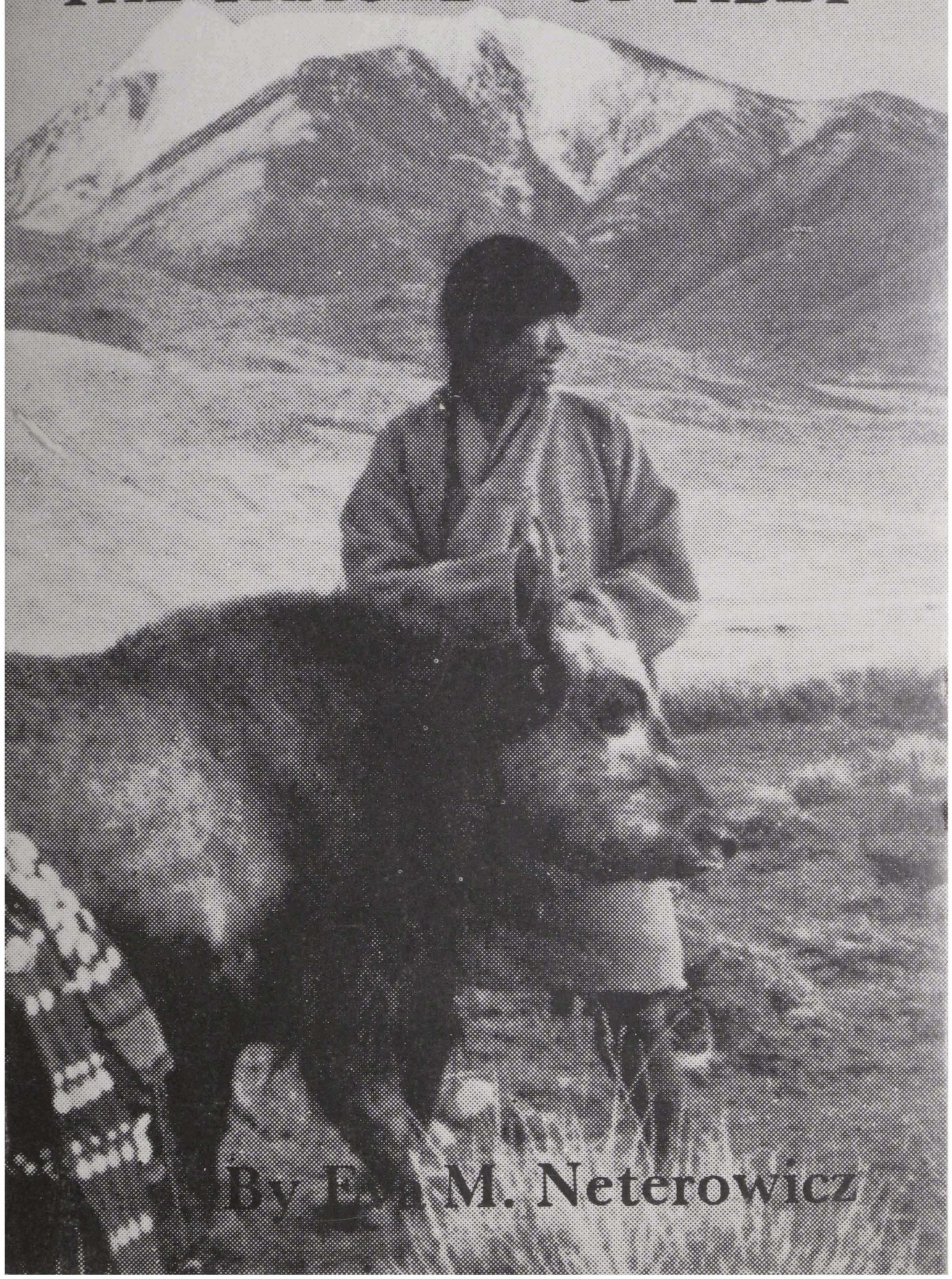


THE TRAGEDY OF TIBET



By Eva M. Neterowicz

THE TRAGEDY OF TIBET

by

Eva M. Neterowicz

Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies
Monograph Series
Volume 19

The Council for Social and Economic Studies
Washington, D.C.

Copyright 1989 by The Council for Social and Economic Studies Inc.

ISBN 0-930690-22-2

The Council for Social and Economic Studies Inc.
1133 13th St, N.W., Suite C-2
Washington, D.C. 20005

Tel: (202) 789-0231

Manufactured in the United States of America

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Author's Preface	5
Chapter 1: Tibetan Society and Culture	7
Chapter 2: Tibet Enters the Twentieth Century	22
Chapter 3: The Communists Tighten Their Control . . .	33
Chapter 4: The Tragedy Escalates	53
Chapter 5: Tibet Faces Present Challenges	64
Map of Tibet	85
Appendix: Extract From The Congressional Record . . .	87
Biographical Sketch of the Author	95

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Tibet currently remains an almost forgotten land in U.S. international policy and I am hopeful that this study may bring the tragedy of Tibet, suffering under the current oppressive policies of the People's Republic of China, to the forefront of public attention. As someone who has been concerned with the impact of Communism in the homeland of my ancestors, Poland, I feel a deep sympathy for the Tibetan people who are valiantly struggling to preserve their freedom, culture, and religion from destruction by Chinese Communists. I believe that the facts presented in this book will alert the American public to what is really happening in Tibet.

I wish to recognize three individuals who assisted me in gathering information for this study and I extend to them my sincere thanks for their encouragement: Ms. Michele Bohana, Dr. Lois Peak, and Dr. Donald J. Senese.

Eva M. Neterowicz

Chapter 1

Tibetan Society and Culture

As the Chinese Communists massed their population to celebrate the thirty-eighth anniversary of the victory of Mao Zedong and the founding the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1988, almost two thousand miles from Beijing a determined group of Tibetan monks and lay people staged a protest against Chinese Communist rule in their homeland.

Their protest made few demands but had a growing significance. While the world has perceived the leadership of Deng Xiaoping as more benign than that of the radical Mao Zedong, especially during the latter's last years, when he launched the destructive Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the situation in Tibet demonstrated that there have been no significant changes in the treatment of the so-called "minorities people" by Deng Xiaoping's regime.

While there are differences among scholars over whether Tibet is legally an independent nation, it is nevertheless clear that the Chinese Communists brutally suppressed the freedom of the Tibetan people by military invasion in 1950, increase their oppression in 1959, forcing the spiritual and temporal leader the Dalai Lama to flee to India, and have conducted a systematic persecution against the Tibetan people and their culture and religion ever since.

Tibet has an ancient culture and history different from that of the Han — the Chinese people who first united China thousands of years ago. Tibet has a separate language, alphabet, culture, folk tradition, literature, customs, and art, notably different from the countries surrounding it. In addition, it has a unique religion, based on Buddhism, with its own spiritual and temporal leader, the Dalai Lama. The actions of the PRC in October of 1987 made clear what had been obvious since the army of Mao Zedong invaded and subjugated Tibet in 1950 — that a relentless war is being waged to suppress the Tibetan culture and to replace it by

PRC-directed communism. Seeking to eliminate any nationalist tradition, the PRC has waged war not only against the Tibetan culture, but even the traditional cultures of the Chinese and Mongolian peoples.

In October 1988, thousands of Tibetans took to the streets to vigorously protest the oppression of the Tibetans and demand independence. The last days of September had seen the execution of two Tibetan nationals and the imprisonment of nine others. On the PRC anniversary of October 1st, two thousand angry Tibetans stoned and torched a police station in the capital city of Lhasa. During additional October protests, on the last day of a major ten day Buddhist prayer festival, thousands of Tibetans gathered to demand independence, and PRC Chinese troops fired tear gas and eventually bullets into the crowd. At least three people were killed, including a monk, with later reports claiming more people dead. The PRC moved quickly to remove foreign visitors from Tibet and to seal off the Tibetan capital to all foreign visitors.¹

To appreciate the current struggle, a thorough understanding is needed of the unique Tibetan society and the efforts of Tibetans to preserve their culture and their history. Tibet has a civilization and recorded history almost two thousand years old, and offers a unique example of a brave and determined people who, willing to change to meet the challenges of the twentieth century, still wish to preserve the achievements of their society.

The Setting for Tibet

Historic Tibet is a much larger territory than one sees on current maps of the PRC. Over one half of Tibet's original territory has been added to nearby Chinese provinces. Viewing a present-day map of Tibet, only the area of Central Tibet (called U-Tsang) and sections of Eastern Tibet (called Kham) are shown as parts of the PRC-designated Tibet Autonomous Region. Other Tibetan lands include the Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, now a part of China's Kansu

Province; Ngapa and Kanzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures, which are incorporated in Szechuan Province, and Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, considered part of Yunnan Province. The PRC statistics on Tibet include only those Tibetans living in the "Tibetan Autonomous Region," and therefore does not present the full picture of the Tibetan population. A few Tibetans also live in other areas outside of the PRC control, such as India and Nepal.

Nevertheless, one can readily see from a map of the PRC the geographic significance of this area. The Tibetan plateau represents fully one-fourth of China's entire land mass. A region of high elevation, situated on the "roof of the world," it possesses a vast potential of unexplored mineral wealth, and experts in geopolitics can readily see that it occupies a strategic location on the tense borders of India and the Soviet Union. As will be discussed later, Mao Zedong viewed Tibet as a strategic block to both India and Russia, and sought to make it a site for China's nuclear defenses.

The minerals of Tibet remain an untapped source of future wealth. They include coal, iron, asphalt, oil-shale, tin, copper, jade, and zinc. Tibet is also credited with possessing the world's largest lithium reserves, with lithium deposits established at half the world's total. There are also deposits of uranium and plutonium.²

Despite the potential mineral wealth, Tibet remains an underdeveloped country with a limited economic base. Although historically the Tibetans have been self sufficient in food — a very basic diet of wheat flour, tea, yak meat, etc. — they have suffered in recent years from famine when the Chinese Communists made unreasonable and excessive demands on their limited food resources.

Tibetans are found in two major occupations — herders and farmers, with some commerce. Tibet possesses a large amount of farmland where the major crops are rice, corn, barley, wheat, rapeseed, buckwheat and broadbeans. Farming methods followed age-old customs, utilizing wooden ploughs and yaks until recently when some mechanization has

occurred. Forestry is important, with pine, spruce, and fir among the chief lumber products.³

Tibet remains true to the picture of a vast pastureland with millions of hectares for the grazing of a variety of animals including cows, yaks, goats, sheep, donkeys and mules. On the Tibetan farm, the yak traditionally occupied a central role, providing tender, lean meat and milk, cheese, and butter. Yak hair and hide is used for boot-making, thread, blankets, clothing, and even boats and tents. Yak dung is dried and used for fuel.⁴

Traditional Tibetan society has changed little over the centuries. The recorded history of Tibet began about 127 B.C., but the most significant events in its history occurred between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D., when the country was unified and became a major power in Central Asia. The country's borders remained largely unchanged from the tenth century until the Chinese Communist invasion which then cut off major areas long a part of Tibet.

Tibetan culture was influenced by other cultures in the region because of its relations with its neighbors including the Chinese, Mongols, Manchus, Nepalese, Indians, Russians and even the British. While seeking a continued independent status, Tibet did fall under the control of other powers in the region: the Manchu Emperors; the Nepalese Kings; the Mongol Khans; and the British rulers in India. Controversy in international law developed when the Manchu Empire fell in 1911 and the ruler of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, asserted full independence. The succeeding Republic of China never officially recognized this independence but remained too weak and preoccupied (i.e., unifying China, fighting the Japanese, and resisting the Communist threat) to enforce its claim. The question became mute when the Chinese Communists sent in troops in 1950, snuffing out Tibetan freedom and independence. From that time onward the Tibetan culture and religion was under siege by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists who ruled in Beijing.

Tibetan history, culture, and politics can best be under-

stood by examining the religious tradition of Tibet Buddhism which became the essential fabric of Tibetan society, carefully weaving every aspect of Tibetan life.

Tibetan Political Development

During the seventh century, the region we know as Tibet was occupied by a group of nomadic tribes. An energetic leader, Tsanpo Songtsen Gampo (620-649) earned the title of the father of Tibet because of his crucial role in creating a unified entity. He subdued the various peoples on the border of Tibet and arranged matrimonial alliances with the neighboring powers (i.e., a princess from Nepal and a princess from China). These two marriages had a great influence on Tibet, for these brides were responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet.

Other leaders who influenced Tibet's growth were Emperors Trisong Detsen (755-797) and Tritsug Detsen Ralpachen (817-836). Emperor Trison Detsen extended Tibetan influence across the Pamirs as far as the empires of the Arabs and the Turks in the west, to Turkestan in the north, and as far south as Nepal. Tibetan armies overran the Chinese provinces of Gansu and Szechaun, and the ensuing treaty confirmed his conquests on the Chinese border.

Tibet's Imperial Age lasted about two centuries. It ended with the assassination of Tsanpo Ralpachen in 836. Two accomplishments were evident during this time: the creation of a unified Tibetan state maintaining regular relations with its neighbors, and the formation of a distinct Tibetan state with predominant Buddhist features.

During the middle of the ninth century, the Tibetan ruler Tsanpo Langdarma (836-842), met the same fate of Tsanpo Ralpachen. He was assassinated in 842 and an 'age of disintegration' set in. The ruling dynasty terminated with the assassination, the empire collapsed, and the once unified area fragmented into a number of principalities which tended to war with one another.

The fortunes of Buddhism varied in this period. The reign

of Tsanpo Ralpachen witnessed the persecution of Buddhism, but after his assassination Tibet's foreign ties shifted from China to India and Nepal, and with this shift came a renewal in Buddhism. Prominent teachers arrived in Tibet.

The political role of Buddhism now advanced rapidly. Great monasteries were built, two schools of Buddhism – the Sakyapa and the Kagyupa being the most popular. Social changes influenced political development, the Buddhist monks becoming a new monastic aristocracy which successfully challenged the traditional Tibetan nobility in social, political and even economic fields. More than a spiritual or intellectual revival, the very nature of Tibetan society was changed: the social, economic, and political landscape was remade. The interest of Tibetans turned away from political and military affairs in a major shift in favor of religious and spiritual interests which over the succeeding centuries came to permeate the life of the Tibetan people.

With this new, more pacifist interest, the map of Tibetan conquest began retreat. In both the south and the west, Tibetans were forced back to the Tibetan plateau, and subsequent Tibetan history would witness no expansion beyond this area. The Tibetan fighting spirit had been neutralized, and the Tang Dynasty, though it was overthrown a century after the Tibetan ruling family fell, managed to recover most of the territory which had been taken from it by Tibet.⁵

While Tibet endured the disintegration of its empire, it would soon face a threat to its independence in its remaining territory. That threat was the power of the Mongols under Chingis or Genghis Khan (1167-1227). Following his election as the leader of all the Mongols, Chingis Khan made a rapid series of military conquests and created one of the greatest empires the world had ever known. While we do not need to go into detail on the extent of the Mongol conquests, suffice it to say that when Genghis conquered Tangut, to the north of Tibet, the Tibetan government decided to open friendly relations with the Mongols, and introduced the Mongols to

Buddhism. The accommodation reached established a "priest/patron" relationship between the Mongol rulers and the Tibetan hierarchy. This agreement became the basis for dealing with the Mongol Yuan Dynasty in China (1260-1368), and later the Manchu Ching Dynasty (1644-1911) in China.

By 1350, Changchub Gyaltsen (1350-1364) became the ruler of Tibet and helped to bring about further unification and centralization. He retained only a nominal bond between himself and the Mongol Emperor, and attempted to revive secular rule and to effect a restoration of Imperial Tibet. He promoted the revival of Tibetan culture and adopted a Tibetan rather than the former Mongol system of administration. His code of justice had far reaching implications and remained as the basis for the administration of Tibetan justice into the twentieth century.

International events continued to affect Tibet. As the Mongol power waned, China came under the control of a native Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) which demonstrated little interest in Tibet. The Ming Emperors maintained trade and friendly relations with the Tibetans and viewed the relations in the Confucian context of the tributary relations between China and areas neighboring the Chinese Empire. Tibet remained free to maintain relations independently with Nepal and Kashmir.

Mongol influence did not disappear from the area. Despite the decline of its once vast empire, the Mongols continued their ties with Tibet. Buddhist influence continued to grow in Tibet and Sonam Gyatso (1534-1588), a Dalai Lama, traveled to the Mongol court and helped to set in motion the events which would bring about the conversion of the Mongols to Buddhism. The Fourth Dalai Lama, Yonten Guatso (1589-1617), was discovered to have been born to the family of the Mongol ruler Altan Khan, as his great grandson. The Mongols subsequently helped to establish the rule of the Fifth Dalai Lama as the supreme religious and political power in Tibet.⁶

The great regard for and power of the Dalai Lama over

the Tibetan people is an extraordinary phenomenon and it is necessary to understand how this came about in order to fully appreciate his current role in Tibetan affairs.

While some explanation of Buddhist beliefs will be found in the next section, a word should be made here on the role of the Dalai Lama in Tibetan life. Tsonkapa (1357-1419) founded a new Tibetan Buddhist school as part of a reform movement. The Gelugpa was strictly a religious movement, but soon obtained political influence to the extent of replacing the dominant school, the Kagyupa, in Tibet at that time. The Gelugpa school spread rapidly throughout Tibet and participated in the establishment of the largest and most powerful monasteries, the Ganden, Drepung, and Sera. When Gedun Trupa, the principal disciple of Tsonkapa, died in 1474, the population believed he was reincarnated in a newborn child Gedun Gyatso (1474-1542). Gedun Trupa and Gedun Gyatso were posthumously considered to be the First and Second Dalai Lamas, respectively, and thus the forerunners of the supreme spiritual and temporal rulers of Tibet. The Tibet scholar, Michael C. van Walt van Praag, described the importance of this belief:

"The discovery of Gedun Trupa's rebirth and of all his subsequent rebirths as Dalai Lama was based on the belief that human beings who have attained a very high degree of enlightenment can reincarnate voluntarily and out of compassion, in order to help all living beings of their path to final liberation. The Dalai Lama was furthermore recognized to be the embodiment of Chenrezig (the Bodhisattva or emanation of compassion), and the protector of Tibet."⁷

The Dalai Lamas had acquired significant power in Tibet by the end of the sixteenth century. The fifth incarnation, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617-1682), known in history as the Great Fifth, found Tibet immersed in religious and regional struggles, and called upon Gushri Khan, his Mongol patron, for assistance. Mongol assistance resulted in victory and Gushri Khan presented the whole of Tibet to the Dalai

Lama in 1642. This conquest enabled the Great Fifth to rule not only as the sovereign of a unified and independent state of Tibet, but also as the dominant head of the state religion. He retained this power until he retired in 1679, when a Regent or Desi was appointed to administer the country in his name.⁸ This system governance remained in force until present times.

The Tibetan Religious Heritage

Any discussion of the religious heritage of Tibet must begin with the founding of Buddhism in India by Siddhattha Gautama, who was born in the year 563 B.C., and died in 483 B.C. Although he was the heir of the ruling house of Sakhas, he preferred to seek philosophical enlightenment and renounced his princely authority to found movement which emphasized compassion, wisdom, and the importance of study and meditation. Following his death, his followers gathered to meditate on the "Words of the Enlightened One," and their interpretation became the nucleus of Buddhism. Subsequently his followers spread their teachings and established monasteries throughout southern and eastern Asia.⁹

The essentials of the teachings included the Four Noble Truths, stated as follows:

Life is inevitably sorrowful – birth, illness, age, and death are all unavoidable, and the quest is to find liberation from the suffering of this existence.

This sorrow arises from the sensual cravings and desires that bind man to this existence and to the chain of rebirth.

Liberation from this continued suffering perpetuated by constant rebirth can be achieved through ending this craving.

Liberation can be obtained through proper moral conduct and enlightenment by following the Eightfold Path."¹⁰

The late Christmas Humphreys, who founded the Buddhist Society of London and became Vice President of the Tibet

Society, declared that "Buddhism was from the first a missionary religion," noting that within a few days from the first sermon Buddha sent his converts into the world with the exhortation to proclaim the doctrine and preach "a life of holiness, perfect, and pure."¹¹ The Southern School (Theravada) developed in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Siam (Thailand), Burma, and Cambodia (Kampuchea) while the Mahayana School found its great expression in China, Mongolia, and Tibet. As to its growth, he described Buddhism as something which "spread like a tide in Asia."¹²

Buddhism spread along the trade routes to China, reaching also Japan, Korea, and in the sixth century, Tibet. While Theravada stressed monastic discipline in applying the moral code, the Mahayana took a broader interpretation of the Buddhist beliefs which incorporates the monastic principles of Theravada but goes beyond to stress enlightenment for all beings through meditation. This form of Buddhism also stressed the concept of the bodhisattva, an awakened being who reaches the state of enlightenment then, when ready to leave the suffering of continued existence and enter Nirvana, decides voluntarily to be reborn again out of compassion for others in order to help their liberation. This concept in Tibet became linked with the figures of living beings – the so-called Living Buddhas. The bodhisattva is believed to possess the qualities of wisdom and compassion and those who trust in the guidance of the bodhisattva must share in the desire for liberation for other beings.¹³

The major religions are known for their architectural monuments on earth, and just as the Vatican represents Catholicism, the Potala, the great Buddhist monastery in Tibet represents Tibetan Buddhism. This building lends a certain majesty and power to the religious faith. One observer, Fred Ward, has described it as "the Magnificent Potala, the sprawling hilltop palace of the Dalai Lama." The palace is the citadel of Buddhist rule and as the palace of the Dalai Lama it dominates Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, in a "shroud of isolation." Tibet occupies the world's highest and most

difficult terrain which has kept it isolated for hundreds of years after rival fiefdoms began consolidation in the seventh century. The very name Lhasa, which means "Place of the Gods," notes Ward, became synonymous with the "Forbidden City."¹⁴ The Chinese Communists have turned this magnificent monastery into a museum, but it has retained its elegance. During the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China (1966-1969), the Red Guards were expected to destroy it, but, according to some accounts, it was saved from destruction by the intervention of then Premier Zhou Enlai and the regular Chinese Army.¹⁵ A more recent visitor, traveler and author Peter Jennings, described the impression it made on him:

"For a Tibetan to see the Potala for the first time must be an experience which sends him to his knees. We were given the gift of experiencing this mighty Potala. You can't see it only. You have no choice but to feel it. It overpowers you.

I've never been so overwhelmed by a building...

Compared to the drab and dull-colored lands of Tibet, being in the Potala was like standing too close to a star. It was an overload of color. There was every shade of every color: red, blue, green, and so on."¹⁶

The great role religion plays in Tibetan culture and government is best realized by the Potala Palace, the headquarters for the Dalai Lama until he was forced to flee his homeland in 1959. The name Potala is adopted from the Sanskrit language meaning "Buddha Mountain." Its architecture is traditionally Tibetan. The first palace for the Dalai Lama was built in the seventh century, but was destroyed by lightning in the eighth century; its successor met destruction in a ninth century war. The present palace dates from two major constructions in the seventeenth century.

As most observers describe it, the Potala Palace dominates the landscape. The magnificence of the building is empha-

sized by its thirteen stories, achieving a height of three hundred feet and a length from east to west of over one thousand feet. An estimated seven thousand workers worked daily on its construction. A crater behind the palace which was the source of the mortar for the palace walls, was subsequently filled with water and designated the Dragon King pool. Estimates indicate that the palace contains over one thousand rooms, and about two hundred thousand statues. The palace thus represented an edifice of hallways, sutra libraries, beautifully decorated prayer rooms, and antechambers. Over the centuries this palace came to house enormous treasures of silver, gold, and precious stones.¹⁷

The living quarters of the Dalai Lama were located at the top of the White Palace. This palace was completed during the lifetime of the Great Fifth Lama, the Red Palace being completed after his death. The bedrooms, sitting rooms and the meeting rooms were all contained here, close to the room where the Dalai Lama sat while chanting the holy scriptures. The remains of eight of the Dalai Lamas are entombed in gold stupas or rounded tombs. The stupa of the Fifth Dalai Lama rises some six stories in height, and is covered by more than eight thousand pounds of gold.¹⁸

Another palace reflecting the religious heritage of the Tibetan people is the Jokhang Temple. This is located in the center of the old city of Lhasa, and was the scene of one of the major demonstrations against Communist oppression at the end of 1987. The Jokhang Temple is regarded by the Tibetans as one of the holiest shrines, and traces its founding back over thirteen hundred years. The architecture is not purely Tibetan, but is other styles indicating the influence of Indian, Chinese, and Nepalese traditions. Throughout the day, pilgrims prostrate themselves before the shrine. One of the most impressive features is a gilded bronze statue of the Sakyamuni Buddha, sitting on a gold throne surrounded with pillars of pure silver.¹⁹ This temple has been described as "the Mecca to the Tibetan faithful." Some pilgrims have been known to travel for years to reach the building, circle it and

prostrate themselves repeatedly at body length intervals before entering to pray in front of the hundreds of statues inside. The building is characterized by its flickering yak butter candles, opulent painted Buddhist murals, great thirty-foot high statues, richly woven cloth hangings and the odor of burning butter which pervades the air.²⁰

The Drepung Monastery is located about six miles north of the city of Lhasa. This monastery, founded in 1416, is located high on a cliff and is built in the Tibetan style. At one time, the monastery was the largest of the three great monasteries near Lhasa, and had a population of 10,000 students. The monastery is lavishly decorated and contains many statues of Buddha.²¹

The Drepung Monastery, the Sera monastery and the Ganden monastery represent the three once great monasteries close to Lhasa. The Sera, three and half miles north of Lhasa, was founded in 1419. The Ganden, thirty-seven miles east of Lhasa, was founded in 1409 and was one of the most powerful monasteries in all of Tibet. It formerly possessed magnificent statues and great treasures from antiquity, but these were destroyed by the Communists after they took Tibet.²² When they were founded, they were among the largest universities of the world.

Summary

The Dalai Lama, though no longer in his homeland of Tibet, describes the impact of Tibetan Buddhism as follows:

"In Tibet, we see all these aspects of practice as compatible; we do not view sutra and tantra as contradictory, like hot and cold; we do not consider that the practice of the view of emptiness and the practice of altruistic deeds are contradictory at all. As a result of this, we are able to combine all of the systems into a single unified practice.

To summarize, the altruistic intention to become enlightened is the root, or basis, of the vast series of complete practices. The doctrine of emptiness is the root

of the practices of the profound view. In order to develop the mind that realizes the suchness of phenomena higher and higher, it is necessary to engage in meditation. In order to achieve easily a meditative stabilization which is a union of calm abiding and special insight. As the basis for such practice it is necessary to keep good ethics. Thus, the complete system of practice in Tibet is explained as externally maintaining the Low Vehicle system of ethics, internally maintaining the Sutra Great Vehicle generation of altruism, love, and compassion, and secretly maintaining the practice of the Mantra Vehicle.²³

Under the rule of the Dalai Lama, the combination of the religious and secular state thus became characteristics of Tibet, with a large proportion of its male population entering the monasteries. Tibet was challenged by a number of the major powers in the twentieth century — British, Russia, China, and India — because of its strategic location, but it was only the Communists who have ever threatened the very existence of its ancient religious and cultural tradition.

FOOTNOTES

1. "3 Tibetans Killed in Protests," *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1988.
2. Michael Buckley and Robert Strauss, *Tibet: A Travel Survival Kit*, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publication, 1986, pp. 28, 30-31.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Michael C. van Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987, pp. 3-4. The author quotes F. W. Thomas's comment in *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, Volume 2, p. 417 that "probably no religion is more potent than Buddhism in damping the fighting spirit." Ibid, p. 4.
6. Ibid, pp. 4-9.
7. Ibid, p. 8.
8. Ibid, p. 10.
9. Ananada K. Coomaraswamy, *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, pp. 9-10; Clarence Hamilton, *Buddhism*, New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1951, pp. XV11-XV111. Also see L. Austine Waddell, *Tibetan Buddhism*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972 (reprint of the 1895 edition).
10. Franz Michael, *China Through the Ages: History of a Civilization*, Boulder,

Colorado: Westview Press, 1986, p. 96.

11. Christmas Humphreys, *Buddhism: An Introduction and a Guide*, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985, p. 60.

12. Ibid, p. 205.

13. Michael, pp. 97-98.

14. Fred Ward, "In Long-Forbidden Tibet," *The National Geographic Magazine*, (February, 1980), pp. 219-220.

15. Jeremy Bernstein, "Our Far Flung Correspondents (Tibet)," *The New Yorker*, (December 14, 1987), p. 65.

16. Peter Jennings, *Across China*, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986, p. 173.

17. John Summerfield, *Fodor's Peoples Republic of China Guide 1987*, New York and London: *Fodor's Travel Guide*, 1987, pp. 500-501.

18. Bernstein, p. 65.

19. Summerfield, pp. 502-503.

20. Ward, pp. 228-231.

21. Summerfield, pp. 500-501.

22. Ibid.

23. Tenzin Gyatso (The Fourteenth Dalai Lama), *Kindness, Clarity, and Insight*, Translated and edited by Jeffrey Hopkins and co-edited by Elizabeth Napper, Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion Publications, 1985, pp. 53-54.

Chapter 2

Tibet Enters the Twentieth Century

Tibet possessed a unique background as it entered the twentieth century. It had maintained cordial relations with the Chinese government under the rule of the Manchu Ching Dynasty (1644-1911). A turning point had taken place in the relationship in 1720 with the open intervention of the Chinese government in Tibetan affairs. When the Dzungar invaders attacked Tibet, the Dalai Lama asked for the assistance of the Chinese and they responded by sending troops to expel the invaders. The Emperor of China acted as a patron and protector of Tibet by assisting the Dalai Lama and helping to restore effective administration in Lhasa. Tibet continued to conduct its own foreign relations, but Chinese influence did increase each time the Chinese government intervened – 1728, 1750, and 1793.

The 1793 arrangement was similar to a protectorate agreement. In 1792 the Gorkha invaded Tibet and the Chinese troops joined with the Tibetan troops to drive them out. The Chinese Emperor issued an edict in 1793 introducing reforms and involved intervention by the Emperor in the religious offices of Tibet. The edict seemed to have little practical effect since it was ignored the next time a Dalai Lama was selected. In consequence the year 1793 represented the apogee of Chinese influence in Tibet. By the beginning of the nineteenth century this influence had waned and by the middle of the century very little Manchu influence was evident. Tibet conducted battles against the Dogras and the Gorkhas in 1842 and 1856 respectively and even concluded treaties with them without any intervention or assistance by the Chinese. There was a recognition of a nominal role by China and the Chinese Emperor.

Other powers began to show an interest in Tibet. Britain,

for example, attempted to gain influence in China through the treaties of 1842 and sought to use them to gain access to Tibet through the Ching (Qing) Emperor. However, Britain then opened its own mission in Lhasa and, like Nepal, opened direct relations with Tibet. The Anglo-Tibetan treaty of 1904 sought to exclude other powers from Tibet, especially Russia, and sought to substantiate Britain's position among the Asian empires. Treaties signed by Great Britain in 1906 and 1907 with the governments of China and Russia respectively modified some of the privileges Britain had secured from Tibet.¹

Emergence into the Twentieth Century

A significant change occurred for Tibet between 1911 and 1913 which would affect its status for the next forty years. The Manchus invaded Tibet in 1910 and the Emperor denounced the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama in turn denounced the Chinese Emperor and broke all remaining ties. International law specialist Michael C. van Walt van Praag comments on the significance of events during the following years:

"The period from 1911 to 1913 saw the expulsion of Imperial troops and officials from Tibet and the severance of ties with the Manchus; the return of the Dalai Lama to Lhasa and the reestablishment of effective control by his government; and the relinquishment of Tibet's extreme isolationist policies in favor of close relations with Great Britain."²

The year 1911 brought great upheaval in China with the overthrow of the Emperor and the Imperial system which had characterized the Chinese government for over two thousand years. A new Republic of China was established and China began a process of government which bore a resemblance to Western style democracy. The road was not easy. Warlordism pervaded China, threatening chaos, and China needed unification under an effective central government. The Chinese revolutionaries, under the leadership of Dr. Sun

Yat-sen and the inspiration of his Three Principles of the People, undertook this task.

Taking advantage of the disruption in China, the Dalai Lama proclaimed Tibet as an independent state in January, 1913, and thus began a period in which the Dalai Lama and his regents exercised total control over Tibet, providing Tibet with a unique form of government which united the religious and the secular. In addition to an extensive civil service, Tibet now maintained an army of 10,000 to 15,000 men, mainly deployed on the eastern borders of China, a judicial system which traced its origins back to the fourteenth century, its own distinctive, system of taxation, a telegraph and postal service, and its own currency.³

Without going into excessive detail unrelated to the purpose of the current situation in Tibet, suffice it to say that during the period following the declaration of independence the Dalai Lama initiated a wide-ranging reform in the land system, modifying a feudal land system which many Tibetans considered unfair. Money and postage stamps were introduced into the country. At a 1914 conference at Simla, India, to which Britain invited representatives from China and Tibet, the Chinese refused to recognize any measure of independence for Tibet. A Tibet-India boundary line was proposed by the British plenipotentiary Sir Henry McMahon, known as the McMahon line, was accepted by the British and Tibetans. India recognized it even after its independence, because it was favorable to India including various border people within the Empire of India – but the Chinese refused to recognize it.⁴

One of the areas of reform which enjoyed limited success in Tibet was the effort to modernize and strengthen the military, a change which became involved in factional and political struggles. The effort to reform the military began shortly after the turn of the century and reached its peak in the mid-1920s. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama recognized the importance of a strong military establishment to protect the border and culture of Tibet, but the failure of efforts to

reconstruct Tibet's army became evident when the much stronger Chinese forces conquering Tibet in 1950 and reasserted control by military means in 1966. The real cause of this failure lay in a lack of communication, isolation, and a lack of time. Although rule by the religious leaders of Tibet caused some conflict with the military leaders in government, the foregoing factors were more important than any incompatibility between Tibetan Buddhism and a modernized society.⁵

The estrangement between China, undergoing a revolutionary change in government, and Tibet, attempting to establish its independence, came to an end with the restoration of relations between the Republic of China, unified by the Chinese Nationalist Party, and Tibet in 1929. The Thirteenth Dalai Lama welcomed an envoy sent from Tibet. The Nationalist government formally installed the Fourteenth Dalai Lama on February 22, 1940 and established a Tibetan Office when in August of 1949 the Panchen Lama was installed in office.⁶

During the Second World War, Tibet attempted to maintain neutrality, but this neutrality was compromised when the Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek, prompted by military necessity, sought to build roads across Tibet despite Tibetan objections. The Chinese finally backed off and acceded to Tibetan objections.⁷

The Chinese Nationalist government recognized the rights and privileges of the Tibetans and respected their unique system of government, blending the spiritual and secular. While not willing to recognize independence for Tibet, they were willing to permit the Tibetan system to survive within the Chinese sphere. In 1946, Tibetan delegates participated in the conference the Nationalist Government called to draft a new constitution for the Republic of China. Special recognition for Tibet was provided in Article 120 of that document which declared: "The self-government system of Tibet shall be safeguarded."⁸

The Communist Invasion

The internal war in China between the Communists and the Nationalists continued after the conclusion of the Second World War and led to the victory of the Chinese Communists when they declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. The Chinese Nationalists left the mainland and established the Republic of China on Taiwan. However, the Chinese Nationalists suffered defeats on the mainland throughout 1949. The Tibetan government feared continued contact with the Nationalists would lead to a Communist invasion of Tibet, and on July 20, 1949 the Tibetan Office of the Nationalist Chinese government was closed.⁹ However, this measure proved inadequate to protect them.

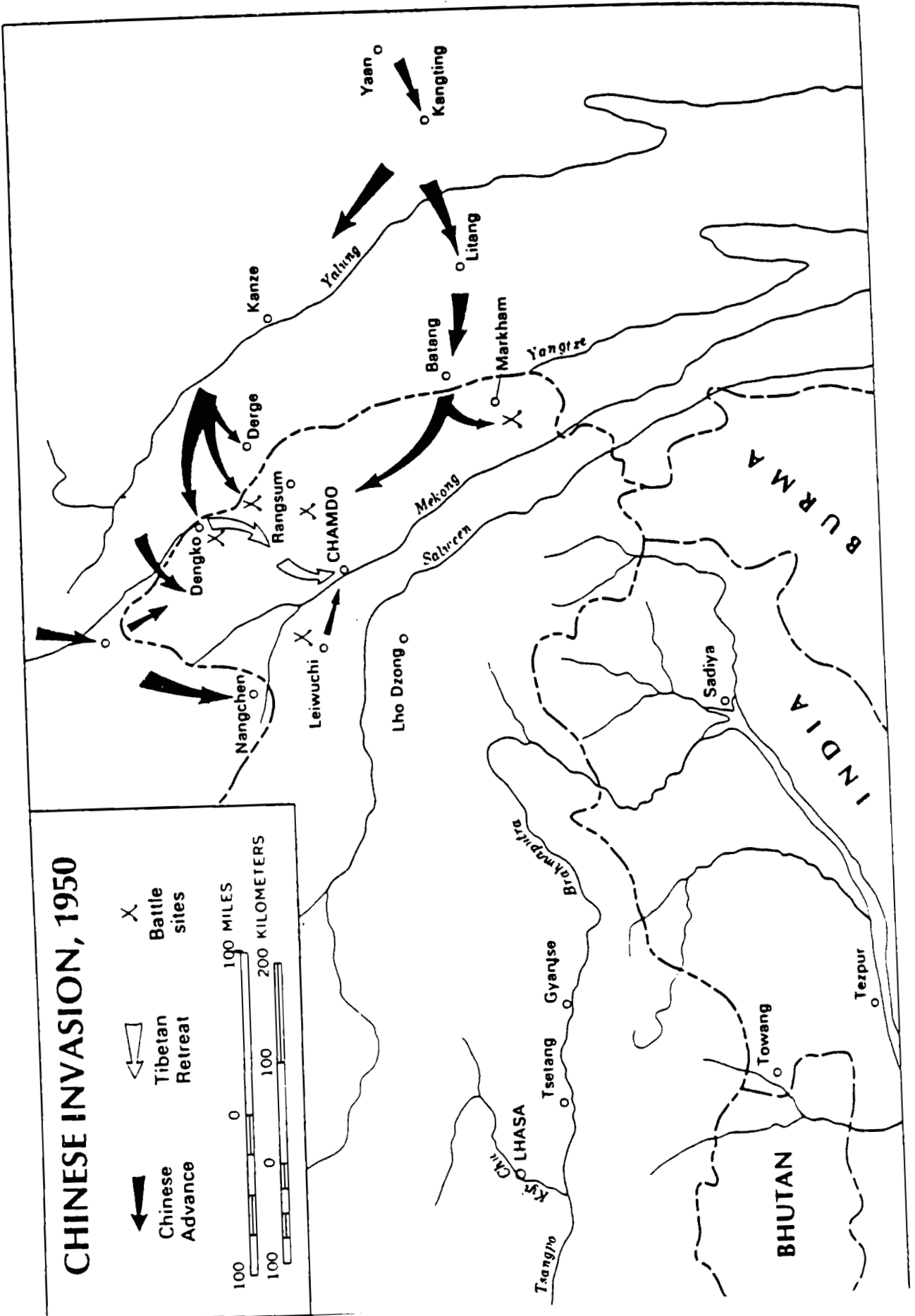
A warning of impending disaster came soon enough for the Tibetans. After only three months after the creation of the PRC, a New Year's Day broadcast in 1950 from Radio Peking (Beijing) proclaimed that the next task was the liberation of Taiwan, Hainan, and Tibet. The propaganda was followed by assertions that Tibet was "an integral part of Chinese territory," and that since Tibet had fallen under the control of foreign imperialists it had to be "liberated" in order to secure the western borders of China.¹⁰ Scholar and Tibetan expert John F. Avedon described the tragic situation the Tibetans faced:

Though the language was novel, the implications were clear. With four decades in which to have prepared defenses now lost, Lhasa finally moved to protect itself. The Tibetan government turned first to the army. Since the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's death its improvement had been ignored. No more than a glorified border patrol, the 8,500 troops possessed fifty pieces of artillery and only a few hundred mortars and machine guns. Enlisted men often traveled in the company of their wives and children; officers, primarily noble officials on brief tours of duty, had no prior military experience.

Nevertheless, fresh troops and ammunition were soon deployed to a thin chain of garrison towns lining the western bank of the Upper Yangtze River, Tibet's *de facto* border with China. Both the men and their commanders were confident that, with the aid of the country's greatest natural asset, its lofty ranges, they could hold off the seasoned troops of the PLA (People's Liberation Army).¹¹

Tibet embarked upon a diplomatic initiative seeking support from India, Nepal, Great Britain and the United States. The result was disappointment as each turned away the Tibetan plea. Only India had official relations with Tibet and since the PRC did not recognize autonomy for Tibet, it declined to assist his neighbor. China assured India it had no intention of using force against Tibet. However, by early spring, the People's Liberation Army began its move toward Tibet. In the May 1, 1951, the May Day broadcast, Radio Peking stressed that only Taiwan and Tibet remained to be liberated. The Chinese Communists promised regional autonomy for Tibet and religious freedom if it would agree to be liberated peacefully. But the real intentions of the Chinese were soon revealed: a few days after this message the PLA launched an attack across the Yangtze River and captured the poorly defended town of Dengkog.¹²

Almost one year after the successful conquest of the Chinese mainland, an estimated 40,000 the Chinese Communist troops on October 7, 1950 crossed into Tibet at eight points on the border, and attacked on the provincial capital of Chamdo. The Tibetan troops, inferior in training to the seasoned Chinese force, and overwhelmed by the number of Chinese Communist troops, met defeat. The Tibetan forces numbered only 8,000. They fought valiantly, but within the first two weeks, about 4,000 Tibetan officers and men were killed and the rest forced to surrender. The attack shocked the world but especially the Indians who had been assured and believed the assurance that China would not attack



Tibet. India protested the invasion and their protest was endorsed by Britain and the United States. The latter informed India of its desire to help Tibet, but India discouraged any supply of military aid to Tibet and, in effect, washed its hands of the Tibetan situation, purposely seeking a diplomatic solution. Prime Minister Nehru acknowledged, to the disappointment of the Tibetans:

"We cannot save Tibet, as we should have liked to do, and our very attempts to save it might bring greater trouble to it. It would be unfair to Tibet for us to bring this trouble upon her without having the capacity to help her effectively."¹³

The PRC was not seeking conciliation. It brazenly accused India and other powers of harboring expansionist designs on Tibet and attempting to interfere in the domestic affairs of China. Communist Beijing proclaimed that it was exercising a sovereign right to "liberate" Tibet and drive out foreign powers in order to guarantee regional autonomy and religious freedom for the Tibetans. The PRC warned against any foreign intervention to assist the Tibetan people.¹⁴

Communist Control Over the Tibetans

Following this military victory, the People's Republic of China moved in swiftly to exert control over Tibet. Even the more pessimistic observers did not realize the full extent of the intention of the Chinese Communists in taking over this ancient civilization.

The Dalai Lama remained in Lhasa, risking his own life to seek a peaceful transition for his people. In November of 1950, the brother of the Dalai Lama, Takster Rinpoche, who had been held prisoner, arrived in Lhasa. He revealed to the Dalai Lama a scheme in which the Chinese Communist governor of Xining sought to enlist his support to overthrow his brother, the Dalai Lama, in return for which the Chinese would make him the governor general of all of Tibet. The government of Tibet now became aware of the full intent of the PRC plans: a plan to annex Tibet and dismantle its

secular and religious government. Further depressing news reached the Tibetan government: the United Nations had declined to take up the case of Tibet.¹⁵

The situation became more desperate as the PRC revealed its decisions to act as a conquering power fully subjugating the people of Tibet. The Tibetan Cabinet sent a delegation to Peking (Beijing) to negotiate with China in order in the hope of preserving some measure of freedom for Tibet. This delegation arrived in the Chinese capital during the last week of April of 1951. Premier Zhou Enlai presented them with a ten point plan indicating that Tibet was a part of China and had been peacefully liberated. The Tibetan government representatives refused to sign these documents and a stalemate resulted. The PRC representatives were then presented with a new Seventeen Point Agreement, without allowing any discussion. The PRC threatened them with physical harm and a total military occupation of Tibet unless they signed; the Tibetan delegates were held captive, and agreed to sign without the authorization or approval from the Dalai Lama or the Tibetan Cabinet.

The Seventeen Point Agreement was a formula for disaster for Tibet. Tibet lost its identity as a nation-state. A careful reading of the document tells much about the aggressive nature of the PRC regime and its lack of respect for the culture and the rights of the Tibetan people. The opening section was perfectly in line with the Maoist interpretation of the aggression committed against Tibet: "The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet so that the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland – the People's Republic of China."

The rest of the agreement signalled the dismantling of the defenses of Tibet and its incorporation into the Maoist Empire. The agreement specified that the local government of Tibet should actively cooperate in assisting the People's Liberation Army in consolidating the "national defenses." Referring to the policy toward nationalities by the PRC, the

agreement spoke of Tibet exercising the right of national autonomy under the unified leadership of the Communist government. The agreement went on to give paper assurances that the position of the Dalai Lama and the structure of government would be maintained (i.e., "The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and lama monasteries shall be protected.") However, a provision in the agreement provided for the dismantling of the Tibetan army, and its combination into the People's Liberation Army, thus making it part of the national defense forces of the PRC.

The heavy hand of the PRC stretched over Tibetan affairs with the provision that, in order to assure its implementation, the central government of China would establish a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet. The government in Beijing would control "the centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet," and there would be "peaceful coexistence" with other countries.¹⁶

The Dalai Lama, only sixteen years of age at the time, fled the country, but returned eight months later (August, 1951) to try and work out a settlement with the Chinese and protect the few freedoms remaining for his people.

The Maoist government played a skillful game. After the agreement was signed May 28, 1951, the next steps appeared puzzling especially for those not familiar with the devious nature of Communist conquests. The Chinese continued to promise religious freedom, made lavish gifts to the nobility, banned the use of a Chinese term for the Tibetans which Tibetans had found offensive (i.e., man-tze meaning "barbarian"), and promised to help the modernization of Tibet with new hospitals, schools and roads. The official propaganda pamphlets and publications talked of driving "imperialists" out of Tibet. (Prior to the invasion, notes John Avedon, there had been only six Westerners in Tibet, all of whom had left). The Communist rulers of China welcomed Tibet back to "the motherland."¹⁷

came from the brother of the Dalai Lama, Takster Rinpoche who observed:

"In the beginning, they put their words like honey on a knife. But we could see, if you lick the honey your tongue will be cut."¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Michael C. van Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987, pp. 126-131.
2. Ibid, p. 134.
3. Ibid, pp. 135-137.
4. Jeremy Bernstein, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents (Tibet)," *The New Yorker*, (December 14, 1987), p. 70.
5. Franz Michael, *Rule by Incarnation: Tibetan Buddhism and its Role in Society and State*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982, pp. 162-163, 165-167. Rejecting the view that only through the Communist imposition of its rule on Tibet could it have become modernized, Dr. Michael states: "In principal, it seems, Tibetan Buddhism could have adjusted well to the modern world." Ibid, p. 167.
6. Hungdah Chiu, "*Tibet's Political History and Status*," Prepared for Panel Discussion on Tibet, March 2, 1988, Resident Associate Program, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., pp. 6-7. Professor Chiu maintained during the debate from which the quotes are taken that Tibet is and remains a part of China; the opponent, Michael C. van Walt van Praag, claimed independent nation status for Tibet.
7. Bernstein, p. 70.
8. Chiu, p. 7.
9. Ibid.
10. John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Land of the Snows*, New York, Vintage Books, 1984, pp. 26-27.
11. Ibid, p. 27.
12. Ibid, pp. 27-29.
13. van Praag, pp. 142-143.
14. Ibid.
15. Avedon, p. 35.
16. "*Agreement between the Chinese Central People's Government and the Tibetan government on the Administration of Tibet*," Peking, May 23, 1951. See appendix for copy.
17. Avedon, pp. 37-38.
18. Ibid., p. 38. This reference seems popular among the Tibetans. Lowell Thomas Jr. quotes a Tibetan proverb:

"Beware of honey offered on a sharp knife." He also makes reference to the situation as perceived by the Tibetans following the arrival of the Chinese and the growing Chinese population near the capital in "New Lhasa": "We licked a very little honey from the knife," they told each other "before the blade was exposed," Lowell Thomas Jr., *The Silent War in Tibet*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959, pp. 143, 125.

Chapter 3

The Communists Tighten Their Control

The control exercised over Tibet by the Chinese Communists after their military conquest soon began to undermine the government and religious practices of the Tibetan people. The years between 1951 through 1959 saw an attempt by the Tibetans to make the best of a bad situation, but the oppression had so worsened by the latter part of this period that new riots broke out and the Dalai Lama was again forced to flee and to go into exile. Meanwhile the PRC continued its efforts to remake Tibet in the Communist image.

The extent of the destruction of traditional Tibetan culture requires an understanding of what Tibet was like when the PRC seized control. Some reference has already been given to its history and to the intertwining of religion and the government, especially the role of the Dalai Lama.

Government in Tibet

The Dalai Lama represented the nominal apex of the Tibetan governmental system. There were two prime ministers who represented the combination of monastic and lay authority embodied in the Dalai Lama. One was a monk and the other was a lay person, with most of the offices below them held by parallel with religious and lay officials. The Cabinet of Tibet contained four members including one monk and three lay persons. Falling below the Cabinet one found two separate offices, the Secretariat (Yig-tsang), headed by four monks, in charge of religious affairs and was directly responsible to the Dalai Lama, and the Finance Office (Tse-khang), which was under the direction of four lay persons and directed the lay functions of state. Either two or three chairmen carried on the other functions of government —

agriculture, foreign affairs, taxation, posts and telegraphs, and defense. The court system was headed by two chief justices.

Tibet also had an operating National Assembly or legislative branch. A nucleus assembly was usually continuously in session, comprising a total of about twenty officials – the eight officials of the Secretariat and the Finance Office and other high lay officials as well as representatives of the three great monasteries near Lhasa. This assembly had the power to convene a larger assembly of thirty members to deal with major problems. The largest assembly included some four hundred top officials and dealt with matters of prime importance, such as the discovery of a new incarnation of the Dalai Lama.

The monasteries played an important role in the political and religious life of Tibet. Although exact figures may be difficult to verify, about ten percent of the population may have been monks or nuns. Young boys could enter the monasteries. Although the social system was feudal, comprising the landed aristocracy and peasants, boys from both social classes were eligible to enter the monasteries. These differed in size and possessions. Most raised their own food and maintained craftsman to take care of their needs. A few owned large amounts of land, while others engaged in trade or money-lending. However, most of the monasteries had to rely on subsidies from the government, paid for by taxes raised from the lay population.¹

The Dalai Lama has been forthright in admitting some of the problems, which contributed to Tibet's difficulties when faced with the Communist threat. These problems included: the army; Tibet's geographical and diplomatic isolation; and the religious philosophy which isolated Tibet from international ties. As mentioned earlier, the reforms scheduled for the military forces fell apart as a result of factional struggles. The Dalai Lama noted that the Tibetan army was small, its main purpose being to prevent foreigners from illegally crossing the frontier. As such, it had never been mechanized.

Isolation also played a role in Tibet's difficulties: it had adopted isolation because this appeared appropriate to its geographic position, and had chosen to keep foreigners out to avoid internal tensions. Tibetans felt that holding themselves entirely aloof from the world was "the best way of ensuring peace," but in retrospect the policy proved "a mistake." Even when Tibet declared its independence in 1912, the country so preferred its traditional isolation that it did not seek to send ambassadors to other countries or, later, to join either the League of Nations or the United Nations.² The Buddhist faith was one of peace and non-violence, and in accord with this belief, the Dalai Lama hoped to persuade the Chinese peacefully to fulfill their promises. He noted the dilemma which resulted from this policy:

Nonviolence was the only course which might win us back a degree of freedom in the end, perhaps after years of patience. That meant cooperation whenever it was possible, and passive resistance whenever it was not.

And violent opposition was not only unpractical, it was also unethical. Nonviolence was the only moral course. This was not only my own profound belief, it was also clearly in accordance with the teaching of Lord Buddha, and as the religious leader of Tibet I was bound to uphold it. We might be humiliated, and our most cherished inheritances might seem to be lost for a period, but if so, humility must be our portion. I was certain of that.³

A discussion of the role of government deserves a reference to the role of the Panchen Lama. The Panchen Lama, similar to the Dalai Lama, is recognized as an incarnation. The position stretches back as far as the fourteenth century. The Panchen Lama was recognized as second in authority to the Dalai Lama in religious authority but, unlike the Dalai Lama, held no secular authority. While there has been a close relationship historically, a split occurred in the twentieth century, with a rift developing in 1910 at the time of the invasion by Manchu China. The Panchen Lama left to live in Chinese-controlled territory, where he remained until he

died in 1937. In 1950, the Communist regime in Beijing brought forth a candidate who they claimed was a reincarnation of the Panchen Lama and insisted that this candidate be accepted, or the negotiations of 1951 would be at risk. Gradually, the PRC government won the acceptance of their candidate.⁴ It then brought pressure on the Panchen Lama to denounce the Dalai Lama, which he refused to do; the Panchen Lama assumed a more important role in Tibet under Chinese Communist influence after the Dalai Lama left the country in 1959.⁵

Communist Consolidation of Power

After their military conquests, the Chinese Communists decided to consolidate their position in Tibet. The result was military domination by the PRC, even to the point of incorporating the Tibetan army into the PRC's People's Liberation Army. The Chinese tried to assign to the Panchen Lama the temporal affairs of government, but the Dalai Lama rejected this proposal, although he agreed to the PRC's Panchen Lama return to Tibet to exercise the traditional religious role of that office. The PRC meantime took control of all the external affairs of Tibet.⁶

Beijing had sent in military forces. These were followed by Chinese civilians, including propaganda workers (with printing presses and loud-speakers), tradesman and entertainers. More and more Chinese settlers arrived, taking over the better houses and the better shops. It appeared the PRC was attempting to populate Tibet with Chinese Communists.⁶ As the traveler and commentator, Lowell Thomas Jr., noted:

"The Chinese, however, were committing imperialist aggression on the excuse of opposing imperialist aggression."⁷

The Tibetans adopted passive resistance as a means to frustrate the aims and objectives of the Communist rulers, and the PRC government soon realized that they were failing in their program to "communize" Tibet. The Tibetans even submitted petitions through the Chinese officials complaining

that the Chinese had claimed they had entered Tibet to drive out the imperialist aggressors and that the imperialist aggressors had obviously been driven out. Therefore, the petitions concluded, it was time for the Chinese armies to withdraw, since their assistance was no longer needed. The Communists officials were infuriated by this action and threatened to remove from political office any Tibetan officials who refused to take action against the people who submitted the petitions.⁸

The Chinese then sought to strengthen communications between China and Tibet to facilitate more effective control. They connected telegraph wires by 1953 to the major cities and began a program of road and airfield construction. After signing an agreement with India in 1954, the PRC took over the old communications system established by the British, and maintained by Indians after Indian independence.⁹

The next step included the strengthening of administrative control, giving the Chinese more power over the bureaucratic structure which controlled the country. The PRC altered the office of the dzongpon, an official who headed a local governmental unit called a dzong, similar to a county. The dzongpon lost what could have been a lifetime position for a term of three or four years. New dzongpons were appointed who permitted to perform their functions only in consultation with the Chinese military officials. These dzongpon no longer reported to the Dalai Lama, as in the traditional system of government, but were subservient to the Chinese military forces. A secret society, the Mimang or "People's Party," was formed by innovative Tibetans and served to bypass the Chinese-controlled dzongs in order to bring their concerns and grievances directly to the Dalai Lama. Although it lacked formal authority, it did represent a protest movement among the Tibetans to bypass and isolate the Chinese controlled-dzongpon. The Chinese attempted to destroy the Mimang by jailing its leaders, by seeking to bribe its members, and by propaganda attacks on the organization, which continued to resist Communist control and reflected Tibetan desire for freedom.¹⁰

The Maoist conquerors also introduced measures to reduce the role of the monasteries in Tibetan religious and governmental life. The Chinese Military District Headquarters in Lhasa established a new Public Security Department, and issued an order prohibiting the Drepung Monastery from its ancient role of maintaining order in Lhasa during the traditional Great Prayer Festival of the New Year. The streets were now patrolled by Tibetan and Chinese soldiers; and any monks who were arrested were held by the military and only turned over to civil authorities for trial after the festival.¹¹

While the monks resisted these new controls, the Communists also encountered resistance from the working class, who resented the Chinese control and the fall in wages which resulted, especially for road building crews, after the Maoists took over. The PRC forces resorted to conscript labor with enormous requirements, namely seven thousand Tibetans to work on the Lhasa airport, twenty-thousand for one road building project, and five thousand to clear timber for a Chinese rest camp. Contrary to traditional practice, where conscript labor was used for a local project with limited time, the Chinese program engaged large numbers of Tibetans and sent these to far distant places for long periods, with limited rations, low wages, and the requirement that they even work on Buddhist holidays. The Maoists brought heavy pressure on the Tibetan officials to provide labor to fill their unreasonable work demands.¹²

Realizing that Tibetan society was a strong family oriented society, the Chinese Communist officials moved to break this bond. They opened government schools ostensibly to combat the problem of illiteracy, but the Tibetans soon found that their children were forced to learn the Chinese language, Chinese Communist Party doctrines, and that traditional Tibetan culture was attacked in the new classrooms. The Communists established "youth centers," beginning in 1953, at least two in each dzong, with sports, theatres, game rooms, etc. designed to entice Tibetan youth. Communist Party cadres taught the Tibetan youth the Chinese Communist

songs (e.g., "Mao Zedong, Ten Thousand Years") and required them to participate in study sessions on "Mao Tse-tung and Chinese Policies Toward Minorities" and "Monasteries As An Obstacle to Progress." The Chinese encouraged the Tibetan children to apply to go to China, and thousands were sent to China where, separated from their parents and their Tibetan culture, they were educated in the religion of Communism.¹³

The Communists especially focused on young monks, trying to wean them away from true Buddhism. Lowell Thomas Jr. describes the methods used by the PRC on the monastic students:

"monasteries had much to resist. Their own children—the young student monks — were primary targets of the Communist propaganda. In a barrage of talks and pamphlets these young men were told of an exciting new religion. It was called Buddho-Marxism; it was described as a good way and an easier way. It did not demand the rigid behavior standards of the reformed sects of Lamaism. All young men were encouraged to enjoy the good things of life. Leave the monasteries, marry, and raise families, the pamphlets suggested; forget the stodgy religious books and contribute to the progress of Tibet, part of China. A Buddho-Marxist could drink good wine, eat fine food, and have silver in his pockets. Why should the fine young men of Tibet be slaves to the higher priesthood — to which they could obtain, if lucky, only in their own old age?¹⁴

The Communists kept up propaganda techniques designed to undermine the Tibetan system and bring greater cooperation between the Tibetans and the Communists. Films were shown of happy Tibetan families enjoying a new home and a better life because they were cooperating with the Chinese Communist officials. When the films were shown in eastern Tibet, the Tibetans were told that it was a western Tibetan family enjoying these benefits; when the films were shown in western Tibet, they were told this was the story of a family in eastern Tibet. The lamas in the monasteries did their best

to protect the people and inform them of the truth. Consequently, the Chinese Communists realized that despite their efforts the Tibetans were still resisting Communism, and that the greatest obstacle was the moral leadership of the Dalai Lama.¹⁵

A New Government for Tibet

While the situation in Tibet had many features which distinguished it from the condition of other non-Han Chinese people under Maoist control, the PRC included Tibet within its policies for the treatment of "national minorities." Such minorities ranged from those which had no written language of their own, and were considered backward socially and politically, to people like the Tibetans, who possessed highly developed, age-old literary cultures, with their own language. While the monks of identifiable minorities of the People's Republic of China might vary from as few as the fifty-five separate peoples recognized by Chinese sources, to possibly as many as five hundred distinctive groups, as recognized by ethnologists, a broad categorization of the minorities in China falls into four ethnolinguistic categories, according to specialist Alain Y. Dessaint. The Tibetans are classified as the inhabitants of China's western and southwestern regions, particularly the Tibetan plateau.

The PRC established a special governmental structure to rule the "minorities" peoples, which included five Autonomous Regions, thirty-one autonomous prefectures, and one hundred and four autonomous counties. This structure was established in 1952 under the "General Program for the Implementation of Regional Autonomy for Nationalities." These "autonomous" areas are now governed under the new "Law on Regional Autonomy for Minorities," which went into effect on October 1, 1984.¹⁶

The observer must be willing to read beyond the words of the Communist documents to obtain their true meaning. While the law in Article 10 states that minorities should enjoy the freedom of using and developing their own spoken

and written language as well as having the freedom of maintaining customs and habits, the same article speaks of the freedom to change customs, a euphemism for forced Maoist "sinification" and Communization of the Tibetans. The law states that a proportion of minority members will be considered in making that percentage a part of the governing unit. These "autonomous" regions are to possess some degree of authority to adopt directives relating to local conditions in modification of directives issued for the Chinese population in China Proper. However, the final power to interpret the central government's directives remains with the National People's Congress of the PRC.¹⁷

Despite the discussion that policy is based on equality, unification, autonomy, and prosperity for minorities, the PRC policy has brought great hardship for those, as in Tibet, who seek to preserve their culture and religion. While some material benefits have resulted, such as roads, economic development, etc., the price has been a loss of autonomy and of the finer, more vital elements of this old and distinctive culture. The first decade of Chinese control over Tibet brought great difficulties until a period of revolt led to a further crackdown and the flight of the Dalai Lama.

Movement Toward the 1959 Crisis

The Dalai Lama sought to minimize the difficulties brought on Tibet by the Chinese conquest. The first great crisis came within the first nine months, when the Chinese troops moving into Lhasa demanded additional food rations. The Chinese had initially demanded a "loan" of two thousand tons of barley from the Tibetans, which strained the meager resources in the Tibetan capital. However, a subsequent demand for a further two thousand tons brought disaster to the Tibetan economy. Food shortages resulted and prices increased greatly. For the first time in its long history, the Tibetans faced famine. The Tibetan people, as they were to do again in 1959 as well in the late 1980s, protested strongly.¹⁸

The progressive move toward a Maoist brought Tibet into

yet greater crises. The 1951 agreement had seriously compromised Tibet, and forced its incorporation into the Maoist system. The growing number of PRC military stationed in Tibet, as well as the sending of Tibetan youth for re-education in China, the "reform" of Tibetan local government, the conscription of labor and the reduction in the authority of the monasteries all helped the PRC to increase its control over Tibet.

In 1954, the Dalai Lama left Tibet on his first visit outside his country, to go to China to meet with Mao Zedong hoping to alleviate his country's plight. While the Dalai Lama was in Beijing, Mao told him he originally expected to govern Tibet direct from the Chinese capital, but was considering an alternative "Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region." The governing unit would have fifty-one members, with forty-six Tibetans and five non-Tibetans. The Dalai Lama would serve as chairman, with the Panchen Lama and a Chinese official serving as vice-chairman. The group would set up subcommittees for religious and lay governance, similar to the Secretariat and the Finance Office of the traditional Tibetan government. The PRC sought to give secular authority to the Panchen Lama. All appointees had to be approved by the Chinese government: in effect the proposal constituted a violation of the Chinese promise not to alter the government of Tibet.¹⁹

While visiting Beijing, the Dalai Lama obtained a clear indication of the true Communist attitude and intentions during his final interview with Mao. Mao told him that he understood him well, but added:

"...religion is poison. It has two great defects: It undermines the race, and secondly it retards the progress of the country. Tibet and Mongolia have both been poisoned by it."²⁰

While visiting China, he found the attack against religion in full force with the Chinese Buddhist monasteries and temples neglected and almost empty. Monks in the monasteries were old and the young were being discouraged from

entering the monasteries. The Tibetan leader realized that the PRC promise of religious freedom for the Tibetan people was an empty promise. He observed later that this was the fate that he saw hanging over the Tibetan monasteries and monks already in Chinese hands.²¹

The full impact of the Chinese Communist policies were also beginning to be felt on Tibet. Changes imposed by relatively peaceful means in Central Tibet were now being imposed by force in the regions of Kham and Amdo. By 1955, groups of the People's Liberation Army traveled throughout the country, disarming the population, seizing personal possessions, and bringing about collectivization. Many Tibetans in the remote villages resisted, and the PRC retaliated by bringing more and more Chinese settlers into Tibet. The Dalai Lama strove to bring a peaceful resolution of difficulties, and when he traveled to New Delhi in February of 1957, Mao announced that Tibet was not yet ready for reform and reforms would be postponed for a minimum of six years. However, the situation in Tibet had become worse, and although the People's Liberation Army had virtually laid Kham to waste, the resistance forces continued their efforts.²²

The brutality and cruelty of the PRC actions shocked neutral observers, although the full story did not come out until several years after the event. An investigation by the International Commission of Jurists, a human rights monitoring group of lawyers and jurists from fifty nations, revealed the full extent of the situation which the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet had to face. The resistance was so intense that one estimate stated that the PRC forces lost 40,000 troops between 1956 and 1958. John Avedon accuses the Chinese Communists of letting "loose a series of atrocities unparalleled in Tibet's history," and summed up the conclusions in the report of the International Jurists:

"The obliteration of entire villages was compounded by hundreds of public executions, carried out to intimidate the surviving population. The methods employed included crucifixion, dismemberment, vivisection, beheading, burying, burning and scalding alive, dragging

the victims to death behind galloping horses and pushing them from airplanes; children were forced to shoot their parents, disciples their religious teachers. Everywhere monasteries were prime targets. Monks were compelled to publicly copulate with nuns and desecrate sacred images before being sent to a growing string of labor camps in Amdo and Gansu."²³

The Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa to find a critical situation. The city was surrounded with tents housing over ten thousand refugees. By June of 1958, the revolt had reached Central Tibet with the formation of an army to resist the Chinese. The Chinese troops continued their brutality in order to suppress the revolt.²⁴

The year 1959 proved a difficult and pivotal year for the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans as the Chinese Communists increased their pressure on Tibet. In essence, it spelled the demise of the hopes of the Dalai Lama that he could protect his people and his country by appealing to the Chinese through peaceful and non-violent means. The Dalai Lama would learn what so many other governments have learned: Communists have specific objectives and cannot be expected or trusted to deviate from them.

The New Year celebration heralding the year of the earth pig brought thousands of Tibetan monks and lay people to Lhasa in February of 1959.

By March, tensions had increased with the arrival of a new Chinese army division in Lhasa and rumors that the Chinese were planning to take the Dalai Lama to Beijing. One rumor that circulated had the Chinese Communists taking the Dalai Lama to attend the Second National People's Congress, which was scheduled for opening in Beijing in April of 1959.

Faced with oppression and rumors of the forced removal of the Dalai Lama, over 30,000 Tibetans began a protest. They put up anti-Communist posters and marched to the office of the Indian Consulate General to appeal for help from India. The Chinese troops brutally suppressed the demonstration and opened fire on the Tibetans, killing

numbers of them.²⁵ As was evident in the demonstrations of 1987 and 1988, the Chinese did not hesitate to use force against defenseless monks and civilians to enforce their authority.

No sooner had this demonstration been put down by the Chinese than another rumor alarmed the people. The Dalai Lama had been ordered by the Chinese to attend a cultural program but was told to go without his guards. This directive seemed confirmation of the fact of a plot to kidnap the Tibetan religious leader. Crowds estimated up to ten thousand people surrounded the Dalai Lama to prevent him from being taken away, and the crowd formed its own guard unit to protect him. The Tibetans had again taken to the streets, and the Chinese troops again fired on them, killing or wounding a number.

The desire for independence and freedom grew stronger among the Tibetans. During the March 12 demonstration, the 1951 treaty was repudiated. This treaty had supposedly granted Tibet autonomous status within the PRC, but had in actuality taken away its freedom and attempted to alter its government, a fact now recognized by most Tibetans. This agreement, which had been imposed on the Tibetans, had effectively resulted in the Chinese Communists taking control over both the internal and external affairs of Tibet. Faced with a continuing clamor for independence, the Chinese Communists blamed "reactionaries" in the Tibetan government and Western "imperialists" for the unrest, and conveniently ignored the real demand of the Tibetans for independence and freedom from Communist-style "liberation."

Beijing neither remained passive nor sought a peaceful accommodation. More PRC troops began to pour into Tibet, and some even surrounded the Potala, the palace of the Dalai Lama. In order to assert their authority, the Chinese troops fired shells at the sacred palace.

The situation required a quick decision by the Tibetan leadership: the Tibetans sought continued resistance to the PRC while sparing no effort to avoid the capture of the Dalai

Lama by the Communists. Dressed in disguise, and mingling unnoticed with the crowd outside, the Dalai Lama successfully executed the plan for his escape. Meeting with other Tibetan officials outside the city of Lhasa, he and his entourage began a long march out of Tibet — through difficult mountain terrain, and with the constant need to avoid the Chinese Communist patrols.

Back in Lhasa, Tibetan demonstrations and resistance, which started on March 17, put the Chinese Communists on the defensive, providing a convenient cover for the escape of the Dalai Lama. Two days later, when the Chinese realized that the Dalai Lama had escaped, their troops shelled the palace and began a repressive campaign against the local population, seeking to obtain information about the escape of the Dalai Lama in the hope of recapturing him. Troops armed with modern military equipment were dispatched to patrol the border to prevent the Dalai Lama's escape. The Communists sought to seal off all possible escape routes, but the Tibetans had scored against the Chinese. The Dalai Lama and his party of two hundred successfully avoided surveillance by planes during the day and by Chinese troop patrols at night, and successfully completed a journey of over two hundred miles to cross the India border in only two weeks.²⁶

The Chinese troops took five days to suppress the rebellion in Lhasa, despite the use of harsh and brutal tactics. The city had suffered much damage, with the two great monasteries of Drepung and Sers were in flames. The Maoists established a military control committee over Lhasa, and imposed a dark to dawn curfew.²⁷

Resorting to its usual propaganda tactics, the PRC blamed reactionaries in Tibet and Western imperialists for the disturbances. According to the official line, the Tibetan people loved the Chinese people and welcomed autonomy under the PRC. The Chinese accused the United States, India, and the Free Chinese (the Republic of China on Taiwan) for instigating the riots, claiming that they had abducted the Dalai Lama. When the Dalai Lama later issued

a statement from India reputing the Communist allegations, and denouncing the PRC for crimes including the violation of the Seventeen Point Agreement, Beijing could only describe the Dalai Lama's statement as lies. The PRC government maintained that the Tibet question was an "internal" problem which was not a concern of outsiders; a view which it expressed forcefully to the Indian government, denouncing the debate which took place in the Indian Parliament.²⁸

But sympathy for Tibet persisted in India (except among the Indian Communist Party) and, despite his desire to maintain friendly relations with the China, Indian Prime Minister Nehru granted the Dalai Lama political asylum.²⁹ Unfortunately for Tibet, there was no outcry from other nations.

With the world turning a blind eye to Tibet, the Chinese Communists began more oppressive measures. On March 28, 1959, Premier Zhou Enlai issued an Order of State Council which had the effect of dissolving the government of Tibet. The Dalai Lama denounced the new Chinese-backed government in Lhasa and maintained that the people of Tibet would never recognize it. He established a provisional government at Lhuntse Dzong and promised to maintain a government in exile at the foothills of the Himalayas in the northeast of India.

During the decade that has elapsed since the Chinese moved into Tibet, the Dalai Lama has tried to seek a peaceful solution through conciliatory measures. His aim had been the achievement of some type of autonomy for Tibet. In addition, he has sought to minimize violence and to meet difficulties with passive resistance, rather than violence.

However, the PRC had decided on harsh measures in exercising control over Tibet. The Chinese armed forces in Tibet had been increased to one hundred and fifty thousand. When resistance had broken out in Eastern Tibet, the Chinese brutally suppressed it. The Dalai Lama had been threatened with assassination if he did not cooperate. When the officials in the Dalai Lama's government expressed any degree of resistance toward Chinese policies, they lost their

positions in the Tibetan government and were sent into exile.³⁰

William C. van Walt van Praag, who taught Tibetan studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and served one term as the director of the Tibetan Affairs Coordination Office in the Netherlands, has applied his expertise in international law to the analysis of the Tibetan political situation. In viewing Tibet during this period, he concluded:

"In short, Tibet was under military occupation, and the position secured by the Chinese through armed invasion was being maintained by the continued use and threat of force...Under these conditions the Dalai Lama's conduct and that of his officials between 1951 and 1959 certainly cannot be regarded as constituting free expressions of agreement or consent. Throughout this period Tibet was under military occupation and no Tibetan was in a position to express any opposition to the Chinese without incurring the risk of serious repercussions."³¹

The great explorer and writer Lowell Thomas and his son, Lowell Thomas Jr., visited Tibet. From his knowledge of world affairs and his experience in Tibet, Lowell Thomas Jr. described in vivid and dramatic prose the plight of the Tibetans:

"The suffering of the Tibetans had never been so great. The Communists now did not try to hide the fact that they meant to crush the people once and for all. More troops were airlifted in a steady stream. Armed vehicles were brought in. A well-planned and co-ordinated attack against the entire resistance movement was begun.

"Whole villages had been wiped out. In many others the head men were sent to concentration camps and every able-bodied man put to forced labor. Many of the monasteries, together with their valuable relics and libraries, have been utterly destroyed, the monks either killed or scattered. The border has been sealed in an attempt to stop all traffic to and from the outside, and

all radios in Tibet have been confiscated to prevent any semblance of the truth from reaching the people. Food supplies have been controlled in an effort to starve the Tibetans into submission.

"The fact that the Tibetans refused to submit offers little basis for optimism about their country's future."³²

Mao Zedong cared nothing for the cultural and historic treasures of Tibet since, as his writings and his letters to the Dalai Lama, clearly showed that he regarded religion as poison. Tibet was scheduled to be remolded into the new Communist society Mao sought to create. Any institution or any individual who resisted this new direction was expendable. Mao was prepared to conduct genocide against the Tibetan people in order to accomplish his objectives.

As we have mentioned, the subjugation of Tibet was one of the integral elements in Mao's first five year plan for economic development. Mao had secured control on the Chinese mainland and under an oppressive regime had began the economic restructuring of China. He seized financial control of all private enterprise and "nationalized" businesses. Once this was accomplished, Mao began his push for industrialization. He worked closely with China's then ally, the Soviet Union, in seeking this objective, which, if successful, would require a close link to the Soviet economy. Mao also developed a plan for the outlying areas of China where the minorities peoples resided, a plan which included Tibet.

The plan promoted for the reclamation of vast tracts of undeveloped land in outlying areas which would help China make up for its deficit in agricultural production as it pursued industrialization. Mao consequently moved large numbers of Chinese for resettlement in the areas of the northwest, northern Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan as well as on the island of Hainan. He believed that over 250 million acres were then available for agricultural development. Since these areas were along or near the border with the Soviets, Soviet support was hoped for and expected. The split with the Soviets in the 1960s ended

economic cooperation with the Soviets and Beijing stationed troops in the border regions to protect itself from a possible Soviet attack.

In Mao's plan, Tibet possessed not only great potential for agricultural production, but also for the development of key minerals. Tibet and Chinese Turkestan were sources for such mineral deposits as uranium and oil. Chairman Mao hoped to link these areas with China through railroads and other communication links.³²

The Tibetans, while welcoming some modernization, resisted those elements of the Chinese plan which threatened their culture, religious practices, and livelihood. Through negotiations and passive resistance the Tibetan peoples attempted to modify the sweeping charges demanded by the Chinese plan. Yet, the PRC would accept nothing less than total submission from the Tibetans and were prepared to use brutality to achieve this objective. Sinologist Franz Michael, former director of the Sino-Soviet Studies at George Washington University (Washington, D.C.), vividly describes the tragedy of Tibet under the PRC conquest:

"The worst cases of persecution occurred in Tibet, a country invaded in 1950 by the Chinese. In 1959 the Chinese bloodily suppressed a rebellion that led to the flight of the Dalai Lama and a hundred thousand Tibetans to India, with many more perishing on the way. The subsequent Chinese policy instituted in Tibet must be regarded as one of the worst cases of genocide of the century. Besides exterminating barbarically at least one million of an estimated six million Tibetans, the Chinese systematically dynamited and destroyed (with the exception of fewer than twenty of the most prestigious structures such as the Potala in Lhasa) more than three thousand Tibetan temples and monasteries, after looting them of their treasures. After Mao's death there followed a period of relaxation, but the goal of the Communist policy remained unchanged. It will remain a dark spot on the Chinese name."³³

FOOTNOTES

1. The Dalai Lama of Tibet, *My Land and my People*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962, pp. 59-61.
2. Ibid, pp. 59, 61-61, 86.
3. Ibid, pp. 97-98.
4. Ibid, pp. 102-103.
5. Michael C. van Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights and Prospects in International Law*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987, pp. 171-172.
6. Lowell Thomas Jr., *The Silent War in Tibet*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1959, pp. 102, 109.
7. Ibid, p. 115.
8. Ibid, pp. 126-127.
9. Ibid, pp. 127-129.
10. Ibid, pp. 129-131, 133.
11. Ibid, p. 136.
12. Ibid, pp. 139-141.
13. Ibid, pp. 143-144.
14. Ibid p. 150.
15. Ibid pp. 152-153.
16. "Special Report on the Treatment of Minorities in China," U.S. State Department Document, pp. 2-3, 8.
17. Ibid, p. 8.
18. John F. Avedon, *In Exile From the Land of Snows*, New York: Vintage Books, 1986, p. 38.
19. Dalai Lama, pp. 101, 116, 125-126.
20. Ibid, pp. 117-118. The Dalai Lama wrote of his reaction to Mao's words:
 "I was thoroughly startled; what did he mean to imply? I tried to compose myself, but I did not know how to take him. Of course, I knew he must be a bitter enemy of religion. Yet he seemed to be genuinely friendly and affectionate toward me." Ibid, p. 118.
21. Ibid, p. 130.
22. Avedon, pp. 44-47.
23. Ibid, p. 48.
24. Ibid, pp. 48-49.
25. Thomas, p. 273.
26. Ibid, pp. 274-277.
27. Ibid, p. 277.
28. Ibid, pp. 278-279.
29. Ibid, p. 279.
30. van Praag, p. 163.
31. Ibid, pp. 163-164.
32. Franz Michael, *Mao and the Perpetual Revolution*, Woodbury, New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc. 1977, pp. 110-111.
33. Franz Michael, *China Through the Ages: History of a Civilization*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986, p. 237. Dr. Michael presents a comprehensive view of Tibetan history, government, culture, and religion in his work. *Rule by Incarna-*

tion: *Tibetan Buddhism and its Role in Society and State*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982. The subject of the PRC's occupation of Tibet is covered in two articles in *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*: Gary Bullert, "The Chinese Occupation of Tibet: A Lesson from History," Vol. 11 (Spring, 1986), No. 1, pp. 17-37 and Julian Weiss, "The PRC Occupation of Tibet," Volume 12 (Winter, 1987), No. 4, pp. 385-399. The issue of Tibet is put in historical context and related to current PRC policy relating to Hong Kong, Macao, and the Republic of China on Taiwan in Julian Weiss, *The New Hegemony: Deng Xiaoping's China Faces the World*, Washington, D.C.: The Council for Social and Economic Studies, 1988.

Chapter 4

The Tragedy Escalates

The decision had been difficult for the Dalai Lama to go into exile, and while traveling arduously toward the Indian frontier, without any means of communicating with the outside world, his escape had made headlines throughout the world. On reaching the last major settlement in Tibet, Mangmang, the Dalai Lama received word that the Indian government was willing to accept him into exile.

While preparing to cross the last mountain range into India, the weather turned bad, with heavy rain, and the Dalai Lama became ill. Despite this illness, he was loaded on the back of a dzo, an animal resembling a cross between a cow and a yak, and it was on such transportation that the religious and secular leader of Tibet escaped capture, imprisonment, and possibly even death at the hands of the Chinese Communists. The Dalai Lama took with him to India a number of the religious and secular officials who accompanied him, but his military guards turned back to continue the battle for Tibet.¹

Seeking International Support

Soon after his arrival in India the Dalai Lama held a press conference which repudiated the Seventeen Point Agreement. He noted that even though the treaty was signed under duress, it might have been regarded as binding (e.g., a treaty signed by a losing side in a war is binding even though it is dictated by the victor), but the Chinese had clearly violated this agreement. He noted:

"But if a treaty is violated by one of the parties to it, it can legally be repudiated by the other party, and then it is no longer in force. The Chinese had certainly violated the Seventeen-Point Agreement, and we were

willing to prove it. Now I had repudiated the agreement, it had ceased to bind us, and our claim to sovereignty was the same as it had been before the agreement was signed."²

The Dalai Lama then sought to alert the world to the plight of Tibet and seek the help of other powers. The existence of the United Nations proved to be a stumbling block since Tibet was not a member. For that matter, the PRC also was not a member, since the China seat was still held by the legitimate government of the Republic of China on Taiwan. The International Commission of Jurists, as mentioned in the previous chapter, did undertake an investigation of the situation in Tibet, thoroughly examining the records and statements of Tibetan and Chinese officials. It noted that the record of persecution, torture and murder brought out the fact that the lamas especially had been persecuted. The lamas had been humiliated, whipped, and taunted. Some were invited by their Marxist tormentors to perform miracles to save themselves before being put to death. In addition, the Chinese had taken children from their parents, sending many to China for indoctrination, and that in some villages they had sterilized both men and women.³

Why such destruction for Tibet? The Dalai Lama attributed the problems faced by Tibet to three causes. The large geographic area of Tibet and its small population made it an attractive target to Communist China, which had a rapidly expanding population which now began to move into Tibet in such numbers that it seemed the Tibetans would eventually become a minority in their own country. As a result, the Maoists had brought to Tibet something it had never experienced in its long history: regular periods of famine. Second, Tibet's rich mineral wealth attracted Beijing as a means to enrich China. And finally, Tibet because of its strategic position, could serve the ultimate end of PRC policy — domination of Asia. As the Dalai Lama has since observed:

"With modern weapons, its mountains can be made an

almost impregnable citadel from which to launch attacks on India, Burma, Pakistan, and the southeast Asian states, in order to dominate these countries, destroy their religions as ours is being destroyed, and spread the doctrine of atheism further. The Chinese are reported already to have build eighteen airfields in Tibet and a network of military roads through the country. Since they know perfectly well that India has no intention of attacking them, the only possible use for these military preparations is as a base for future expansion."⁴

While neither the PRC nor Tibet were members of the United Nations, two members of the United Nations, Ireland and Malaya, introduced a resolution on behalf of Tibet which was adopted on October 21, 1959. The vote was forty-five in favor, nine against, with twenty-six nations abstaining. But, the resolution had no effect on the Beijing government, which simply ignored it.⁵

The PRC Continues Persecution of Tibet

The Chinese Communists, ignoring the United Nations Resolutions and the two reports of the International Commission of Jurists, continued their policy of subjugating Tibet, feeling even more confident of the success of their plans now that the Dalai Lama was no longer in Tibet to resist their designs.

While the Chinese Communists continued to work to destroy Tibetan Buddhism, they also made use of it in their propaganda. Forced by circumstances to recognize that Buddhism played such a fundamental role in Tibetan life that they would have to come to terms it at least temporarily, they attempted to use a distorted form of Buddhism as a means to further subjugate the Tibetans. The theme adopted by the Communists was that the conquest of Tibet by the PRC would improve Buddhism by reforming it.

During the Sixth World Conference on Buddhism in 1961, the leader of the Chinese delegation, Shirob Jaltso, delivered a speech which focused on Tibetan Buddhism. Accusing the

Tibetan upper class, the "reactionary group," of starting a rebellion, he credited the PRC with cleansing the monasteries of "the brand of infamy left by the slavery system of the past:" and thus of helping the monasteries under PRC direction had to regain "their original purity and magnificence."⁶

The Chinese Communist spokesman blamed the rebels for the destruction of the monasteries and portrayed the PRC as a dutiful mother which had helped rescue the lamas, wipe out reactionary influence on Buddhism, and end the feudalism and serfdom characteristic of the system. The pure doctrine of Buddha had been restored by these Chinese reforms.⁷

During his address, Shirob Jaltso described how the Chinese Buddhist Academy, which had opened in 1956, had established a special Tibetan department intended to provide training. Thus, the reform of Buddhism as an outgrowth of the Chinese invasion was adopted as the official propaganda line which was spread worldwide especially to Buddhist countries.⁸

The Chinese Communists tried to use a manipulated form of Buddhism to advance their cause, just as they distorted Confucianism as a means to advance their cause in mainland China. The Chinese became adept not only in denouncing Buddhism and Confucianism as reactionary doctrines but also in distorting the teachings of these two great philosophies to make them appear to be in harmony with Chinese Communist party doctrine.

One disappointment to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans was the meek response from other Buddhist countries to the horror of the destruction of Buddhism in Tibet. Professor Kochi Nomoto wrote in a Buddhist publication (*The Young East*, Winter, 1959) that the low level of Japanese reaction was due to inadequate information. This is hardly a credible explanation. For example, the Japanese Buddhist Federation meeting in 1959 took note of the Tibetan situation but merely sent a resolution of sympathy to the Dalai Lama

through Indian Prime Minister Nehru. A few small protest meetings were held at which the participants demanded that the Chinese stop the destruction of Buddhist monuments and institutions in Tibet. Conferences on Tibet were organized by the Buddhist Peace Conference of the Council for Sino-Japanese Buddhist Cultural Exchange and the Study Group for Modern Buddhism. Set apart from resolutions expressing sympathy for the plight of the Tibetans and Tibetan Buddhism, there was little political follow-through which could aid the Tibetans.⁹

One important political factor may have been the concern of Buddhist countries who were neighbors of China not to risk hostility between themselves and the powerful Maoist regime. As a result, even at official Buddhist conferences, little was done to aid Tibet.¹⁰

The Cultural Revolution Comes to Tibet

The Chinese Communists used their worldwide propaganda apparatus to cover over the charges of persecution in Tibet with claims that a great new day had dawned in Tibet which had "liberated" Tibet and brought it to a new prosperity. The Chinese party line on Tibet was linked to the personality cult built up by Mao. One publication, "Great Changes in Tibet", published in 1972, suffices as representative of this view. The tone is set in an article by Pasang, who is described as Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Pasang describes his birth and the beneficial changes which came to his homeland:

"I was born in a slave's family in Konka County, Tibet. Under reactionary feudal serfdom, I was a slave for nine years and lived like a beast of burden. Chairman Mao and the Communist Party saved me from slavery and nurtured me to become a Communist and a responsible cadre. My mother gave birth to me, but it is the Party which saved me and invincible Mao Tsetung Thought which sustains me. I want to cheer again and again:

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

"October 1 of 1966 is the most unforgettable day of my life. As a representative of the minority nationalities, I met Chairman Mao, the great leader of the people of all China's nationalities, on the Tien An Men rostrum at the Peking National Day celebration rally. As I happily shook hands with the great teacher Chairman Mao, my heart pounded. There were so many things I wanted to say. With tears in my eyes, I said: "Chairman Mao, we the million emancipated Tibetan serfs are determined always to follow you in making revolution. We wish you a long, long life!"¹¹

The pamphlet is filled with similar claims as to how Mao and the Chinese revolution had brought change and progress to Tibet. These changes were attributed not only to the Communist policy in Tibet from the 1950s but to the abolition of the original Tibetan government with the departure of the Dalai Lama ("the Democratic Reform in 1959") and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Hsin Mao launched an attack on the Dalai Lama, stating that under the Dalai Lama, Lhasa was not a real paradise, but only "a paradise for the bloodsuckers and a hell on earth for the working people." He discusses how "Tibet was peacefully liberated in 1951" and how, as a result of the Chinese occupation, it had "witnessed rapid political, economic, and cultural advances" under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Drawing on the current battles in China against Liu Shao-chi (Liu Shaoqi), he noted that Mao had "smashed the plot" to restore serfdom which Liu Shao-chi and his group sought as their objective. Great advances were claimed on the Ari Plateau for agricultural and shepherders and the creation of an industrial base in Linchi was acclaimed. And Hung Nung, hailing the agricultural advances, declared that the "Tibetan peasants and herdsmen are redoubling and promoting production."¹²

The Chinese attempted to use such propaganda teachings as these to shut out the truth about what was happening in

Tibet following the departure of the Dalai Lama and the emergence of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the PRC. Mao had launched this latter revolutionary struggle as an effort to keep control of the Chinese Communist Party and bring a revolutionary experience to the young generation. The result was chaos and disruption throughout China as students attacked teachers, children attacked parents, leading scholars were humiliated, Communist officials were purged, and thousands of Red Guards were unleashed on the country to destroy homes, businesses, and cultural properties. The Red Guards, motivated by Mao's declarations of revolutionary fervor, challenged all authority including that of the military, the county and local governments, and even the Communist Party structure itself.

Tibet would suffer additional horrors during this period of disruption and division between the left and right groups of the Chinese Communist movement. The Cultural Revolution affected Tibet for the years 1966-1969, but its aftermath continued until the death of Mao in 1976 — ten years of persecution. Besides the destruction of historical treasures, which will be discussed shortly, the most critical aspect of the Cultural Revolution was a renewed effort to establish what the Tibetans had until then successfully avoided: socialist communes.¹³

While the attempt to impose communes on the Tibetans had started as early as 1962, the Tibetans resisted communes feeling it would represent a form of mass imprisonment besides taking away from them the ownership of the land, tools, and other means of production. But now the Tibetan people were forced to sign documents "requesting the communes," and the Communists forced them to relinquish their possessions. A compensation rate was set, far below the value of the possessions, and the Tibetans were to receive this compensation over a three to five year period. In fact, they never received anything, as the Chinese Communist officials later stated that compensation would be paid only when the communes started making a profit. Each commune consisted

of one hundred to two hundred families, roughly about one thousand people. Conditions were harsh. The Tibetans were required to work from early morning to late evening; and the rules were so harshly enforced that the corpses of those who died in the work details went unburied for days. Children as young as six or seven, and old people in their eighties, were forced to work in the communes. The Tibetans experienced reduced rations and new taxes. The sole result of these communes was to bring famine to Tibet once again.¹⁴ The best estimates have determined that tens of thousands of Tibetans died during the famine of 1968-1973; this brought the final toll of Tibetans who had died from the Communist conquest to one million, or one-seventh of the entire population.¹⁵

The Proletarian Cultural Revolution also brought new attacks on the religion and culture of Tibet, as the Red Guards stood ready to seize power from the Tibetan Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Its declaration was issued on December 22, 1966, declaring:

"We will rebel against the handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road. We will rebel against persons stubbornly persisting in the bourgeois reactionary line! We will rebel against all the monsters and freaks! We will rebel against the bourgeois Royalists! We, a group of lawless revolutionary rebels, will wield the iron sweepers and swing the might cudgels to sweep the old world into a mess and bash people into complete confusion....To rebel, to rebel and to rebel through to the end in order to create a brightly red new world of the proletariat."¹⁶

Mao's Cultural Revolution embraced all China and its outlying regions. The areas occupied by minorities like the Tibetans proved the most vulnerable. These were the centers of reaction, according to the Communists, and the areas most in need of revolutionary change. Many of the Chinese officials in these regions were targeted for failure to reform the "decadent" societies under their control. When the

Cultural Revolution began officially in Tibet on August 25, 1966, the Red Guards invaded the leading monastery in Tibet destroying or defacing priceless frescoes and images dating centuries back. Irreplaceable historic manuscripts were burned. Pigs and other animals were kept in the sacred monastery areas. Mao's picture was displayed all over the city of Lhasa.¹⁷

The Red Guards took special delight in ridiculing, defacing, or destroying every aspect of Tibetan culture, especially its religious heritage. Religious pictures on walls were painted over; the sacred prayer flags were ripped down and replaced by the Communist red banner. Even under the Democratic Reforms of 1959 there had been a strict adherence to discipline; now the Tibetans had even more to fear as the Cultural Revolution represented nothing less than mob violence. Some Tibetans committed suicide rather than face torture at the hands of Communist gangs; violence was perpetrated against moderate Chinese Communists as well as against the Tibetans. In his perceptive study of the Tibetans, John Avedon noted that the Red Guard factions "vied for preeminence in the work of demolishing every vestige of Tibetan culture." He wrote that had it not been for the refugees who fled to India, even the memory of Tibetan culture might have been long:

"Everything Tibetan was destroyed; every Chinese and Communist adopted. The practice of religion was officially outlawed. Folk festivals and fairs were banned, traditional dances and songs, incense burning and all Tibetan art forms and customs prohibited...All over Tibet people with bad class designations, who had not as yet been imprisoned, were dragged into the street and paraded in paper dunce caps — beaten and spat upon as they passed, tags listing their crimes pinned to their naked chest — in processions led by Red Guards beating drums, cymbals and gongs."¹⁸

The lamas, who sought only peace and content in accordance with their Buddhist religion, had heavy religious

statues lashed to their backs while merchants and members of the former nobility were forced to carry heavy vessels, used to store grain, on their backs as they were marched through the streets. But the Cultural Revolution fell the most heavily on the monasteries. A massive destruction began, with frescoes destroyed, manuscripts burned, and buildings destroyed, while gold, silver, and other precious metals were stolen. A Tibet Revolutionary Museum was set up in the village of Shol, below the Potala, and became a mandatory stop for all visiting delegations to Tibet. A December 1968 radio broadcast portrayed the Dalai Lama as a political corpse, a bandit and a traitor.¹⁹

Evidence has surfaced of another rebellion in Tibet in 1969, ten years after the major rebellion of 1959 which witnessed the departure of the Dalai Lama. The revolt expanded from a struggle against the commune system into a call for independence from Communist control. In one instance over a thousand people attacked local Communist officials, and after suffering defeat, fled to the hills, where they were eventually captured by Chinese troops who executed them, including their leader, a Buddhist nun, at a public meeting. Almost twenty county units joined the rebellion in 1969, but the Chinese Communists brutally suppressed the revolt,²⁰ holding public trials and sentencing the participants to death. It is uncertain whether more died in 1959 or in 1969, since the latter was also a major insurrection.

The end of the Cultural Revolution, and the deaths of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong in 1976, brought a glimmer of relief and the hope that the fanaticism which had afflicted Tibet might now be ended. How significant would this change be for the Tibetan people?

FOOTNOTES

1. The Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962, pp. 211, 215-216.
2. *Ibid*, p. 220.

3. Ibid, pp. 221-223.
4. Ibid, pp. 223-224.
5. Ibid, p. 230. The Dalai Lama wrote about the intended effect of the resolution:
"I had hoped that the Chinese cared about international opinion, but this resolution had no noticeable effect on them. Nevertheless, it is always right to protest against injustice, whether or not the protest can stop the injustice; and we were encouraged that such a large majority of the representatives of the nations had supported our plea." Ibid.
6. Ernst Benz, *Buddhism or Communism: Which Holds the Future for Asia?* Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1965, p. 196.
7. Ibid
8. Ibid, pp. 196-197.
9. Ibid, pp. 198-199.
10. Ibid, pp. 198, 200. Ernst Benz served as professor of Church and Dogmatic History and Director of the Ecumenical Institute at the University of Marburg, Germany and devoted extensive study to the significance of Buddhism for the future of Asia.
11. "Great Changes in Tibet," Peking: *Foreign Languages Press*, 1972, p. 1.
12. Ibid, pp. 22-23.
13. John F. Avedon, *In Exile from the Land of Snows*, New York: Vintage Books, 1986, p. 293.
14. Ibid. 293-298.
15. Ibid, p. 299.
16. Ibid, p. 278. The author includes text from the "*Inaugural Declaration of the Lhasa Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters, December 22, 1966.*"
17. Ibid, pp. 280-281.
18. Ibid, pp. 288-290.
19. Ibid, pp. 288, 291, 292. The author's Chapter 10, "*The Long Night 1966-1977*" provides a moving description of Tibet and its suffering under the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Ibid, pp. 279-319.
20. Jigme Ngagpo, "Behind the Unrest in Tibet," *China Spring Digest*, Vol. 2 (January-February, 1988), No. 1, pp. 24-25.

Chapter 5

Tibet Faces Present Challenges

Tibet might have hoped for relief and a period of recovery in the decade following the death of Mao Zedong and the initiation of new leadership in the Chinese Communist Party dominated by Deng Xiaoping. But while conditions are better in Tibet than possibly during the Cultural Revolution, the prospects are only marginal for any improvement in Tibet's overall future. Some political controls have been relaxed, and efforts are being made to strengthen the Tibetan economy and some of the monasteries destroyed during the Cultural Revolution have been rebuilt, even though the historic treasures that were destroyed cannot be recovered. But the Dalai Lama is still in exile, and there is no evidence that the PRC has abandoned its goal of destroying Tibetan culture and religion and turning Tibet into an area for Chinese colonization. The methods of Deng Xiaoping may in Mainland China be more gentle than that of Mao Zedong, but it is only a change in strategy and not of objectives – a respite in the PRC's normal pattern of behavior as it seeks massive development through the "Four Modernizations" program. However, if any doubt existed about the ultimate program or objectives of the Deng Xiaoping regime so far as Tibet is concerned, this doubt was expelled by examining the conditions which led the Tibetans to a new revolt in 1987, and the brutal suppression of this revolt in 1987 and 1988.

As we approach the present condition of Tibet, we should pause to imagine a map of Tibet where we see the "Tibet Autonomous Region" situated in the heart of Asia, located on a high plateau between China and the Indian subcontinent and covering an area over 500,000 miles square. Approximately six million Tibetans live within this region with about 115,000 Tibetans now living in exile. The map does not tell

the whole story.

Fully one half of the area of Tibet is actually under separate Chinese provincial administration, because of a division made by the Chinese Communists in 1951. For example, most of Amdo, the northeast province of Tibet (which includes the region known as Kokonor) has been renamed Qinghai, and is thus administered as a separate province of China, while a small area of Amdo has been annexed by another Chinese province, Gansu. Kham, an eastern province of Tibet, has been annexed by the nearby Chinese provinces of Yunnan, Sichuan, and Gansu, as well as by the province of Qinghai. The Tibetan areas within these Chinese provinces are administered as "autonomous" prefectures and districts. They contain four million Tibetans, only in the south and west of Tibet people, do we find the "Tibet Autonomous Region" (TAR), comprising slightly more than half the nation, but containing the most important cities: Lhasa (the capital), Shigatse, Guantse, and Chamdo.¹ Journalist Laura Pilarski has observed that the Tibetans consider the best religion to be located in the central region, the best fighters in Kham, and the best businessmen in Amdo.²

Aside from this division of Tibet, two major crises face the Tibetans: (1) the Chinese military forces which brutally suppress any sign or hope of Tibetan freedom and (2) the Chinese policy of population transfer which threatens the Tibetans with becoming a minority in their own country.

To understand PRC policy, reference must be made to Mao Zedong's view of Tibet, and its importance as an economic and political center. It was first seen by Beijing as an area for economic development with the aid of the Soviets, but after the split between the two Communist supergiants, it was perceived as an area of protecting China from a Soviet attack and as a base from which Chinese nuclear weapons might command the very center of the Soviet Asian empire. Mao sought to accomplish this development by a dramatic increase in Tibet's population. He planned a five-fold population increase by means of a mass movement of Chinese

into Tibet. The national uprising in 1959 led to a further decline in the Tibetan population, as Tibetans died and tens of thousands were imprisoned or sent to labor camps, and the Tibetan government-in-exile has estimated that over one-sixth of the population, or 1,200,000 Tibetans, have died as a direct result of the PRC invasion of Tibet. Despite a change in style, the policy of Deng Xiaoping regarding Tibet differs little from Mao's policy on population resettlement.

The Chinese statistics for the years 1979 and 1980 revealed that a total of 130,000 Chinese cadres who were government employees remained in the Tibet Autonomous Region, supported by Chinese troop numbering anywhere between 150,000 to 600,000. Figures are not available for the number of Chinese settlers, but estimates may be too low. The announcement, in 1980, that Chinese cadres would be withdrawn within three years, was never fulfilled. In fact from 1984 there was an increased influx of Chinese residents. Present day statistics reveal that Beijing has sent about 6.2 million civilians into Tibet, while maintaining about half a million troops in the country. Despite denials by PRC officials, the evidence remains strong that a deliberate policy in being followed to overwhelm the Tibetans in their own country. Statistics which have been gathered show that:

The Tibetan population is about 6 million and the estimated 6.2 million Chinese civilians in Tibet (with up to half a million troops) demonstrates that the Chinese already outnumber the Tibetans on the Tibetan plateau.

Amdo Province — The Chinese outnumber the Tibetans in Amdo Province (now known as Qinghai) three to one. Previous to 1950, few Chinese settlers lived there. (Current population: 800,000 Tibetans; 2.5 million Chinese).

Kham Province — The Tibetans are still in a small majority here, with 2 to 3 million Tibetans in the province to about 2 million Chinese. However, the close location to one of the most populous Chinese provinces, Sichuan, makes this area one of the most vulnerable for

Tibetans.

The Tibetan Autonomous Region has the lowest concentration of Chinese (1.7 million), but it is this area in which Chinese settlers are now being encouraged to move as new communities are established for the Chinese and Tibetans are to move into the more arid and less developed parts of Tibet.

The two largest cities in Tibet – Lhasa at 200,000 and Shigatse at 50,000 – have taken on a Chinese appearance, with neighborhood buildings resembling Beijing architecture more than traditional Tibetan architecture.

Other cultural discrimination is obvious, with schools providing better instruction to the Chinese. The Chinese language is used on radio programs, and Chinese publications stress the need for both skilled and unskilled labor to move to Tibet. Chinese who remain in Tibet after retirement receive larger pensions.

Tibetan unemployment is increasing as the distinct Tibetan culture and economy is supplemented by the new settlers with the different culture.³

After a thorough study of this situation, legal scholar and Tibetan expert, Michael C. van Walt van Praag, has concluded:

"The real fear exists that if the present Chinese policy is successful – and indications are that it is – Tibetans will be reduced to a small and insignificant minority in their own country in the same way as the Manchurians, the Turkic peoples and the Mongolians have been. Early this century, the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only 2 to 3 million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where 75 million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkistan, which the Chinese now call Xinjiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to 7 million, more than half of the total population of 13 million. In the wake of the Chinese colonization of Inner Mongolia, Chinese now outnumber the Mongols by 8.5 million to 2 million

in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. The 4 million Hui, or so-called Chinese Muslims of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, have been entirely encompassed by Chinese settlers.⁴

Author and writer on Tibet, John Avedon, has termed this Chinese policy of mass movement of population into Tibet as "Chinese apartheid," although in the case of Tibet the immigrant labor controls the government, whereas in South Africa the immigrant labor does not control the government. He notes the developing crisis in Tibet: Tibetans face growing unemployment and an annual inflation rate of 300 percent which has reduced the per capita income to just \$110 annually. Faced with this meager income, the average Tibetan still lives in an antiquated house lacking heat, running water, and electricity. Seventy percent of the population are considered illiterate with only one of every five children finishing primary school. The average life span is forty years with infant mortality at the rate of one in six.⁵

The poor condition of the average Tibetan is in sharp contrast to the PRC immigrants who benefit from the system. The PRC approved settler receives at least a third more in income than the average Tibetan. These Beijing approved immigrants receive guaranteed jobs as well as modern housing. Sufficient diet and medical care is provided. Although schooling is limited, two-thirds of the seats in school are reserved for the immigrants. The Chinese outnumber the Tibetans, 7.5 million to 6 million. Although Deng Xiaoping has publicly claimed that the Chinese immigrants are only there to help build Tibet, and that they will eventually leave, the great building boom in Tibet and the pension bonuses for those who settle there are a strong indication that they will likely stay. Avedon points out that this pattern is part of a deliberate Chinese Communist policy with an obvious purpose:

"The Sinocization of Tibet is no more accidental than its military occupation. Given the region's chronic unrest, typified by ongoing executions of political dissidents, the

internment of almost 4,000 political prisoners in the capital city of Lhasa, and the presence of one Chinese soldier for every 10 Tibetans in central Tibet alone. Sinocization is the requisite corollary to open force: a subtle but effective means to submerge the identity of Beijing's most intransigent subject race.⁶

American television journalist Tom Brokaw, visiting Tibet for a television special, also observed the presence of Chinese everywhere. Most of the workers in hotels and manufacturing plants are Chinese and the signs in the cities are in both the Tibetan and the Chinese languages.⁷

In its long history Tibet has had earlier conflicts with its neighbor, China, and, as mentioned previously, has earlier been invaded by China. However, in the case of these earlier invasions the purpose of the Chinese government was only to gain political control and not to destroy the Tibetan people, their culture, or their religion. The invasion by the People's Republic of China has been of a different nature — seeking not only total political power but the gradual destruction of all that was unique to Tibet in a forceful and brutal manner. The suppression of religious freedom, the continuing military occupation, the outlawing of any signs of Tibetan nationalism, and the constant flow of Chinese settlers into Tibet is something never before experienced by Tibet in its long history. The combination of these acts threatens the very existence of the Tibetan people and culture.

The 1987 Crisis

As the oppression of the PRC Communists continued even under Deng Xiaoping, fresh unrest and riots broke out at the end of 1987 and early in 1988. The significance of the recent events can be best appreciated by viewing the circumstances which led to the protests. Notably, these were linked to events in the United States.

The growing concern with human rights in the U.S. led the lower house of the U.S. Congress, the United States House of Representatives, to pass a resolution criticizing the

People's Republic of China for human rights violations in Tibet and for its military occupation of the country.

The Dalai Lama scheduled a trip to the United States, and the Embassy of the People's Republic of China sent a message to the U.S. State Department urging that the U.S. prevent the Dalai Lama from making any political statement during his visit. The Dalai Lama arrived in Washington, D.C. on September 21, and outlined a five point peace plan for Tibet in an address to the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Caucus on Capitol Hill, an event reported in the U.S. *Congressional Record* of September 22, 1987. On September 22 the U.S. Congress passed a resolution which welcomed the Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader of Buddhism, and a world leader advancing the cause of peace. A letter was sent to PRC officials by Members of Congress endorsing the Dalai Lama's peace plan.

These events did not go unnoticed by the Chinese officials in Beijing, who felt that it was time to assert additional power over the Tibetans. On September 24, Chinese troops in Tibet forced almost 15,000 Tibetans to listen to a denunciation of the visit of the Dalai Lama to the United States. A Tibetan nationalist, Kelsang Tashi, was publicly executed, two others were sentenced to death, and eight others imprisoned.⁸

Three days later, twenty-one Tibetan monks, joined by five laymen, conducted a peaceful demonstration at the most sacred shrine of Tibetan Buddhism, the Jokhang Temple. They carried Tibetan flags, forbidden by Chinese Communist law, and demanded independence for Tibet. The Chinese arrested these demonstrators and charged them with "counterrevolutionary acts," a charge punishable by death.⁹ The PRC then launched an attack on the U.S. government for its refusal to silence the Dalai Lama during his visit in the U.S.¹⁰

The first week of October provided a shock to the Beijing authorities – and revealed the brutality of the PRC government. The date October 1st has special significance for the

Chinese Communists, for it was on that day in 1949, that Mao Zedong solidified his control over the Chinese mainland and proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China. On that same day in Lhasa, thousands of Tibetans demonstrated for independence. The PRC troops opened fire, killing a seven year old child and injuring over one hundred people. The Communist forces even arrested various foreigners in Lhasa, and on October 5, the official PRC newspaper in Tibet, the *Tibet Daily*, threatened "severe punishment" for those who participated in the October 1st demonstrations and who failed to surrender by October 15.¹¹ On the 6th of October, the Chinese attacked 100 monks from Drepung Monastery who were marching to Lhasa, and others were arrested by the PRC authorities.¹²

As the Chinese flew reinforcements to Tibet, the three leading monasteries in Tibet appealed to the United Nations to help end Chinese rule in their country.¹³

As part of the crackdown, the Chinese ordered foreigners out of Tibet and banned all foreigners from entering Tibet. This action was in strong contrast to their efforts over the last few years to promote tourism in the area. Even efforts to reach Lhasa by telephone or telex were unsuccessful. Officials told travelers that tickets to Lhasa would not be available for ten days, and stopped issuing visas in Nepal, a major point of entry for Tibet. Tibet was sealed off so that the world outside could gain no knowledge of what was happening.¹⁴

The Dalai Lama issued a statement referring to the brutality which now once again affected his homeland:

"I am deeply shocked and grieved by the loss of lives and the persons injured during the recent demonstrations in Tibet by the Tibetan people against the Chinese rule. I still believe violence is not a solution to any problem."

"I appeal to all human rights groups and supporters of freedom and justice to prevail upon the Chinese Government to stop the execution of innocent Tibetans and release those imprisoned."¹⁵

Testimony to the Tibetan Suppression

The Tibetan people were fortunate that the initial acts of PRC oppression occurred in full view of foreigners visiting in Tibet, who were able to bring the story of the persecution of the Tibetans to the outside world. Interestingly enough, some of the reports referred to at least three foreigners who admitted they were sympathetic to the Tibetan call for independence and had joined the Tibetans in throwing stones at the Chinese police as the latter acted to forcefully suppress the Tibetan demonstrators. Some of the foreigners even filmed the protests and the police action. Monks protected the foreigners and helped them evade the police.¹⁶

Charlene L. Fu was one of the first Western reporters to reach Lhasa after the October 1 demonstration and spent a week in the area until she and thirteen other journalists were expelled. She reported seeing truckloads of police, armed with machine guns, circling the Tibetan capital, and helmeted police equipped with machine guns patrolling the main roads of the city. She reported that communication was cut off with the Lhasa Hotel, the major Western hotel in the Tibetan capital, and announcements ordering foreigners to leave were posted around the city. She described an interview with one of the young monks at Jokhang Temple, where more than twenty plainclothes police stood guard ready to suppress any further demonstrations. More than 100 monks were arrested but she was able to interview one monk who expressed the hope that Communist rule in Tibet would end and that Tibetans hoped other countries would support Tibet's claim to freedom.¹⁷

A letter signed by Robbie Barnett on behalf of a "Committee of 45 Westerners in Lhasa" described the events between September 27 and October 1st. It reported armed police trying to break up the demonstrations by Tibetans and the arrival of reinforcements who fired into the crowd to clear a pathway between a school and the police station. These shots were fired near the south side and to the front

of the Jokhang temple. The police continued shooting into the square from the roofs of buildings. Tibetans and foreigners were seized, taken into a school building, although the foreigners were released after their film was confiscated. The police station was set afire. This letter also described how the Westerners decided to act as witnesses to the event, and how they attempted to treat the wounded with the limited medical supplies they had available. They summed up their report by noting that:

"We have been asked to treat one woman with severely burnt arms, one woman bullet in breast, and one man bullet in chest, but contacts have failed to keep rendezvous, due to police activity we assume. We arranged more for tomorrow. We have first-hand accounts of four other monks shot (left leg, right leg, left hip, right shoulder) and three other monks shot dead. So confirmed total is six and seriously wounded 13. Local people say 12 dead, plus one Chinese policeman killed, and many wounded, including children.

"No Tibetan had guns at any time that we saw."¹⁸

Two Americans, Dr. William Blake Kerr, a medical doctor, and John Ackerley, a lawyer, told the press in New Delhi, India, that they had witnessed the riots but did not participate in them. Dr. Kerr and Ackerley were arrested September 28 for possessing a Tibetan national flag, and held for questioning before being ordered to leave Tibet within ten days. Dr. Kerr treated the wounded as part of his ethical duty and reported that he saw six Tibetans die and treated fourteen others for wounds. Kerr noted that the Tibetans were treated as second class citizens and that religious freedom does not exist in Tibet.¹⁹

Other reports which came out of Tibet also described the Communist crackdown. Tourists described strict security between the city of Lhasa and the airport, cancellation of local bus service, and a 10 p.m. curfew. The police seemed everywhere. The PRC controlled media stressed how much the Chinese were doing to create a prosperous Tibet and

directed criticism against the Dalai Lama, but noted that:

"Tourists returning to Kathmandu said the Lhasa streets are swarming with armed soldiers and plainclothesmen. Some of the plainclothesmen were also openly carrying automatic weapons. The Sera, Drepung and Ganden monasteries are still sealed. All buses coming to Lhasa are being checked thoroughly. Between Shigatse and Lhasa alone, a distance of 200 kms, there are seven roadblocks where the police check everyone's identify card."²⁰

U.S. Focus on the Tibetan Situation

The protests in Tibet took place while the Dalai Lama was visiting the United States and attracted great attention in Washington, D. C.

A special hearing was held by the Congress on the human rights situation in Tibet and some Members of Congress participated in a press conference on the issue. The Dalai Lama met with the Human Rights Caucus on September 21, 1987. The group is a bipartisan legislative service organization of the U.S. House of Representatives which was established in early 1983 to focus on human rights abuses throughout the world and to encourage Congressional action in the observance of human rights. It is headed by Democrat U.S. Representative Tom Lantos of California and Republican U.S. Representative John Porter of Illinois. A statement released by the Human Rights Caucus noted that as many as one million Tibetans have died as a result of political instability, imprisonment, and widescale famine. This document also noted that over 6,000 monasteries have been destroyed, and that much of the art and literature of Tibet has been destroyed, lost or removed from Tibet.²¹

U.S. Representative Gus Yatron (D-Pennsylvania) stated that despite claims of improvement in the human rights situation of Tibet, organizations such as Amnesty International and reports by Tibetan exiles have indicated that existing conditions in the area are still "deplorable," with a continua-

tion of "disappearances, torture, and executions."²²

Representative Lantos appeared at a demonstration in support of the people of Tibet on the U.S. Capitol steps with the Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island) and U.S. Representative Benjamin Gilman (R-New York). The PRC insisted that such criticism was a continuation of efforts to interfere with the internal affairs in Tibet.²³

Both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate passed amendments to the State Department Authorization bill condemning Chinese human rights violations. The House passed a measure in June of 1987 and the Senate in November of 1987. Agreement on similar wording by both branches came on December 1st when adopted and President Ronald Reagan signed it on December 22, 1987. The bill condemned the human rights abuses but also called for the support of the Dalai Lama's five point peace plan including the release of political prisoners, tying sales of arms to China to respect for human rights in Tibet, and granting scholarships and other aid to Tibetan refugees.²⁴ The PRC expressed strong objections to the measure, claimed that Tibet had been a part of China and that such matters were China's internal affairs, and that such action threatened the continuation of bilateral relations between the U.S. and the PRC.²⁵

Human Rights Raises Growing Concern

The U.S. Members of Congress and the U.S. President were not alone in expressing continuing concern over the situation of human rights. The American Buddhist Congress passed a resolution criticizing the transfer of population and asking Beijing to begin negotiations with the Dalai Lama.²⁶ Although the issue received more attention with the September/October, 1987 disturbances, and the disturbances in early 1988, the crises in human rights in Tibet has for some time attracted the attention of concerned humanitarians, religious leaders, and political leaders from throughout the world.

Britain has established a Parliamentary Human Rights

Group, an independent all-party group of more than one hundred members from both Houses of Parliament, whose objective is to raise awareness on international human rights abuses in the United Kingdom Parliament, to undertake fact-finding missions, and to publish reports about its human rights concerns. Lord Avebury, the Chairman of the Group, initiated correspondence with the Chinese Embassy in London on the human rights situation in Tibet, exchanging a series of letters between November 19, 1985 and March 3, 1987. The correspondence raised the issues of the persecution of Buddhism, the population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, and the maintenance of defense forces in Tibet. The Chinese proved evasive and eventually discontinued further correspondence on the subject.²⁷

A Chinese dissident, Chen Feng, discussed the tearing apart of the traditional system of religion and politics in Tibet and the efforts to destroy religion in order to replace it with Marxism and Leninism. He noted that the PRC military hardware and troops in Tibet are intended for use against the Tibetan people.²⁸

An informal fact-finding tour, conducted March 29 to April 9, by former Labor Party Secretary of State for Health and Social Affairs, Lord David Ennals, concluded that Tibet was undergoing "a reign of terror" imposed by the PRC officials, and that conditions were worse than the nationality troubles in the Soviet Union. The report made reference to the March 5 demonstration and noted that it had been suppressed under conditions described as "severe." In a report which covers a wide range of issues, the section which concentrates on the current brutality occurring in Tibet deserves special attention:

"A major problem in Tibet is the relative youth of military and military police, which combined with frustration at the Tibetans' attitude and orders to re-establish order, results in extreme brutality in their treatment of prisoners.

"Repeatedly we heard of how "electric cow prodders"

were used both during the riot and as a means of torture. Only since leaving Tibet have we learnt that the personnel of the Public Security Bureau were issued with electric batons throughout China in 1980, and the severity of the charge they give can cause extreme pain and be temporarily disabling to an individual. With the wire coils unravelled they are used to strip the flesh from legs and arms. This was largely discovered from bodies which were notified to collect from the hospital mortuary, with the requirement that they pay \$150 collection fee. This used to be a common practice during the Cultural Revolution.

"At first we treated these reports with reserve but the consistency of the reports, the calibre of the witnesses and their undoubted fear left us in no doubt as to the veracity of the reports from people who had been detained."²⁹

The Continuing Crisis

The Chinese Communist crackdown on the Tibetans continues in the short term and long term and the Tibetans are under siege in their own land. Before leaving the plight of the Tibetans, we should focus on the conclusions of the reports detailing the human rights abuses in this tortured land. Asia Watch was organized in 1985 to promote human rights in Asia and is affiliated with America Watch, Helsinki Watch, and Human Rights Watch. International Alert is a non-governmental alliance of groups and people who work for economic and social development as well on the protection and promotion of human rights. Asia Watch issued a February, 1988 report with a July, 1988 update; International Alert issued an August, 1988 report. In its February report, Asia Watch observed:

"The moderation that may be said to characterize some of the policies implemented in the TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region) during the present decade does not extend into the realm of free political discourse of full

religious freedom in spite of governmental insistence to the contrary."³⁰

The report noted that Tibet may be considered a private affair only to the extent that "believers keep their faith within carefully prescribed limits" and that these limits "can only be intended to hamper the propagation of religion in Tibet." The report added that religious institutions are not independent but are linked to the official Communist-sponsored Buddhist organizations and the "management board for cultural relics." Thus, Article 36 of the 1982 Chinese Constitution and Article 11 of the 1984 Law on Regional National Autonomy for Minority Nationalities, provisions which govern religious practices in Tibet, allow for wide interpretation of such terms as "disruption of public order" and "foreign domination."³¹

The Asia Watch document detailed the work of the Public Security Bureau which maintains "effective surveillance" over the Tibetan population in most of the towns and cities. Those who speak out for Tibetan freedom are watched most closely; those who possess the Tibetan flag are charged with a major crime. Arrests are made during the middle of the night and the suspects are taken away and interrogation is conducted in a PSB branch bureau in secret. Months or even years may elapse between the arrest and official sentencing. Torture is used such as shackling the prisoners' arms and legs and "electric batons" are used. The Asia Watch report notes that even after interrogation and sentencing, abuse continues with regular beatings of prisoners in prison, restrictions are enforced against prisoners talking to one another, food is sparse and of poor quality, prisoners are required to work long hours at difficult tasks, and struggle sessions are conducted. Thus, it concludes that "torture is part of the prison routine in Tibet."³²

The Asia Watch group details the names and persecutions of political prisoners in Tibet.³³ And the report also covers population transfers and evidence of discrimination against Tibetans by the Chinese officials, ranging from abortions per-

formed on Tibetan women without their consent to preferences for Chinese over Tibetans for jobs and housing in Tibet.³⁴

The July Report of Asia Watch describes a continuation of the persecution of the Tibetans with a special part on a list of additional political prisoners from both Tibetan exile sources and reflective of names from Tibetan exile lists and the lists of Amnesty International. The report also updates the March 5 riots – not covered in the February report and an event which received much less international attention than the fall, 1987 demonstrations because the PRC had effectively closed Tibet off and few foreigners were present. The report details the continued efforts of arrest, imprisonment, torture, and terror. Asia Watch observed:

"By itself, the extent of injuries reported by the official Chinese media (more than 300 members of the security forces wounded, of whom more than 30 reportedly required hospitalization) indicated the March 5 incident far exceeded the demonstrations of September and October in violence and numbers involved."³⁵

The International Alert report confirmed the general tone of the above observations and has been referenced earlier. This document placed special emphasis on the curtailment of freedom of speech in Tibet and the role of the Public Security Bureau who are described as assuming plots are existing, suspects arrested are guilty and that they must extract as much information as possible from prisoners. The words of Lord Ennals bears reflection. He writes in the introduction to the report:

"Since our return further demonstrations have occurred in Lhasa on a smaller scale than in March and there has been growing concern worldwide about the welfare of groups of Tibetans held by the Chinese and under threat of death. From recent travels in the United States and Europe I have discovered widespread concern about the situation in Tibet and an increasing amount of informed criticism of Chinese attitudes.

"The denial of human rights in Tibet must be dealt with not by continuing repression and force, but by statesmanship and in a genuine wish for peace. Urgent action is needed to avert a situation that would bring damage to China's reputation and to the Tibetan people."³⁶

The Future Crisis

The demonstrations in 1987 and 1988 showed that the Tibetan people still desire freedom and the preservation of their religion. However, the PRC seems equally as determined to destroy the Tibetan race, the Tibetan Buddhist religion, and the Tibetan culture. It is continuing to do so by persecution, and by increased Chinese migration, and while maintaining a few showcase monasteries as a propaganda front, it is destroying the essence of Buddhism in Tibet.

The Tibetan experience should serve as a stark warning to those areas who are negotiating with the PRC, over Hong Kong, over Macao, and possible, one day, over the Republic of China on Taiwan. As in Tibet, the PRC leaders might put on smiles and modify their tactics, but the same program and objectives remain — realities and promises are kept only as long as they serve the immediate need. The Tibetans are experiencing violations of their religious freedom and human rights and are being imprisoned in their own country whenever they seek to uphold their centuries old cultural and religious heritage.

The story of present-day Tibet should serve as a somber warning to those who believe the Chinese Communists may be becoming more lenient in their goal for continued domination. For those who believe this myth, the story of Tibet and the Tibetans should counter their mistaken beliefs. It is better that others learn the sad truth from the Tibetan experience, before they find themselves in the same position as the Tibetan peoples.

FOOTNOTES

1. Michael C. van Walt van Praag, "Population Transfer and The Survival of The Tibetan Identity," Prepared for the Seventh Annual International Human Rights Symposium and Research Conference at Columbia University, June 13, 1986, pp.
2. Laura Pilarski, *Tibet: The Heart of Asia*, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1974, p. 11. She also notes the key characteristics of the major cities: Lhasa is the capital and the "Vatican of Lamaism"; Shigatse is an important administrative center; Gyantse represents an economic center and a wool market; and Chamdo is a regional headquarters located on a significant trade route which leads eastward into China. Ibid.
3. van Praag, 1986
4. Ibid, pp. 10-11.
5. John Avedon, "China and Tibet: Conquest by Cultural Destruction," *The Wall Street Journal*, August 24, 1987, p. 23.
6. Ibid.
7. "Tom Brokaw on Tibetan Situation," *Tibetan Review*, September, 1987), pp.7-8.
8. *The Washington Post*, September 30, 1987.
9. *The New York Times*, October 1, 1987.
10. *The Washington Post*, September 30, 1987.
11. Reuters news services report, October 2 and 5, 1987.
12. *The New York Times*, October 7, 1987.
13. *The Christian Science Monitor*, October 6, 1987.
14. *The Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1987.
15. "Statement of His Holiness The Dalai Lama," October 3, 1987, Issued by the Office of Tibet, New York, New York.
16. *The New York Times*, October 10, 1987.
17. Charlene L. Fu, *Associated Press* dispatches, 1987.
18. "Westerners' Account of Lhasa Demonstrations," *Tibetan Review*, November, 1987, pp. 5-8.
19. "U.S. Tourists Deny Involvement in Riots," Ibid, pp. 8-9.
20. "Since the Demonstrations," Ibid, p. 9.
21. "Dalai Lama to Make Major Political Statement at Meeting with Congressional Human Rights Caucus," *Congressional Human Rights Caucus Release*, Sep. 21, 1987.
22. "Human Rights in Tibet," Statement of the Hon. Gus Yatron, October 14, 1987.
23. "Lantos' Tibetan Demonstration Gets Reactions," *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, November 19, 1987, pp. 2-3. A survey of the Tibetan situation prepared for Members of Congress can be found by Kerry B. Dumbaugh, Analyst in Asian Affairs, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, in "Tibet: Disputed Facts About the Situation in Tibet," *Congressional Research Service, Document Number 88-40F* (Revised May 3, 1988).
24. "Reagan Signs Tibet Bill," *Tibetan Review*, January, 1988, p. 5.
25. "China Warns U.S. on Tibet," Ibid.
26. "American Buddhist Congress Passes A Resolution on Tibet," Ibid, p. 6.
27. "Human Rights Situation in Tibet: British MPs Dissatisfied by Chinese Explanations," *Tibetan Review*, October, 1987, pp. 10-13. Informative articles may be found

in the account by Robert Barnett and Nicholas Meysztowicz, "The Lhasa Riot and After: General impression of two western tourists," *Tibetan Review* (January, 1988), pp. 15; and the account by Rupert Wolfe-Murray which appeared in London's *Daily Telegraph*, November 16, 1987, *Ibid*, pp. 15-16. See also the editorial "Stand Up for Decency in Tibet," *The New York Times*, October 8, 1987, and John Metzler's View, "In Tibet, religion and culture is under siege," *China Post* (Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China), March 23, 1988.

28. Chen Feng, "A Chinese Dissident's Perception of Tibet," *Tibetan Review*, November, 1987, pp. 14-17. Among the comments the author makes are the following worthy of special attention:

"Peking destroyed most of the monasteries in Tibet. After the Dalai Lama became a refugee in exile, the traditional system of political and religion united was completely torn apart. Peking knows that a nation cannot be without soul for even one day; thus hundreds of thousands of young Tibetans were sent to Peking to be indoctrinated in the Communist System. They returned to take over the traditional place of the lamas with Communist theory replacing the holy scriptures." *Ibid*, p. 15. He also comments: "Tibet is deeply rooted in Buddhism, and Peking tries its best to stop the voice of Tibet and replace it with the voice of Communism. *Ibid*, p. 16.

29. Don Oberdorfer, "British Official Blasts Chinese "Terror" in Tibet," *The Washington Post*, May 11, 1988; Lord Ennals and Fredrick Hyde-Chambers, "An Informal Fact-finding Visit to Tibet," *Tibetan Review*, July, 1988, pp. 9-14.

30. "Human Rights in Tibet," Washington, D.C.: *An Asia Watch Report*, February, 1988, p. 13.

31. *Ibid*.

32. *Ibid*, pp. 25-31.

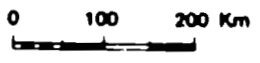
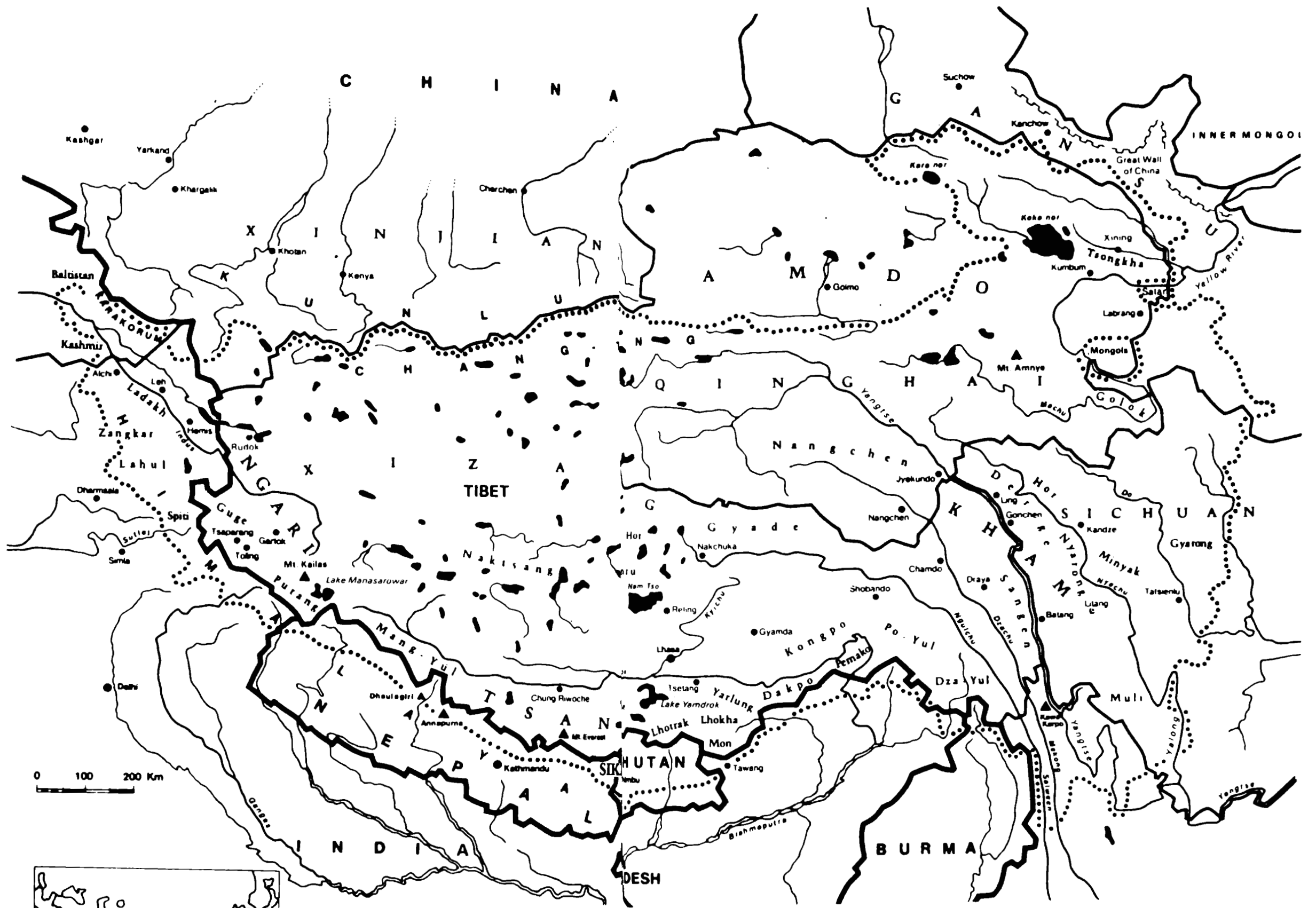
33. *Ibid*, pp. 32-40.

34. *Ibid*, pp. 41-57.

35. "Evading Scrutiny: Violations of Human Rights After The Closing of Tibet: Supplement to the *Asia Watch Report on Human Rights in Tibet*," Washington, D.C.: Asia Watch, July, 1988.

36. "Tibet in China," London, England: *An International Alert Report*, August, 1988.

MAP OF TIBET



TIBET

- | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| | Extent of the Tibetan people | INDIA | States | Indus | Rivers |
| ———— | National borders | TSANG | Traditional Tibetan provinces | | Lakes |
| ———— | Province borders | QINGHAI | Chinese provinces | | Mountains |

APPENDIX

**EXTRACTS FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD,
VOLUME 133, No. 100
THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1987**

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION
100TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION, H. CON. RES 191

Whereas His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet is a spiritual leader to millions of Buddhists throughout the world, including many in the United States:

Whereas His Holiness the Dalai Lama has persistently promoted justice, offered hope to the oppressed, and upheld the rights and dignity of all men and women regardless of faith, nationality, or political views;

Whereas His Holiness the Dalai Lama is a world leader who has admirably and with dedication advanced the cause of regional and world peace through adherence to the doctrine of nonviolence;

Whereas His Holiness the Dalai Lama has, through his example, his teachings, and his travels, furthered mutual understanding, respect, and unity among nations and individuals; and

Whereas His Holiness the Dalai Lama will be visiting the United States in September 1987: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress welcomes His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet on the occasion of his visit to the United States, commends him for furthering the just and honorable causes that he has championed, and offers him the greetings and good wishes of the people of the United States.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD – SENATE
S 13530 OCTOBER 6, 1987

**HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET BY THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

(a) **FINDINGS.**— The Congress finds that—

(1) on October 1st, 1987, Chinese police in Lhasa fired upon several thousand unarmed Tibetan demonstrators, which included hundreds of women, children and Tibetan Buddhist monks, killing at least six and wounding many others:

(2) on September 27th, 1987, a peaceful demonstration in Lhasa calling for Tibetan independence and the restoration of human rights in Tibet,

which was led by hundreds of Tibetan monks, was violently broken up by Chinese authorities and twenty-seven Tibetan Buddhist monks were arrested;

(3) in the wake of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's five point peace plan, which was presented to the U.S. Congress during his visit to Washington at the invitation of the Congress on September 21, 1987, Chinese authorities in Tibet staged, on September 24, 1987, a mass political rally at which three Tibetans were given death sentences, two of whom were executed immediately;

(4) on September 22, 1987, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Chairman and Ranking Minority Member of the House Human Rights Caucus signed a letter to His Excellency Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of China, expressing their "grave concern with the present situation in Tibet and welcome(d) His Holiness the Dalai Lama's (five point) proposal as a historic step towards resolving the important questions of Tibet and alleviating the suffering of the Tibetan people...(and) express(ing) their full support for his proposal."

(5) beginning October 7, 1950, the People's Republic of China invaded and occupied Tibet, imposed military rule, and continues to exercise dominion over the Tibetan people through the presence of a large occupation force;

(6) over one million Tibetans perished in 1959 to 1979 as a direct result of the political instability, executions, imprisonment, and widescale famine engendered by the occupation of Tibet by the People's Republic of China;

(7) after the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950, particularly during the ravages of China's Cultural Revolution, over 6,000 monasteries, the repositories of 1,300 years of Tibet's ancient civilization, have been destroyed and their irreplaceable national legacy of art and literature either stolen or removed from Tibet;

(8) Tibet's vast mineral, forest, and animal reserves are being systematically exploited by the People's Republic of China, with limited benefit accruing to the Tibetan people;

(9) Tibet's economy and education, health, and human services remain far below those of the People's of China as a whole;

(10) the People's Republic of China has undertaken a massive population transfer, entailing the immigration of millions of Chinese onto the Tibetan plateau in an apparent effort to make the Tibetan people a minority in their own homeland;

(11) the arrest and execution of Tibetan political and religious prisoners continues with thousands of Tibetans currently interred in labor camps;

(12) Tibet, a nation dedicated to the principles of nonviolence and mutual coexistence for a millennia, has been militarized by the Chinese;

(13) His Holiness the Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, in conjunction with the 100,000 refugees forced into exile

with him, has worked tirelessly for almost thirty years to secure peace and religious freedom in Tibet;

(14) since 1959, India has generously provided refuge and resources for Tibetan exiles so that they may maintain their unique culture and religion in the hope of returning to their homeland;

(15) the People's Republic of China continues to ignore United Nations General assembly resolutions 1353, 1723, and 2079 calling for a cessation of human rights violations in Tibet and for implementation of the right of the Tibetan people to self-determination;

(16) 91 Members of the Congress signed a letter to President Li Xiannian of the People's Republic of China on July 24, 1985, expressing support for direct talks between Beijing and representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government-in-exile, and urging the Government of the People's Republic of China "to grant the very reasonable and justified aspirations of His holiness the Dalai Lama and his people every consideration," and

(17) there has been no evidence of any such consideration being granted by the Government of the People's Republic of China

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICIES.-It is the sense of the Congress that-

(1) the United States should make the treatment of the Tibetan people an important factor in its conduct of relations with the People's Republic of China;

(2) the President should meet with his Holiness the Dalai Lama to express United States support for his efforts for world peace and particularly his efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Tibetan problem;

(3) the United States should urge the Government of the People's Republic of China to actively reciprocate the Dalai Lama's efforts to establish a constructive dialogue over the future status of Tibet;

(4) the United States, through the Secretary of State-

(a) should address and call attention to the rights of the Tibetan people, as well as other non-Chinese within the People's Republic of China such as the Uighurs of eAstern Turkestan (Sinkiang), the Mongolians of Inner Mongolia, and the Manchus of Manchuria, and

(b) should support efforts to maintain Tibet's identity and preserve Tibetan culture and religion, both inside Tibet and among those in exile;

(5) congressional delegations should visit Tibet (including the areas of Kham and Amdo) and the Tibetans in exile in order to witness the progress being made and the problems faced; and

(6) the President should instruct the United States Ambassadors to the People's Republic of China and India to work closely with the Tibetan people to find areas in which the United States Government and people can be helpful.

(c) Any notification submitted to the Congress pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act with respect to any sale, licensed export, or other transfer of any defense articles or defense services to the People's Republic of China shall be accompanied by a Presidential determination that the

Government of the People's Republic of China is acting in good faith and in a timely manner to resolve human rights issues in Tibet.

(d) Not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit a report to the Congress of the human rights situation in Tibet and the transfer of millions of Chinese to Tibet.

(e) Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated for the Department of State for "Migration and Refugee assistance" for each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, not less than \$200,000 shall be available only for assistance for Tibetan refugees.

(f) For each of the fiscal years 1988 and 1989, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall make available to Tibetan students and professionals who are outside Tibet not less than 15 scholarships for study at institutions of higher education in the United States.

Mr. Pell. Mr. President, this amendment, proposed by the Senator from North Carolina my friend, Mr. Helms, and I, directs the attention of all people to the cruel treatment, the rape of Tibet that has been going on in the last few days and has been going on for the last few decades.

Tibet, a country with a proud history and independent tradition, in the past was occupied, as we all know, by the Chinese in the late 1950's and since then has been a very harsh regime. I recognize that the Chinese have taken steps in the last few years to unscramble the omelet, to undo some of the damage that was done about 10 or 15 years ago by their people.

But, nevertheless, the tragedy of Tibet continues. The maltreatment of Tibet citizens continues. All told, I think the Senate should take a note of that fact, and that is exactly what the Senator from North Carolina and I seek to do.

Two weeks ago the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as the House Foreign Affairs Committee, hosted His Holiness the Dalai Lama here in the United States Capitol. The Dalai Lama raised at that time a five-point peace plan for the resolution of problems confronting the people of Tibet under the rule of Beijing. The plan, simply stated, called for improvement, in the human rights and democratic freedoms of the people of Tibet. It was a peaceful plan, and called for the transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace.

Immediately in the wake of this peace initiative, Chinese authorities saw fit to crack down on Buddhist monks and native Tibetans in Lhasa in the most severe manner. They publicly executed three monks, jailed numerous others, and when the Tibetan people reacted in peaceful protest, continued their crackdown, resulting finally in the tragic events of this week.

In protest of the Chinese action Tibetan monks and people demonstrated in front of a Chinese police station where some 30 monks were held in detention. During the ensuing struggle, Chinese police fired on the demonstrators, killing and maiming several men, women, and children. Today it is reported that Chinese troops are being airlifted to the area, giving every indication that the crackdown will continue.

**FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD**

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1987, VOL. 133

AMENDMENT

HOUSE RESOLUTION 1777

**TITLE VII – HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET
BY THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

SEC. 701 FINDINGS

The Congress finds that –

(1) the People’s Republic of China imposed its rule over Tibet through military force in 1949, and continues to exercise dominion over the Tibetan people through the presence of a large occupation force;

(2) over one million Tibetans have perished since 1949 as a direct result of political instability, imprisonment, and widescale famine;

(3) after 1949, particularly during the ravages of China’s Cultural Revolution, over 6,000 monasteries, the repositories of 1,300 years of Tibet’s ancient civilization, were destroyed and their irreplaceable national legacy of art and literature either stolen or removed from Tibet;

(4) the Tibetans’ standard of living, health, and human services remain far below those of the People’s Republic of China as a whole;

(5) Tibetans and others are concerned about the political, cultural, and economic implications of the policy of the People’s Republic of China of encouraging large numbers of Chinese to move to Tibet;

(6) there are credible reports, confirmed by Amnesty International, of tibetans being incarcerated and killed for the nonviolent expression of their religious and political beliefs;

(7) His Holiness the Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, in conjunction with the 100,000 refugees forced into exile with him, has worked tirelessly for almost thirty years to secure peace and religious freedom in Tibet, as well as the preservation of the Tibetan culture;

(8) in 1959, 1961, and 1965 the United Nations General Assembly called upon the People’s Republic of China to end the violations of the Tibetan’s human rights;

(9) 91 Members of the Congress signed a letter to President Li Xiannian of the People’s Republic of China on July 24, 1985, expressing support for direct talks between Beijing and representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans in exile, and urging the Government of

the People's Republic of China "to grant the very reasonable and justified aspirations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his people every consideration," and

(10) there has been no evidence of any such consideration being granted by the Government of the People's Republic of China.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR

Ms. Eva M. Neterowicz is a researcher, writer, and public policy analyst residing in Washington, D.C.

Born in Reading, England, Ms. Neterowicz, who is of Polish descent, came to the United States at an early age, when her family settled in Chicago, Illinois. She received her early education in Chicago and attended Northwestern University (Illinois) before transferring to the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service where she received her Bachelor of Science Degree in Foreign Service, in 1976 with a concentration in International Politics. She took courses at the University of Maryland and then completed her studies at the American International University in Arizona, where she received a Master's Degree in Business Administration with a concentration in Finance and International Business.

Her background in international development was utilized in a number of positions on Capitol Hill, where she held legislative staff positions with Illinois U.S. Representatives Phil Crane, Daniel Rostenkowski, and Edward Derwinski, as well as with California U.S. Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr. She worked on international economic and trade issues for Representative Rostenkowski - a member (and presently Chairman) of the House Ways and Means Committee - and in international affairs for Representative Derwinski, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Ms. Neterowicz's expertise brought her service on the transition team for President-elect Ronald Reagan in 1980-1981, where she served as the U.S. State Department liaison for Jeane Kirkpatrick (later United Nations Ambassador) and as a foreign policy analyst for international issues for the Department of State Transition Team.

She has worked with public policy firms organizing seminars on international affairs and also served with The Hemispheric Center of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research of Washington, D.C., conducting forums and research on a variety of international issues within the scope of the Center.

In 1981, she was selected to serve as the Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for the Office of Territorial and International Affairs in the U.S. Department of the Interior. She held that

Assistant Secretary for the Office of Territorial and International Affairs in the U.S. Department of the Interior. She held that position until 1984, when she left government service for the private sector. In her position as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary she focused on key issues dealing with the Pacific Basin. Her responsibility included work with public and private groups for economic development with key Members of Congress on Pacific regional issues, and special assignments on budgetary and policy matters. Her interest in politics and international affairs has stimulated her interest in the growing influence of the People's Republic of China, including both its domestic and international politics. In that context, she developed a scholarly interest in PRC policies toward not only Chinese and non-Chinese groups, but also toward the Tibetans, and how policies affect China's overall position on the international scene. Her interest in international law, political and social development, in the evolving policies of Communist states worldwide, and her concern for human rights, led to her present study of the impact of Beijing policies on the population of PRC occupied Tibet.

