food, under the Chinese system all Tibetans were reduced to eating *tsampa* (roasted barley flour) with black tea year in, year out. This extremely poor diet necessitated a high level of consumption to provide strength for hard manual labour. However, even the quantity was far from adequate and this combination of poor food and momentary demands to increase output gradually sapped the strength of the Tibetans.

In comparison, the Chinese personnel received from 30 to 35 *gyamas* each of rice and flour and $3\frac{1}{2}$ *gyamas* of oil per person for a month. Moreover, their ration was free from linkage to work output. For short distances, the Chinese would ride on horses and bicycles. Life was much easier for them, while the Tibetans worked strenuously for a minimum of eight hours a day. Even the horses were fed with better and more grain than the Tibetan population. Still the Chinese propaganda claim that they are modernizing Tibet and that the Tibetan and Han people are working side by side. However, if you ask any Tibetan he will tell you flatly that it is sheer hypocrisy. The Chinese claim that before 1959 the Tibetans lived on the same level as animals. Even granting this false assertion, it can safely be said that the post-1959 situation definitely lowered their living standard *to below that of animals*.

According to Maoist ideology, the Party and the administration are servants of the masses and not their exploiters. I wish to question, in the light of the above facts, the validity of this claim. Does not the treatment of the Tibetans and the disparity between their living standards and those of the Party and administration members constitute a blatant case of exploitation? My observation of the Chinese rule since the age of 14 has made it clear to me that there is a big gap between their theory and practice. And there must be tens of thousands of Tibetans who have reached the same conclusion.

The Chinese propagate that the Tibetan customs and traditions are decadent and outmoded, and that life in old Tibet was primitive and animal-like. With their coming they claim to have ushered Tibet into the modern age. It is true that the Chinese

have introduced the trappings of modern society in Tibet, but the point is that this has not benefited the Tibetans in any way. On the contrary, the people's livelihood has declined rapidly compared to former levels, and every Tibetan knows this.

Although reduced to living on a sub-human level, and subjected to constant humiliation and duplicity, the Tibetan people nevertheless still retain their hope for independence. Their morale is high and it remains a strong force to counter the repressive measures of the Chinese.

(b) Nomads (Dokpa)

The nomad population of the Tibet is very large. The Chinese have divided them into three groups: (1) Dokta, the herd owners, 2) Dokding, the middle nomads and 3) Dokpa U-Phong, the poor nomads. In the beginning the Chinese confiscated the herds of the first class, cooperated with the middle nomads, and covertly aided and encouraged the poor nomads. The class division was followed by *thamzing*, taxation and communes. The nomads had escaped class division in 1959; it was only in 1962 that the above classification was drawn up and it was also in that year that the mutual-aid-teams were set up. The Chinese at that time were wary of introducing extreme measures because of the probability that the nomads would desert their herds in panic. After the class division, the herds were redistributed and mutual aid teams comprising six to seven families were set up. The nomads complained that the mutual aid teams necessitated settling down in a fixed spot, which led to problems like inadequacy of pasture. To this the Chinese replied thus: "This is the order of the Party. In other areas there have been no such complaints. If you persist in being difficult we shall have to introduce People's Communes."

The Chinese aims behind the reforms were: 1) to levy taxes on the nomads and 2) to confiscate the skin, wool, tail, butter and cheese through these taxes. This led to great difficulties for the nomads.

The nomads of Nagchu, Yangpachen and Thongmon in Shigatse district were the first to be herded into communes. As a result they became worse off than before. The nomads, who were never before known to be particularly politically cons-

cious, have now become much wiser due to the Chinese policy of blatant exploitation. When the Chinese advised them to establish communes, they replied that it was difficult to do so since the number of herds had increased since 1959 and there was a shortage of grazing land for them. The nomads now have no right over the herds; the Chinese drive scores of them daily to cities like Lhasa for slaughter. Every year, the tails and hair of the yak are appropriated by the Chinese as tax and the nomads resent this policy very much. Although the Chinese are trying their best to improve the livestock, the nomads are always sabotaging these plans by deceit and open opposition. Even the taxes are evaded either completely or in part.

As a consequence the Chinese have tried to win them over by selecting model people from the poor nomads and taking them to China on conducted tours with much propaganda and promises. At the same time some obstinate ones were branded as herd-owning class of oppressors and subjected to *thamzing*.

Despite such heavy odds, however, the nomads of Tibet still remain fierce opponents of the Chinese rule. The Chinese have realized that they are stubbornly independent with a high degree of unity against outsiders, and that it is not possible to exact full control over this section of the Tibetan community.

(c) **Traders**

Before the uprising a sizeable section of the Tibetan population was engaged in trading. However, since then class divisions were introduced in their ranks as well. Thus a trader officially became either a Big Trader, a Middle Trader, or a Lower Trader. The big traders were considered enemies of the people, while the middle traders were declared to deserve cooperation and the lower traders full aid and support.

In 1961 a committee was formed to draw up regulations to control trading activities. Following this, the property of the big traders was confiscated and they were equated to the manorial lords and handed over to the *Uyon Lhenkhang* (Working Committee) which, in turn, had the police place them under arrest. Later, some of them were forced to labour with the manorial lords; others were imprisoned or have simply disappeared.

The middle traders who were so far being actively wooed were now levied impossibly high taxes, thus crippling them financially.

They even had to sell their personal properties to meet the tax demands. Those who were unable to pay the taxes were again either imprisoned or met unknown fates, or else were put under house arrest and subjected to *thamzing*.

So by 1963 the trading community was reduced to the low traders and they were very few in number. Even from among this class the Chinese selectively picked upon the well-to-do and had them criticized and beaten in public meetings.

Although Chinese shops are well-stocked with various goods, Tibetans are only allowed to purchase items that are indicated on the vouchers issued by the authorities. The quota of essential items of consumption allowed in these vouchers is not adequate for the Tibetans who are required to do energy-consuming manual work throughout the day. Before 1959 the villages used to trade with each other, but this practice has been brought to an end with the introduction of trade controls. Even cow dung is not allowed to be marketed without permission.

(d) **Towns folk**

In the towns the class divisions are as follows: 1) reactionaries, 2) manorial lords, 3) manorial representatives, 4) middle class, and 5) poor class. Strict adherence by everyone to one's own class is ensured by Working Committees or People's Solidarity Committees. In Lhasa such committees have been set up in four corners of the city.

Each Committee has two chairmen and two vice-chairmen. It also has many military and secret police personnel in its membership. These committees further created groups of 50-60 people called People's Security Committees. Members of these Security Committees wear red armbands with their names written in white letters on them. They were entrusted with the job of surveillance, arrest, *thamzing* and imprisonment of the opponents, as well as confiscation of properties from the people.

Under their strict supervision, members of the first three classes have to clean the streets every morning. In the afternoon they have to water the tree saplings planted on either side of the roads, and in the evenings they are required to sprinkle water on the streets so as to settle the dust. And at night they have to attend public self-criticism sessions. If there was still

some free time after these activities, the People's Committees (or the Working Committees) would find them additional tasks. No wages are paid for this labour.

Thamzing sessions are held every week. During these, persons on trial have to stand up before the public for 3-4 hours and criticize themselves and repent their sins. The strain was so tremendous that many older people could stand it no longer and often pleaded for a quick end to life, by admitting that they were reactionaries and enemies of the people.

In Shigatse too, the city was divided into two parts with 11 *Uyon Lhenkhangs*. There, too, difficulties and hardships similar to those in Lhasa were experienced. Reports from the rest of Tibet were no different, with those from Kham being the worst.

(e) Tibetan Cadres

There are three classes of cadres. The first group consists of pro-Maoists either by ideological commitment or self-interest like power and money. These people were either taxpayers, poor or beggars before 1959. Most of them are Party members; the younger ones are members of the Youth Congress. They can be found in factories, offices, schools, production-related activities, and in the army. They collaborate with the Chinese and work against the interest of the people. Fortunately, this group is small in number. They have no decision-making powers and are politically backward. They are incapable of taking any initiative and are completely dependent on their Chinese bosses. Hence the people disparagingly refer to them as "Lions with a dog's bite".

They are hated and distrusted by the people and they appear to have no will of their own. They look on the people as foreign enemies and the sentiment is reciprocated by the masses. They are isolated from the masses and are unable to gain any measure of confidence or acceptance in society.

The second type of cadres distrust the Chinese policies, but at the same time oppose some of the *drawbacks* of the pre-1959 Tibetan society. They are observant both of what the Chinese say or do and of the plight of the masses. Trained as communists, they are also well-versed on the old society. Despite

protestations of faith, they do not fully trust the Chinese and are lenient towards the Tibetan people. They are not zealots; as employees they take care to carry out their assignments to the satisfaction of the Chinese, but at the same time do not go out of their way to curry favour. They are willing to hear about the old days and are capable of arriving at their own conclusions. They are also well-informed about developments in Tibet and around. Shrewd and politically astute, they are loyal Tibetans who are working for the eventual benefit of the masses. This type of cadres is quite large in number and they are a great hope for Tibet when she regains her independence.

In the third category are the cadres who openly oppose Chinese policies. They are from poor families and do not have adequate education. These cadres are incapable of thinking clearly and are frequently given to launching their verbal and physical assaults indiscriminately. As a result many of them end up in prisons. Even those who have managed to evade this fate are incapable of taking any initiative and launching far-reaching plans for the independence of Tibet. They have failed to grasp the situation in its essence and remain largely an ineffective group moving erratically in the dark. They are small in number.

The Chinese do not consider the first and the third groups as a potential threat to their authority. This is because not only are the groups small in size but also their actions are not motivated by logical analyses of the past and present situations and evaluation of the future outlook. They are also politically backward and ignorant of the outside world. Their actions can be likened to listening to a sweet song without grasping the meaning of the words.

The greatest hope for Tibet lies with the second category of cadres. The Chinese fully realize this and they have plans to wipe out this group. The members of this group are known for their discretion and careful, clever use of their knowledge and experience in dealing with the Chinese, while remaining Tibetan at heart.

(f) Primary School Students

There are many primary schools in Tibet. Broadly, they are divided into two groups : (a) Government schools and (b) Public schools.

In Lhasa there are three Government primary schools. There are only Tibetan students in two of them, and only Chinese students in the third one which has an entirely different curriculum.

The minimum age requirement for Tibetan students is six years. In addition, their parents must belong to one of the following classes: (1) peasants, (2) poor, (3) small traders, (4) Government employees (cadres), and (5) industrial workers. This eligibility based on classes was formulated in 1963, prior to which everyone, regardless of class background, was admitted in the schools.

The Chinese Government provides textbooks and other materials. The subjects taught are Chinese, two hours daily, and one hour each of politics, Tibetan, arithmetic and art, and songs and physical exercises. Besides this the students have to put in four hours of manual work each week.

The difference between schools in Tibet and China is that in China the minimum age-limit is seven as compared to six in Tibet. Tibetan students are also required to discuss their lessons at home with their parents, and report their views to the teachers the following day.

Government schools are located in Lhasa, Shigatse, Lhokha, Nagchu, Chamdo, Gyangtse, Phari, Dromo and Kongpo. Every district has a Government school, differing from each other only in size. The staff in the schools are mostly Chinese who are adept at indoctrinating the children with loyalty to the Communist Party. There are few Tibetan teachers.

The courses in these schools last only six years. After completion students are either sent to the middle schools in Lhasa or other prefectures (*tuan chu*) or else employed as accountants in communes. The Chinese have great hopes in these children and drive them really hard in the study of modern political science.

Public schools were set up in Lhasa in 1963 for the children of the following classes: manorial lords, manorial representatives, reactionaries, big traders and bourgeoisie. The Chinese deemed these schools necessary because they feared that children of the poor classes would be adversely influenced by those of the upper classes if they were sent to the same schools.

In these schools, too, classes last for six hours daily and the subjects taught are also more or less the same, except that here

half of every day is spent in manual labour. Also the staff salaries and other educational expenses have to be borne by the parents. There are many public schools in Tibet.

The children whose parents fled Tibet in 1959 are looked after by the *Uyon Lhenkhang*. Considering that these children are taught Maoist ideology and work-ethics at a tender age, they are still surprisingly nationalistic. The Chinese plan to send them to villages as farmers as soon as they are able to write and possess a little grasp of Communist ideology.

As a part of their ideological training, the children of the upper classes are forced to clean latrines and carry human excrement to the fields to be used as manure. Since these children are the last of the upper classes the Chinese put relentless pressure on them to change their outlook. As such they are required to put in special effort in learning the following: 1) Chinese communist doctrine, 2) Mao's Red Book, 3) work-ethics, and 4) comparative study of the communist and capitalist societies.

The Chinese had hoped that these children would adopt the Chinese communist path and uphold Peking's rule in Tibet. However, these children are not showing much signs of obliging them.

(g) Middle School Students

In Lhasa there are 300 students attending Middle Schools, at Shigates and Chamdo there are about 200 each, and at Gyangtse, Lhokha and Nagchu over a hundred each. These six places total over 1,000 students. The Middle School course lasts from six to eight years. The subjects taught are Chinese language, mathematics, politics, Chinese history, military training and manual work. Before 1966, Tibetan language was also taught for one hour daily. However, since then this was discontinued and the few Tibetan teachers on the staff were also made redundant.

Children of the upper, middle and reactionary classes attending these schools have to pay the school mess 15 RMP* per month in addition to meeting the cost of textbooks and other materials. However, the children of the Tibetan cadres, poor traders, peasants and factory workers get free education. They are also

*Chinese currency

employed upon completion of their education and have to do less manual work and concentrate more on military training. The children of the upper classes are watched over by the Chinese, who also use competent children of the poor classes as spies and informers.

The condition of the middle schools in the six areas is very similar. In general these children are well-disposed towards the Tibetan masses because it is obvious to them how they are suffering. They are eager to learn about the condition in the old society, and are clearly aware of the falsity of the Chinese claim of improvement in the people's standard of living since the Chinese takeover.

In teaching Tibetan children, the Chinese lay special stress on the importance of : 1) Class struggle, 2) Youth's role and 3) Opposition to parents. They are told to report if the parents talk about the old society.

Although the students from the middle schools have attained a high level of education, they are sent to the communes to work as farmers for three years after finishing school. After that those whose performance, both in thought and action, is found to be satisfactory are accepted as cadres in offices. However, it is encouraging to note that all these students are not in the least impressed by either the Communist ideology or the Chinese personnel working in Tibet.

CHAPTER TWO

The Status of Religious Institutions

If the question were to be asked as to what extent the religious order in Tibet has been undermined, the answer would be difficult to believe. Take for instance the fate of the three greatest monasteries, Sera, Drepung and Ganden in Lhasa. All three have been thoroughly plundered of their contents, religious images having been destroyed and valuables carted away to China.

Until 1965 Chinese propaganda gave much prominence to what they claimed was the existence of religious freedom in Tibet. The Chinese authorities were, however, simultaneously tightening their stranglehold on the religious order. This process reached its most destructive peak during the Cultural Revolution, when attacks on monks, monasteries and other places of worship were openly carried out. Numerous acts of vandalism were perpetrated. Holy lamas were branded enemies and imprisoned, young monks were forced to marry, and a few old and feeble were spared to maintain a pretence of religious freedom.

Following the 1959 revolt, Sera monastery was ransacked and thereafter used as civilian and military offices, and army barracks. For example, the office of Economic Affairs was housed in Me College, and a newspaper branch located in the Ham-dong Hostel.

Similarly Drepung was also cleared of all monks and occupied by the People's Security Office. The employees of the security offices and also army troops were billeted in the chapels and the quarters of the lamas. All the members of the security office were engaged in intelligence work. The Chinese also plan

to open a school in the premises of the monastery. Ganden, untouched till 1962, was the next victim. After its entire contents were either destroyed or sent to China, it was used as a granary and quarters for army troops.

The Tsugla Khang (Central Cathedral) was another major target that suffered serious damage. At the urging of the Panchen Lama, this temple had in recent years accumulated a considerable quantity of images from monasteries in the countryside, where they were in danger of disintegration owing to neglect. In 1966 the Red Guards of the Cultural Revolution raided the Tsugla Khang and destroyed many of its contents: precious stones, metals, and other valuables were extracted and despatched to China. The sacred Jowo, the principal image, was taken away and its fate is unknown. The scriptures and clothes of the images were defaced, trampled and burnt, the fires raging for five days. The chapel, where the image of Jowo rested, was converted into a Government guest house for Chinese officials. Orders were also issued that the Tsugla Khang, or Jowo Khang, was to be henceforth referred to as the State Guest House No. 5.

The Ramoche Cathedral was also attacked and plundered by the Red Guards in 1966 and was occupied by the offices of the North Uyon Lhenkhang, where *thamzings* were held. In 1966 the Chinese ordered the removal of religious banners and other objects that traditionally decorated the roof of the Ramoche.

Until 1965 the Zhide and Kyomolungpa monasteries were used as quarters for a Chinese propaganda dramatic troupe. But in 1966 they were turned into a department of electricity and a school to train electrical technicians. Similarly, up to the Cultural Revolution, Meru monastery was used as quarters for a Gesar dramatic troupe and as stores of the South Uyon Lhenkhang office. After 1966 Meru housed four departments of the *Shiwah* (Peace?) office: (1) Tibet Opera Society, (2) Tibet Drama Society, (3) Tibet Chinese Plays Society, (4) Tibet Gesar Society. The Tsemoling monastery was used to house the Tibet Peace Drama Society and many of its buildings have been destroyed. During the Cultural Revolution its walls were used for shooting practice, about which more will be said later. The Tengyelung monastery was used as an office for the Uyon Lhenkhang. Later on in the Cultural Revolution it became a

Gyenlok (Revolutionary Rebels faction of the Red Guards) stronghold. A food store operated on the ground floor of this monastery. Kundeling and Tsecholing monasteries have been converted into a guest house and military supply depot respectively. Only the old people remember that these were once monasteries, so greatly have they been altered.

Until 1964 the interior of Norbulingka had remained largely intact, thanks to the Panchen Lama's personal intervention. Another factor in favour of Norbulingka's preservation was its usefulness as a showpiece to foreign visitors. But that did not save it from the Cultural Revolution when, in 1966, the Red Guards inflicted heavy damage upon it, not even sparing the flower pots in the gardens and parks.

The Tsokiyil Photrang was also desecrated in like manner and turned into a picnic spot. As a result the place is only frequented by the Chinese, the Tibetans staying away because of the intense sentimental feelings and memories of the Dalai Lama that it aroused. The new palace itself is converted into a museum, the walls defaced and plastered with posters condemning the crimes of Trichang Rinpoche (Junior Tutor to H. H. the Dalai Lama).

The Chokpori (Medical Centre) has also been reduced to only a shell of its former glory. Its premises have been occupied by Chinese troops, and Tibetans are forbidden near it. If a trespasser was caught, he would be hauled up for questioning and almost certainly imprisoned if found to have an upper class background.

The Potala since 1959 has been occupied by Chinese troops and military offices. At the Panchen Lama's repeated appeals, the damages caused by the 1959 shelling were repaired. Although it looks restored from the exterior, its contents have been shipped to China. In the 1962 Sino-Indian border confrontation, the Potala became a hive of military activity with large numbers of troops coming and going. The official explanation for this activity was that the troops were there to maintain the security of Lhasa!

Like the monasteries in Lhasa and its vicinity, the Shigatse Tashilhunpo monastery, although intact till 1966, suffered a similar fate during the Cultural Revolution. Its scriptures and images were destroyed, and all its valuables stripped away and

consigned to China.

With the destruction of monasteries and the monk population, which are two important factors in any meaningful religious worship, how can there be religious freedom as the Chinese claim? Chinese policy is obviously aimed at undermining the national identity of Tibet, and thereby destroying the movement for independence. They have deliberately ordered the destruction of historical monuments and other evidence of Tibetan independence. In the light of these developments, there is a real danger that Tibet will lose its national identity.

CHAPTER THREE

The Chinese Military Base

After gaining complete control in 1959, in order to consolidate their position in Tibet and prepare for aggression against neighbours, the Chinese began building many roads, airfields, bridges and military strongpoints. The Chinese armed forces can be broken down into two divisions: (1) Yul-ma (People's Militia), and (2) Thamzing ma (PLA). War exercises and training in combat and combat-support roles are imparted to Tibetans in every district. The Tibetan youths are especially engaged in carrying supplies and war materials.

The most powerful military organ is the Tibet Area Military Command, whose headquarters are in Lhasa. Below this are the commanders of the six *tuan chu* (prefectures?) and next are the district-level commanders. Every district has an army camp; every sub-district and *hsiang* has a propaganda team, which constantly extols Mao's thoughts and calls for more vigilance in security and efforts at production.

The militia and the People's Security (*denja*?) are in all the cities and areas, headed by Chinese cadres called instructors. They propagate that preparation for war must be made. The youth are asked to be in the vanguard and that policy is stressed. As a result the country's produce goes to war preparation, and the people suffer more and more each year. The simple and only purpose behind the Chinese policies seems to be to kill, beat and rob.

The peace-loving nations of the world should realise that China poses a grave threat to world peace, and it is imperative that they oppose its policies in order to maintain stability. The world community must make conscientious efforts to understand

the real nature behind Peking's policies.

This is a general survey of the Chinese military in Tibet and it is my hope that readers will forgive the lack of details.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Status of Chinese Immigrants

The Chinese attitude broadly breaks down into two categories: pro-and anti-government. The former are firmly committed to the party ideology and are staunch supporters of official policies. The Chinese in this group look upon the Tibetans as a conquered nation of slaves, to be ordered around and exploited by their Han superiors. They are the fanatics who often over-respond to the official line and carry policy measures to extremes. Their zeal is, however, motivated by selfish gains, such as the acquisition of foreign goods like watches, bicycles, radios, woollen cloth and thread.

I witnessed a number of incidents that showed up the real nature of these diehard communists. For example, in Lhasa there was a Chinese called Liu Rhen-tang who held a managerial position in the *Tibet Daily*. He was an ideological fanatic who took pleasure in every opportunity to suppress Tibetans. In 1963 he assumed control over the newspaper mess for more than two months. During this time, the food deteriorated and prices increased, causing hardship to all the employees. An investigation was launched which revealed that he had embezzled a sum of 2,000 yuan! In another incident which took place in 1962, a Chinese threw dust and chilli powder at a Nepalese shopkeeper in the Barkhor area of Lhasa and stole his watch. A few days later the Chinese thief was arrested. News of the robbery and arrest rocked Lhasa city with excitement. Similar cases of looting occurred when Tibetan homes were raided before a *thamzing* session.

The second category, those who are against the establishment, comprise most of the Chinese population. They have no power,

no freedom, and are dissatisfied with their work. The State often criticises and suspects them of deviation from the official line. They are a discontented lot, living under unenviable conditions, not much better than a Tibetan, with a total lack of freedom. Even in the government bureaucracy widespread dissatisfaction exists among the Chinese employees and many of them secretly sympathise with the Tibetan plight.

For example, Den Tho, a Chinese newsman in Lhasa, once told me rather sadly: "Why is it that the Tibetan people have to suffer so much? You Tibetans must increase your political consciousness and skills." This quite clearly indicated where his sympathies lay—and there are many more Chinese who feel like him. However, the State is so omnipresent and oppressive, so total is its control and grip over every facet of life, that such sympathetic, conscience-ridden Chinese do not dare reveal their feelings in public.

Among themselves the Chinese rationalise that China is engaged in a life-and-death political struggle against the super-powers, particularly the Soviet Union. Their propaganda constantly asserts that China has recently won another friend, in addition to a score of other friendly nations. This is patently false, for China's international standing is just the opposite of their propaganda claims. Knowledgeable Chinese, however, realise the dangers China is facing due to its policies and because of this many among the people and bureaucracy are dissatisfied with the government. Such Chinese favour self-reliance and a strong economy, but because of the military power at the command of the State, they cannot avoid participation in official policies and programmes.

If we examine conditions in China itself, we find that from 1949 onwards there were large-scale expropriations of private property and wealth. In agriculture, the State took over the harvests through various guises and ploys, leaving many farmers to starve. The government introduced a series of economic measures like mutual aid teams, cooperatives, collectives, and communes, which caused great hardship. Many people died of starvation and cold, and large numbers committed suicide in a bid to escape the misery. The industrial workers were similarly affected; the "Great Leap Forward" of 1959-61 brought the workers more long hours of overtime and less wages and leisure. As a result

of the poor food, tremendous pace of work and unrealistic targets, many people suffered and died. Economic conditions declined further when China split with Soviet Russia and failed to get U.N. admission. Further regimentation, repression and extreme austerity marked Chinese life during these years.

If we take a look at the system of rationing in China then in force, we can get some idea of the poverty and misery that the ordinary labourer experienced. In a year a person got on average about eight *kungtis* (yards?) of cloth, which was insufficient to produce both summer and winter clothing. In a month, he received five *sang* (10 *sang*=1 *gyama*= $\frac{1}{2}$ kg) worth of oil and three packets of cigarettes, 20 in each. He also got two and a half *sang* worth of vegetables per month. On New Year's day and the October day, *phing* (?) and meat were available on sale, but in controlled quantities. Grain was distributed monthly according to the nature of the work: a hard working labourer received 26 *gyamas*; a factory worker 30-35 *gyamas*; a bureaucrat (cadre) 26 *gyamas*; and children eight *gyamas*. These, then, were the living conditions that existed in China. However, in Tibet the scale of rations was higher for Chinese employees, because the government had difficulty in persuading them to work there.

Despite official efforts at flattery and exhortation to increase production, the Chinese economy is at a low level of development. She is militarily strong and well-prepared, but economically backward, and in this respect China is behind most of the nations of the world.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Trial and Punishment of the Panchen Lama

Since 1959 the Panchen Lama had tried to get along with the Chinese in a peaceful way. For example, from 1960 to 1961, the Panchen Lama gave many sermons to the people at Shugti Lingka in Lhasa. At these sermons, the Panchen advised that Tibetans should not neglect religion and that even the Chinese had guaranteed religious freedom. He urged the Tibetans to remember and respect the Dalai Lama, who, he said, was the only leader left. The Panchen reminded the people about the Chinese contradictory statements on the Dalai Lama's flight. (First that he was kidnapped by reactionaries and later that he had left of his own accord). The Panchen advised the people to practise their religion, saying that the religion of Tibet was pure, humane and profound in scope. Some people, he said, referring to the Chinese, say that there is no such thing as religion or god. But that was beside the point; what mattered was your free will to believe or not to believe. In the Tibetan context, he added, religion is revered as more precious than life itself and is also the basis of culture and tradition. Religious worship should therefore be allowed because of strong Tibetan convictions and feelings, he argued.

It was on such similar lines that the Panchen Lama pleaded to the Chinese Government: "In 1959 many monasteries in Tibet were damaged. The damages to the Potala and Norbulingka should particularly be repaired soon. This does not in any way harm the nation but creates good will and charity." Following this, the two palaces of the Dalai Lama were repaired by the

Chinese authorities. The walls, ceilings, and meditation chambers of the Potala were restored. The Panchen Lama himself financed the restoration of the paintings on the walls. The surviving images in the chapels were removed to the Tsugla Khang.

In 1962 the Panchen Lama wrote in Chinese a 70,000-character long account of conditions in Tibet. During an ART meeting he clashed with Chinese officials over the repressive nature of policies in Tibet.

In 1964 the Chinese began a propaganda campaign aimed at undermining and eventually purging the Panchen Lama. In Lhasa it was officially announced: "In April Chang Kuo-hua went to Peking to discuss Tibetan affairs with the central authorities. He told the Central Government that Tibet was still undergoing democratic reforms. Comrade Chang reported that because of intensive efforts to educate the masses, the Tibetans had responded favourably with many letters demanding the introduction of socialism. But the road to socialism is difficult and there are many obstacles. You people must think over this carefully. However, when Comrade Chang returns to Tibet, there will definitely be many great changes already decided by the Party. It is necessary and important for you people to adopt a correct ideological line of thinking." Chang Kuo-hua and Chang Ching-wu (?) returned to Tibet at the end of July.

After this the leading elements of the poor class, the lower class employees and the district chairmen were summoned for a meeting in Lhasa. The Chinese explained away the meeting as a study session, but its actual purpose was to discuss the plan of purging the Panchen. The meeting was addressed by the two Changs, who said that its purpose was (1) to study the situation of the class war, (2) to review the progress and setbacks of Tibet since 1959, (3) to examine the shortcomings and their causes, and (4) to discuss the transition from democratic reforms to the path of socialism, and to examine the likely difficulties, problems and solutions. "There is a big rock on the path to socialism", they said. "However, we cannot jump over it nor bypass it. So how are we to solve the problem?" Some of the delegates suggested breaking the rock; others to push it aside. Chang Kuo-hua lost his temper and admonished, "If you don't know what the rock is then who will? You are the vanguard of the masses. We have educated you. How is it then that you cannot recognise your enemies?" He then

added: "The big rock is Panchen, who is an enemy of socialism. He is not happy over the reactionary imperialist's loss of the U-2 spy plane, and is actively sabotaging the Tibetan people's desire for land reforms. The Panchen is clearly trying to restore feudalism, and frantically preparing to launch a guerilla war on us by using Chairman Mao's thoughts. This should arouse you people into fits of anger. You delegates are politically conscious and educated, and if you don't realize the danger of these crimes, how will you educate and alert the masses?" During this tirade, Chang Kuo-hua was so worked up that he repeatedly banged the table with his fist. Continuing, he said, "I will frankly tell you today the defects and mistakes of the PCART. If you were to list the defects of the PCART, then you will be following the true path of the Chairman. At this meeting, you must clearly distinguish between the two lines of thinking; you should criticise and oppose the reactionaries, and this will come later. The Central authorities fully support this policy, and I have been assured of it when I was in Peking."

A highly placed *Hsinhua* official, Liu-Peh-rin, told me that the two Changs had been instructed on this policy by Mao and Chou En-lai. In addition to being a party member, Liu Peh-rin wields considerable power and writes for the official news agency.

The policy enunciated and propagated by the Changs was implemented when the PCART held its Fourth Plenary Session in August 1964. Both Chang Kuo-hua and the Panchen Lama addressed the meeting. Chang said: "Ten years have passed since the founding of the PCART, and although there has been progress there are big obstacles still to overcome, and reactionaries at large. The Fourth Plenary Session of the PCART expressed the Tibetan nationality's demands for concrete plans to achieve local autonomy. Therefore, the first task of this meeting is to draft a plan. The second task is to criticise our shortcomings, examine their nature and causes, and come up with the correct solutions. This is very important and everyone must give serious thought to it. This is my opinion and everyone should offer their suggestions in a constructive manner. What I have talked about today at this meeting are vital problems demanding our immediate attention." In his capacity as PCART Chairman the Panchen Lama also addressed the meeting and said: "Since the birth of the PCART, ten years have passed. Before 1959, the Dalai Lama

was Chairman. Since then it is possible that I have made mistakes in my work style because of my poor ideological development. Despite these mistakes, however, I have always consulted Comrade Chang Kuo-hua in all matters, and have never decided anything individually without his knowledge. It is my sincere desire that this meeting should be a success and its resolutions implemented for the good of the people.”

I was present at this meeting to report for my newspaper, the *Tibet Daily*.

Acting on secret Chinese instructions, some Tibetan delegates demanded that suggestions and criticisms on the PCART should be aired in the meeting. Yishey Tsulthim of Lhatse said: “The meeting of the PCART comes at a particularly appropriate time. There are many important reasons for holding this meeting. The PCART has failed to carry out its revolutionary responsibilities and there are some reactionaries who are trying to subvert the loyalty of progressive cadres. These are defects of the PCART.” Next Phakpa Gelek Namgyal of Chamdo said: “Big mistakes have been made and the responsibility for this lies on the Panchen. Because of this, I therefore criticise the Panchen, Chairman of the PCART. You once accused me as a corrupt monk who wore the mask of religion, and there are many other lies of yours like this. It is no wonder that you have committed serious mistakes in the PCART work!” Chang Kuo-hua stood up and said: “These are serious charges against the Panchen. It is necessary to expose these faults at this meeting. This is our most important duty. Just as the Constitution provides for the treatment of ill health, it is our duty in like manner to point out the Panchen’s mistakes and correct them. This meeting will not be over for many days. Until the end, we must strictly observe its aims, work, rules and regulations.” After this, the meeting adjourned for the day.

I heard that Chang Kuo-hua had primed Gelek Namgyal and Yishey Tsulthim on the attacks on the Panchen Lama. Furthermore, prior to the meeting, Chang had drawn up the list of crimes against the Panchen.

Day by day the charges and criticism against the Panchen Lama increased, until he was accused as a “reactionary enemy of the State” who secretly supported the “bandit Dalai Lama”. At first the criticisms were publicised among government employees;

later they were channelled to the people. From then on, the Panchen Lama was subjected to a series of *thamzings*.

Chang Kuo-hua blamed all the failures of the PCART on the Panchen Lama and accused him of being the leader of a "reactionary clique". "If you squeeze a snake", he said, "its intestines come out, and to kill a snake it is necessary to crush its head. If we squeeze the Panchen by *thamzing*, many hidden reactionaries and enemies of the State will be forced into the open. If we kill the Panchen, the whole reactionary clique will collapse like a house whose foundations have been destroyed." The Panchen Lama's tutor, Ngulchu Rinpoche and his steward, Tana Tsethong were also subjected to *thamzing*.

During the *thamzing*, a model worker-cadre severely criticised the Panchen Lama, who replied: "I admit there may have been mistakes in my work. However, I have always worked in consultation with Comrade Chang Kuo-hua and this should be reflected upon by everybody." The Panchen's inquisitors were briefly silenced. But Chang Kuo-hua showed his displeasure and gave previously agreed upon signals, at which his henchmen in the crowd cried out: "The Panchen must admit his mistakes! The Panchen and his reactionary clique must surrender!" This demand caused ripples of agitation and excitement among the assembly.

The Chinese had thoroughly prepared for these accusation meetings by planting their men among the crowd. These henchmen were instructed to rebut any questions and arguments that might be made by those sympathetic to the Panchen Lama. They were also ordered to shout down the Panchen if he made defiant attempts to defend himself. Furthermore Chang Kuo-hua had direct control over these puppets through pre-arranged signals and gestures. This, then, was the manner in which the Chinese conducted public trials in Tibet.

The Panchen Lama's trial lasted 17 days. On the final day he was charged with a list of 10 crimes: (1) attempted restoration of serfdom, (2) the murder of Kanchen Wangpo, a worker in the Shigatse Industrial School, (3) the making of a gift of one rifle (?) and 100 bullets to Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, (4) plans to launch a guerilla war against the State using Maoist military strategy and tactics, (5) illicitly cohabiting with women, (6) criticising and opposing China in a 70,000-character document

in Chinese, (7) declaring open support for the Dalai Lama and misleading the masses, (8) secret preparation of a cavalry force, (9) theft and plunder of images and other property from monasteries, and (10) opposition and disenchantment at the destruction of the American U-2 "spy plane".

The Panchen Lama sharply disputed these charges and defended his innocence, but Chang Kuo-hua was only infuriated with the Panchen's defiance. He said: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. If the Panchen refuses, he will be liquidated." Following repeated *thamzings*, the Panchen was deported to Peking, and his tutor and steward imprisoned in Golmo.

Later on, according to Tibetan students returning from China, the Panchen Lama was said to have been the target of severe *thamzing* sessions, when factional fighting broke out among the students of the Peking Institute of Minority Nationalities in 1967.

The Panchen Lama's downfall from official grace was greatly resented by the Tibetan people. They felt that the Panchen had not been conclusively proved guilty of the many crimes he was falsely accused of. They realised that the Panchen Lama had deliberately courted personal danger for the cause of his religion and people.

In 1969, the foreign press buzzed with reports of the Panchen Lama's escape from China. No doubt this was the work of journalists and politicians interested in Tibetan developments. The report, however, was a pure fabrication and had no basis whatever. Like wind, it spread everywhere, briefly figuring in the headlines, and disappeared just as mysteriously as it had appeared. When this sensational report circulated, the Panchen Lama was still undergoing *thamzing* and reform in a special institution in China.

The Chinese had in the beginning given titles to the Panchen Lama, and this along with religious freedom was made much of in their propaganda. This was aimed at impressing Tibetan exiles and foreigners about the supposed humane treatment meted out by the Chinese. So long as their purpose had not been fulfilled, they kept up the elaborate pretence, respectfully showing deference to the Panchen Lama. But once their ends had been met, the Chinese about-turned and the Panchen Lama's titles were snatched away and replaced with *thamzing*. Today

nobody knows the fate of the Panchen Lama. This was a typical way in which the Chinese used influential people in Tibetan society for their policy ends. The escape story was a deliberate concoction of the Chinese, who must have leaked it intentionally in order to hide the fact that the Panchen was then being constantly tortured and beaten.

When I escaped from Tibet it was not easy, for I encountered many difficulties, dangers and hardships. The going was hard despite the fact that I am an ordinary Tibetan. Now the Panchen Lama was a prominent figure, known internationally and closely watched in his own land by the Chinese. It is impossible for such a person to escape unnoticed. However, no matter how much the Chinese may resort to lies and duplicity, the truth will finally be revealed and bared for all to see.

CHAPTER SIX

The Massacre of June Seventh

On 7 June 1968 the Chinese brutally killed and wounded 61 Tibetan youths at Lhasa. Although the Chinese were indiscriminate and callous in their conduct of this atrocity, it proved the existence of determined Tibetan opposition. The murder of the youths only served to harden Tibetan resistance which now had martyrs to show the way to freedom.

What were the details and developments leading to this massacre? The Chinese had in the past killed, imprisoned and tortured Tibetans on a countless number of occasions, and many had simply disappeared. The repression was so total and insufferable that many Tibetans resorted to drowning and hanging.

The world should take a long and hard look at Tibet. In Lhasa the Tsugla Khang was virtually flooded with the blood of Tibetans and the floor carpeted with corpses. For their crimes, may bolts of thunder and lightning strike the Chinese from the peak of Chomolhari (Mt. Everest). The waters of the Tsangpo river flow tranquil and endlessly, but why do the Tibetans have to suffer so much? These things will not be forgotten and when Tibet regains her independence the Chinese will be repaid in like coin.

The following account is the story of the unforgettable, inhuman 7 June massacre. At 11 a.m. on that fateful day, a crowd of Tibetans had gathered in the courtyard of Yuthok house in Lhasa. This crowd clashed with the Pari 52 (Chinese army division) and killed two of them with an equal loss on their side. The Tibetans fled to the Tsugla Khang which was soon sur-

rounded by 300 troops of the Ching Hui-ying (military police) contingent stationed in Do Senge. Tibetan onlookers did not pay much attention to them thinking that they were sent from the People's Security in order to prevent further disturbances.

However, the Chinese turned the Tsugla Khang, that holy place of worship, into a gory, blood-splattered butcher's shop. Mao had said that the army are the people's servants and supporters, and the Chinese media invokes this statement *ad nauseum*. But it is all sheer hypocrisy! The army is in reality an instrument of repression and tyranny.

Most of the 61 youths shot, bayoneted, and battered with rifle butts were from the poor and middle classes. Some of them were factory workers and others were students of the Lhasa Middle School. How does this look when contrasted with the Chinese propaganda myth that they came to "liberate" and "save" the oppressed Tibetan masses?

When the Chinese soldiers entered the Tsugla Khang, they threatened to execute the youths if they failed to comply with orders. The Chinese commander told the youths: "Today some Tibetans have brazenly attacked their PLA brothers at Yuthok house. These reactionary rebels have illegally seized weapons and ammunition. We have learnt that these reactionaries have brought the stolen weapons here. If you do not surrender the weapons within five minutes, you will all be executed immediately."

They youths replied: "We do not have weapons in our possession. We are all from the poor and middle classes. You cannot kill us for we are without guilt." The Chinese did not believe them and continued to train their guns threateningly on the helpless youths. As the minutes of the Chinese ultimatum ticked by, some of the youths recited a Chinese quotation: "Army and the people are one; beneath the sky none can separate them." They challenged the Chinese to prove what crimes they had committed. A deafening burst of gunfire was the reply. Three youths were machine-gunned to death immediately and others were cut down in the withering fire. The wounded were deliberately bayoneted, slashed, clubbed and maimed. The victims were left in broken bundles, moaning in pain, and lying in their blood. Others were deathly still. The total death toll in this notorious incident was 12. A pall of mute sorrow and grief

hung over Lhasa when the news spread through the city like fire.

While in their death throes, the youths had defiantly retorted: "You Chinese Communists are killing the Tibetan people. You may kill our bodies, but you will never extinguish our spirit. We are Buddhists. We remember and believe in His Holiness the Dalai Lama. If our deaths help the cause of Tibet's independence, we have no regrets, except that this holy place has been defiled. Our blood will not go to waste. Victory may be yours today, but tomorrow defeat and disgrace will surely visit you. Go ahead, fire your guns! Fire!" The youths then sang:

"Do not mourn, people of Tibet,
Independence will surely be ours,
Remember our sun
Remember His Holiness."

Most of the youths were not shot but deliberately maimed so that they would be incapable of doing anything active for the rest of their lives.

The average age of the 12 youths who died was 17, among whom were three girls. One of the seriously wounded was a girl below 20 years of age who had her leg smashed with four bullets. Another girl had her stomach shot to pieces, so that she was forced to push back the entrails with her hands. These youths were genuinely innocent and had not committed any crime even under Chinese law.

It is clear that the Chinese want to wipe out the national aspirations of the Tibetan people. Towards this end they have resorted to class war as an instrument of their policy to divide and rule. However, the Chinese had the impudence to charge that the Tibetans had attacked and fired upon the PLA with weapons. Actually it was they who used arms to kill defenceless people.

When the Chinese were asked to give medical attention to the wounded, they callously and coldly ignored Tibetan pleas. They retorted: "Why should we give medical aid to those reactionaries? We will raise the matter with responsible party officials. Until then there is nothing we or anyone can do." In desperation the Tibetan Medical College was then approached and a team of medical workers was despatched to bring the

bodies, dead and wounded, for medical attention at the centre. On their way the party was met by crowds of Tibetans who silently wept in sympathy. The onlookers were deeply moved when the wounded groaned and commiserated with each other, some of them asking; "Why did the Chinese attack us? We do not understand their attitude and reasons". The crowds consoled them with words like: "Don't weep. We'll settle accounts fully later. Just keep in mind that this is the second time between 1959 and 1968 that the Chinese have committed a major massacre against our people in Lhasa. This dastardly crime won't be forgotten by us, and you can be sure we will spread the news among our brothers. On your behalf we'll demand a factual explanation."

The Tibetan Medical College provided food and medical attention to the wounded for two days, while the relatives and neighbours of those killed performed the burial rites. In the meantime, the Medical Centre publicised a list of those wounded and killed, and issued the following bulletin:

"Those killed on 7 June were not only attacked with guns but with other weapons. Although some of them did not die immediately of bullet wounds, they were killed slowly with bayonets and blows. For example, Dawa Tsering's legs, despite having been shot through, were smashed to a pulp with a heavy metal weapon. In this emergency situation we have dispensed whatever aid was possible and legally within our means. We realise and regret, however, that nothing more could be done to the full satisfaction of our unfortunate patients. We also, according to internationally accepted canons of medical conduct, observe full solidarity with the dead and wounded."

Following this, Khando Yankyi, the chief medical officer, was interrogated by the Chinese. "You have without the permission of the party treated the reactionaries of 7 June who oppose our policies", they said. "Why have you done this?" After lengthy questioning, she was subjected to *thamzing*. Many people in Lhasa learnt about this and the city became more agitated.

Very soon after, a mass deputation of Tibetans made repeated demands for a Chinese explanation of the whole incident. The Tibet Area Military Command headquarters agreed to investigate but did not reveal the responsible Chinese officials. The Tibetan demands were: (1) The Chinese soldiers who attacked

the poor and middle class Tibetans on 7 June were not responsible because they were following orders. The Tibetans had no quarrel with them. But the responsible leaders of the massacre must be investigated and revealed publicly without delay. (2) The families and relatives of those killed should get adequate compensation. Moreover, the State should officially recognise those killed as martyrs and heroes. (3) The wounded should be given full medical treatment, and those permanently maimed given adequate compensation. (4) The chief perpetrator of the massacre must be handed over to the public, and a full explanation of how the incident developed publicised. (5) A 10-15 member investigative committee must be established to study all the facts and details before they are publicised.

Fifteen days later, the Chinese agreed to set up an investigative committee, but refused to accord official recognition on the victims. Commenting on the massacre, Chinese officials said: "It is a healthy sign that shows the country is progressing when the masses do not hide or remain silent but criticise the mistakes made by the army." If this was a healthy sign, did other nations also progress by killing the poor? This was, of course, complete nonsense. The Chinese were only interested in underplaying the incident to calm Tibetan tempers. Their objective was to make a pretence of investigating, while throwing up an elaborate smokescreen. The so-called investigation was thus never carried out, although the Chinese claimed otherwise in their propaganda.

As can be seen from this incident, the Chinese administration indulges in hypocrisy, cunning and brutality to suppress our country. Although there is great difficulty and hardship, our people in Tibet are strongly united in their suffering and opposition to the common enemy. Everyone knows that China invaded and occupied our country by armed might. It is also widely known that there are *agent provocateurs* among us who are trying to sow discord and confusion.

The 7 June massacre is an example of the indescribable suffering and indignities that our people undergo in Tibet. I urge my countrymen to seriously and sincerely reflect on these atrocities. I personally have been deeply affected by the incident narrated in this chapter. The victims have my full sympathy and condolences. China's crimes must be repaid blood for blood. We

must never forget this.

Don't feel sorrow or regret now
Independence will surely dawn
Truth will ultimately triumph
Tibet will be free and belong to us!

May the spirit of the Tibetan martyrs live for eternity! May
the blood-drenched Tibetan heroes lead the way to in-
dependence!

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Brutal Murders of June Ninth

Since the occupation of Tibet, Peking has embarked on a policy of repression to subdue the Tibetan masses. One such instance of brutal repression occurred on 9 June 1968. On the morning of that day two dead bodies were found lying in a Lhasa street in front of the Nangtsi Shar, court house and jail of the former Tibetan Government. The nervous crowd of Tibetans who had gathered there did not dare touch the bodies for fear of the Chinese but wondered who the corpses could be and what they could have done to deserve such a fate.

One of the youths present recognised the corpses. One was a Chinese named Ma Phowon Shang, an employee of Radio Lhasa, the other was a Tibetan, Thupten Lekshey, a construction labourer and a former monk of Drepung. Someone in the crowd asked how they were killed. Another youth boldly examined the bodies and replied: "It seems nails were hammered into their joints and even the heads!" Suddenly another person shouted with emotion, "Enough! Enough! The blood of those who were murdered on 7 June is not yet dry and now this fresh act of evil. The Chinese might as well kill the lot of us!"

An old woman, deeply disturbed, asked: "Is it really true that nails have been hammered into human bodies, or did I hear wrongly?" She nearly fainted when she said this. The onlookers then began to notice the nail marks and exclaimed, "Look! The nails have been hammered in here!" Dark smudges and depressions marked the points where the nails had pierced through. The crowd gasped with horror and said to itself: "So many of our people are being murdered mercilessly that their blood refuses to dry up. Today we have witnessed another horror perpe-

trated on us by the Chinese. Nothing could be worse than Chinese oppression. Why don't they kill us all and have done with it? What are the crimes and guilt of these two poor victims? Everybody began asking themselves in their mind the question: "Who is the murderer responsible for this cruelty?"

As the news spread through the city huge crowds gathered in the streets to express their silent solidarity and sympathy for the dead. Many Chinese gathered also and some of them cried and said: "Who is their murderer? We will finally know who committed this inhuman crime." Following this tragedy, a great procession was made to the Barkhor where the Tibetans protested and lamented. At this time there were cases of Tibetans who died of grief or became mad. For example, the wife of Dhemo Rinpoche, a Tibetan lama, became mad and died shortly afterwards because of acute sorrow, anger and distress.

Two Chinese officials came to investigate the crowd around the bodies and said that they should be removed to a hospital as the sight was not particularly edifying for the city or to strangers. Some Tibetans objected to this saying; "The bodies will remain here till 5 p.m. and then be removed." Others angrily shouted: "What do you mean it will create a bad impression to outsiders, when it is your kind who murdered them? Are the victims to be blamed for creating this bad impression?" There were also some Chinese who repeated this from amidst the anonymity of the crowd. The two who had made the suggestion of removal fell silent and went away. Some of the older Tibetans sat near the corpses and held a discussion. They argued that it was ridiculous that such a crime could be brazenly committed. They decided to protest to the Chinese military camp and demand the identity of the criminal. The next day they went to the army camp and protested.

A few days later a Tibetan boy named Lhakpa, who looked after the granary of Ramochen, and others discovered the murderers to be two Chinese. In posters stuck all over the city, Lhakpa and his five companions accused Chinese as the guilty culprits. But since the posters lacked details, many Tibetans misunderstood them and came armed with stones and demands of "Where are the murderers? We ourselves will kill them! Let us through!" These people thought wrongly that the murderers had already been apprehended. The youths explained that they

had witnessed the murder, whereupon the Tibetans then began to shout that the murderers should be handed over to the people. In the following days more and more posters denouncing the crime and demanding justice sprouted up on the walls and buildings of the city.

One of the murderers was Shou Yiu-Lou, 48, born in Szechuan. The other was Lou Hren-shen, middle class party member. Lou Hren-shen arrived in Tibet with the Chinese army via Chamdo in 1951. Until 1960 he was on the staff of the *takship gyasho* (Military Investigation Bureau) with the rank of *gyapon*. In 1961 he left the army and became a high-ranking official in the publicity branch of Tibet Work Committee. In 1962, when the People's militia was formed, he was an active founder-member. Lou Hren-shen was also notorious for killing and raping Tibetans. Although the Chinese administration had full knowledge of his many crimes, it never bothered to investigate them.

When the Tibetans in the 9 June incident insisted on the culprits' arrest, the officials denied at first that the two accused Chinese were responsible. Instead the accused were praised highly by the authorities. They reasoned: "Mao has said that without full and proper facts one cannot speak with authority." The Tibetans were asked to study this carefully and to clearly distinguish friend from foe. What the Chinese cunningly implied was that the Tibetans should look among themselves for the murderers. However, many Tibetans believed Lhakpa's testimony, which was given wide circulation. When the Chinese officials realised the extent of the Tibetan intransigence, they reluctantly arrested the two Chinese. But we later learnt that they were released without punishment and were leading normal lives in China. This incident was still unsettled when I left Tibet. The Chinese sometimes, for reasons unknown, do not take Draconian measures, like in this instance when the Tibetans demanded justice.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Chinese Prisons in Tibet

After 1959, in order to exert full political control over the Tibetan masses, the Chinese built many prisons to suppress opposition and dissidence. Most of the prisoners were Tibetans who had demanded independence. The biggest prison was in Lhasa called Tibet Autonomous Region Prison No. 1 at Drabzi. The Tibet Autonomous Region Prison No. 2 was in Chamdo. At Golmo, there was TAR Prison No. 3. These are the three largest prisons in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Similarly there were many other prisons at the *tuan chu* (chikyab sarkhul) and district levels—all of a political nature.

The majority of the prisoners are Tibetans, who were accused mostly of having participated in the 1959 revolt. These prisoners were regarded as the most dangerous. There are some Chinese prisoners too.

There are six types of sentences for Tibetan prisoners: (1) immediate execution, (2) life imprisonment, (3) 30-year imprisonment followed by execution, (4) 25-year imprisonment followed by execution, subject to good conduct and correct ideological attitude, (5) 15-year imprisonment subject to review, and (6) 12-year imprisonment subject to review and possible pardon on good behaviour.

There is another category of prisons known as “Reform through labour institutions”, where sentences and regulations are lighter. The main RTL prison is located in Lhasa with a branch in Shigatse. Prisoners in these serve five-year sentences for breaking the Chinese civil law. These prisoners have to perform manual labour and attend indoctrination meetings daily. Although they have no freedom, they are allowed occasional visits by their

families, friends and relatives. They are simply common criminals. This division of common and political criminals was started right from 1959.

The healthy common criminals work 10 hours a day; the weaker ones are given lighter tasks such as sewing and vegetable gardening. While at prison, they have composed several songs to boost their morale and keep the feeling of nationalism alive. These prisons also contain some Chinese who have been interned for political deviation. Because of the common oppressor, the Chinese and Tibetan prisoners get along well.

Unlike in other countries, the prisoners in Tibet are frequently transferred to other locations every year or two and are assigned a variety of manual tasks. This policy seems to be aimed at discouraging escape attempts. A series of transfers on mass scales followed the 1959 revolt.

Although 10 hours a day are devoted to labour, the food in the prisons is of very poor quality and quantity. Many prisoners have been known to faint or lose consciousness because of hunger and lack of nourishment. Absence of sanitation and medical care have also contributed to many deaths. Between 1959 to 1961 many Tibetans died in prison, but the Chinese officials were unmoved, as if they were dogs dying in the streets. Instead they took pleasure in it and said such things like: "The more these scum die, the better for us", or "If reactionaries and bad elements die, our burden will be lighter than a crane's feather." These comments of utter callousness and cynicism show the stark truth that the Chinese are bent upon destroying the Tibetan people in a systematic manner.

A favourite technique which the Chinese employed was to hold regular *thamzings* at which prisoners were ordered to criticise and beat up each other. However, their efforts to create bad feelings, hatred and insecurity often backfired, resulting in closer feelings of solidarity and oneness among the prisoners. The death sentence was imposed in a particularly devilish way. If a prisoner was healthy, he would be imprisoned for 30 years despite the death sentence, so that they could exploit his energy to the maximum. When his usefulness ended, the death sentence would then be carried out. Poor health therefore usually meant a quick death. This was the Chinese implementation of the maximum punishment. In cases where a prisoner was innocent

but had to be disposed of, charges would be fabricated and extended to his entire family. This was done to prevent his relatives from following his path of deviation.

In Chinese propaganda a completely different picture is presented. They claim that prisoners are being reformed politically for eventual rehabilitation and that no brutalities are inflicted. But the reality is that the Chinese employ brutal methods to pressurise the prisoners into obedience.

The prisons have no medical facilities, sanitation or health aids. During winter, clothing is inadequate, and even fires are not allowed or provided. In such wretched conditions, the prisoners are required to read a prison bulletin brought out twice a week. This bulletin is a cheap propaganda publication which of course paints a rosy official picture of Chinese conditions. It would at times publish accounts of how prisoners somewhere in China had repented and reformed. Chinese prisoners are sentenced according to their crimes. However, they always died of hard work before they could complete their term of sentence.

The Chinese capacity for duplicity is endless. For instance in cases where the sentence awarded is 15 years, a prisoner after serving six years would be informed: "Today you have won your freedom. We have repeatedly on your behalf asked responsible party officials to review your case. Although your past record clearly proves your crimes, you are free to go home. You must from now on follow the correct ideological line of thinking." Some prisoners were released in this manner. However, a prisoner never actually got this freedom, because even after his release he would be closely watched and if he resumed doubtful contacts or was involved in suspicious activities, he would be hauled up. This was a favourite technique of the Chinese and it is inspired by the saying: "A long length of line will catch a big fish!"

CHAPTER NINE

Chinese Population Control Measures, 1963-64

From late 1963 the Chinese authorities formulated and implemented a plan of controlling the growth of the Tibetan population. A campaign to promote birth control measures was launched through the media, marriages below 30 years for men and 25 years for women being officially discouraged. Through books, pamphlets, newspapers and the radio, facts, figures and plan targets were released to the public. The people were urged to support official efforts. This is an evil plan which the Chinese call "Progressive ideas".

In recent years the Chinese population in Tibet has increased greatly. China's population is the largest in the world. In their propaganda the Chinese said: "Since 1949 China's population has increased by a hundred million. This is a fantastic growth. In the old feudal society, there was no freedom of marriage, but there was widespread hunger. Under the Communist Party our national population has increased by leaps and bounds. We are a large and powerful nation, but economically poor. Because of this, it is advisable that a family should have no more than one or two children. We have adopted such a policy in the interests of the world. If we produce more babies, an intolerable food scarcity would be created, and the government faced with difficulties. Our population should therefore increase in a planned manner. But the choice remains with the people. The Communist Party follows a tradition of permitting maximum freedom. There is no nation in the world which enjoys so much freedom as ours." The Tibetan cadres were told: "You are the leading elements of the masses. You should be the first to be

sterilised and show the way for the others. If you refuse to follow this policy, there will be no ration increases, and no education for more than two children. It is best that you think over this clearly and carefully. We will be observing you and shall find out whether you are loyal to the party.”

The Lhasa Medical College developed a contraceptive pill without side-effects and distributed it to the Tibetans. The Chinese, however, reacted strongly against it and denounced the medicine as a “reactionary concoction” designed to harm the health of the masses. The medicine was banned, production halted, and as a result the people were forced to go to Chinese hospitals for treatment.

Although there are safe and well-known birth control measures, the Chinese methods of treatment often resulted in illness, disability and death. For example, a *Tibet Daily* worker, Lhasawa Thondon, had his wife Jhampa sterilised in a Chinese hospital. Since then she was always sick. The Chinese explanation was that she had been afflicted by a disease prior to her operation. Another *Tibet Daily* worker, Jhampa Tendar, who had been given the Chinese name Yung Shang-Chen, was also sterilised. Thereafter he was mysteriously crippled and confined to a wheel chair. The Chinese also operated on his wife, Sonam Chonzom, who emerged paralysed below the waist and constantly urinated because she had no muscular control.

I witnessed these incidents while working at the *Tibet Daily*. Similar acts of criminal disabling were carried out in other parts of Tibet. Not only was sexual reproduction prevented, but the Chinese tampered with the sexual organs and destroyed the health of Tibetans. This clearly is a calculated attempt to destroy the Tibetan people. There have been instances when youths were unknowingly sterilised under the pretence of being treated for some disease or other.

In the meanwhile, the Chinese themselves married Tibetan women and the offspring were brought up as Chinese. Tibetan women who married Chinese were praised as good citizens, and even those who had been subjected to *thamzing* received special praise and rehabilitation. These intermarried couples were given privileged attention, such as household utensils, rations and other necessities. They were also regularly given medical treatment. On the other hand Tibetan marriages were frowned upon

and whenever a pure Tibetan child was born they would say: "The crows in the sky are all black. There are no white ones." This meant that any Tibetan was a useless parasite.

The Tibet Working Committee (*Uyon Lhenkhang Tang*) has been known to have said: "There are many workers engaged in agricultural production who are residing permanently in Tibet." This is an indication of increases in the Chinese settler population, officially encouraged and backed.

Since my arrival in Tibet in 1962 I have not heard of any intermarriage between a Tibetan man and Chinese woman. This is a welcome development for us Tibetans. Because of massive attacks on Tibetan culture and race, the Tibetans have a saying: "Stones are impossible as pillows, friendship with Chinese unthinkable." This shows how the Tibetans feel towards the Chinese, who are regarded as strangers and enemies.

CHAPTER TEN

Forced Blood Donations

In 1962 the Chinese established a blood bank north-east of Potala at Dohdun, where both human and animal blood was stored. The blood stored at this bank was used by the army and Chinese civilians, the surplus being sent to China. The entire blood supply in this bank was acquired from the Tibetans—the Chinese were exempted. Any Tibetan between 15 and 35 years of age could be forced to donate blood.

Chinese propaganda rationalised the policy in the following terms: “We have come from China to modernise Tibet, and take it along the path of socialism. Your blood is needed to save the lives of PLA brothers who are guarding the motherland along the borders. There are many cadres who require blood and are facing difficulties in your service because of poor health. All Tibetans between 15 and 35 years should therefore step forward and donate their blood. We will see how many of you are loyal and patriotic citizens of the motherland. Blood donors will be granted 25 RMP, $\frac{1}{2}$ *gyama* of butter, 1 *gyama* of meat, and food coupons. Anyway you Tibetans have a lot of blood and if you donate it to us, the government and army will be in a better position to serve your interests. The person who donates blood is one who is courageous and a true communist with a correct ideological line. There are a handful of reactionaries who refuse to donate blood. These bad elements are enemies of the people. The opposition of these reactionaries shows that we are correctly implementing party policies. Lack of reactionary opposition, on the other hand, would prove that we are not carrying out party policies. It would show that we are colluding with the reactionaries.

“We must therefore fully participate in the task of collecting blood. Those who not only refuse to donate blood but prevent others from doing so will be severely punished. Just as every radish has a stump, every task has a policy behind it. The blood groups O to B are required by us.”

This deceptive propaganda might have lulled the simple Tibetans into believing what the Chinese said. Those who knew the Chinese mind and character, however, knew better than to trust the wolves. Most of the Tibetans were so familiar with Chinese duplicity and cruelty that they did not have much difficulty in seeing through the whole sham.

While the Chinese helped themselves to Tibetan blood, they would deride: “Tibetan traditions are bad. Actually the majority of Tibetans do not like us.” The Chinese like Tibetan blood, but they certainly don’t like Tibetans!

Although the normal extraction level for blood is X 100, a level as high as X 150 is reached when drawing blood from Tibetans. The extraction of blood was particularly heavy upon the upper class Tibetans, who were denied all the privileges or benefits that poorer classes received.

In 1963 a Tibetan youth, Pemba Tsering, who lived in Yabshi Phunkhang house, and a construction worker called Choephel had their blood extracted. A few days later both of them fell ill, became pale and lifeless, and rapidly succumbed to death. The Chinese dismissed the incident as being caused by an illness they had contracted long ago. They said: “Why had they not gone to a hospital? The state hospital is free; it is not like the hospitals of the old, feudal society. If they had gone to the hospital, they would not have died unnecessarily.” This was the way in which the Chinese made brazen attempts to fool the Tibetan people.

The Chinese are without justification extracting the blood of Tibetans, besides using *thamzing* and forced labour to kill our people. Although the Chinese would directly kill, they are circumspect about making the crimes too obvious. The Chinese need the Tibetan blood but hate the Tibetan people. Their attitude is like that of a fool who has to eat peas and gets stomach ache but cannot blame the peas. They hide and dress up their ulterior motives with lies of helping and saving Tibet.

My purpose in revealing these crimes is to show to the world

how the Chinese are effectively using totalitarian methods to wipe out a helpless population in utter disregard of all human norms and standards of behaviour. No one raises a cry on behalf of the sufferers and the world is lulled into false complacency with Chinese lies.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Red Guards Movement

The appearance of the first Red Guards was reported in the *People's Daily* of 24 June 1966, which described the nature of the movement. This public mention of the movement was a ploy to discover the hidden anti-State elements. The *People's Daily* article came out at a time when the Cultural Revolution had already begun. The article said that the Red Guards had been formed to protect and preserve the revolution, but did not reveal that the Red Guards would spread to all parts of the country. Afterwards when it was realised what the Red Guards were, it was publicly propagated that they were to destroy "the four olds": old traditions, old thoughts, old culture, old customs.

I thought that the Red Guards would only aim at these objectives, but they indulged in indiscriminate orgies of destruction. The name "Red Guards" was given by Mao's wife, Chiang Ching. She first formed groups in the educational institutions at Peking. Under her guidance, two students, Nee Rong-tse and Khao Ta-Hru, became prominent leaders of the Red Guards and their stories appeared in many Red Guard and official publications.

The Red Guards in China were composed of lower middle class and poor class factory workers, revolutionary workers and PLA heroes. They were all between the age of 15 and 25. In Tibet the Red Guards had members who were close to 40 years old. When they arrived they said that they were newspaper reporters and denied Red Guard affiliation. The Red Guards entered Tibet in early July 1966.

The following are details of the places of origin, battalion and leaders of the Red Guards who invaded Tibet.

- (1) Peking Girls School No. 80. Called "Middle School No. 80 Revolutionary Rebels", it had more than 400 members, led by U Tse-hen.
- (2) Peking College of Geology called "College of Geology Red Flag Combat Group", it had more than 300 members, led by Hsiao Len. Some of the Red Guards in this group were above 30 years of age.
- (3) Peking Air Force School. This was called "Red Air Force School Tibet Victory Combat Group". It had about 350 members and was led by Hu Litse, who was over 30 years.
- (4) Peking People's University. Called "Battle Revisionism Combat Group," with over 450 members. (I can't remember the name of its leader.)
- (5) Peking Chinghua University. Called "Battle Imperialism Combat Group". Over 250 members led by Chang Chen-sung and a woman, Li Fang Len.
- (6) Peking Institute of Minority Nationalities. This institution had two groups, "East is Red Combat Group" and "Khang Tak Kuhri." Combined total over 400 members, led by Wang Shih-Sheng aged over 30 years. Both these groups had some Tibetan members.
- (7) Hren Shi Shingnar. Two groups: Red Rebel Group and Red Fire Combat Group. Both totalled above 450 members, led by Uting Bing, about 35 years old, and Chang Chou-yuh, a 30-year old female.
- (8) Tung Peh Province Locomotive School. Red Rebel Group. More than 300 members led by female Li Yen, 30 years.
- (9) Hrang-Heh Dramatic School. Red Flag Rebel Group. About 250 members. Some Tibetans in this group.
- (10) Kansu Province Agriculture University. Lower and Middle Class Peasant Children's Group. About 150 members led by Shao Chi, a female.
- (11) Shenyang Tibet Minorities School (established in 1960). Before 1957 this was called Tibet Autonomous Public School. Emancipated Serfs and Middle Peasants Group (Ch. Nang nuh chi). More than 4,000 members mostly

- Tibetans. It had many leaders.
- (12) Southwest Minorities School. Flaming Combat Group. About 159 members led by Shang Tong Shi.
 - (13) Peking Middle School No. 4. "Chingkal" Mountain Warfare Group. About 250 members led by Thang Tang Chu, above 30 years age.
 - (14) Chabzinghingka Tibet Autonomous Region Staff and Teachers Training School. Name: Forward Combat Group. About 500 members led by Yang Chophel, a 40-year old Tibetan born in Datsedo (known to non-Tibetans as Tasienlu). Before 1964, Chophel worked in the Lhasa Radio. The following year he entered the TAR Staff and Teachers Training School. He had also attended the Southwest Minorities School in 1954.
 - (15) Lhasa Middle School. Lushan Combat Group. About 80 members led by Dao Dang Yung, a Chinese teacher, and also Tashi Tsering, a Tibetan. Tsering was violently killed during a battle on 30 May 1968.

The total Red Guard strength in Tibet was thus 8,130 from the various groups listed above. After one year's stay in Tibet, the older members of the Red Guards who came from China created splinter factions. It was these people who led the attacks on the monasteries. They seemed to have wide and detailed knowledge of the targets of their destruction, something which fresh Red Guard arrivals could not have had. These people could also differentiate and appreciate the value and quality of religious images. They had wide contacts and never showed their identity papers.

Judging from this, it appears that they were not only organised but thoroughly indoctrinated on their functions and objectives by the Chinese government. The Red Guards claimed that they were volunteers, but in actual fact they were sent to tackle tasks that the authorities were unable to handle.

Many Chinese officials and leaders appointed by Mao clashed with the Red Guards on 18 August 1966. At that time, Lin Piao advised the Red Guards on the need for Cultural Revolution. Mao backed Lin Piao and said: "May the Red Guards last for 10,000 years", and that "they are all youths." Unfortunately

for Mao, the Red Guards did not last 10,000 years. They were finished in 3 years.

The Red Guards were used by power-hungry interests and groups in the Chinese hierarchy. The Red Guards were only an instrument for vested groups struggling to preserve their power bastions. They were for a specific purpose at a specific time, and like bullets were discarded after spending out their force.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Ten Red Guard Crimes

The Red Guards despatched to Tibet in 1966 were iconoclasts with an ultra-leftist outlook. Although they had come to launch what was ostensibly the Cultural Revolution, they had something more sinister in mind—the destruction of Tibetan religion and culture. They unleashed a campaign of terror, destruction and confusion unmatched in history. With complete disregard they abused Tibetan rights, beliefs, property and life. In short they did as they pleased.

The Red Guards committed innumerable crimes and senseless acts of vandalism. I describe these broadly under ten headings:

(1) All domestic pets like cats and dogs were exterminated. The hoisting of prayer flags outside private homes and the black borders painted around windows and even flowerpots were abolished.

(2) Portraits of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and altars of offering were banned. The Red Guards argued: “It is reactionary to keep the portraits of the Dalai and Panchen, the biggest of the reactionaries. Do you realise that?” The Tibetans replied: “We are keeping the portraits because the constitution guarantees religious freedom. All we are doing is putting into practice what the constitution allows.” Replies like this provoked the Red Guards into forcing such Tibetans to march in public places wearing dunce caps as a sign of disgrace. There would also be *thamzing* sessions at which the Red Guards would lecture; “From now on this is the treatment for any person who defies us.” Some of them would smile knowingly and

say: "Listen carefully everybody. There will be *thamzings* far more severe than what you have seen."

The Red Guards invaded the residences of lamas, took out all their property, and forced them to march in the streets bent double under the weight of heavy images found in their possession. Nobles were also forced to march in public dressed in their full traditional regalia. Well-off Tibetans were made to march publicly with empty *boh*, *dayn*, *gyama* capacity vessels on their backs. All such victims, lamas, aristocrats, and wealthy Tibetans were forced to wear dunce caps, and a paper was pinned on to them listing their crimes or mistakes. They would be accompanied by Red Guards who would drive them through all the streets of the city to the sound of clashing cymbals, gongs and drums. If a big crowd gathered, the procession would be stopped and the victims ordered to confess to the people how they oppressed the poor and enjoyed a life of ease and comfort. This type of treatment was handed out to Dhemo Rinpoche. The Red Guards dragged him to a market square and mockingly forced him to wear the heavy accoutrements of religious dancers, which had been unearthed when his residence was raided. The Red Guards then berated him saying: "Even now he is fooling the masses by keeping all this wealth hidden."

In another incident, Benshoy's wife was caught with a hidden cache of 1000 *sang* in 100 denomination currency notes of the former Tibetan government. The Chinese forced her to wear the notes fashioned as a hat and the dress of a noblewoman. She was then paraded in the streets with cries of: "She is even now trying to restore the old reactionary government." The wife of another Tibetan called Sampho was dressed in aristocratic clothes found in her possession, with shoes which had one heel deliberately made lower than the other. She was then made to hobble before the public, while the Red Guards mocked her: "Exploiting the people in the past has brought her such wealth and riches."

(3) Under the pretext of transferring them to some other place, the sacred and valuable contents of the Tsugla Khang, Ramoche, Norbulingka, Tengyeling, Dzong Kyap Lukhang were all ransacked and damaged. The scriptures in the Tsugla Khang were turned into a bonfire which lasted for four days. Items that were thought to have commercial value were trans-

ported to China. There was also a lot of indiscriminate private plundering.

In the case of the Ramoche, the Chinese attempted to wrench off the pinnacle of the temple. The Tibetans tried to prevent this diplomatically, by arguing that it should be left intact as a beautiful landmark of the city. The Chinese however refused, replying: "If this pinnacle is taken off, it will produce hundreds of thousands of bullets, with which we can oppose our enemies and ensure peace and security. Besides, Lhasa needs to be modernised and made even more beautiful than it was in the past."

But when the Red Guards attacked the Tsugla Khang and began to defile the holy places, the Tibetans reacted strongly and lost control of themselves. Demonstrations were staged and many Tibetans were arrested. In the interrogations that followed it was discovered that most of them were from the poor classes. As a result the Chinese were at a loss what to do and the matter was left to rest there. The protests, however, had their effect and the image of Jo Rinpoche was left undisturbed and covered in a protective cloth. Later on the image was quietly taken away in the night, it was said.

The Red Guards in their mindless rampage were broadly guided by a number of objectives of the Chinese government: (a) Before the Cultural Revolution there was an office in Lhasa which looked after the preservation of relics and monuments. When the Red Guards attacked the religious places it was strange to see that all the images and other contents were already neatly packed and ready to be carted away. This clearly indicated that the Chinese had long-standing plans to take away the treasures, Cultural Revolution or not. (b) Although the Red Guards were newcomers to Tibet they always seemed to know what objects to lay their hands on and where to locate them. Many Tibetans saw Red Guard leaders issuing instructions from booklets to break this religious object or to take that one, indicating precise knowledge on the values of the religious artifacts. (c) The selective destruction and plunder of these artifacts showed advance preparations and accurate intelligence. Furthermore, the Chinese residents of Tibet joined in this vandalism. Hence the Red Guard campaign of destruction was clearly a directive of the Chinese authorities.

(4) The Red Guards took the law into their hands on many occasions. Tibetans were subjected to *thamzing* on the slightest pretext. Sons and daughters of upper class Tibetans were ordered to criticise their parents and subject them to *thamzing*. If the boys refused, they in turn would be directed to undergo *thamzing*. If the girls refused they would be raped by the Chinese. For instance, Dhechen Pelyum, a 20-year old daughter of the Manam family, was raped by Peking Red Guards as a result of which she suffered serious injuries. Similarly Ngapo Ngawang Jigme's daughter, Rinchen was also raped by the Shingnar Red Guards. These events in Lhasa are only instances of what took place throughout Tibet.

(5) After their rampages in Lhasa, the Red Guards went to Kongpo. There they brutally raped the daughters of 400 woodcutters living at Po Tramo. The Red Guards boasted that they had gained this experience while in Lhasa. The girls were also marched naked in public and punished with *thamzing*. The Tibetans were so furiously helpless at these atrocities and insults that many of them committed suicide. This notorious crime took place in August 1966. Although the Tibetans of Kongpo appealed to local officials, they were told that the local authorities had no business to interfere with Red Guards led by Chang Tse-wang. The officials said that no action would result, no matter to whom the Tibetans appealed.

(6) In Nagchu, the Red Guards forced the nomads to cut their hair. The rich nomads were subjected to *thamzing* and publicly paraded. Nomad girls were stripped naked, bound, and placed under guard on frozen lakes in the cold winter. The shivering girls were taunted by the Red Guards: "Isn't it pleasant on the ice?" Karma Sherab and his daughter, Tsering Tsomo, were also stripped nude and forced to have sexual intercourse in public. The Red Guards then cynically commented: "How nice it would be if the jackal offspring of theirs were to be born now and have its tail stuck on the ice?" Other vile taunts like this were hurled at the unfortunate couple. By 1967 the Red Guard cruelties had reached such a peak that many nomads were driven to suicide.

Their plight was learnt of by the Lhasa Tibetan cadres of

middle classes, who sympathised with the nomads and publicised their sufferings. The Tibetan cadres also protested to the Chinese administration and demanded basic human rights for the nomads.

(7) In Lhoka the Red Guards carried out *thamzings* on many Tibetans. Children of the upper classes in Tsethang were humiliated and marched in public, and the girls were raped. Other upper class Tibetans were bound in sacks for many days and nights. Girls were abducted in gunny sacks and raped at isolated spots. Nima Tsam, an 18-year old girl of Tsethang, was raped so violently that she had to be hospitalised in Lhasa where I saw her. Many crimes like these were committed all over Lhoka.

(8) At Gyangtse, at the end of 1966, the Red Guards at first ordered that braided hair should be slashed off. Then the upper classes were subjected to *thamzing*, ridiculed, and marched with dunce caps, and the girls were raped. Near Gyangtse there is a river called *Changloh* where several upper class Tibetan families were made to stand in the water for five hours wearing dunce caps. Those who weakened and fell were raised up and heavy stone weights were strapped on to them.

(9) At Shigatse, upper class people were marched into the streets and the girls raped and threatened not to speak about it. Older Tibetans were also marched and beaten, and then threatened with more beatings if they sat on the ground. As a result many people in Shigatse resorted to suicide. The Tashilhunpo monastery was attacked and plundered; similarly the old fort, which formerly housed the district office of the Tibetan government, was also attacked.

(10) Although Paynak under Shigatse jurisdiction had been threatened with famine conditions before 1966, Red Guards from Peking attacked Tibetans harvesting the crop in the fields for wearing the national dress or for having long hair in the traditional style. Girls were also molested. Dolkar, the young wife of Tsering Sangpo, a middle class Tibetan, was criticised for her long hair and raped. The Red Guards then shaved the hair off half her head. Tsering Sangpo in a fit of anger attacked the criminals, but he was arrested and hanged. Because she had

been assaulted by several people his wife suffered permanent physical injuries.

This is a brief account of the Red Guard atrocities in Tibet. If I were to narrate each and every crime of theirs it would take many months and still the whole sordid story would not be complete. These unspeakable Red Guard crimes have been suppressed by the Chinese government and the world does not know about them. Every decent person who reads this account will be moved with shame and sadness at the depths of depravity to which man is capable of sinking.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Campaign Against Tibetan Identity

From the moment the occupation began, the Chinese made vigorous attempts to undermine Tibetan identity. They tried to do this by replacing the names of streets, monuments, houses, well-known landmarks and even people, with creations of their own. The Chinese knew that the former names were derived from the Tibetan religion and culture and indicated a distinct national identity which fostered independent political aspirations. They probably thought that destroying all such links would bring them nearer to their goal of stifling national feelings. Moreover, they filled in the vacuum with names of their own that reflected Maoist ideology. If a Tibetan used old names he would be castigated as feudal and reactionary.

The following chart is an example of the changes in names of monuments and places that the Chinese have carried out:

Old Name	New Name	Meaning of New Name
1. Tse Potala	Potala	Potala
2. Tsugla Khang	U Sao	Guest House No. 5
3. Chakpori	Sangli Rhen	Victory Peak
4. Norbulingka	Renmin Kung Yun	People's Park
5. Dzong Kyap Lung Khang	Lung Wan Then	People's Palace
6. Lhasa Shul	Yuey Ching Lung	Great Leap Forward Path

Old Name	New Name	Meaning of New Name
7. Barkhor Chog	Chen Ching Luh	Forward Path
8. Ramoche Chog	Shing Haphu Lu	Happy Street
9. Rabsel Shartah	Kuang-min Lu	Shining Street
10. Dongkher Sharchog	Phan Rhen Lu	Liberation Street
11. Chabzing Lingkhar	Rhipen Shao-shao	Administration School 1959-63, TAR Teacher's Training School, 1963
12. Yabshey Taktse	Arrhso	Guest House No. 2
13. Kundeling	Chou Thong Ling	Transport Office
14. Tsemoling	Kao thun	TAR Dance & Music Society
15. Tengyeling	Chue Hue	Working Committee
16. Dhip Tse Chogling	Chun Hu	Military Depot
17. Meru Gon	Yue Chue thun	TAR Chinese Play Society, Drama Society, Opera Society
18. Ramoche	Phey chou chue hue	North Working Committee
19. Zhide	Tenli Kungsi	Electricity Office
20. Kharbha Lingka	Yi Sao	Guest House No. 1
21. Shugti Lingka Jhangchog	Lao Tong ren nun lithang	Workers Conference Hall
22. Tsetung Lingka Thang	Siling pu	Tibet Area Military Command HQ
23. Tsegyab Kushu Lingka	Kangpo Ten	TAR Radio Broadcasting Station
24. Nortolingka	Rhi Liu thon	16 Points
25. Porbo Lingka	Thiyu Tang	Exercise Field
26. Lubuk Nagther	Renmin Lu	People's Street

27. Trichang Labrang	Chunsen Sao	Military Guest House No. 3
28. Sungchu Rawah	Lishing Kongtang	New Generation Conference Hall
29. Tsal Gungthang	Phan Rhen Shang	Uprising Village
30. Knichung Rih	Archi then	Civil-Military Storehouse

These changes in names were made during 1959-1963, after which the Chinese issued ordinances forbidding references to the former names. Now I give below a list of people's names that have also been changed.

Old Name	New Name	Meaning of New Name
1. Yishey	O-tung	Protector of "Tung"
2. Tsering Samdup	Tong Tsa	Good Intention for "Tsa" (well disposed towards)
3. Tenzing	Mao Hung-hu	Mao's Red Thou- ght
4. Kunga Mingyur	Uh-u tsa	Violent Protector of "Tsa"
5. Chamba Kalsang	Mao Yung-hen	Dependence of Mao's Idea of Class Struggle
6. Lhagdon	Mao Tse-hung	Mao's Red Thou- ght
7. Khechog Wangmo	Yung Shang-chen	Great Leap For- ward
8. Lobsang Dolma	Mao Lin-hung	Red Mao-Lin

All these people listed above who had their names changed into Chinese were on the staff of the *Tibet Daily*. In 1966 the Red Guards made a rule that henceforth they would bear only Chinese names. Every Chinese name given to the Tibetans contained a part of Mao's name, i.e. either Mao, Tse or Tung. Similar name changes were also carried out in Kham and other parts of Tibet.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Divide and Rule

With the invasion of Tibet the Chinese divided the area and population into arbitrary provinces, areas and units. The following is a list of the divisions:

- (1) Lhasa was declared a city with jurisdiction over municipalities of Kongpo, Giamda in the east, Dhiptsun in the south, Nyemo in the west and Phempo and Yangpachen. The Chinese-Tibetan population of Lhasa city totalled 120,000.
- (2) Six *tuan chus* were created: Shigatse, Lhoka, Ngari, Nagchu, Lingchi Lin Kongpo and Chamdo. There was a Gyantse *tuan chu* but it was incorporated into Shigatse in 1965. The *tuan chus* are further broken up into: *hsien* or dzong or district, *shikha* or *chue* (sub-district), and *dongtso* or *hsiang* or town.

All these administrative divisions and areas fall under the authority of the TAR. The population of TAR between 1959 to 1967 was put at 1,300,000.

This fragmentation of Tibetan territory was carried out so that the Chinese could at least claim 2/3 of Tibet as Chinese, leaving 1/3 as an autonomous region. Most of Tibet was therefore absorbed into Chinese provinces. The Chinese could therefore create the impression that Tibet was a small nation to which the party had given autonomous status. Tibetans born outside the ART, e.g. in Chamdo, were recorded as Chinese. In this way the Tibetan area and population were made to appear small and insignificant, but no matter how much the Chinese may juggle with the

facts and figures there is no denying that the Tibetans are a separate nation and race.

Tibetans are loyal to their culture and preserve their life-style. There is no doubt that a foreigner will be able to distinguish the Tibetans from the Chinese.

Tibetans should not casually dismiss the Chinese policy of fragmenting Tibet, which should be regarded as crucially dangerous to us. We must realize its threatening nature and evolve a suitable response to the challenge. We must make these facts known to the world and expose the lies and deceits of the Chinese.

Chinese Propaganda

Since I started working as a reporter on the *Tibet Daily*, I witnessed how the Chinese deftly manipulated the media to propagate their doctrine and fabricate a false picture to mislead both Tibetans and outsiders. The Chinese have a very healthy regard for propaganda as an instrument to further their policies. Regardless of the human cost, the Chinese employed drastic measures for the development of the economy. These methods were never publicised but only the results were shown, leaving outsiders with the impression that the Chinese occupation has proved beneficial for Tibet's progress and modernisation. This led foreign observers to assume that the Tibetans were cooperating freely and had a right in national decision-making. They did not see the tremendous suffering and sacrifices that the Tibetans were forced to make.

Chinese propaganda on the living conditions of factory workers, farmers and the military were simply the reverse of the existing realities.

(1) Factory Workers

During the Great Leap Forward, the factory workers were made to work day and night. They were lured with promises of material rewards and incentives and urged to do better than the planned targets. Competition between plants was also insisted upon. Propaganda drives were undertaken and extravagant production claims were made.

Raw materials, especially fuel oil, became scarce. Because of oil shortage motor traffic in Peking and other big cities slackened.

The Chinese then resorted to gas to run their motor cars which were equipped with special containers, some of them bigger than the vehicles themselves.

Russia formerly supplied China with oil and many other vital commodities and machinery. All this came to an end when their relationship underwent a drastic transformation. To alleviate their fuel problem, in 1960 the Chinese set up the Tachai oilfields and conducted extensive propaganda exhorting the people to learn from Tachai. The workers of the Tachai oilfields were told: "Our oil resources are the largest and of the best quality in the world. As patriots we must give a resounding blow to the Russians by increasing our output massively." In this way the Chinese propagated lies.

Chinese propaganda claims that Tachai is a school to train industrial workers and a model for emulation by other sectors of the Chinese industry. Everybody, of course, realises the falsity of the Chinese propaganda: Tachai is not one of the largest oilfields in the world. What is conveniently not mentioned by Chinese propaganda are the working and living conditions of the workers and their difficulties and privations. These things are simply not shown in the impressive statistics released by the authorities.

Every year in the beginning of May and in December, reports on the progress of the industries are widely publicised. If 100 kilograms of oil are produced, then this figure is inflated to 1,000—fantastic claims like these are normal. Similarly in Tibet, too, economic progress is shown in juggled facts and figures. In Lhasa, for example, it is claimed that workers in a vehicle repair workshop work eight hours daily and that the proletarian outlook has improved so much that the workshop's output for one hour equalled the pre-1959 daily output.

Actually the workers have very poor food and work 12 hours daily. Because of the theory of class struggle, the workers were forced to work at a rapid pace, failing which they would be hauled up for *thamzing*. If the work quotas were unfulfilled or there was absenteeism due to illness or physical disability, the Chinese would accuse them of ideological deviation towards capitalism, feudalism, revisionism and political backwardness. The end result would only be imprisonment and torture.

To present a bright and optimistic picture of progress in Tibet,

the Chinese concentrate attention on a few chosen Tibetans who are built up as models in the media. In Lhasa such a model was Dawa, a worker in the Motor Repair Workshop. Dawa was from the poor class and lacked formal education: he was a simple man whom the Chinese conveniently used. There are others like Dawa.

The Chinese disregarded the effect on the health and safety of the workers of their ruthless drive to increase production. For example, in 1965 Yay Kung Hung, a 19-year old worker in the *Tibet Daily* died when the building collapsed owing to its weak foundation. Two other workers were injured in the accident. There were similar casualties when accidents like this occurred in a cement factory near Drepung. This shows how the Chinese did nothing to improve working conditions—a policy deliberately carried out in Tibet so that as many Tibetans could die of natural causes as possible.

However, in their propaganda abroad, these defects of the Chinese occupation were covered up. The Chinese played up their achievement by emphasising results and statistics, as well as plan policies and targets. If there were labour unrest and complaints, these were dismissed as reactionary opposition and sabotage. The Chinese managers of industry lived grandly at the expense of Tibetan labour and sweat. They have special privileges, like living quarters and servants and yet in their propaganda the Chinese say: "We are all comrades. We are the standard bearers of the revolutionary struggle."

(2) Farmers

In 1958 the drive to introduce people's communes was begun in China. The drive took place in spite of the poor economic conditions then existing. In 1958–59 grain was so scarce that in Peking people were eating the bark of trees and fruit peelings, in fact anything that was edible. The strained-off noodle soup that the restaurants threw away was fought over in the streets by waiting crowds. Because of such hard conditions of life many Chinese suffered from malnutrition, disease and premature death.

At this time of emergency and dire hardship, Russia failed to help China and instead demanded repayment of loans it had advanced before. Some Chinese officers remarked bitterly:

“We must tighten our belts and repay these loans to the revisionists”. In many places of China scores of starvation deaths and frequent banditry broke out, but went largely unreported in the media.

In Tibet, the Chinese confiscated all the harvest under various pretexts. Communes were started in 1961 and propaganda teams to encourage the spread of communes were sent to Taktse Dzong and Tolung Dhechen, near Lhasa. The message of these teams was: “It is good to start communes. Food will be supplied at no cost. All the harvest will then be collectivized and belong to everybody.” Actually the Chinese were interested in exploiting Tibetan labour and resources for their own ends.

At Tsal Gungthang and Kumbum Thang, some Tibetans were brutally used in this manner. Although they worked hard, every time there was a little slackness the Chinese had them subjected to *thamzing*. But in propaganda the Chinese said: “The patriotic and hard-working middle and lower peasant classes of Tsal Gungthang and Kumbum have requested the establishment of people’s communes in their area. This has been granted by the Chinese government.” The conditions, however, were not like the propaganda made them out to be. The peasants had to suffer from harsh conditions and received, for one thing, no medical aid. If a peasant fell ill for several days and was unable to work, the Chinese would grudgingly provide some relief. They would lecture the patient: “The party and Chairman Mao have today magnanimously given you a helping hand. In the old society no one would have looked after you or given you assistance. The Communist Party has not only aided you but we have come to visit you because the party and Chairman Mao wish to emancipate you from the clutches of the evil past. It is therefore very necessary for you to know that feudalism is your enemy and communism your friend. You must raise your political consciousness constantly. You must not surrender to illness; if you do then illness will enslave you. You must fight against it and conquer it. From tomorrow, you must come to work and you can begin with light work. In this way you will recover soon.”

(3) Military

According to the propaganda on army/people relations: "The PLA is the servant of the masses and the strongest opponent of reactionaries and imperialism." In Tibet, the Chinese emphasised, the old Tibetan army exploited the masses while the PLA served them day and night on the frontiers of the country. The PLA serves the people by following the three disciplines and eight observations as the basis of their role. These are actually a camouflage to fool the naive and gullible. For example before 1959 the Chinese were fair and just in trading, but later on they changed and began to persecute the Tibetan people. Property was confiscated and freedom denied: the PLA regulations were reduced to empty propaganda, which was the original purpose of the whole elaborate exercise anyway.

Then, again, the Chinese army have raped Tibetan women on many occasions, oppressed the masses with brute force of arms and killed many innocent and defenceless civilians. Do these actions fall in line with their propaganda? The PLA regulations formed in 1947 expressly forbid the army to abuse the people in any way. They propagate the myth of army/people solidarity and say: "The PLA in Tibet have faithfully served the people. The Tibetan people and the PLA are today united as one man." PLA atrocities and abuses have been officially suppressed and none of this is heard outside of China.

The role of the PLA is to implement the "three-support" and "two-military" tasks. The three supports are: (a) support the left, (b) support the farmers, (c) support the workers. The military tasks are: (a) military control over administration, (2) military training for school children.

In practice, however, what the PLA soldiers in Tibet mostly engage in is raping Tibetan girls; encouraging factional fighting by distributing arms to both sides and training them to fight. Even the soldiers themselves are often known to have changed into civilian clothes and joined in the fighting.

Since the occupation of Tibet, the Chinese have destroyed its religio-political structure. The people have been deprived of the right to life, and live in abject terror. Tibetan girls are mortally afraid of the Chinese army and I have seen them avoiding the soldiers in the streets of Lhasa, Phari and Dromo (Yatung).

However, in propaganda the Chinese assert: "If the masses do not have an army, the nation will not be able to meet its objectives." In reality, the Chinese army behaves just like a conquering army. For instance, in the "tight observations" it is said that articles borrowed should be returned, that crops should not be destroyed or damaged. In practice this was disregarded and the army expropriated Tibetan property without providing compensation. Similarly on the outskirts of Lhasa many crops were destroyed by the army. At Phari, too, military war exercises made many areas of cultivated land useless.

The PLA code of conduct was formed 43 years ago, and if the Tibetan people carefully examine and study the code, it will be noticed how the Chinese during this period have contravened it blatantly with lies, deception and brute force.

These observations of mine are based on the experience of seeing at first-hand the difference between propaganda and practice that the Chinese employ. The above account is very brief and I can quote many more incidents and examples in support of my observations. China has today attained the dubious distinction of being the No. 1 nation in the world in the production of lies, false claims, fabrications and deception. Other countries are very backward in this respect. In Tibet there is a saying that China's three failures are poor economy, poor ideology and poor scientific development and the three jewels of achievement are: the world's largest population, the most brazen, hypocritical State and a repressive government.

In my opinion the political and military arrogance of China are the frantic spasms of a dying man, and Peking will not gain world domination, however much she may desire it. This is because China is gaining more enemies than friends in the world. The majority of the masses under China do not like the government nor have any confidence in it. My hope in revealing what I know is to serve notice on those who are naive to be on guard against Chinese propaganda and deception. They should realize that life is not what the Chinese say it is, no matter how rational and beautiful it may sound or look. Chinese claims and utterances must be taken with more than the proverbial pinch of salt,

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

A Reply to *The Timely Rain*

In the whole world China is the most clever nation at lying and deception. Their cunning actions and glib talk have fooled many visitors to Tibet and the people of the world. Peking says that her objectives in Tibet are to bring progress and emancipation and not to oppress its inhabitants.

Before 1959 the Chinese had to take into consideration the views of the Dalai Lama and his government in introducing any policy in Tibet. After 1959 the Chinese said: "The Chinese government followed a very considerate policy before 1959, without which it would not have been possible to liberate Tibet." However, in 1959, the Chinese massacred thousands of Tibetans and this horror was portrayed in propaganda as "an attack launched by Tibetan upper class reactionaries on Chinese offices and the army, resulting in the deaths of many Chinese. To protect the interests of the Tibetan masses and in self-defence, the Chinese army therefore crushed the armed revolt."

The revolt, however, was not a minor one as the Chinese made it out to be. It was a declaration of national independence on a mass scale by common Tibetans, in defence of which they attacked the Chinese. The Tibetans were the ones who were killed in large numbers. After all, who possessed the armed might? The lying propaganda of the Chinese unfortunately fooled many people abroad.

Let me cite here an instance of how foreigners were deceived by the Chinese propaganda stunts. In 1962, two English citizens, Stuart and Roma Gelder, arrived in Tibet on a Peking-Lhasa flight. Before their arrival, the Chinese announced their visit: "Some foreign visitors will come to Tibet from Peking very

soon. No one is allowed to talk to them without a specifically approved reason. Only Chinese officials along the route of their visit have the authority to speak to the foreigners. This is an important order that must be strictly observed. If there are any unpleasant disturbances, the criminals will have to bear full responsibility. Everybody must wear the *chuba* and look happy."

When the Gelders arrived in Tibet, many Tibetans wanted to pour out their grievances but were unable to do so because of the Chinese injunction. The interpreters were briefed to ignore any Tibetan who attempted to communicate with the foreigners. In talks with the Gelders on socio-economic conditions in pre-1959 Tibet, the Chinese blamed the backwardness of the country on religion and custom. The Chinese asserted that after the liberation in 1959 vast progressive changes had been initiated.

The Gelders visited the Norbulingka and Drepung monastery. Before this visit the Chinese had declared the Drepung monastery open to Tibetans on the excuse that it was the 551st anniversary of its founding. Similarly the museum at the Norbulingka underwent a hurried facelift and many Tibetans were rounded up for this purpose. The Chinese said: "Whatever old and valuable objects there are in the Norbulingka must be taken care of and arranged properly. Objects damaged in 1959 should be covered up or hidden from view. This is our responsibility and we must carry it out fully."

At the ART office at Shugti Lingka the visitors were feted to a dinner-dance function. This was the last function at which the Chinese sang and danced in Tibet. For this function the Chinese selected a group of administrative officials based at Lhasa, the criteria being health and ideology. I was among those who were selected. There were many intelligence officials also present at this function. As directed, a Chinese official, Tien Chin-pao, and Phagpala Gelek Namgyal of Chamdo received the guests in a small room to the south of the function hall.

The Gelders danced with the Chinese many times. Entry was limited to officers with proper identity cards, and those with special selection passes.

Because of intense suspicion that the Tibetans might seize a chance to hint at suppressed facets of life in Tibet, the Chinese were very particular and painstaking about the preparations

for the Gelders' visit. To this end the Chinese succeeded in leaving the visitors ignorant about the real condition in Tibet. The Tibetans, on the other hand, felt that since the foreigners did not know Tibetan, it was difficult to tell them about their grievances even if the opportunity was available.

When I escaped to India, I saw that the Gelders had published a book on their visit called *The Timely Rain*. I was astonished to find out that the Gelders had swallowed the Chinese lies and glib talk without reservation. I am convinced that those who read this book will be similarly affected. Such lies should not be left unchallenged. As an eyewitness to some of the events described and their visit in general, I will briefly describe and point out the deception that the Gelders have unwittingly transmitted.

The Gelders claim in their book that they met and discussed conditions in Tibet with a common Tibetan peasant called Tashi Choden (Tacho Wen) of Tsal Gungthang. They obviously did not know who she really was. By no means was she a lower class peasant, as they would have us believe, but one of the Chinese puppets. The Chinese refer to her as "the industrious farmer Tacho Wen"; she holds the rank of a *Turin* and her job is to meet and court foreign visitors. What she told them was basically the same as in the case of other foreigners who visited Tibet: the miseries of the former Tibetan society and the happiness of the present. She had this story all cut-and-dried on her finger tips on Chinese instructions.

Recently she has seen through some of the Chinese deception and her wholehearted support for them has faded. She is consequently no more used by the Chinese for taking part in meetings with foreigners, as the Chinese regard her usefulness as over. For Tashi Choden the days of hobnobbing with foreigners over cups of butter tea have ended.

The Gelders have asserted that there is religious freedom in Tibet. They have published photographs of the Tsugla Khang, Potāla, Norbulingka and the three biggest monasteries of Lhasa. They also tried to show that the Chinese were not actually destroying the monasteries but were in the process of renovating them. However, the actual facts are that even before 1959 the Chinese had attacked religion and culture in eastern Tibet and took away images and other artifacts to China. After 1959, these attacks spread to all the other areas of Tibet. Of course

the Gelders were not taken to see the ruins of these monasteries and hermitages outside Lhasa. What did they see, apart from what they were shown, in the guided tour they were taken to in and around Lhasa?

Then again, not long after the publication of *The Timely Rain*, the Cultural Revolution in 1966 brought unwarranted and indiscriminate wholesale destruction of traditional Tibetan institutions. This was reported in the international media and readers will get a clear picture of this destruction from what I have written on the Red Guards. Thus *The Timely Rain* is not just ordinary rain, but a savage flood which destroyed our religion, culture, customs and everything dear to us.

The Gelders have reported that the peasants look happy and welcome the new life. I disagree with this. The farmers are forced to labour long hours and have no control over the fruits of their work. The Gelders only visited Tsal Gungthang where what they saw of the farmers was a showpiece, an elaborate one, staged by the Chinese. At that time the Chinese were actually busy preparing to introduce communes through sheer force and intimidation. In the course of this programme, many farmers and peasants who resisted were tortured, imprisoned and killed. If the reader refers to my chapter on social conditions, I think he will realise that the Tibetan peasant was robbed of any benefits accruing from his labour.

The Gelders have also made much of how dirty Lhasa was before 1959, with the dead bodies of cats and dogs lying in the city streets. Yet the Gelders were not present in Lhasa during the 1959 Revolt and its suppression to see for themselves that those very streets were also littered with the dead and wounded bodies of thousands of innocent Tibetans. The Gelders on the one hand distastefully remark on what they consider to be unhealthy, unmannerly Tibetan habits, such as relatives sharing food or drinking from one vessel. On the other hand, they conveniently ignore Chinese habits of spitting, noisily blowing noses, sharing food from one plate by many diners, and handling human excreta. Are these considered by the Gelders to be healthy and good habits?

The Gelders have regarded the coming of the Chinese in Tibet as a "timely rain". But I consider, as do other Tibetans, that the Chinese have brought a "timely rain" of hell-like condi-

tions. The Tibetan people have been reduced to sub-human beings through many forceful measures. No benefits have been showered upon the people except the massive build-up of military might with aggressive, expansionist designs against neighbours.

If the industrial development and other progress claimed by the Chinese did uplift the welfare of the common masses, not only the Gelders but we Tibetans would have gladly appreciated it. However, under these pretxts the Chinese have only converted Tibet into a forward military base for their hegemonistic ambitions. As a result the Tibetans have been faced with sufferings unparalled in their history.

The Chinese have, with typical cunning, warmly welcomed the Gelders in order to use them to cover up their misdeeds. A gigantic hoax was perpetrated to serve Han chauvinism. The Gelders have been fooled, and if they find this hard to swallow they should once again visit Tibet with their eyes and ears open and with some healthy scepticism in mind.

Before 1959 there had been no cases of Tibetans escaping their country as refugees. But following the revolt thousands and thousands of Tibetans escaped to the neighbouring countries, risking life and limb over one of the most difficult escape routes in the world. Is this a sign that there is happiness under the Chinese Communist regime? The Gelders are nothing more than spokesmen and apologists for the Chinese policies. They have criticised Tibetan backwardness and considered them uncivilised, but what have they to say on the phenomenal increase of interest in Tibetan culture among the peoples of highly advanced and developed countries like America, Russia, West Germany and Japan? Ancient Tibetan art objects are highly valued, and the craftsmanship of these objects is admired by artists all over the world. Would the Gelders still consider the Tibetans as backward?

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Cultural Revolution

In 1966 under the leadership of Mao and his wife, the Cultural Revolution was begun in China as a revolution by the poorer or lower classes. To ensure the success of the Cultural Revolution, Mao and his wife formed the Red Guards to spearhead the movement. The Red Guards were mostly youths and Mao and Chiang Ching manipulated these youths for their own ends by spreading the belief that they were engaged in making “revolution.”

I will briefly narrate the events of this “revolution.” Although revolutions elsewhere in the world are constructive in their objectives, the Chinese Cultural Revolution was a “revolution” only in name—its actual aims were to suppress the people and destroy religion and culture or anything that was considered old and decadent.

In the name of the CR, Mao destroyed his opponents and plundered the wealth of the upper classes. The Chinese CR therefore had as its aim the destruction of religion, culture and anything dear and sacred to the older generations. These motives of the CR can never be condoned by reasonable men.

The final outcome of the CR was the destruction of thousands of lives, untold difficulties in the people’s livelihood, and the enrichment of the party high command. During the CR, people were skinned alive, eyes gouged out, nailed alive, buried alive, raped, religious objects plundered, etc. All these inhuman, senseless acts were deliberately done with premeditated knowledge. It is unbelievable that it took place in the 20th century, more so because this barbarism surpasses any of the crimes against humanity in recorded history. It fully exposes the true nature

of the Maoist regime and if a serious study were made of the foundation on which Mao's rule is based the findings would show three underlying criteria: kill, torture and plunder.

Mao's definition of the CR was the destruction of the "four olds": (1) ideas, (2) culture, (3) traditions, and (4) customs, followed by rebuilding the nation. During this process, private property was confiscated on the pretext that the owners had the "four olds" mentality. In this line of reasoning, even the hair of women was cut and sold abroad because it constituted an old custom. For example, in the *Lhasa Daily* an employee named Dakpa, by profession a blacksmith, was paraded in the streets accused of possessing old ideas because a woollen *chuba* and other Tibetan dresses were discovered in his home. This is ironic because Chinese propaganda praise the blacksmiths as a progressive class, qualified to lead the masses. During the destruction of the "four olds," nothing truly "revolutionary", i.e. for the benefit of the people, was achieved. This is just one example; many similar and far more destructive incidents have occurred in various parts of Tibet.

The CR is the culmination of Mao's evil designs and the jealousy and internal power struggles which plague China. People all over China are revolting against the Mao regime. To suppress these rebellions and threats, Mao under the guise of sweeping away the "four olds" launched the CR to kill, torture and plunder. Ho Lung and others saw through Mao's designs and opposed his policies. Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping also opposed Mao and as a result there was sharp disagreement and struggle within the leadership.

Under these circumstances, at the 1962 Eighth Party Congress, Mao through desperation complained: "We should never forget the class struggle. At the moment many people like Ha Lu-shao-fu (Krushchev) are sitting beside me." But at that time nobody noticed the significance of this remark. Because of these circumstances Mao knew his power was slipping and that it was necessary to consolidate his position. In view of this realisation, he and his wife formed the Red Guards and launched the CR as instruments to regain absolute, undisputed power. However, instead of destroying his enemies, there emerged two main factions that clashed and as a result many tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded.

I will briefly describe here how these two factions came into being. Both these factions were founded by the Red Guards, and they sprouted all over China. Mao and Chiang Ching approved of the "Revolutionary Rebels", since this faction supported the Red Guards, and disapproved of the other (Great Alliance) because it protected certain persons in high places, meaning their opponents. Due to this conception of Mao and Chiang, violent clashes broke out between the factions.

For instance, in Szechwan, there were two CR groups, one a military organisation called Dren Yeh Chun (?) and the other a middle school faction called "8/26 Revolutionary Rebel Group". Violent pitched battles broke out between the two, because Mao and Chiang denounced the former as a reactionary faction.

During the CR in Tibet there appeared two factions also, both of them having Tibetan supporters. One was called the "Lhasa Revolutionary Rebels" or simply Rebels, or "Tibet Working Class Revolutionary Rebels"; the other was called "Great Alliance Command", or "Alliance" in short. The CR began in Tibet with the influx of great numbers of Red Guards who went on an orgy of vandalism. In some offices these Red Guards penetrated to positions of power, leading to conflict, confusion and misbehaviour. As a result many Chinese and Tibetans opposed the conduct of the Red Guards. These opponents of the Red Guards were followers of the "Great Alliance". On the other hand, those who supported the Red Guards were followers of the "Revolutionary Rebels." The Grand Alliance had 500,000 followers, and the Rebels had 200,000. Although Mao and Chiang Ching did not criticise the Grand Alliance, they secretly backed the Rebels. The Red Guards who came from China supported the Rebels and oppressed the Tibetan masses openly. Chiang Ching not only supported the Red Guards but went out of her way to protect and shield them from all criticism. From 1967 onwards these factions constantly struggled for power.

I was opposed to both the factions, because despite their differences they were basically against the interests of the Tibetan people. What was most disappointing, however, was that Tibetans joined these factions without realizing their basic anti-Tibetan nature. As a result many Tibetans participated in the factional struggles and died for no national purpose. Both the factions

in Tibet clashed violently, each claiming that it was upholding Mao's thoughts. During these incidents 800 people were killed, most of them Tibetans. The Chinese military were also involved in them. Generals Tsang Yung-ya and Liu Po-yen joined the Rebels and still hold power in Tibet, while Generals Jen Jung and Ying Fa-tang joined the Alliance. These military supporters distributed arms and ammunition to their respective factions. For example, the Chinese military unit at Peding gave grenades, explosives and weapon training to the local Rebels. At Doh Singge the PLA gave guns and grenades to the Alliance supporters.

During these struggles the Rebels used explosives, causing numerous civilian deaths, and the Alliance used weapons and grenades. This was known all over Tibet. The result was that many Tibetans and Chinese suffered. Production and communications were disrupted. Within the PLA itself there was factionalism and disagreement over all affairs, whether ideological or professional. Because of this confusion and breakdown of law and order, a new organisation called "16 organisation" was formed to oppose the Red Guards. Mao, seeing the failure of the Red Guards, reversed his position and opposed them with the new "2 16 group". In this "2 16" was a former Tibet-stationed Chinese military officer called Chang Ching-wu, who entered it because of the power rivalry.

Among the PLA also there were power struggles in Tibet. For example, Tsang Yung-ya who disliked and opposed Jen Jung, instigated the Rebels to criticise and humiliate Jen Jung, who in turn retaliated by using the Alliance faction to attack Tsang. Because of the PLA manipulation of the CR factions many more deaths were caused. The main purpose of the CR in China was thus the complete destruction of Mao's enemies. After 1959 people had to live like animals, as known to everyone. The people hoped that conditions might improve, but then along came the CR and things went from bad to worse.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

People's Resistance

Right from 1959 till my departure in 1969 the Tibetans resisted the Chinese regime. I will narrate here the resistance movement in Lhasa and in other parts of Tibet. In Lhasa the populace was strongly nationalistic and from 1962 onwards they began to display their nationalism by putting up wall posters in the markets of Lhasa. I reproduce below some of their slogans:

- (1) "Tibet belongs to Tibetans. Chinese quit Tibet."
- (2) "Mao has grown fat on the blood of Tibetans."
- (3) "Tibetans want a free Tibet. Chinese go home."
- (4) "We strongly support and remember the Dalai Lama. We pray that Mao dies soon."
- (5) "We must preserve our race and tradition. We must not eat dog's meat" (meaning must not deviate from our traditional practices).
- (6) "Don't be beguiled by the charm of the fox. Be on your guard against its cunning deception."

In all the *tuan chu* these incidents multiplied and harassed the Chinese very much. It irritated them more than direct, open rebellion, because the authors of such posters were so difficult to trace. Attempts were made to arrest the culprits, but these largely failed. The Chinese therefore repeatedly threatened that hidden enemies of the people should be resolutely destroyed. This, however, was like fishing in muddy waters. When such incidents occurred, it was usually the talk of the day and caused much excitement among the Tibetans. As a result the people became bolder and intransigent to the authorities.

Tibetans took a great interest in the prospects of China's admission into the UN. Those in Tibet hoped that the nations of the world would wake up to the Chinese atrocities in Tibet, and that these would be considered when determining Chinese admission.

In the beginning of 1969 the Chinese demanded the payment of tax on livestock of the Jhang Yanpachen nomads, who had refused payment for the 1966-69 period. In 1969 these nomads had declared allegiance to the Revolutionary Rebels and in their name the nomads killed and tortured a number of PLA soldiers and Chinese civilians. During this period, 100 nomads attacked and killed five PLA soldiers and four Chinese civilians with knives, axes and muzzle-loading rifles. These nomads went to Markya where they joined with the local Revolutionary Rebels and ambushed PLA and Chinese civilian convoys at transport depots on the highways. Many Chinese were killed and wounded in these clashes. At two transport depots these nomads attacked and plundered the supplies, carrying all that they could and burning the rest along with the depot. Very soon the nomads increased in numbers to 150 and became mobile with the acquisition of horses. The raiders moved to Nyemo and joined the Rebel faction there. In a joint move they ferretted out and denounced the local Chinese of Alliance affiliations. From Nyemo, 100 of the raiders moved to Chushul to block the motorway. In Nyemo at that time, tea, butter, sugar, meat and other edibles were in scarce supply. Many families had not had food and were living in extreme poverty. The nomad raiders appealed to the people to join the Rebel faction because they explained that the local district officials, i.e. the Chinese, were well-off despite the scarcity, while the people starved. The nomads thus incited the local people to rebel and surrounded the district military headquarters for several days. The office was attacked and in the resulting melee many Chinese were killed and wounded. The attackers made off with large quantities of weapons and ammunition. The Nyemo office reported this to the Tibet Area Military Command HQ and the Tibet Revolutionary Committee in Lhasa, who issued a joint announcement: "Emergency Proclamation!

"Recently at Nyemo a sudden uprising has been engineered by reactionary rebels. They revolted against the military and civilian

authorities, many of whom were killed. The district military HQ was surrounded and attacked for about two days. This is not the work of the Revolutionary Rebels, but a few power-hungry persons. The people of Nyemo should carefully differentiate between these two groups, and refuse to be fooled by rumours circulated by these selfish persons. They are also fully responsible for handing over the main culprits. The road-blocks on Nyemo motorway should also be immediately cleared.”

The Chinese authorities also rounded up all the people of Nyemo who were in Lhasa and told them: “You all must go back to Nyemo and advise your relatives and friends and also find out the main culprits.” However, these people from Nyemo could not return to their home because of the disorder there. Following this, 500 Chinese soldiers were despatched to Nyemo in trucks equipped with loudspeakers. After a few days they returned to Lhasa with a nun and 200 people in custody. This nun was reportedly the heroine of the rebellion. When the Chinese went to arrest her, she is reported to have boldly stepped forward and shouted: “I am the leader!” at which she was shot and injured by a Chinese soldier. The Chinese, however, did not arrest the nomads who took part in the rebellion. The nomads claimed that they were supporters of the Rebels and were only following its ideological line.

The Lhasa Revolutionary Rebels HQ announced that they were not responsible for the Nyemo disorders. They disowned the so-called Rebels in Nyemo, claiming that this organisation was illegal. Those nomads who escaped from Nyemo reached Nangkartse where they at once arrested the district *Rhu chi* and handed him over to the people, who subjected him to *tham-zing*. He was beaten so badly that he sustained internal injuries. Similarly PLA and Chinese civilian officials were arrested, publicly questioned and beaten. The nomads, after inciting these disturbances, stayed five days at Nangkartse and then disappeared in the wilderness.

Beatings, killings, and mass rebellions also occurred in Rong Ringbuk, where the senior and junior *Rhu chi* supported opposing factions. The people were similarly split; the Tibetans who joined the Rebels killed the *Rhu chi* of the Alliance, and vice versa. As a result Tibetans in both the factions recognised their solidarity, united themselves and attacked Chinese officials.

This is the story of how the Tibetans resisted the Chinese occupation forces. Similar incidents occurred even in the Namling district. Although the Cultural Revolution was not launched in Namling then, in May 1969 the Namling nomads complained to the district officials on the heaviness of the tax. The nomads came down from their pastures and along with the farmers in the valleys, formed groups in support of the Rebels. These groups created confusion and staged demonstrations in the district. The nomads then chased away the district officials and stayed there for 3 days without encountering any opposition. With another 200 youths, these people moved to Shigatse where they arrested the district *Rhu chi*, *Hsien Tang* (Dist. Mag.) and *Chu Tang* of Security. These three officials were taken to Namling. To suppress this rebellion, General Li Pen Rhen at Shigatse sent 200 PLA soldiers of the PLA 53rd regiment to Namling. After that there was no news about this incident. However, it seems that the nomads later complained against the PLA intervention to the Lhasa authorities. In Lhatse district, west of Shigatse, similar events occurred, of which I do not have details. I heard that Tibetans had destroyed military vehicles and stolen weapons.

What I have narrated above are events that I have witnessed or information obtained from eye-witnesses. These are brief examples or instances of the Tibetan people's resistance to Chinese rule. Even in remote regions like Kham Nagchu, Ngari, Amdo, Tibetans are resisting the Chinese, attacking, destroying and plundering Chinese military and civilian establishments.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Celebration of the Threefold Anniversary of Buddha

After the Chinese invasion, all the traditional Tibetan celebrations and festivities were slowly abolished and the Chinese plundered the monasteries and private residences of high lamas. In 1966 when the Cultural Revolution began, the Red Guards destroyed, or completed the work of destroying the last vestiges of Tibetan culture. At that time a proclamation was made forbidding the practice of religion; even a visit to a temple was considered illegal. But the Tibetans still stubbornly persisted in practising their traditions even at the cost of life.

For example in 1969 the Tibetans celebrated the *Saka Dawa*, (the threefold anniversary of Buddha's birth, enlightenment and entrance into pari-nirvana) which usually falls in the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar. During this time, not only the older Tibetans but also the youths participated in the festivities, despite the Chinese ban. The Tibetans showed every sign of happiness in celebrating the occasion. The Tibet Revolutionary Committee therefore issued a notice: "The reinstatement of old traditions is forbidden. Recently class enemies have made an attempt to restore old traditions. In view of this, the people should be on guard and avoid the path of these enemies, especially at a time when production should be increased to overcome the effects of the CR. The attempt to restore feudalism is clearly against Mao and only helps our enemies. Therefore everybody should be alert and vigilant against these enemies." But the Tibetans were not cowed down by such threats; they became more defiant and took part in the traditional *saka dawa* festivities which lasted two to three days.

The Revolutionary Committee sent delegations composed of Chinese and Tibetans to persuade the people to stop the practice of old traditions. The delegations argued: "Are you still practising religion? All the gods and demons were destroyed in 1966, but you all still possess reactionary minds." The Tibetans replied that they were not practising religion but the rites which they performed, such as circumambulating, were good for health, which was the reason why they were doing it. They argued that good health meant increased production which in turn meant that Tibet would soon be on the threshold of socialism. Other Tibetans replied that having studied communism since 1959 they were convinced that religion did not exist, and the devotional exercises they performed were purely for health and other reasons. They also said that in any case the patriotic Red Guards had done a splendid job in destroying all the religious images and in emptying the Jo Khang. Hence if they circumambulated the Jo Khang, bereft of its contents, would this be an illegal religious act?

The Chinese retorted that in the old days the Tibetans would circle a religious object, but now despite the sites being empty the Tibetans still persisted in circumambulating. Why was this, they asked? The Tibetans replied that before they did it out of religious devotion, but now they simply did it out of sheer habit. So the Chinese replied that this habit should therefore be got rid off. "After three years of the CR you all have still not changed your thoughts and habits," the Chinese admonished. Most of the Tibetans who were involved in this incident were either from the middle or lower classes. Despite all the Chinese injunctions forbidding religious worship and observances, the Tibetans nevertheless celebrated the *saka dawa* anniversary by cleverly outwitting the Chinese at their own type of deception.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Celebration of World Solidarity Day

In 1969 the people of Lhasa and the Tibetan cadres, in spite of Chinese bans, went ahead with the celebration of World Solidarity Day or *Dzamling Chisang*, held on the fifteenth of the fifth Tibetan month. The Tibetans celebrated the event with a three day picnic, which was also attended by the Tibetan cadres.

In the press where I worked, for instance, there were over 100 Tibetan employees who divided themselves into two groups and left their work for 7 days to take part in the picnic. As a result there was no newspaper for a few days. The Chinese boss of the press went several times to call the people from the picnic to the press, but all he got was flimsy excuses. He tried exhorting them to support revolution, production, etc. However, the Tibetans made a pretence of studying Mao's thoughts. The picnickers hung portraits of Mao outside the tents and scattered Mao's book quotations inside. When the Chinese boss of the press went away, they would revert to singing Tibetan songs and playing dice and *mahjong* and drinking *chang*. The Chinese got wise and condemned the picnic as a farce, accusing the picnickers of indulging in bourgeois-capitalist habits. They issued a warning that the Tibetans should immediately report back to work. But some of the Tibetans feigned intoxication and forced the Chinese boss of the press to drink in a festive spirit, telling him that it was bad to refuse a drink. Finally after much toasting and repeated rounds the entire party was drunk, including the Chinese, and they returned in this condition.

Similar incidents occurred in other Chinese offices where Tibetans worked. In the past Tibetan employees were criticised severely when late for work, even if it caused no serious halt

in production. In spite of this the middle class employees decided to disrupt work to celebrate World Solidarity Day. They were motivated by a desire to relive, even for a short moment, the memories of a life-style that once existed.

The simple celebration of World Solidarity Day, in my opinion, irritated the Chinese much more than a violent anti-Chinese demonstration. Since the Tibetans were able to mask their real motivation with lies and pretence the Chinese were deprived of an opportunity of getting a pretext for punishment.

The Attitudes of Tibetan Cadres

After the invasion of Tibet many Tibetan youths were taken to various parts of China on the pretext of educating them. The aim of this policy was to de-nationalise the youths and to use them as puppets. Before 1959 the Chinese encountered difficulties in inducting children for this purpose, so they tried guile, diplomacy and financial incentives to recruit candidates. After 1959 they resorted to less diplomatic methods to pursue their goals. However, the indoctrination drive has largely been a disappointment to the Chinese, because most of the Tibetans have not lived up to their expectations.

The first batch of Tibetan youths taken to China through deception was in 1952. Since they were the first group they were given excellent facilities and a warm welcome, which was well publicised in Tibet. In the publicity the Chinese announced: "In China all the highways are so clean that one can see his image reflected. Everybody travels by modern transport and few people have to walk." etc. etc.

At the very outset the Chinese concentrated on sending children of the upper classes to China as an example for the rest to follow. The Chinese also simultaneously formed youth associations through which they filtered their indoctrination programmes. During this stage, the Chinese were smooth, polite and very considerate and respectful of Tibetan customs and sensitivities. Even while constructing roads, the Chinese were careful to go around cairns (heaped prayer stones) if these obstructed their path. The Tibetans were deceived by these manifestations of respect and consideration; they thought the Chinese were sincere and understanding. Nevertheless we now realise this deception, which is

fortunate because we now know the true nature of the Chinese and are thus better equipped to deal with the enemy. Even the indoctrinated youths have come to this realization. From 1954 onwards the Chinese every year conducted two batches of youths on a tour of China, where they were accorded warm hospitality and introduced to communist doctrine.

In 1959 a large group of Tibetans was sent to China on the pretext that some were to tour China and some to study. This batch was divided into three groups: upper, middle and lower classes. At this time many Tibetans opposed the sending of their children to China and many withheld their sons and daughters, which caused problems for the Chinese.

The youths taken to China were located in the following places:

- (1) 1952–69: 6,000 were sent to Peking Institute of Han Nationalities.
- (2) 2,500 to Lanchow Northwest Minority Nationalities Institute.
- (3) More than 2,800 to Szechwan-Chengtu Southwest Minority Nationalities Institute.
- (4) 1957: over 3,600 to Shenyang, Shensi. All Tibet Public School.
- (5) 1960: over 4,000 lower class children to Shenyang Shensi Tibet Nationalities Institute.
- (6) Over 1,000 to Peking Public School.
- (7) Over 1,000 to Tibet Institute at Lanchow. Before 1959 this school and two other institutions were amalgamated.
- (8) Over 3,000 (including elders) to Peking Dance School.
- (9) End of 1959, over 700 to Peking Politics & Law School.
- (10) Over 100 to Peking Music School.
- (11) Over 50 to Peking People's School of Radio Communication.
- (12) Over 100 to Peking Health and Hygiene School.
- (13) About 200 to Peking Physical Training Institute.
- (14) About 50 to Peking Art School.
- (15) Over 100 to Peking Post and Telegraphs Institute.
- (16) Over 150 to Kansu Agricultural High School.

Over 30,000 students have been sent to China for indoctrination. The Chinese mainly hoped that these students would be emptied

of national aspirations and filled with communist ideology and loyalty to China. The students were taught in different fields, but the lower class children were specially encouraged to study political law. However, except for one or two, many of them turned against their Chinese mentors, who in exasperation would remark that the Tibetans go from bad to worse with indoctrination. The figures I have given are rough estimates, and the actual numbers are probably higher.

Although the students were deceived and sent to China, this was a blessing in disguise. There is a Tibetan saying that "if you fall once you learn to be careful the next time." What we learnt from studying in China was the nature of the Chinese, their ideology, their strategy and tactics.

The Chinese thought that by giving Tibetans crash-courses in political ideology and overall indoctrination, they would be able to use them for their objectives in Tibet. In actual practice, it worked out in exactly the opposite way. For example, in 1957 the students of the Peking Minority Nationalities Institute revolted openly and raised slogans that Tibet was an independent nation. The students had arguments with their teachers about Tibet's political status. Later, these students were charged with the crime of "local nationalism" and subjected to *thamzing*, while others were imprisoned or have disappeared altogether. Similar incidents took place in other places of learning.

The Chinese were angry over the student revolt. As a result they decided upon a fresh course of indoctrination based on a concentrated attack on religion, which they regarded as the basis of Tibetan nationalism. In the classes lectures were frequently given criticising religious concepts. The Tibetans resisted this, claiming that it was unconstitutional since Chinese law guaranteed freedom of worship. Faced with this argument the Chinese resorted to other tactics. They would question the students: "Who fed whom in Tibet?" The students replied: "The people fed themselves." The Chinese said: "In your ideology there is no class struggle. In Tibet, the landlords and the upper class were fed by the common masses. This is not the same as saying that people fed themselves. It was the aristocrats, lamas and monks who were supported by the poor people." But the students disagreed and replied: "We are young and we do not know." To which the Chinese replied: "Because you are youths we brought you here

to study the past and new ideas which we thought you might be receptive to. The older generation in Tibet are religious and oppose communism, they cannot accept revolutionary ideas." Many instances like this occurred in various schools in China. This was the attitude of Tibetan youths studying at that time. Although they learnt the Chinese language and other subjects, they only paid lip service to communist ideology.

If the Tibetans do not lose their identity, there is no harm in studying communism. In fact such a study and experience might prove useful to us. For instance, because of studying Chinese ideology the Tibetans have learnt much about the Chinese, especially their weak points. It also enhances the value of our own ideology. There are also many useful points in Chinese ideology which if put into practice would prove beneficial to us. Many of the Chinese deceptions were used by indoctrinated Tibetans to pay them back in their own coin.

I will now briefly describe my stay at Peking. I came to the Chinese capital in 1956 and joined the Institute of Minority Nationalities. In this institute I thought only of studying Chinese language and ideology and nothing else. After one or two years I changed my mind. I found that what I was taught and what I read were two very different things. I saw that the differences were mainly political. Thereafter my interest in the Chinese way of life increased. Finally I was able to use what I had learned against the Chinese themselves, whom I thought were sheer hypocrites. In 1961 I returned to Tibet and worked in the *Tibet Daily*. During my work I served the Chinese in various ways, although I secretly nursed a hatred for them. The Chinese noticed that I was a conscientious worker, and began to trust me. I carried through the deception to the best of my ability, playing the ropes cunningly according to the situation.

For example, in the understanding of Chinese ideology I was superior to some of the Chinese employees. Many of the Chinese officers and cadres considered me a real communist. It was thanks to my adroit handling of the deception which I had learnt and observed in China, that I was eventually able to escape into the free world. I consider this achievement as the most wonderful in my life.

I studied Chinese Communism, but I opposed it. I consider this important, and there are many other Tibetans in Tibet who

do this. In this diplomacy I carry Karl Marx, Lenin and Mao in my hand, but in my heart I carry His Holiness and the hopes of the Tibetan people. If you can practise this diplomacy skilfully, then you can fool the Chinese at their own game. When the Chinese say: "You must destroy the hidden enemy!" there is no need to be alarmed if you can practise the diplomacy which I adopted skilfully. The Chinese will in such a case have no concrete grounds or pretexts to suspect you. For instance, when I was working in the *Tibet Daily*, the Chinese placed full confidence and trust in me; I don't think they even dreamt that I would one day forsake them and flee Tibet. I was able to achieve this thanks to what I learnt from the Chinese themselves. Therefore we must always be prepared to learn from the enemy, and to adopt anything useful and effective against them. If we don't study communism carefully, we might end up calling black red. In Chinese communism there are admittedly many defects, but there are also good points that we should adopt. This is a fact we must all face. Some Tibetans rely on courage and determination alone to oppose the enemy. They do not consider other means, other tactics, such as diplomacy, deception, etc., which might further our aims. Relying on courage and determination alone will result in self-destruction and failure. We should therefore do like the Chinese, using many methods both violent and non-violent. In due course we may then be able to achieve progress and finally success. What I have narrated here about myself is just an example; there are other youths like me who are working for the Chinese. There are also many Tibetan students in China who, except for one or two, are practically useless to the Chinese. Because of the contradictions in Tibet, these students become disenchanted very soon after arriving from China. For instance Tibetan students who studied 13 years in China are politically sophisticated. At first glance they look dyed-in-the-wool communists, but they have proved to be very diplomatic and cunning with the Chinese.

In 1968 many Tibetan graduates of Peking University arrived in Lhasa. Although they knew many foreign languages they were sent to work on farms. The Chinese were afraid that since they knew foreign languages they might spread bourgeois ideology if they worked in the administrative offices. Most of these students were sent to Sakya and east of Miling. The knowledge that the Chinese have imparted to the Tibetans has thus benefited us.

Therefore as long as one is a Tibetan the Chinese suspect him. The Tibetans working closely with the enemy are our greatest hope for victory.

The world should note with sympathy the tragedy in Tibet where a whole race is being exterminated through unheard-of measures and in complete disregard of human rights. All peace-loving nations of the world should support Tibet's cause, because the people have true grievances against China.

First published in Tibetan in 1970, *Tibet: The Undying Flame* already enjoys the distinction of being listed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th Edition, 1974) as an authoritative source of information on present-day Tibet.

The author, Kunsang Paljor, was born in 1942 in Tanang Lholing village of Shigatse district in central Tibet. When 14 years of age, the author was taken to China along with thousands of other Tibetan youths to undergo "modern" education. For about five years he studied Communism, Chinese History and Chinese language at the Minority Nationalities Institute, Peking. Upon returning to Tibet in 1961, qualified as a member of the "new-born army of revolutionary Tibetan cadres", he was put in the staff of the *Tibet Daily*, a Lhasa based, Chinese controlled propaganda newspaper, first as a translator and later as a reporter. He held that post right upto the time when he defected into India in 1969.

Kunsang Paljor is now an elected member of the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (a sort of Tibetan Parliament in exile). He lives in Dharamsala with his wife and three children.