

20th ANNIVERSARY OF
10th MARCH, 1959

TIBETAN NATIONAL
UPRISING DAY

Contents

	PAGES
1. Statement of H. H. the Dalai Lama on 20th Anniversary	1
2. Messages	5
3. An Outline of Tibetan History	15
4. Chinese Occupation of Tibet	23
5. Introduction to 10th March	26
6. Chronology of Events	35
7. Eye Witness Accounts I, II, III	37
8. An Introduction to the Tibetan Government in Exile and Other Institutions	54
9. Tibetans in Exile	- <i>Leila Hadley</i> 62
10. The Right to Choose for Ourselves	- <i>His Holiness the Dalai Lama</i> 64

Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the 20th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day

TODAY, on the commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day I express my warmest greetings to every Tibetan, inside and outside Tibet, united by our common language, race, traditions and customs while having a variety of ideology, behaviour and profession.

During the past 20 years 100,000 or so Tibetan refugees (mostly in India and 16 countries in the East and West) have been earning their livelihood by agriculture, small business, handicrafts, etc., and their living standard is improving and they are becoming self-sufficient. Of special importance is the over 20,000 Tibetan youths who-provided with both the traditional and modern education, which are like the wings of a bird-are joining the mainstream of modern life. Our religion and culture considered poison by the Chinese-are not only preserved and their centres firmly established in the Tibetan settlements in India but are also spreading among peples of different social strata and races and gaining much interest and respect in the East and West. Regarding our political situation, we follow the democratic system and tread the path of freedom, not only in word but in deed. And considering that we were forced to leave our land and wander in other people's lands, the fact that we have achieved a lot of success for the benefit of both the society and the individual is worth remembering.

We must not, however, be content with what we have achieved so far, for we must still strive for greater progress. Especially since the main reason why we are in exile is the welfare of the 6 million Tibetans. Learning from our past experience - without being discouraged by our tragedy -we must persevere and carry on the struggle until the day the 6 million Tibetans are fully satisfied, and peace and freedom are fully restored to our land.

The Chinese, of course, say that we are against progress and revolution, against the Tibetan people and very oppressive, following the wrong path. It is not necessary for us to say repeatedly that these are lies, nor is there a need for us to lie. The free world knows that we have fought for change and reforms, what we have done to preserve our ancient culture and race and how we have tried to work, with

justice and impartiality, for the welfare of our people; our actions are clear like a writing on a wall. If friends, enemies or observers investigate, it will be clear as to who is telling the truth, who is following the right path; and where it is that black is changed to white within only a year or two without a single basis for trust, and where earlier statements are contradicted by later ones and statements are like the words of a mad man.

We had no wish to challenge the Chinese military might, but the Tibetan masses in desperation, from 1955 onwards and in 1959, opposed, resisted and rose up in rebellion against the Chinese and cried; “Chinese Quit Tibet! Tibet Will be Governed by Tibetans!” This was a spontaneous feeling expressed by all Tibetans against the Chinese. But the Chinese declared that it was fomented and led by external opponents who were the paper-tiger-American imperialists and the expansionist Indians, and the internal enemies who were a few reactionaries. They forcibly suppressed the Tibetan national uprising and misrepresented to the world that the Tibetan people actually supported the Chinese.

Similarly, in China, many campaigns were launched from the 1950s onwards, such as the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, Learn from Tachai, which, as is known and accepted by all today, contained faults and mistakes and did not succeed but brought heavy losses. But, *at that time* the Chinese said these campaigns were great successes. Moreover, in China many old Chinese leaders who had worked for the Revolution for many years were purged under various pretexts and names; and when actual conditions necessitated their reinstatement they were appointed again on various excuses. In a short period it seems that in Chinese politics a person is purged many times and reinstated many times and thousands of reasons are given for the most unexpected changes. But, the Chinese are an intelligent people and can no longer believe the words of their leaders. Also, in the case of nations, the U.S.S.R., who was once a trusted and close friend of China, is now regarded as her chief enemy.

For a long time there were successive heavy losses and problems in the Chinese economy, education, and so forth. However, to hide these problems, propaganda about great success was drummed up; even workers and common cadres were made to publicise statistics learnt by rote. The amount of energy spent on these could have moved mountains and churned oceans but all these efforts achieved nothing and only exhausted the people.

So now, in order to catch up with the rest of the world, to cope with realities and to modernize China, great changes in Chinese politics have taken place recently.

And, particularly, since their propaganda failed, the Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping has been repeatedly making statements like; “seeking truth from facts”, “if the masses feel some anger, we must let them express it”, “If you have an ugly face, it is no use pretending to be handsome” “we must recognize our shortcomings and mistakes” Unlike the previous Chinese leadership, there now appears to be a desire for honesty, modernization and leniency.

The present Chinese leaders should give up the past dogmatic narrow-mindedness and fear of losing face and recognize the present world situation. They should accept their mistakes, the realities, and the right of all peoples of the human race to equality and happiness. Acceptance of this should not be merely on paper; it should be put in practice. If these are accepted and strictly followed, all problems can be solved with honesty and justice.

During the commemoration of the last 10th March Anniversary, I said that Tibetans inside Tibet who desire to travel abroad should be allowed to do so and those outside Tibet should be able to visit their country and meet with people. If this freedom existed, the truth about conditions on both sides would be clear to the Tibetans. This opportunity is the right of the Tibetans. Such a policy is also practicable and reasonable.

A beginning has now been made of granting such an opportunity for the Tibetans in exile to meet their families and relatives. It is their right and so this is a welcome gesture. But, it is important that, besides the showcases, they must be permitted to see the actual conditions in Tibet, because so far the true conditions have been hidden from all foreigners who have visited Tibet. Such actions may serve the Chinese purpose a few times but will, in the end, bring only disgrace. This is clear from recent events in China. Therefore, I hope the Chinese will not resort to similar attempts when Tibetans visit Tibet in the future.

In short, to find the truth about conditions in Tibet from such visits we shall have to investigate whether all the conditions for a satisfactory meeting of the visitors and the residents exist: I hope that any Tibetan who desires to travel outside Tibet will be able to do so without any restriction, and such an opportunity may not be denied on various excuses and pretexts as done in the past.

My statements, which have been based on our experiences of the past 20 years or so might not at first mean much to the present Chinese occupation forces and some Tibetan cadres. But if they discarded bias and chauvinism, and remembered past experiences, stopped being narrow-minded and egoistic and making statements

like, “East Wind Will Prevail Over the West Wind”, and instead considered the good and the bad aspects of the actual conditions and welfare of both the East and the West, I hope and believe that this statement becomes the basis for discovering the truth and thereby bringing improvement.

Finally, I would like to make special mention at this time of our 20 years in exile the assistance given by the Government of India to the Tibetan people in rehabilitating, educating and in preserving and promoting our culture and religion. We also deeply appreciate India’s humanitarian concern and the warm relationship that exists between the two countries from centuries ago and in particular our religious and cultural relationship, which may be described as that of one, between a teacher and student. The incalculable good-will and assistance that the Tibetan people have received from the people, the Central and state Governments of India at a particularly tragic period in the history of Tibet, will never be forgotten and will be accorded an important chapter in the history of Tibet as well as the history of world Buddhism.

March 10, 1979

The Dalai Lama

MESSAGE

The struggle of the Tibetan people for their elementary civil rights against oppressors was supported far away in New York at the United Nations when I aided as chairman of the International League for Human Rights in the passage of a General Assembly resolution urging them. This was some years ago, but our League has never failed since that time in supporting every effort to publicize the subjection of Tibet and to urge for all Tibetans the restoration of their civil and political liberties.

It is heartening to note the spirit of freedom and determination to preserve their nationhood that marks the Tibetans outside their country. We have no doubt that it is reflected in all Tibetans, under the silence imposed by their masters.

You have the sympathy and hopes of this league as well as those of all champions of national identity in this era of struggle for Human Rights.

(Roger N. Baldwin)
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

**The International League for Human Rights
(In consultative status with the United Nations,
UNESCO, ILO and Council of Europe.)**

MESSAGE

The members and friends of the Tibet Society of the United Kingdom extend, on this the Twentieth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising in March 1959, their sympathy and support for the Tibetan people in their trials.

The Society look forward to the day when the millions of Tibetans now living under Chinese rule will in due course regain their independence, and with it their freedom to live their lives as they wish in plenty and the right to follow their ancient faith. They hope that in this way the path may be opened for Tibetans now in exile, led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to return to their Homeland in safety and with quiet minds, strengthened by their experience in hospitable India and elsewhere, and thus the better able to guide their people.

Meanwhile the Tibet Society of the United Kingdom will continue to do what they can to spread knowledge of Tibet's history and culture among the people of the United Kingdom, and to help relieve distress among Tibetans in exile, particularly among the children in whose hands the future of Tibet will lie.

(Sir Algernon Rumbold)
PRESIDENT

Tibet Society of the United Kingdom

MESSAGE

I am most humbled by the task which has been set before me, and, yet, at the same time, I am honoured to be asked to address the Tibetan people concerning the cause we mutually share, that being the peaceful restoration of the nation of Tibet.

Too often, it seems that there are few who care about what happens to this people or their nation, that since the horrible tragedies that have been going on there are so far away, there is no need to concern oneself with the situation. Many excuses themselves from this “Tibetan problem” saying that, even though it is saddening to know the terrible details of their plight, this once spiritual nation will just have to settle its own problem as best it can. But I say we cannot forsake fellow human beings in their hour of need. Never before has Tibet needed a friend more than now, especially when their hopes seem darkened by the continued destruction of their beautiful culture and their inability to stop the heartless destroyer.

In the most awesome responsibility of addressing this great people and nation of Tibet, I do not wish to employ words that are high-sounding and officious, but rather, I want to speak from the heart, even at the risk of not impressing the very erudite among those who will read these words of mine in the days to come. It is time to put away ceremony and pride, to put aside those fears that we might appear too blunt, too bold or too forward, and march forward with the convictions of our hearts emblazoned in our eyes, spoken on our tongues, and brought into fruition by the memories of those who died for what we now hope.

We have seen twenty years go by, and the world has shown that it may never become sufficiently concerned to amass the people needed to force the Communist Chinese to return freedom to Tibet. We are learning more and more each day that it may be more up to the Tibetans than anyone else to get the job done, however, this does not mean we must stop trying. When every man and woman realizes the value he or she has as a human being, that man, or that woman, and any group they comprise, becomes a force so strong and so powerful and they cannot be overlooked, they cannot be turned away, and they cannot be forgotten. No man has died in vain in beloved Tibet, for each time someone fell, there was someone else to remember, and those memories will fuel the fires that burn within us in the days ahead, the fires that will burn in our hearts until we sing the songs of victory in Lhasa. We are no small force for even a small thorn can cause the mighty lion to roar in pain. No one is the equivalent of a zero, for even when Mao Tse Tung

followed his belief, he showed how one man could conquer the largest nation on the face of the earth. He knew the value of one man, one dedicated man, one whose heart was fueled with the desire to see his country free from external oppression, and with that determination and conviction, he rose to the challenge before him and never turned back from his dream.

We, too, have a dream, and we have had it for many years now, but dreams only come true if we make them. If I have two bowls, and I tell you to dream in one and pour water in the other, indeed not tell you which one will fill up the fastest. Dreams do not have substance until we give it to them. The dream we have of a free Tibet, a Tibet where children speak their home language instead of that of another nation, a Tibet where religion is again practised without fear of death, a Tibet where one sees the war machines of the conquerors no more, can become a reality, and this dream must become a reality, before another twenty years has passed. Every man, woman and child must become aware of who he is, how important he is, and most of all, where he is, for he is a Tibetan, he is a human being, and he is not at home.

As the President of the American Society for the Release of Tibet, I promise my continued support for the Tibetan cause until the day that once peaceful country is again free to determine its own destiny, and every man, woman and child who looks to Tibet as his homeland is free to go home. With the presence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama there in the Potala to guide his beloved people, Tibet will be a greater nation than it ever was. It has passed through the fire of this time in history, surely a time of great sorrow for every Tibetan, and it is to emerge stronger and more pure than ever before. The future can only hold freedom for Tibet, and with each and everyone of us dedicated to that principle, it will not be much longer.

(Brian Wayne Gray)
PRESIDENT

The American Society for the Release of Tibet

MESSAGE

Over the past 20 years, the Tibetans gifted with qualities of patience, fortitude and determination have revealed to the world that Tibetan Independence can no longer be denied to them. In fact no power on earth can keep the Tibetans suppressed for long. Tibetan history is replete with victories over the Chinese menace to their country and the Chinese conquest of Tibet in 1959 that forced His Holiness the Dalai Lama and over a lakh of his compatriots out of their country will be cast off soon.

Destiny has willed that the Tibetans demonstrate their enduring qualities before the world as a peace loving yet fiercely independent people. It is also fate that has brought the Tibetans to India bringing with them the words of Lord Buddha back to the country of its origin to continue to be a source of solace and guiding force to thousands throughout the world and the young people in particular.

Tibet is geographically cut off from China and India by high mountains forming an independent nation. However, culturally and politically, Tibet has been closer to India than any of its neighbours and the ties of friendship go back to over thirty centuries. It is then difficult for an average Indian to reconcile to the fact that holy Kailash and Mansarover have fallen under the control of atheist Chinese after their invasion of Tibet. The Indian interest in the national sovereignty of Tibet is then natural.

The Tibetan people are privileged to be lead by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Head of the State, who is dynamic and progressive. A leader who is confident that Tibet will be free and Independent once again. It is then for India and other conscientious peoples of the world to support and assist Tibet regain its rightful independence. Events are marching fast on the political scene of the world. It is clear that continued subjugation of Tibet is withholding progress for the Tibetan people. Liberation of Tibet alone will ensure peace and progress in Asia and the world in general.

(Lakshminarayan Sinha)
CHAIRMAN

The Tibet Liberation Committee

MESSAGE

The Tibetan people's struggle for their freedom is fair and just and, therefore, attracts the support of all freedom loving people in the world.

I hope that your struggle for the upholding of the human rights of the Tibetan people will soon be crowned with success.

(J. B. Kripalani)

MESSAGE

Tibet is one of the ancient countries of Asia with centuries of historical and cultural record and tradition for about 1500 years. The Tibetan language is repository of ancient knowledge translated in it from Sanskrit texts. A lot of original work has also been done and written in this ancient language.

It is a matter of pain and regret for all lovers of freedom and peace that this ancient country and its peaceful people lost their freedom when most other countries of Asia were regaining their freedom after long periods of colonial rule.

The Tibetan Uprising of 1959 was a gallant and heroic effort of its people under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to regain their freedom.

There is no such thing as a settled fact in history. Situation can develop in which Tibet may regain its freedom again. It is the duty of all freedom loving people and countries to help the Tibetan people to achieve that end.

(Balraj Madhok)
PRESIDENT

JANTA NATIONAL FRONT

MESSAGE

On the 20th Anniversary of the Tibetan People's revolt against oppression, salute the people of Tibet for their bravery and courage to carry on their fight for liberty.

(Piloo Mody)

M.P. (LOK SABHA)

MESSAGE

I am in full agreement with the following words of India's first President Mr. Rajendra Prasad.

The Government of India made a great mistake by accepting the Chinese occupation of Tibet. Through Chinese invasion, India is now suffering the consequences of that sinful mistake. India should repent by making Tibet free.

I wish it from the bottom of my heart that the above words of Rajendra Babu be fulfilled, and Tibet as an independent nation may occupy its seat on the stage of the world.

(Raj Narain)
(translated from Hindi)

M.P. (LOK SABHA)

MESSAGE

What can one say to the Tibetan people, who combine great gifts with a sad recent history? The world owes them an apology for its indifference towards their sorrow and suffering. The obvious truth is that the Tibetan people have been patient and brave and have shown endurance. To hear this truth cannot satisfy the aspirations of the Tibetan people. Yet I am proud to express my feeling of brotherhood with them. Either their just cause will be successful- or the world will pay a heavy price.

(Rajmohan Gandhi)

EDITOR
HIMMAT WEEKLY

AN OUTLINE of Tibetan History

TIBET, the Roof of the World, is a vast, fertile land, rich in minerals and the variety of its flora and fauna. Covering an area of over 2.3 million sq. km., surrounded by high snow mountain barriers and arid plains, Tibet is stated to command the highest strategic position in Asia. Tibet is also the source of numerous great rivers and a land of lofty mountains, broad uplands, sheltered valleys and bright sunshine.

THE TIBETAN PEOPLE are a distinct race with its own culture, religion, language and habits, and number around 6 million today.

A brief account of this nation-having its origin in the beginning of man's history, growing into a great military power, and forsaking the force of arms to practice the teachings of the Buddha: with tragic consequences after the brutal onslaught of the ruthless alien Chinese forces in this century is given in the following passages.

Five hundred years before the Buddha came into this world, that is, circa 1063 B.C., a semi-legendary figure known as Lord Shenrab Miwo reformed the primitive animism of the *Shen* race and founded the Tibetan Bon religion.

According to reliable Bonpo sources there were eighteen Shangshung Kings who ruled Tibet before King Nyatri Tsenpo, and Triwor Sergyi Jhagruchen was the First Shangshung King.

SHANGSHUNG, before its decline, was the name of an empire which comprised of the whole of Tibet. The empire known as *Shangshung Go-phug-bar-sum* consisted of Kham and Amdo forming the Go or Door, U and Tsang forming the *Bar* or Middle, and Guge and Tod-Nagri Korsum forming the Phug or Interior.

As the Shangshung empire declined, a kingdom known as *Bod* (present name of Tibet) came into existence at Yarlung and Chonggyas valleys at the time of King Nyatri Tsenpo, who started the heroic age of the *Chosgyal* (Religious Kings). *Bod* grew until the whole of Tibet was reunited under King Srongtsen Gampo, when the last Shangshung King Ligmigya was killed.

The official Royal Tibetan Year of the modern Tibetan calendar is dated from the reign of King Nyatri Tsenpo in 127 B.C. This lineage of Tibetan monarchy continued for well over a thousand years, till in 842 King Tri Wudum Tsen, more commonly

known as Lang Darma, was assassinated. Most illustrious of the above kings are King Srongt-sen Gampo, Trisong Deutsen and Ngadhak Tri Ralpa-chen and they are called the Three Great Kings.

During the reign of King Srongtsen Gampo, who was born in 620 A.D., Tibet became a great military power and her armies marched across Central Asia. He also introduced Buddhism from India as the State religion and Tibetan scholars were sent to India for study. He first took a Tibetan princess from the Shang-shung King as his wife and then obtained a Nepalese Consort. After invading the Chinese Empire he also obtained a Chinese princess as one of his wives. The two latter wives have been given prominence in the religious history of Tibet because of their services to Buddhism.

During the reign of King Trisong Deutsen (755-97) the Tibetan armies invaded China and in 763 A.D. seized both the Chinese capital and the Chinese Emperor. This memorable victory has been preserved for posterity in the *Zhol Doring* (stone pillar) in Lhasa and reads in part; “King Trisong Deutsen, being a profound man, the breadth of his counsel was extensive, and whatever he did for the kingdom was completely successful. He conquered and held under his sway many districts and fortresses of China. The Chinese Emperor, Hehu Ki Wang, and his ministers were terrified. They offered a perpetual yearly tribute of 50,000 rolls of silk and China was obliged to pay this tribute.”

It was during his time that the first monastery in Tibet, Samye, was founded by Guru Padmasambhava, who also established the supremacy of Buddhism and converted the indigenous deities into guardians of the Dharma. King Trisong Deutsen also expelled the Chinese monk Hoshang, banished forever from Tibet the heretical Chinese Chan School of Buddhism and adopted the correct and superior Indian system.

During the reign of King Ngadhak Tri Ralpachen, 817-936 A.D., the Tibetan armies won many victories and in 821 a Peace Treaty with China was concluded. Inscription of the text of the treaty exists in three places; one outside the Chinese Emperor’s palace gate in Ch’ang-an, another before the main gate of Jokhang Cathedral in Lhasa and the third on the Tibet-China boundary at Mount Gugu Meru. Eminent Tibetan scholars Kawa Paltsek and Chogru Lui Gyaltsen working with Indian scholars invited to Tibet prepared the first Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon, called the *Mahavyapatti*.

In 838 A.D. King Ralpachen’s brother, Wudum Tsen, ascended the throne. He tried to reinstate the Bon religion and persecuted the Buddhists. After his

assassination by a monk the kingdom was divided between his two sons. With warring princes, lords and generals contending for power the mighty Tibetan kingdom disintegrated into many small principedoms and a dark period fell over Tibet during A.D. 842-1247.

In 1073 A.D. Konchog Gyalpo founded the Sakya Monastery. His son and successor, Sakyapa Kunga Nyingpo formulated the tantric traditions of the great scholars Marpa and Drogme and began the Sakya sect. The Sakya lamas grew in power and from 1254 to 1350 A.D. Tibet was ruled by a succession of twenty Sakya lamas. The Mongols, who invaded many countries of Europe and Asia, also invaded Tibet and reached upto Phampo, north of Lhasa. However, Prince Godan, the ruling Khan, was converted to Buddhism by the Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen, popularly known as Sakya Pandita, and the invading force was withdrawn. The next Khan, Kublai, was also converted to Buddhism by Sakya Pandita's nephew and successor Phagpa. In return, Kublai Khan gave recognition of full sovereignty over "the three provinces of Tibet: U-Tsang, Dotoe and Domey" to Sakya Phagpa.

The influence of the Sakya priest-rulers gradually declined after the death of Kublai Khan in 1295. In 1350 the province of U in Central Tibet fell into the hands of the Governor of Nedong, Jangchub Gyaltsen, a monk of the Phamo Drupa branch of Kagyudpa School, and for the next 86 years, eleven lamas of Phamo Drupa lineage ruled Tibet. But, after the death of Drakpa Gyaltsen, the fifth Phamo Drupa ruler, in 1434, the power passed into the hands of the Rinpung family, which was related to Drakpa Gyaltsen by marriage. From 1436 to 1566 the heads of Rinpung family held the power.

Meanwhile, Tsongkhapa Lobsang Dragpa, one of the greatest scholars of Tibet, was born in 1357. He founded Gadhen, the first Gelugpa monastery, in 1409 and began the Gelugpa lineage.

During the first decade of the 16th century, Tseten Dorje, a servant of the Rinpung family, broke away from the ruling family and with the help of some local tribes and Mongols living in the Kokonor region managed to gain control of Shigatse and surrounding regions of the Tsang province. From 1566 to 1642 Tseten Dorje and his two successors, with the title of Depa Tsangpa, wielded power in Tibet.

Sonam Gyatso a scholar of great spiritual and temporal wisdom was born in 1543. He became the spiritual teacher of the Phamo Drupa ruler Drakpa Jungnay. He was the abbot of Drepung Monastery and the most eminent lama of that time.

He provided extensive reliefs to the flood victims of the Kyichu in 1562, founded Kham Lithang monastery in 1580 : and Kumbum Monastery in 1582. He also successfully mediated between the various warring factions in Tibet. He converted Altan Khan to Buddhism and the latter conferred on him the title, the Dalai Lama or “Ocean of Wisdom”, in 1578. As Sonam Gyatso was third in his line, he became the third Dalai Lama

A close spiritual relationship developed between Tibet and Mongolia. The Gelugpa sect grew stronger and gradually eclipsed the waning Sakya authority.

In 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, assumed both the spiritual and temporal authority of Tibet. He established the present system of Tibetan Government, known as the “Tibetan Government Gahden Phodrang, Victorious Everywhere”. After becoming the ruler of all Tibet, he set forth to China to demand the Chinese recognition of his sovereignty. The Ming Emperor received the Dalai Lama as an independent sovereign and as an equal. It is recorded that he went out of his capital to meet the Dalai Lama and that he had an inclined pathway built over the city wall so that the Dalai Lama could pass into Peking without going through a gate.

The Ming Emperor not only accepted the Dalai Lama as an independent sovereign but also as a Divinity on earth. In return the Dalai Lama used his influence to bring the warlike Mongols into acknowledging the Emperor’s sway. Henceforth, there started a Priest-Patron relationship which brought a new element into the relations of Tibet, China and Mongolia. Another important event was the statement of the Fifth Dalai Lama that the line of the first Panchen Lama, Choekyi Gyaltsen, who was one of his tutors, would continue.

In 1683 the Sixth Dalai Lama Tseyang Gyatso was born. He was an excellent and prolific writer of lyrical and romantic poems but he neglected his duties. After he was deposed he died in Lithang in 1706 while on his way to exile. The Dzungarian Mongols invaded Tibet and occupied Lhasa. Tibet was weak but fighting the Mongolian occupation forces. China, which had grown into an imperialist power, offered help. In 1720 Manchu troops entered Tibet, escorting the Seventh Dalai Lama from Kumbum. The Dzungarian Mongols were defeated. But when the Chinese Emperor K’ang Hsi’s troops left in 1723 they left behind a Manchu Resident. This was the beginning of Chinese influence in Tibet. K’ang Hsi also put in his own nominee as the Tibetan Regent against Tibetan wish. A few years later the Chinese nominee was killed and the then Chinese Emperor, Yung Cheng, sent a military force which was the first time the Chinese invaded Tibet.

The occupation Chinese force in 1727 tried to bring changes in the administration of the Tibetan Government and establish Chinese hegemony. The Chinese Emperor also tried to buy the allegiance of the shortsighted Tibetan princes, chieftains and lamas by gratuitously giving many of them seals of office. But the Tibetans regarded the seals as a compliment and did not acknowledge them as a mark of vassalage. However, the Chinese Residents or Ambans began to meddle in Tibetan state matters.

The Tibetans were repelled by the extent of Chinese intrigues when the Chinese Resident murdered the Tibetan Regent. The Tibetans retaliated by massacring the Chinese at Lhasa. Again the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1749 and they tried to increase the power of the Chinese Resident.

In 1786 the Gurkhas invaded Tibet at the invitation of one of the two contenders for the prelacy of Tashil-humpo. The Eighth Dalai Lama, then 26 years old, appealed to the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien Lung for temporary military assistance, as Tibet under the priest rulers would maintain only a small Army. The Chinese army which entered Tibet in 1792 became more harmful to the Tibetans and they again tried to increase the power of the Chinese Resident. Further, Ch'ien Lung sent a golden urn from Peking and declared that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and other important lamas should be determined by putting the names of the candidates in it and extracting one at random in the presence of the Chinese Resident! This illogical imperialist imposition was not actually adhered to by the Tibetans and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, whose own choice had not even been referred to the Chinese, publicly abolished this form.

During this period of Chinese imperialist hegemony, Tibet was invaded several times and the Chinese Resident at Lhasa engaged in nefarious intrigues and meddled in Tibetan state affairs. But Tibet never lost her sovereignty and did not even acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. As far as government was concerned, Tibet and Tibetans recognized only the Central Tibetan Government headed at this period by the Dalai Lama.

The essential sovereignty of Tibet was further shown in her dealings with Nepal in 1856 when a treaty was made between these two countries without the intervention of China. In the internal affairs of Tibet the sovereignty of the Central Government of Tibet at Lhasa was most clearly illustrated in the internal war which broke out during the middle of the nineteenth century between the paramount chieftain of Nyarong on the one side and the King of Derge and the Horpa princes on the other. The Dalai Lama sent an army, crushed the Nyarong chief, whose invasion of his neighbours

was the cause of the trouble, and set up a Tibetan Governor in his place, charging him with the general supervision of the affairs of Derge and the Horpa principalities.

In 1876, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso, at the age of 19, took charge of the duties of the State from Regent Chokyi Gyaltzen Kundeling. He was an outstanding personality and helped Tibet to reassert her rightful sovereignty in international affairs.

At this period the British had close and profitable ties with China. The Chinese had persuaded the British that they exercised “suzerainty” over Tibet. Therefore, on September 13, 1876, the Sino-British Chefoo Convention was signed which granted Britain the “right” of sending a mission of exploration into Tibet. The mission was abandoned when the Tibetans refused to allow them in. Two more similar agreements - the Peking Convention of July 24, 1886, and the Calcutta Convention of March 17, 1890-were also repudiated in toto by Tibetans.

While the Tibetan Government refused to have anything to do with the British who were working over their head with the Chinese, the Dalai Lama in 1900 and in 1901 sent Missions to the Emperor of Russia. There followed an interchange of letters, and presents between the Dalai Lama and the Russian Emperor. As the Russian power in Asia was growing the British Raj felt threatened. Tibet was invaded by Britain’s Young-husband Expedition which reached Lhasa on August 3, 1904, and a British-Tibetan Treaty was signed on September 7, 1904. During the British invasion the Tibetans did not listen at all to the Chinese Resident, neither did the Chinese Government protest against the British invasion of Tibet.

During the British invasion the Dalai Lama went to Mongolia. At this time the Manchu empire made one last attempt to renew its hegemony over Tibet -the infamous Chao Erhfeng invasion of Tibet took place. The Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa in 1909 and he protested against the Chinese aggression. During the Monlam Festival of 1910, 2000 Chinese soldiers under General Chung Ying entered Lhasa and committed atrocities and wanton destruction. The Dalai Lama appointed a Regent and left for India. The Chinese troops tried to capture him but they were repulsed by the Tibetans.

In India the Dalai Lama and his Ministers appealed to the British Government to help Tibet. Meanwhile the Chinese occupation forces tried to subvert the Tibetan Government and divide Tibet into Chinese provinces.

But, when the news of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 reached Lhasa the Chinese troops revolted against their own officers and then attacked the Tibetans. The Tibetans attacked them and beleaguered them. The new ruler of China, President

Yuan Shih-k'ai tried to send military reinforcement while trying to placate Tibetans. But his offer of rank to the Dalai Lama was refused by the Tibetans as it was not within China's power to decide the sovereignty of Tibet. Finally, the beleaguered Chinese troops in Tibet were evacuated to China as the result of negotiations with Tibetans through the intermediary of a Nepalese Minister.

In January 1913 a bilateral Treaty was signed between Tibet and Mongolia at Urga. In that treaty both countries declared themselves free from Manchu hegemony and separate from China.

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, having returned from India in January 1913, issued a formal declaration of the complete independence of Tibet, dated the eighth day of the first month of the Water-Ox year (March 1st, 1913). The document also made clear; "Now, the Chinese intention of colonizing Tibet under the patron-priest relationship has faded like a rainbow in the sky."

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama started international relations, introduced modern postal and telegraph services and tried to modernize Tibet. On December 17, 1933, he passed away.

The following year a Chinese mission arrived in Lhasa to offer condolence. But in fact, they tried to settle the Sino-Tibetan border. After the chief delegate left, another Chinese delegate remained to continue discussions. The Chinese delegate was permitted to remain in Lhasa on the same footing as the Nepalese and Indian representatives. He was expelled in 1949.

In September 1949, Communist China, without any provocation, invaded eastern Tibet. On November 11, 1950, the Tibetan Government protested to the U.N.O. against the Chinese aggression. Although El Salvador raised the question, the Steering Committee of the General Assembly, at the misleading assurance of the Indian delegate, moved to postpone the issue.

On November 17, 1950, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama assumed the full powers of the Head of State.

On May 23, 1951, a Tibetan delegation, which had gone to Peking to hold talks on the invasion, was forced to sign, under duress, the infamous 17-point "Agreement on measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" without the prior knowledge or approval of the Dalai Lama. But even under this notorious unequal treaty, the Chinese guaranteed internal autonomy of the Tibetan Government, freedom of religion and the preservation of the status of the Dalai Lama. The

Chinese then used this document to carry out the steps to forcibly make Tibet a colony of China in the face of strong Tibetan resistance, and slowly violated every article of this unequal treaty.

On September 9, 1951, thousands of Chinese troops marched into Lhasa. The forcible occupation of Tibet was accompanied by racial, cultural and religious atrocities and ruthless Sinicisation of Tibet.

On 10th March 1959, the nation-wide Tibetan resistance movement culminated in the Lhasa Tibetan National Uprising. Thousands of Tibetans, men, women and children, were killed. On March 17, 1959, the Dalai Lama, the Head of the Tibetan Government, left Lhasa to seek political asylum in India. This year saw the unprecedented and tragic exodus of Tibetan refugees. But the Tibetan national liberation struggle against Chinese colonialism and oppression continued.

A separate race, a unique culture which existed thousands of years before the beginning of the Christian era, and a nation ruled by Tibetan kings many centuries before the existence of the Roman Empire, now faces ruthless persecution, exploitation and extermination at the hands of the Chinese colonialists.

But it is the hope of all Tibetans, and of the friends of Tibet, that the nation of Tibet will one day rise to take its rightful place among the nations of the world.

Chinese Occupation of Tibet

Tibet consists of the three provinces of Kham, Amdo and U-Tsang. But today Tibet lies dismembered with parts of Amdo incorporated into the Chinghai province, parts of Kham into the Szechuan province and the remaining being termed Tibet Autonomous Region. And the Ngari Korsum area of U-Tsang, termed as Ali Administrative Division, is slowly being incorporated into Sinkiang. This dismemberment of Tibet is the result of Chinese imperialism and colonial annexation in 1949.

But Tibet faces not only Chinese colonialism but the Chinese chauvinist policy of Sinicisation and the Chinese are now trying to call Tibet “Xizang”, which is a Chinese term meaning “West Bank and turning Tibetan names like Lhasa and Shigatse into Lasa and Rikaze.

Since the Chinese imposition of their totalitarian regime in Tibet and the sealing up of Tibet into a mass prison since 1959 it has been difficult to obtain information about occupied Tibet. However, the outline of the nature of the Chinese occupation rule is clear and some details have been obtained which throws a much needed light on conditions in Tibet today.

Over 99% of Tibet is now under the Chinese commune system. In each commune there is a Chinese Communist Party branch and the party members hold the decision-making power. The various “people’s” councils, which give an impression of people’s representation, however share with the party organizations the responsibility for government on various levels and they are subordinate politically to the Chinese Communist Party leadership. The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party directs the entire work of the party branches in Tibet. The Tibetans are not permitted a Tibetan Communist Party of their own.

Yet, the Chinese propagandists argue that Tibetans have been “liberated”, that they are : “the masters of their household”, and that Tibet is an “autonomous region” Their argument to prove their contention runs thus: Tibetans in the Chinese Communist Party branches in Tibet constitute more than 60% of the party members in Tibet and more than 80% of the ordinary cadres at the district and commune level are Tibetans.” But this argument that in Tibet, where there was not a single Chinese before the 1949 Chinese invasion, the Tibetans are now in the majority is not very comforting.

All forms of colonial rule show that what is important is to know who holds the power. In Tibet, the national policies made by the Chinese Communist Party bosses in Peking also become the policies of the authorities in Tibet.

The highest decision-making body in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is called the *Bod Rangkyongjong Tang U-Gyunley Uyon Lhenkhang* (Standing Committee of the TAR Chinese Communist Party Committee. The 16-member committee consists of 10 Chinese and 6 Tibetans: Jen Jung, Tien Pao, Yang Tung-hsen, Kao Hsi-lan, Hsi Che-wu, Pasang, Ragde, Chen Chao, Sung Ze-yuan, Rigzin Wangyal, Yang Tung-hsing, Liu Wichao, Chang Chung-wen, Chang Chao-wang, Dorje Tsering and Jenkhang. General Jen Jung is the Chinese viceroy figure and as the colonial regime in Tibet is propped up by the Chinese soldiers there the PLA Commander Hsi Chu-wu is one of the most influential members.

The comparison of the present Chinese colonial regime in Tibet to the British Raj in India is not unfounded as we will discover if we take a hard look at the conditions in Tibet today.

Like other colonial regimes, there is in Tibet a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled. Recent Tibetan refugees state that during over 20 years of Chinese colonial rule they have rarely come across the members of the above standing committee. The separation of the rulers from contact with the Tibetan masses is achieved by having Tibetan underlings to carry out their decisions at the mass level. At the county level, the official policies are implemented by the members of the *Bod Rangkyongjong Sarjey Lhenkhang* (TAR Revolutionary Committee) which is dominated by the same Chinese top dogs. The ordinary members, wherein the Tibetans form the majority, are called “Turins” (sort of county commissars) and lack real authority.

There are branches of the Chinese People’s political Consultative Conference in Tibet. However, this body in Tibet is also dominated by the same Chinese top dogs. Theoretically, this body provides a forum for “minority nationalities” to express their views but in practice it is an organ of China’s “united front” and dissenting voices are not heard.

The Chinese claim that members of the above bodies are “elected”. In reality, although a farcical election is carried out, the candidates are chosen beforehand and the “election” results are known before the election: Secondly, the same persons have been holding the highest posts in the various bodies, “elections” notwithstanding.

Although the present Peking rulers now blame the harsh policies in Tibet to the Gang of Four, General Jen Jung who has been ruling in Tibet since 1962 is still the Chinese viceroy figure in Tibet.

Indeed, today the highest positions in Tibet are held by the Chinese who also dominate on all the vital administrative and service organizations and Tibetans are made subservient to the Chinese even in their own land.

Like all colonialists, China has also been sending Chinese settlers into Tibet in a large scale under innocent-sounding name like “Aid Tibet Programme” “Development of Rural Areas, Supplying Industrial Personnel”, etc., and the number of Chinese colonists have increased under Hua Kuofeng rule. The usurpation of Tibetan land has created racial antagonism and Tibetans are calling the Chinese settlers “parasites” As with other colonies, China has been sending Chinese settlers into Tibet on a large scale under various excuses like “Aid Tibet” programs, “Development of Rural Areas”, supplying industrial personnels, etc., and the number has reportedly been increased since Hua Kuo feng became the chairman. This has created racial antagonism and Tibetans are reported to regard them as “parasites”.

Numerous books have recorded the social effect of the Chinese occupation of Tibet, which sought to force upon the Tibetans a completely new way of life. Prof. Edward Luttwak, who visited Tibet in 1976, states in his famous article, *Seeing China Plain*. “As in Tibet, Chinese rule in the region is in every respect a colonial phenomenon, with an astonishing conformity to type except in one critical respect. Unlike the British in India or Africa, or even the French, the Chinese obviously can see no virtue in the survival of the local cultures, and still less in the survival of local religions. Chinese colonialism is therefore oppressive not merely politically but also culturally.

“In Tibet we had seen the gentle and always exceedingly polite Chinese undergo a transformation into classic district commissioner types. Their gesture became visibly more expansive, their language with our local hosts quite clearly abrupt. Our escorts did not bother to hide their sniggers as we were served Tibetan yak butter tea, and they acted out for us little wordless playlets of ridicule as we toured the altars of the one restored Tantric temple in Lhasa. I asked a Chinese official resident in Tibet since 1960 how to say ‘please and thank you’ in Tibetan. He did not know. I asked him to translate ‘move’, ‘go’ and ‘faster’. He knew. Prof. Luttwak’s report of Chinese chauvinism is not an isolated one. Other reporters have also noted this, and even Chinese Communist publications have admitted the existence of

“Han chauvinism”. The result of what a *Washington Post* report on Tibet termed as “the Gulf Between the Rulers and the Ruled” is racial discrimination, and Tibetan refugees have consistently reported the existence of racial tension between the Chinese and Tibetans.

In 1974, for the first time in Jang Commune in Sangri hsien in Lhoka area (Shannan A. D., southern Tibet) the grain production target was achieved and per Khel yield was 427 gyamas. In 1976 per Khel production reached 530 gyamas and with one leap exceeded the Machu level: 1,00,000 gyamas of grain were stored and 60,000 yuans saved jointly.

Lhasa Radio, 19.10.77

During the last winter and spring over four lakh labour force was sent to farm and pasture fields. After working arduously for one winter and spring they extended irrigated farmland in Tibet Autonomous Region to over 1,900,000 Khels (in Tibet land measurement is the area used to sow one Khel of seeds-14 kgs-which is about 1/15th of an hectare) and pasture fields to over 1,400,000 Khels; and 1,00,000 Khel terraced farm land and over 7,00,000 Khels farm were built into high yielding farms.

Lhasa Radio 24.10.77

With surging wave in mind, about 35,000 labourers were sent from our Chongye hsien (Shannan A.D.) during last winter and this spring they, constructed bigger water conservancy project for 250 Khels of terraced field, build 150 irrigation channels of 48,000 metres in length. During the autumn they planted 130,000 saplings and over 2,100 different fruit plants. In pastoral production they fed over 2,02,400 lamba and over 300 lambs were born.

Lhasa Radio, 27.10.77

The farm research centre of Shigatse area produced an average of 1464 gyamas (1 gyama= $\frac{1}{2}$ kgs) and 8 sangs from a 1 Khel land and thus set the new highest record in the history of Tibet Autonomous Region’s agricultural production. The agricultural experimental farm of Gyaltse produced 1611 gyamas and 4 sangs of winter wheat from 1 Khel land last year.

Lhasa Radio, 17:10.77

By raising Mao’s banner high, the broader cadres and workers of T.A.R. geological front waged a people’s war of exposing and criticizing and the Gang of Four and as a result the revolution and production on the front is better than the previous year. At present most of the production units under T.A.R. Geological

*Department had either completed its yearly task before schedule or overfulfilled it. By the end of September above 80% of the cadres and workers of the geological front had completed the reading of **Mao's Selected Works, Vol. V.***

Lhasa Radio 27.10.77

Over 320,000 people of Tibet Autonomous Region joined the struggle to improve the land, develop hilly area and for four years they had levelled terraced fields worth 380 Khels of land and hilly fields of 380 Khels land. Further, together with the broader poor and lower middle and common masses a hydro-electric power station with capacity of 110 KN was built. They also zealously built a new broadcasting centre with 14 rooms and increased the cooperative surges.

Lhasa Radio, 3.12.77

And so on, thousands of Tibetans are reported to be “zealously” labouring to achieve “socialist progress” Although the output has clearly increased yet Tibetan refugees continue to report food shortages. What then happens to the foodgrain surplus?

Under the commune system in Tibet a person's income depends on his workpoints given for his work. Whatever the output the annual ration of foodgrain is 12 Khels. A little additional grain may be bought if he has sufficient workpoints left and all the remaining grain is appropriated by the Chinese under various pretexts like taxes, grain for war preparation and famine prevention, etc. Above all a person has to buy other necessities and goods with either his foodgrain or value of work-points-that is, a person's income completely dependent on the policies and goodwill of the Chinese authorities. Therefore, we turn again to Chinese broadcasts to find out what happens to the grain surplus in Tibet;

This year the Dodar Commune in Tinkyé hsien (Shi-gatse A.D.) reaped rich crops, increasing its total annual production by 10%. These days the cadres and commune masses are jubilantly selling the levied and surplus grains to the State.

Lhasa Radio, 18.10.77

Phenpo farm of the production development unit of Tibet Military Command offered from 1970 to 1976 a net profit of 4,390,000 yuans to the State. The farm supplied 5,50,000 gyamas of grain and 800,000 gyamas of meat to the State during the six-year period. Moreover, it supplied high quality winter seeds of 14,000,000 gyamas to the different regions of Tibet. It also supplied a large amount of fertilizers

and became an advanced unit in studying from Tachai. Last year the farm's total grain production had increased by 25% over that of 1975 and its average per Khel production reached the target in its first attempt. Last year the farm offered 116 million yuans profit to the State and transported commercial grain worth 14 million gyamas to other regions. This year the total production of agricultural land increased by 2% over that of last year and the average per Khel production reached over 470 gyamas.

Lhasa Radio, 30.10.77

In the report, "Economies of socialism", **Tibetan Review**, May 1978, recent Tibetan escapee Tenzin Dorje, cites the 1976 figures of Production Brigade III of Gangkar commune of Dhingri, western Tibet; they reveal that if the total harvest were distributed a person would get over 30 Khels *but* what a person actually got after making all the required deductions was only 11.25 Khels !

Therefore, even in the field of agriculture, of which the Chinese are said to be "very proud", we find an enormous amount of exploitation of the labour of the Tibetan people. The foodgrain thus appropriated is exported to China, used for PLA upkeep or stored for other uses.

Any study of the Chinese occupation of Tibet must take into account the enormous mineral wealth of Tibet. In this light the Chinese have termed Tibet a "treasure house". Secret Chinese official documents obtained by Khampa guerrillas during a raid in 1962 contain over-all information on the mineral resources in Tibet and urged urgent exploitation of "the enormous wealth of precious minerals". There are over forty rich minerals, including gold, silver, uranium, molybdenum, iron, titanium and oil in Tibet. Although the output of the mines which are mostly worked by forced Tibetan labour is not available. Tibetan escapees have persistently spoken of huge loads of precious metals being carted to China. Refugees have also spoken of hundreds of Tibetans being forced to work in the chrome mines in Lake Nagtsang and Lake Pongong areas, in the Jangthang and the Tungchia Chrome mines.

The output of the above mines can only be guessed at, but *Lhasa Radio* broadcasts for 1977 gives the following information regarding coal: Dhongkar coal mine under Shigatse A.D., opened in 1971, produces 95 tons of coal per day and Wata Coal Mine in Changtu A. D. produced 5,644 tons of raw coal during January -Nove-mber 1977. Phempo, Tumenkola, Shentsajong & Pakshod coals mines are reported to be doing well. Besides, 20 million tons of coal deposits are near Lhasa

and several in Chamdo. A Report states that the output of coal in T. A. R. during December 1977 was 87440 tonnes. The wages paid to the quarry workers are low and the working conditions harsh; the profit go to the State.

Many small scale industries have been established since 1959. It has been reported that there are 252 small and medium scale industries in TAR alone, of which 29 are in the Lhasa municipality. Since Tibet has the required raw materials in plenty, these industries are reported to be doing well.

Last year the total industrial productions value rose by 47.1% in a few years. In the case of coal, electricity and minor industrial production, half of the target was completed by the mid of this year. By the end of the September, Shigatse electricity station and vehicle repair and assembly workshop of the transport department, leather factory, printing press, edible oil crushing factory, etc., completed and exceeded the production target ahead of schedule and set up a new record.

Lhasa Radio, 26.10.77

The industrial and mine enterprises of Tibet Autonomous Region under the TAR Industrial Department increased total output by 38.5% in September last year.

Lhasa Radio, 16.10.77

This year the total industrial production value from January to September increased by 11-4%. By the end of September the productions of grains, petroleum products, tractors winnowing machine, timber, etc., was successfully completed and it exceeded the State's annual target three months ahead of schedule.

Lhasa Radio, 16.10.77

Good news come constantly from the industrial and transport front of Nagchu area. The situation is such that the people ought to be happy. A large number of industrial and mine enterprises completed their production task for the entire year before the target date.

-Lhasa Radio, 21.10.77

The many small & medium industries in Tibet are reported to be doing very well but again, Tibetan refugees do not report any corresponding increase in the welfare of the Tibetans. Two factors seem responsible for this: the State appropriates the gains, and Chinese immigrants occupy most of the vital posts.

Under Chairman Mao's glorious directive, Grasp Revolution and Promote Production, the food processing plant of Lhasa city overcame the obstruction and destructions of the Gang of Four. Since 1972 they have saved a total sum of over 328,5000 yuans by increasing their production and profit every year. By doing so they made great contribution to the State.

Lhasa Radio, 22.10.77

The cadres of the edible oil factory of Nyitil hsien, Lhasa A.D., not only exceeded the production target 75 days ahead of the schedule but made a profit to the tune of over 13,600 yuans, and offered it to the State.

Lhasa Radio, 22.10.77

The following relevant information is also from official Chinese sources; In 1977 the Tinghjih county of Shigatse A. D. collected 721, 220 yuans as industrial and commercial tax and 71,830 yuans as agricultural tax. Some counties of the Shannan A. D. which have failed to accomplish the targets of industries and commercial taxes during the year have been directed to tighten up measures to step up collections so that the taxes for 1977 are fully realized before the end of the year.

A Nepalese trader who came to Dharmsala recently from Tibet gave this report: "No worker is fully entitled to utilize his nominal wages; he has to deposit a part of it in the bank. But it is difficult to withdraw a 100 yuans from the bank."

Finally, we look at the traditional form of colonial exploitation present in Tibet: the economic exploitation through great disparity in the prices given for raw materials in the colonised country and the prices at which finished goods are sold by the "mother" country. The following information pertaining to 1977 are from Chinese sources or reliable Tibetan refugee reports :

"In order to ensure the accomplishment of the 1977 sale and the procurement plan the various distribution outlets were given instructions in the last week of October to take urgent positive measures expeditiously to sell all non-rationed goods to the masses. As an incentive the staff and workers would receive one tin of pork each to achieve their marketing targets. In this connection the State Council is learnt to have issued a directive to release immediately for sale sewing machines and bicycles. Accordingly, over 3,200 bicycles and 850 sewing machines are to be sent to Tibet, and more consumer goods for Tibet from mainland cities like Peking, Shanghai and Chengtu have been directed to expedite the fulfilment of their targets and the transit transport stations like Hungliuyuan, Meishan and Huangyan, the

three major highways, were urged to complete the trans-shipment of commercial goods urgently. Simultaneously, the procurement machinery in Tibet down to the lowest level has been geared into action for the procurement of various items such as pork mutton, hides, sheepskins, etc.”

Chinese propaganda states that Tibet Autonomous Region’ has 4,900 primary schools, over 38 middle schools and 22 intermediate vocational schools and 4 colleges. *Radio Lhasa* also broadcast that Lhasa city has 8 middle schools, 3 medium technical schools and over 600 primary schools. The total number of students attending the schools were claimed to exceed 200,000 and 85% of children of school going age attend schools; and primary schools run by the State employ 2,200 teachers. There are two noteworthy aspects of the present education system in Tibet: in the institutions for higher studies Chinese students predominate numerically while Chinese language is a must for those who want to study above primary school level; and the importance given to Tibetan language decreases at every stage of higher studies, The Central educational authorities announced in the second week of January 1978 that there would be no quotas or preferential treatment for “minority Nationalities”, whose Chinese selection will depend on their knowledge of language. Therefore, even in the field of education a colonial Chinese imposition of their culture at the cost of Tibetan language and culture can be seen.

Finally let us consider the economic conditions in Tibet. It is in the field of agriculture that the Chinese can most obviously claim to have brought progress. Although the Tibetans counter that before the Chinese take over there were no instances of starvation and that many Tibetans have died of starvation since 1959, it is clear that great progress has been achieved in agriculture in Tibet. In the report presented by Jen Jung to the Third People’s Congress, which concluded in Lhasa on 2 December 1977, he said that in 1977 Tibet’s total production value of agricultural and pastoral work increased by 65.5% over that of 1968, and that Tibet had been “self-sufficient” in foodgrain since 1974.

There are about 2000 communes in Tibet Autonomous Region’ alone the number of communes in Kham and Amdo regions are not known. Since the two regions of Tibet are generally more fertile we may assume that their agricultural development is better. But no detailed over-all view is provided by the Chinese propaganda organs, and we will have to make do with what relevant information they choose to hand out:

“Nagchu A.D. purchased agricultural machinery worth 540,000 *yuans* during 1977. A sum 1,50,000 *yuans* has been allotted to Shannan A.D. Commerce Bureau as the 1978 procurement fund to purchase materials for social collectives. The allotment for the first quarter of 1978 is 40,000 *yuans*. In the third week of October 1977 Shigatse public security bureau bought five vehicles from the mainland for 77,000 *yuans* (about Rs 355,730). Tibet plans to buy 20,00,000 phials of Terramycin from China for 1978. Tibet Finance Bureau has allotted 710,000 *yuans* to the Changtu A.D. for social collective purchase in the first quarter of 1978. The funds are meant to be used for the purchase of medicines, medical instruments, stationary, heating fuel, petrol, motor oil, special consumer goods, goods for labour protection and for scientific research and teaching.”

“Under directives from the TAR trade bureau in Lhasa the Changtu and Nagchu areas took urgent steps in the second week of October 1978 to procure from the various distribution outlets animal byproducts like cattle hair, tails, tanned lamb skin, goat skin, wild cat skin, musk and wool for export through the foreign trade channels, in order to fulfil the target. Tibet will be supplying 1000 tons of wool to the Shanghai textile mill in the first quarter of 1978. During 1977 Tibet supplied 2,125 tons of sheep wool to China. Tibet will be supplying 20,000 pieces of hides to China in the first quarter of 1978.”

“The Chinese authorities pay 2 *yuans* per kilogram of wool to the local herdsmen as the procurement price. The price of wool in Tibet as fixed by the Chinese authorities is :

Grade I wool = 2.74 *yuans* (Rs 13,02) per Kg

Grade II wool = 2.58 *yuans* per Kg

Grade III wool = 2.46 *yuans* per kg. The Chinese authorities pay to Tibetans: 0.40 yuan for 1 gyama of butter, Tibetans buying from state stores have to pay to the Chinese: 1.50 *yuans* for 1 gyama of butter.” Mrs Dhondub Choedon in her book, *Life in the Red Flag People’s Cammune*, also mentions this form of exploitation by the Chinese: “when we sell a sheep-skin to the Chinese they give 1 yuan. When you buy a sleeveless jacket from them, which requires about 11 sheepskins, it costs 45 *yuans*”

Thus, a look at the existing conditions indicates clearly that politically, socially and economically the Chinese rule in Tibet conforms to colonial patterns. Therefore, like the British Raj, the Chinese Raj in Tibet must be condemned and the Tibetan people given their right to self-determination.

20th Anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising and 30th Year of Chinese Occupation of Tibet

This year is of special significance to the Tibetans, both within Tibet and outside in exile, as it marks the 20th Anniversary of the March 10th 1959, Tibetan National Uprising against alien Chinese domination and the 30th year of the forcible Chinese occupation of Tibet.

In September 1949, Chinese invasion forces occupied eastern Tibet in the name of “Liberation” and began their goal of colonizing the whole of Tibet. In spite of the Chinese invaders efforts at mass deception and lavish promises of goodwill the people of Tibet did not trust the Chinese and the people’s resistance occurred from the beginning.

In May 1951 the Tibetan delegation which had gone to China to peacefully resolve the Chinese aggression was forced to sign the infamous 17-point “Agreement on Measures for the peaceful Liberation of Tibet”. The illegal document was never ratified by the Tibetan Government. But the Tibetan Government, which had for many centuries pursued a peaceful path, tried to find a just and peaceful settlement with the Chinese occupation forces. However, the Chinese invaders broke every promise they made, even the article of their so-called Agreement.

As the Chinese tightened their grip on Tibet with total ruthlessness and began their colonisation and Sinicisation of Tibet the Tibetan resistance spread throughout the country. The Tibetan national resistance against the Chinese colonialists culminated in the 10th March 1959, Tibetan National Uprising at Lhasa. Thousands of Tibetans, men, women and children, were brutally massacred by the Chinese soldiers. His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the head of the Tibetan Government, was forced to leave Tibet and seek political asylum in India. The 1959 Tibetan exodus that followed saw thousands of Tibetans flee their homes to become refugees. But the Tibetan freedom struggle against Chinese imperialism and colonialism continued inside and outside Tibet.

It is now 20 years since the Tibetan exodus and on this occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising, we Tibetans remember and pay homage to the sacred memory of the Tibetan patriots. In their memory and for

the sacred Cause of Tibet we pledge a new to continue our struggle of national liberation and independence of Tibet.

Tibet has been an independent sovereign nation since time immemorial. The Tibetans and the Chinese are separated by a vast gulf of historical, cultural, linguistic and racial differences. The Cause of Tibet is the just cause of six million Tibetans to restore their human rights and free their ancestral land from foreign Chinese domination and the Tibetan National Liberation struggle is anti-colonial and anti- imperialistic.

At this time when the issue of human rights has gripped the freedom-loving peoples of the world the Chinese propaganda machinery is trying to project the idea that there is a new leniency in Tibet and that the Chinese rulers have abandoned the harsh colonial policies of the past. They have released 34 prominent Tibetan prisoners in a country where the 6 million Tibetan people have been virtually sealed off for over 20 years. The puppet Tibetan collaborators and the Chinese authorities have issued renewed invitations for Tibetan refugees to return and and they have also complied with the request of a private group of 15 Tibetans to visit Tibet.

These acts of the Chinese colonialists and Tibetan quislings may indeed indicate that there is a new policy on Tibet but so far there is no indication that the new leniency policy is genuine and long-lasting. Tibetan refugees vividly recall the grand promises and assurances of good faith when the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1949 and then proceeded to flagrantly break all their promises. Secondly, whatever leniency there may be now, nothing has changed the colonial nature of the Chinese rule in Tibet and nothing has diminished the Tibetan right to be free and be rid of the alien Chinese occupation forces in Tibet.

Therefore, bearing in mind the fact that the Chinese have made no genuine efforts for achieving a just and lasting solution to the Tibetan issue, Remembering the just cause of Tibet, Holding sacred the goal of restoring liberty to the six million people of Tibet, and Condemning all forms of colonialism and imperialism.

We Tibetans commemorate this 20th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising.

THE TIBETAN NATIONAL UPRISING

(A Chronology of the Main Events)

March 5 : The Dalai Lama leaves for Norbu Linka after the conclusion of the annual Monlam Prayer Festival.

March 7: The Chinese Political Commissar, T'an Kuan-san, presses for a definite date for a previous invitation to the Dalai Lama to attend a theatrical performance at the Chinese Military Headquarters, The Dalai Lama agrees to March 10.

March 9: The Chinese impose conditions for the Dalai Lama's attendance to their invitation the next day: no Tibetan soldiers or police are to be posted along the way, the Dalai Lama is to come without the customary retinue of officials or escort of the Kusung Regiment. By evening word spreads to Lhasa causing mounting anxiety for the safety of the Dalai Lama as the people suspect a Chinese plot to kidnap him.

March 10: Crowds begin streaming into the Norbu Linka since dawn and by late morning 10 to 30 thousand Tibetans surround the palace. A Tibetan collaborator is stoned to death. Repeated attempts to pacify the crowd fail until the people are assured that the Dalai Lama will not accept the Chinese invitation. Posting volunteers as guards the crowd stages a demonstration march through the city shouting slogans.

March 11: A public meeting attended by all sections of the people is held at the Government Printing Press at Shol, below the Potala. The meeting unanimously press demands for a formal declaration of Tibetan independence and the return of Chinese soldiers from Tibet.

March 12-16 : Public meetings and demonstrations are held in almost continuous session. Monks from neighbouring monasteries and villagers from the surrounding countryside join in the protest. The Chinese keep off the streets but reports of massive preparations and arrivals of reinforcements come from all sides.

March 17: At 4.00 p.m. two mortar shells fired from a nearby Chinese camp land in Norbu Linka. Amidst rumours of imminent large-scale Chinese attack the Cabinet persuades the Dalai Lama to leave Lhasa. At dusk the Dalai Lama slips out of the palace in disguise.

March 19 : The women of Lhasa organize a mammoth rally at the foot of Potala and stage mass demonstrations in the city. A delegation of women requests the Indian and Nepalese Consul-Generals to witness their demands to the Chinese.

March 20 : At 2.00 a.m. the Chinese began bombarding Norbu Linka.

March 21-22 : Valiant and desperate fighting by unorganized and ill-equipped freedom fighters against Chinese artillery, machine guns and tanks.

March 23: By the fourth day of fighting the last pockets of resistance in Lhasa are overcome. Meanwhile in Delhi Mr. Nehru expresses concern about the situation in Tibet and the safety of the Dalai Lama in a statement in the Indian Parliament.

March 28: China breaks long silence on the Tibetan situation by announcing the suppression of the uprising and dissolution of the Tibetan Government. The Panchen Lama is installed as Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Cabinet formally proclaim a Provisional Government at Lhuntse Dong, about 3 days' journey from the Indian border.

March 31: The Dalai Lama reaches the Indian check-post at Chuthangmo in the evening.

April 7 : New China News Agency acknowledges “armed rebels” as still active in Tibet and reports that the Panchen Lama appealed to the Chinese authorities to “thoroughly suppress the reactionary elements” still active. Meanwhile Tibetan resistance fighters continue to hold large areas in Tsang, Dhakpo and Lhoka where they proclaim a Free Tibetan Government.

April 8 : The Dalai Lama reaches Tezpur where representatives of the world press have gathered for the “story of the year”. In a press statement the Dalai lama briady reviews the events in Lhasa leading to his escape and declares that China had consistently failed to honour the 17-Point Agreement.

April 9 : India’s Defence Minister, Mr. V.K. Menon, declares that Indians would defend their country “if anybody should be unkind and trangress our territory.”

April 13 : Radio Moscow broadcasts that the situation in Tibet was “on the way to normal” but “not all rebel bands have been disarmed as yet”.

April 16 : News reach India of strong Chinese attacks against Nangkartse Dzong, 50 miles east of Gyaltse, held by Tibetan resistance fighters, in the first week of April.

April 24 : Mr. Nehru confers with the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie for four hours of “full and helpful talk”. Speaking to newsmen after the meeting the Prime Minister declares that the talks were aimed at exploring possibilities for a solution of the present difficult situation in Tibet.

April 27 : Mr. Nehru reacts sharply in refuting allegations made by “responsible persons” in Peking that India was used as a base by Tibetan rebels.

May 20 : Mass exodus of Tibetans begin with the arrival of the batch of refugees, including women and children, at Bomdila.

June 20 : The Dalai Lama holds his first full Press Conference since his escape. He appeals for a just and peaceful settlement and the restoration of Tibet’s status prior to 1950. The reply to a question as to whether Tibetans still recognize him and his ministers in India as the Government of Tibet, the Dalai Lama replies : “Wherever I am, accompanied by my Government, the Tibetan people recognize us as the Government of Tibet.”

Eye Witness Account I

Langdun Gyatso, a carpenter born and bred in Lhasa, was one of the several thousand Tibetans who rushed to Norbu Linka fearing a Chinese plot to kidnap the Dalai Lama. After the fighting he was questioned and his house searched several times but was able to escape arrest largely through the help of a Tibetan cadre and several Chinese neighbours. His trade also helped since the Chinese were anxious to repair damages to the historical buildings as soon as possible. He was drafted with other Tibetan carpenters and masons for restoring the Tsuglha Khang, Norbu Linka, Potala and Ramoche which took over eight months. In 1961 he was able to escape with his family.

I left for Norbu Linka early in the morning on March 10. The road was thronged with people all travelling in the same direction. A large crowd had already assembled in the front of the main gate when I arrived.

A Tibetan official came and addressed the gathering and assured the people that the Dalai Lama was in no danger and that everyone should return home. But no one moved.

A little later there were excited shouts further away from one section of the crowd. A junior Tibetan official with the rank of Kenchung named Phagpala Sonam Gyatso who was well known as a prominent Chinese collaborator was coming on a motor cycle when someone recognized him. There were shouts of “Chinese spy! Chinese spy!” and people began to surround him. Phag-pala panicked, pulled out a pistol and fired two shots. This enraged the crowd which swarmed upon him, hitting him with stones, sticks and knives until he lay dead.

Again a Tibetan official appeared and spoke through a loudspeaker which had by then been installed, and appealed to the people to refrain from violence and return home quietly. He said that the Kashag and the Tibetan Government would press the demands of the people to the Chinese and that violence and hasty actions would only make matters worse. Instead of pacifying the people the appeal only incensed the crowd further. Warnings were shouted at the officials who included a Cabinet member, not to sell the Dalai Lama for Chinese silver.

Another incident occurred when Sandrupotang (Sampo), a member of the Kashag, arrived in a Chinese jeep with Chinese escorts. The crowd began pelting stones and one struck the minister as he stepped out of the vehicle. He was hastily pulled back and the jeep turned and drove away.

Demonstration

In the meantime the people appointed a committee of about 60 deputies to act as their spokesmen for their demands for a formal declaration of independence and the repudiation of the 17-Point Agreement. Volunteers were also posted to guard Norbu Linka and the crowd then marched towards Lhasa, shouting slogans proclaiming Tibetan independence and calling the Chinese to return to China. I joined the demonstration.

The Chinese were keeping off the streets and even the usual guards in front of public buildings were no longer there. But from roof-tops of buildings occupied by them, the Chinese were watching and many were taking photographs. A number of public notice boards erected by the Chinese at busy roadsides were smashed. Otherwise there were no incidents. When I returned home that evening a message had come from the Do-Shing Chesa (Association of Masons, Carpenters and Builders) asking all members to attend an emergency meeting the next day.

There were over 500 of us at the meeting and all swore to defend the sacred person of His Holiness the Dalai Lama with our lives. Speaker after speaker dwelt on the facts of Tibetan independence and the perfidy of the Chinese in their claims of a “peaceful liberation of Tibet” and the gross violation of the 17-Point Agreement. It was declared that the time had now come when the people of Tibet should rise as one man in defence of their Protector and nation.

Preparations for the Struggle

We formed 5 units of 50 persons each, all between 20-35 years with 3 leaders for each group. The rest, composed of older men and young apprentices, were to form auxiliary units. And if the need arose, even our womenfolk were to join in by hurling stones from roofs as the women did years ago when the Chinese were driven out of Lhasa after the fall of the Manchu in China. In fact some of the older members who had taken part in the fighting in their youths referred to those days in their speech. Everyone felt that fighting would break out along similar lines and that by a united and desperate action the Chinese might be driven away.

Apart from a handful of pistols we had no firearms. It was therefore decided to ask the Government for them. We appointed three *chemos* (master craftsmen) who had official appointments for Government constructions, and two members each from the carpenters and masons. They were to report on our resolutions and appeal for arms.

During the meeting, 5 of our members who had attended a public meeting at the Government Printing House at Shol as representatives of our Association returned. They said that the meeting called for the restoration of Tibet’s independence and the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tibet. They also signed their names in full support of the resolutions on our behalf.

The next few days we were busy organizing ourselves. The Association distributed some money from its general fund for the purchase of food and for offering special prayers. We broke down our units into smaller groups of 10’s each with a leader. And we waited for arms.

Appeals Rejected

Owing to the confusion and turmoil at Norbu Linka our deputation could not meet the officials in charge of the Government arsenal for a couple of days. They eventually saw an official and reported that the members of the Do-Shing Chesa

were determined to fight, that they had organized themselves, and were badly in need of weapons. They requested for 500 rifles-one for each man with sufficient ammunitions, and if possible, some mortors and machine guns with a few soldiers to give training in their use. They also informed the official that we were ready to carry out any orders or assignments and that not a single man would hesitate to give up his life in the struggle.

However the official replied that the Government was making all attempts to avoid bloodshed and to reach a peaceful settlement with the Chinese. He said that there was little danger as yet of a flare up so long as the situation remained under control. If conditions deteriorated arms would be issued but in the meantime nothing could be done. He also said that the other associations such as those of painters, tailors and leather-workers, had been asked to reinforce the detachment of Lhasa City Police to protect the Tsuglha Khang (the Central Cathedral) and that we should join them.

Our delegation requested that two of the groups of 50 men that had been formed should be stationed to guard Norbu Linka and if that was not possible, to allow at least a token force of 25 selected men to be posted. They also renewed their request for arms, asking for at least a few rifles. But nothing came of these appeals. The official said that there were sufficient soldiers, monks and volunteers from the people to guard Norbu Linka and that the carpenters and masons should join the other artisans at Tsuglha Khang if trouble broke out.

When we received this news we were dismayed and there was much grumbling. But despite our disappointments we were determined to go into battle if fighting broke out.

Amongst 500 masons and carpenters one man had 2 rifles. He and a companion were sent to Norbu Linka. The rest of us had about 25 pistols of various makes, including my revolver. The only thing we could do was to arm ourselves for hand combat and so we prepared knives, swords and an assortment of fierce, but as it turned out later, perfectly useless weapons.

Lhasa in Ferment

All the while Lhasa was in ferment. Demonstrations and processions were being held every day. It seemed as if Tibet was indeed free for no Chinese could be seen in the streets. Looking back the inevitable result was obvious. But in our excitement we had neither doubt nor fear. Like one man we knew only one thing. We wanted to be free.

On the 19th the women of Lhasa held a meeting at Shol followed by a procession through the streets of the city. My wife and 12 year old daughter went. It was said that at least one female member was present from each household and in many cases all the womenfolk in the family attended the rally. No men were allowed at the meeting but we were allowed to accompany the procession that followed.

While the women marched in formation, carrying prayer banners, a party of men went ahead pasting posters proclaiming our independence. As on previous occasions there were no incidents although demonstrators defied the Chinese soldiers on roof-tops to shoot. But the Chinese were content with shooting with their cameras.

Chinese begin Bombarding

We were all exhausted that night and went to bed early. Suddenly I woke up and heard a thundering sound. Cannons! I looked at my watch which was set to Peking time and saw that it was 1.00 a.m. I quickly woke my wife and children and we began shifting to the ground floor for safety. We occupied a large room opening into the streets which my wife managed as a tea-room. I improvised a rough shelter by placing a large and thick wooden board from the kitchen against the thickest part of the wall as a precaution against falling debris in case the house got hit. Outside the sound of bombardment continued. It was coming from the direction of Drib and Norbu Linka. Every now and then the night was momentarily turned into day by flares.

Around sunrise there was a heavy knocking on my door. It was a messenger from the Association calling all members to rally at the Tsuglha Khang immediately. I rushed out through the streets and was soon there. A small crowd had already gathered and more arrived each minute. There were a number of soldiers to whom we asked for arms. To our disappointment they had only one rifle each and a couple of brenguns and not much ammunitions. Those like myself with pistols joined the soldiers in firing a shot every now and then at buildings occupied by the Chinese.

The officer commanding the soldiers said that there was a cannon at the Police Headquarters and asked for volunteers to fetch it. 15 were selected, including myself, and we managed to transport the cannon and what ammunitions we could find to the Tsuglha Khang.

Although there were sporadic firing on all sides none of us got hit while dragging the cannon.

Incense and Cheers

The soldiers trained the cannon- a small field gun-at the office of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and fired the first shot. This was greeted on all sides by loud cheers. People in neighbouring houses began to offer incense and columns of white smoke rose in columns from many roofs. After a few shots the gun was turned to a nearer target, Yuthog House, which served as an important Chinese office. We could see puffs of smoke as the shells landed but there were no damages as far as we could see. By now the Chinese were firing heavily at the cannon and it had to be dragged away to another corner of the Tsuglha Khang. From there the soldiers began firing it in the direction of the Chinese Military Headquarters.

Although there were more than 1,000 of us at the Tsuglha Khang we could not do much without firearms. Knives and swords were useless since no Chinese could be seen. The nearest Chinese were behind protective ramparts guarded with machine guns and automatic rifles. Those who attempted to charge at them were mowed down in no time. In some places Tibetans had set up sandbag shelters on roofs and were effectively returning the fire at Chinese positions. Machine guns were set up at Lhalu's house behind Tenkye Ling and at the Jamyang Kyil House west of the Tsuglha Khang. These guns were effectively pinning down the Chinese at Yuthog House and other places in the vicinity.

That night we tried to set Yuthog House on fire with tins of kerosene oil. But the Chinese spotted us and opened machine gun fire on us.

The next day I left the Tsuglha Khang and managed to reach home. Some of our neighbours had taken shelter in our ground floor room. As the firing increased on both sides of the house, others joined in, including five Chinese families who were also our neighbours. At first I would not allow them to enter since we were already crowded. But they began pleading and my wife and the other women joined in. So I allowed them in. There were almost 50 of us in the room. Fortunately we had enough food since we kept a tea-room.

Desperate Fighting

Meanwhile the fighting continued. A shell landed the middle of the court of the next building, killing an old man and two mules. Outside, men, women and even children were shouting, urging others to come out and launch human waves at Chinese positions. Many rushed, armed with knives, meat choppers, stones and even staves. But they were simply mowed down by machine guns.

By now armoured cars began appearing in the streets. It was said that the cars could be set on fire by tightly closed bottles of spirit against them. Many rushed at the vehicles to get near throwing range but they were shot down or blasted to bits. Others tried to immobilize the cars by firing at the wheels. On the third day Chinese tanks arrived from Nagchuka. The armoured cars and tanks soon put an end to the pockets at the resistance in North Lhasa. Jamyang Kyil House was reduced to surrender. Apart from North Lhasa severe fighting took place at Norbu Linka, Chakpori, Potala and Ramoche

Loudspeakers Announce Chinese Victory

Since the noon of the first day of fighting the Chinese began to broadcast warnings over powerful loudspeakers saying that unless the Tibetans surrendered, Potala, Tsuglha Khang and other important historic landmarks would be levelled down by artillery fire. They said that only the repeated plea of Ngapo had so far prevented these places from being turned into rubbles. At one time a voice, said to be that of Ngapo was heard. Throughout the fighting the loudspeakers were almost continuously barking calls for surrender.

At 6.00 a.m. on the third day of fighting (March 22) the loudspeakers proclaimed that Norbu Linka, Potala and Chakpori were taken, that the Dalai Lama was safe in custody at the Military Headquarters and that further resistance was useless. That day for the first time the Chinese flag was flying on the top of the Potala.

The firing was now only sporadic and sounded far away. The neighbours who had taken shelter with us returned to their quarters. Loudspeakers continued to announce other places that had fallen into Chinese hands. On roofs and from windows people were holding *khatas* (white scarves) tied to sticks as a token of surrender. Others were standing in front of their doors with raised hands holding *khatas*. The streets were littered with corpses, some of them heaped in piles. Already street dogs were tearing bits and pieces from the bodies. For the first time since fighting broke out Chinese soldiers began to be seen in the streets. They were rounding up all those who surrendered. A few women were rushing frantically from corpse to corpse in search of their menfolk.

Eye Witness Account II

*Dorji Tashi and Rapgay, two Khampa traders from Lhasa who arrived in Darjeeling via Nepal in the middle of May were among the first refugees who were able to give an eye-witness account of the fighting at Lhasa. The following account appeared in **The Statesman**, May 10, 1969.*

Recounting the main events at Lhasa and about their participation in the Norbu Linka's defence, Dorji Tashi and Rapgay said that on March 10 they had raced through the streets to the palace on hearing that the Dalai Lama had been asked to attend a function at the Chinese Military Headquarters unattended. As they approached the Norbu Linka they saw thousands of people going in the same direction. The crowd was so thick they could hardly move. They saw men and women armed with swords, daggers, knives and even long staves.

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

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

Norbu Linka Shelled

Early on the morning of March 20, harsh clutter of machine-guns could be heard by the people, who, now numbering more than 10,000, had completely surrounded the Norbu Linka and were themselves surrounded by the Chinese forces who

had erected pill-boxes at strategic points and completely encircled the crowds by deploying armoured cars and trucks. The crowd inside the Norbu Linka had put up a protective barrier of sandbags.

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

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

Desperate Situation

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

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

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

The water rose-chest high at Rama Gang. There was also a swift and treacherous current. Dorji could not find any of his original 20 companions. There were,

however, many others. They decided to ford the river by forming a human link by holding hands with each other. As they forded the turbulent Kyichu many people was carried away by the strong current, others were mortally wounded from Chinese shells. Bloated corpses, human and animal, floated past them. The swift current tore away all his clothes, and Dorji reached the other side naked. Many were in a similar plight, some were badly wounded. They began to run and hobble towards the west, shivering in the cold, inhospitable night. They reached their first village well after midnight, and awakened the frightened people, who gave them clothes and their first meal-tea and tsampa.

They moved off as soon as they could and reached Che La, a rugged mountain pass 37 miles west of Lhasa, on the following morning. There Dorji became reunited with Rapgay but the rest of the 20 were missing. There was no dearth of refugees and a stream of them crossed the Che La (Sanday Pass) at about 9 a.m. They reached the Brahmaputra over which a single boat plied, carrying 40 men and horses on a single trip. Here they had a long wait, so heavy was the congestion. After crossing the Brahmaputra they saw a single plane flying very high. Up till then they had encountered no Chinese forces. The villagers en route, who seemed very much afraid, offered them food and shelter.

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

Eye Witness Account III

Ngawang Thekchog was born in Gyarong, Kham, and came to Lhasa at the age of 17 to join Sera Monastery. He was preparing for his Geshe degree when the Lhasa Uprising took place. He escaped in April 1962 and was able to continue his studies in India. He received his degree and is now the Khenpo (Abbot) of his College, Sera Mey, at Bylakuppe, Mysore.

Shortly after the Chinese began bombarding Lhasa I escaped with some companions to Penpo where we remained in hiding for about a month. We heard rumours of wholesale massacre and destruction and mass arrests. Although we were only a couple of days by foot from Lhasa none of us dared to leave our hiding to see what was actually happening there.

Then one day a villager brought us some leaflets which he said had been dropped by a plane. Not being able to read he brought them to us. The leaflets promised leniency to all those who were duped, misled forced by reactionaries and imperialists to revolt” and urged them to surrender themselves voluntarily to the Chinese, handing over all their weapons. Those in hiding were told to return—the laymen to their homes and the monks to their monasteries. The leaflets said that only the “reactionary upper class and bandits” were suppressed. Full religious freedom was guaranteed and monasteries would function as before.

More leaflets arrived as well as runners sent by the Chinese into the villages. Although we were suspicious of these promises we decided to risk going back to the monastery. Besides we could not remain in hiding indefinitely. It never occurred to us then that we could escape from Tibet.

Return to Sera

A number of monks had already returned when we reached Sera. More came within the next few days. For ten days nothing happened. Then suddenly one day at dawn I heard the shatter of machine guns and found the monastery surrounded by Chinese soldiers who were firing machine guns in the air at various points.

All the monks were ordered out of their quarters and searched. The Chinese also carefully searched the monastery for arms. Then we were led in single file into the Tsogchen or the Great Assembly Hall where full congregations of the monastery is held. There were between 2,500 to 3,000 monks about half the strength of Sera.

The others were presumably killed, or still in hiding or else had managed to escape from Tibet.

For the next seven months the Assembly Hall served as our prison. Armed guards were posted day and night. Except when meetings were held outside no one was allowed to go out. The Chinese placed some buckets and the cauldrons of the monastery kitchen in the hall which served as containers for night soil. Leading monks -learned scholars, monastic and college officials and incarnate lamas -were assigned to clean the refuse each day.

During these seven months we had to attend a series of “re-education” and “struggle against” meetings. The purpose of both was to make us denounce the Tibetan Government, Tibetan Society, the monastic structure, our friends, in fact anything or anybody named by the Chinese. Similarly we had to support and approve whatever we were told to support or approve. At these meetings the Chinese condemned the monasteries as a system of exploitation. They said that a handful of monks from rich and upper class families cruelly oppressed the majority who came from poor and peasant families. The poorer monks were therefore urged to “struggle against” and “eliminate” the lamps, monastery and college office holders and monks from rich and upper class families. Once these were eliminated the Chinese declared that the rest of the monks would be freed from all exploitation and oppression and they would be able to enjoy the monastery revenues in full.

Each one was asked to give a detailed account of the “miseries and sufferings” encountered under the Tibetan Government and to present an account of the evils of the old society. In the beginning all of us replied that we had suffered no misery or oppression under the previous regime and consequently had no complaints to make. This reply did not satisfy the Chinese and they began to employ various tactics to wring confessions from the monks.

A handful of monks from poor families were selected and given detailed instructions on what they should say that they had nothing to eat and nothing to wear, were forced to labour day after day for the rich and upper class monks, and were constantly beaten and scolded. Those who confessed were feasted, given presents of food and clothing before the assembly and given proper accommodations. At the same time pressure was exerted on the others in the form of threats and cajoles. We were called one by one and warned that if we failed to make a satisfactory statement we would be considered as reactionaries and would be severely dealt with. On the other hand if we cooperated the Central Government and the Party would treat us with leniency.

“Re-education” and Purge

While these “re-education” sessions were taking place “struggle meetings” were also being held. The victims, not all of whom were incarnate lamas, rich monks or those from upper class families, were hauled before the assembly. A handful of monks and other individuals who were either bribed or intimidated by the Chinese made various accusations against them and beat them. After the meetings the victims, their robes tattered, covered with blood and spittle and often barely conscious, were bound and taken away in trucks. Almost everyday at least 10 persons were taken away in this manner.

Gradually almost all the monks were forced to make false statements of their sufferings under the old regime.

I myself declared that I had to live on the equivalent of about one Indian rupee a day before the Uprising. Although this was an exaggeration the figure was realistic since one could easily live on that amount in Tibet—at least until the horde of Chinese came to Tibet in 1951 after which prices rapidly shot up many times within a few years.

However the Chinese told me that the amount I had stated was too high and insisted that the equivalent of a quarter of a rupee *per month* was more appropriate. Since this was so obviously absurd and knowing the consequence if I refused, I was forced to agree and signed the statement.

Conscripted Labour

In December I was sent with 300 other monks to Nachen Prang, four or five miles outside Lhasa, where an electric power station was being constructed. There was a vast crowd of Tibetan labourers and I later learnt that the Chinese had conscripted over 8,000 persons. A whistle was blown before dawn when the stars were still bright. We had to trudge from one to three miles from our camp to the work site which had to be reached by dawn. It was mid-winter and bitterly cold. The only way to keep ourselves from being frozen was to exert all our strength while working. I had to drag carts, removing stones, earth and rubble. The cold was so intense that the stones which we had to pile on the cart clung to the skin of our hands. Our hands were soon covered with festering sores. After sunrise the cold became more bearable.

At midday we were given only 5 to 10 minutes break for lunch—a bowl of thin *tsamba* gruel. By then our bones were aching with exhaustion. But we had to continue to drag our weary bodies till dusk. After another meal of thin *tsamba* gruel we had to attend night meetings which sometimes lasted till midnight.

The subjects ranged from political indoctrinations to exhortations to work harder. One thing the Chinese said at one of these meetings struck me because it indicated the nature of Chinese rule in Tibet. What they said was that under their system there was neither room for shame nor for pity. The masses were simply the tools with which to build up the nation. Just as soldiers were to defend the country and should welcome death in fighting the enemy the masses were labourers who should welcome hard work and struggle against all difficulties no matter what obstacles might have to be faced or how impossible the task may appear.

Slow Starvation

While we were being driven like animals day after day we had to subsist on a near starvation ration, Food became an obsession which tortured me day and night. In the beginning of our imprisonment at Sera we received sufficient *tsamba* for two meals a day. After four months the scale was cut so that the monthly ration lasted for only 20 days. Three months later even this was reduced. In order to make the ration last for the month we had to subsist on a meal of thin gruel once at midday and once in the evening.

When we declared that the ration was insufficient and appealed for an increase the Chinese became highly indignant and declared that we were greedy and un-grateful. Was it not a fact that before the Central Government abolished the reactionary Tibetan Government all of us were starving ? We ourselves had confessed and signed statements. Now the Party and the Central Government were providing sufficient food to all the people. Instead of being grateful we were grumbling. If the present ration was insufficient we were obviously very greedy and eating too much. We must learn to curb our greed and learn to make the ration stretch. Thus the Chinese admonished us. We were also warned that it was illegal to complain about our ration since this was the same throughout China.

In March, after a little over three months of dragging carts at Nachen Prang, I was sent back to Sera with some other monks. We were told that previously monks did no work but only lived on other people. Now we must grow our own food. A stretch of the sand bank between Lhasa and Sera was allotted to us and we were told to farm this land. When we protested that there was neither soil nor water and

that even weeds did not grow in the sand banks we were told to make soil and fetch water and that without labour even the richest earth would yield nothing.

We were made to fetch soil from places two to three miles to cover the plot. We dug deep wells and carried the water to the fields in buckets. Each day we had to collect an allotted quota of animal and human refuse for manure. In all about 1,800 khels (about 120 Hectares) of the sand bank were reclaimed. And the crop was extremely good. Unfortunately we received nothing for our labour since the Chinese collected the entire harvest.

Renewed Purge

In the beginning of 1960, a year after the Uprising, the Chinese intensified their purge “to root out class enemies, foreign spies and reactionaries”. Numerous arrests were made, usually at meetings when the victims were called to step forward and various accusations such as “plotting against the State”, “exploiting the People” or “wanting to restore the old social system” One day 40 persons from my group were arrested. In the first year after the uprising over 400 persons personally known to me, mostly from the monastery, were arrested. In the second year 300 persons known to me were arrested. I was questioned as a suspect but narrowly escaped arrest. For some time the Chinese placed me under strict surveillance.

The reason for the renewed purges was a wave of rumours that swept over Lhasa. It was said that His Holiness the Dalai Lama had established a Government-in-exile in India, that the United Nations had discussed the Tibetan case, and that as result Tibet would soon regain her independence.

Of those arrested some people said that they were taken to China, others that they were sent to labour camps in remote parts of the country, while yet others declared that they were shot. Whatever might have been their fate I saw none of those arrested ever again.

Escape

In the third year after the Uprising (1961) I was still living at Sera and tilling the land. Food became even more scarce. It was rumoured that there was famine in China and that food from Tibet was being sent there. Shortly after Losar (Tibetan New Year) the Chinese told the people that “agents of imperialists and Tibetan

reactionaries” were spreading false and evil rumours that food was being taken out of Tibet because there was famine in China. Although there was some scarcity in certain parts of China there was no famine. But these words did not convince the Tibetans. The people became more convinced of famine in China because even the Chinese admitted that there was scarcity.

Since the beginning of the third year I resolved to escape or die in the attempt. My plan was to cross the Ghamba-la into Tsang province and then slip into Bhutan by hiding in the forests and mountains. After saving a little *tsamba* from the meagre ration I escaped one night. Hiding during the day and avoiding all settlements I managed to reach Tsang. But the mountains were snow-blocked and there was no possibility of crossing them. So I decided to follow the main road, pretending to be a local peasant.

I reached Nangkartse and there met a farmer and we began talking. Eventually I confided to him that I was planning to escape and asked him for directions. He called a friend and the two of them tried to dissuade me from escaping saying that world opinion was against Chinese rule in Tibet and that His Holiness the Dalai Lama would soon return and that Tibet would be free. They had also heard of the United Nations discussion on Tibet and were fully convinced that it was only a matter of months before Tibet regained her independence. However, I persisted and told them that the Chinese knew that I had escaped and so could not go back. They therefore advised me to go to Phari from where I could slip across into Bhutan within a night’s journey.

Following their instructions I reached Phari and that night I managed to cross into Bhutan. It was 12 days since I left Lhasa and three years since the Uprising.

An Introduction to the Tibetan Government in Exile and Other Institutions

The Kashag (cabinet) of the Tibetan Govt-in exile is the highest executive body and its members, the Kalons (Ministers) are appointed directly by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. There are at present 6 Kalons and a Deputy Kalon.

The Kalons individually head a Department of the Govt. -in-exile and collectively make policy decisions and supervise the works of these departments and affiliated offices in India and other countries.

THE MAIN DEPARTMENTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. *The Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs* was re-established soon after His Holiness the Dalai Lama came to India in 1959. It is presently headed by Kalon Thupten Nyinjee, who concurrently holds the post of Director (Minister) of the Council for Tibetan Education as well. The Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs is responsible for the preservation and promotion in exile of the culture and tradition of Tibet. The Council also maintains close ties with numerous Tibetan Buddhist centres established all over the world.

The Council has, with the assistance of the Indian Government, Buddhist organisations and the Tibetan people themselves, established over 150 monasteries in India, Nepal, Bhutan, America, Switzerland and England. There are about 6100 monks and 150 nuns in exile. The most of the monasteries in exile, besides the traditional religious teachings, english and mathematics are being taught to the younger monks. The Council maintains two institutions of special importance: the Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi and the Buddhist School of Dialectics at Dharamsala. The Institute at Sarnath has at present 245 students, majority of whom are monks, and the Buddhist School of Dialectics has 70 young monks, all high school or University graduates. These two institutions specialize in Tibetan culture and Buddhist philosophy, while subjects like English, Sanskrit, history, political science, etc are also taught. The graduate from these institutions are sent as teachers to various Tibetan schools and Buddhist centres.

The Council represents the Tibetan Government at international conferences and Buddhist organizations.

2. *The Council for Home Affairs* was established in 1960 and is at present headed by Kalon Wangdue Dorjee. The Home Affairs is responsible for the rehabilitation and welfare of all Tibetans in exile. It administers the Tibetan settlements, handicraft centres, road construction camps and Tibetan in area yet to be resettled.

In India there are 11 major agricultural settlements, about 20 agro-industrial and 10 handicraft centres, with a total population of about 45,900 people. The land settlements were established on land lease from the Government of India while the handicraft and other smaller settlements were assisted by international relief organizations and the Indian Government.

In Nepal, there are 15,000 Tibetans resettled in ten different agricultural and handicraft settlements. These were aided by the Nepal Red Cross Society, Royal Nepal Government and international agencies for refugees. In Bhutan, there are 6 Tibetan agricultural settlements with some 4,000 Tibetans resettled in them. The Royal Bhutan Government provided the land while the Government of India and some relief agencies provided the financial assistance for their construction.

There are also some 1000 Tibetans resettled in Switzerland and about 500 in Canada while about 500 are scattered in various other countries around the world. There are now about 20,000 yet to be resettled, living on petty trade in Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Shillong, Dharamsala, Mussoorie and other parts of India.

Each Tibetan settlement is administered by a Welfare Officer, who is an official of the Tibetan Government. There are Co-operative Societies, hospitals, schools and creches in each of the settlements. Most of the settlements are now becoming self-supporting and the Handicraft centres too are having a good business.

3. *The Council for Tibetan Education* was established immediately after the arrival of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in India in 1959. It is now headed by Kalon Thupten Nyinjee and the Council is responsible for the education of Tibetan children in exile. The education of the Tibetan children as “the seeds of a future Tibet have been of special concern to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The Council has established or aided in the establishment of schools and now has 44 day schools in Tibetan settlements in India, Nepal and Bhutan, besides 4 residential schools in India. There are now a total of 10,430 students with a staff strength of over 700, including both the teaching and non-teaching staff. There are now about 250 students in various Indian Universities and training centres of vocational courses like teaching, mechanics, nursing and accountancy. There are about 100 students undergoing professional courses in medicine, engineering, journalism, agriculture, international relations and economics in India and abroad.

Today there are over 170 university graduates and 820 High Secondary graduates, all absorbed in various Tibetan community centres and schools.

The Council co-ordinates with the Central Tibetan Schools Administration at New Delhi in the administration work.

The Tibetan Children’s Village at Dharmshala and the Tibetan Homes Foundation at Mussoorie, with a total number of 1692 children were established primarily for orphans, semi-orphans and children of poor families. These two organizations were largely aided by international relief organizations and the

Council also receives aid for specific projects from time to time.

4. *The Finance (Paljor) Office* was established in 1969 due to the necessity of having a separate finance office as the Tibetan administration expanded. It is headed by Kalon Tsewang Tamdin. The office is responsible for the financial affairs of the Government in exile. It runs small business-oriented enterprises with the aim of creating employment for Tibetan refugees and at the same time promoting and preserving the unique Tibetan handicrafts.

The main source of income for the Tibetan Government is the monthly voluntary contribution of Re. 1/- from all Tibetans. The Tibetans who are salaried or more well-to-do contribute 2% of their monthly earnings, and a substantial contribution also comes from the Tibetans abroad.

The Finance office collects this amount and allocates the money as budgeted by the Tibetan National Working Committee.

The Office tries to improve the living standards of the Tibetan people and the Government by establishing ventures jointly with Tibetan businessmen or on its own. It also provides management and explores marketing opportunities both in India and abroad. The Paljor Office runs an export firm from New Delhi for the handicraft products of the Tibetans. It exports to over 14 countries, mainly Switzerland, Germany, Japan, North America and France. The office also maintains tourist hotels in Calcutta and Leh, Ladakh.

5. *The Security Office* is headed by Kalon Phuntsok T. Takla. It is responsible for the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the internal security of the Tibetans in exile.

6. *The Information Office* came into existence as a separate office in 1972 and is presently headed by General-Secretary Mr. Namgyal Dorjee. The Office endeavours to make the just cause of Tibet known to the world, the conditions in Chinese-occupied Tibet and the Tibetan Government in exile's policy through its bi-monthly publication the *Tibetan Bulletin*, booklets and occasional press releases.

The Office maintains close contacts with all those who are interested in Tibetan affairs, and especially with Tibetan organizations abroad.

The Office keeps the Tibetans in exile well informed of the changing international situation, particularly those that have a bearing on the Tibetans and Tibet, through a monthly Tibetan magazine *Sheja* and through circulars.

7. *The Service Management Department* was established in 1973 to cope with the increasing number of applications for service in the Tibetan Government in exile from the young Tibetans. The Department is managed by Deputy-Secretary Mr. Lobsang Khedup who is the permanent working member of the Service Management Committee. The 5 member Committee is appointed by the Kashag for a term of 2 years.

The office is responsible for appointing, transferring, promoting and scrutinising Tibetan Government staff. It exercises these powers only for the staff below the rank of General-Secretaries in all the Tibetan community centres and the Central Secretariat at Dharmshala. There are 278 staff members working in the Secretariat and in various other parts in India where Tibetans are to be found. The office has the responsibility of looking after their welfare.

The office advertises vacancies through the Tibetan weekly, *The Tibetan Freedom*, and the *Sheja* monthly.

8. *The Audit Department* functioned as part of the Finance Office until 1975. However with the expansion of the offices and the activities of the Tibetans the need rose for a separate Department.

The main function of the Department at present is to audit and scrutinize the accounts of all the offices in the Secretariat and other offices which receive their budgets through the National Working Committee.

It is hoped that gradually the auditors will be able to audit the annual accounts of the various Tibetan settlements and handicraft centres.

Tibet Offices and Bureaus: The Tibetan Government maintains Offices of Tibet in New York and Switzerland, Bureaus in New Delhi and Kathmandu and Liaison Office in Tokyo. These offices represent the Tibetan Government-in-exile and tend to the welfare of the Tibetans in those countries.

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Library of Tibetan Works and Archives: The Library of Tibetan Works & Archives conceived by His Holiness the Dalai Lama came into being in November 1971, as an autonomous body, registered with the Registration of Society Act, 1860. It has a Governing Body of 9 members with His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the Chairman. The Library is more of a cultural centre, with the aim of preserving, promoting and disseminating Tibetan culture.

The Library's Museum displays over 500 statues and thankas, some over 12 to 15 centuries old which are annually visited by some 1000 visitors.

The Archives section has over 33,000 Tibetan literary treasures, documents like treaties and historical works in various forms. It has some 22,000 Tibetan manuscripts some over 10 centuries old. It has arrangements for manuscript exchange with 7 major institutions around the world.

The Reference Department has about 1000 books, periodicals and files on Tibet and Tibetans and in English and other major European languages. It provides research facilities and guidance to scholars and students of Buddhism and Tibetology. The Library holds seminars and lectures on Tibetan civilization and the proceedings are published in THE TIBET JOURNAL, a quarterly.

The Oral History project with tape recorders, video system, etc., has recorded a number of spiritual and literary treasures, folklores, proverbs, songs and details of Tibetan medical system and esoteric teachings.

The Research, Translation and publication section has published a number of books in the “Wisdom of Tibet Series”, translated over 40 works into English, besides a number of books on Tibetan customs, death and birth rites, festivals, proverbs, folk tales and history.

A 7-volume biographical dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism has also been published. The Library in 1975 began the TIBET JOURNAL, an international quarterly publication, for the study of Tibet.

The Library runs a Tibetan Art school for training young Tibetans in the art of thanka painting. The course is for 5 years and is at present given to 10 students with financial assistance from JRD 3rd Fund.

The Library is directed By Mr. Gyatso Tshering with grant in aid from the Government of India, besides a sizable amount from His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and other well-wishers. It is proposed to expand it into a creative centre of culture and learning and for the exchange of ideas and wisdom from the Tibetan civilization with the rest of the world

2. *Tibetan Medical Centre*: In 1961 His Holiness the Dalai Lama established the Tibetan Medical Centre at Dharamshala with a small group of Tibetan doctors who had managed to escape from Tibet.

The Centre has grown and expanded and now has branch dispensaries in Darjeeling, Bomdila, Bylakuppe, Patlikhul, Chandragiri and Kathmandu. The recent interest in Tibetan medicine has resulted in a number of books, specialized articles and research papers. Many Tibetan doctors have been abroad for lecture tours and seminars.

The Medical Centre at Dharamshala consist of two wings, the office, pharmacy and the astrological department at McLeod Ganj and a museum, medical college and hospital at Gangchen Kyishong.

The pharmacy department manufactures Tibetan medical pills in bulk. In 1976 the pharmacy department used 1,619.256 kgs. of raw materials to produce pills weighing 1,457.110 kgs. The pills are distributed through the branch dispensaries or sent to individuals on mail order system to all part of the world.

The centre spends annually over Rs. 30,000 for the hospital and runs an outpatient department treating 100-150 patients daily. The centre provides free medical service to the needy and the poor, even non-Tibetans.

The Museum has on display various herbs and other components used in Tibetan medicine. There are also some old medical texts, charts and surgical instruments on display.

The astrological department prepares annual Tibetan lunar calendar with

comments on the astrological implications of the days. It brings out a DATHO-Tibetan horoscope, besides undertaking the preparation of astrological charts for individuals on request.

Above all it is a teaching centre seeking to impart and preserve the body of traditional Tibetan medical system. It has trained so far two batches of 30 young Tibetans. The second batch completed the 7-year course in 1978. The graduates have been absorbed in the branch dispensaries in the various Tibetan settlements in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

3. *Tibet House*: Since the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1949, Tibetans have been fleeing their country bringing with them rare, ancient and precious artifacts attesting to the greatness of Tibetan civilization. In 1965, Tibet House was opened in New Delhi as a sanctuary for these objects and made accessible to the world and as a centre of Tibetan culture.

In 1979 it was moved to a new five-storey building, on the institutional Road, New Delhi. There is now an emporium, museum and library supervised by Tibetan scholars and experts. The Library has Tibetan and Sanskrit manuscripts and books on religion, literature and Tibet in general. It provides facilities for scholars, students and the general public. It has reproduced and published over one hundred volumes of rare Tibetan manuscripts on Buddhist philosophy, literature, history, medicine, astrology and metaphysics. The Library has also produced several books and catalogues and pamphlets on Buddhism and Tibet.

The museum houses a permanent exhibition of Tibetan relics and artifacts. There are 45 thankas, 55 statues and 143 ritual and household objects, besides insignia, jewellery, currency and stamps on display. It has presented arts and handicrafts exhibitions in many other cities of India, USA and Japan.

The emporium exhibits and sells handicrafts at exhibitions in Delhi. Through the emporium, Tibet House provides a market for the Tibetan artisans and craftsmen. It ensures the preservation of a high level of workmanship and skill and promotes the traditional Tibetan handicrafts.

4. *Tibetan Dance, Drama and Music Society* : The Society started in early 1960 at Kalimpong by private initiative with only a handful of musicians. It however, soon ran into financial difficulties and had to be moved to Dharmshala with Tibetan Government assistance.

Since the distinct Tibetan identity was being systematically destroyed in Tibet by the Chinese, the society began with the object of preserving and promoting traditional Tibetan music, dance and drama. The Society is a school as well as a performing troupe. Many young Tibetans have been trained and sent as teachers to various schools and centres.

The school has performed and toured all the major Indian cities and almost

every Tibetan community centres in India. In 1975, the Society toured Europe, America and Canada, and Australia and Singapore in 1976. These two tours in 1975 and 1976 were the first of its kind outside India and they went a long way in giving the people of these countries a glimpse of the Tibetan civilization. The tours abroad were a great success and widely reviewed in the press. There are at present 45 students and 15 staff members in the schools. The school admits younger talents whenever there are vacancies. The students undergo regular classes in traditional music, musical instruments, dances and opera (Lhamo) besides classes in Tibetan and English. The children of school-going age attend the day-school at McLeod Ganj or the Tibetan Children's Village.

The drama school is run with a small subsidy from the Tibetan Government-in-exile while the larger portion of their maintenance is raised through performances and donations. However, even with a very small budget that the members are themselves able to raise the drama school has been doing well.

The Commission of Tibetan People's : Deputies. This is the highest legislative body and it came to being on September 2, 1960. It is composed of 17 elected members and an appointed specialist in international affairs. The 17 members are elected by popular vote for a term of three years; 4 each from the three provinces of Tibet: one each from the 4 major sects of Tibetan Buddhism and one from the Bonpo faith. The members elect a chairman and a deputy chairman from among themselves. The chairman of the present (6th) commission is Ven. Alak Jigme Lhundup.

The main function of the Commission is in the Tibetan National Working Committee, the highest decision making body. In this Committee there are the Kalons and a representative each from the department of the Government, but it is the People's Deputies who alone exercise the right to vote. In this way all the Tibetan Government-in-exile's policies and decisions have to be approved by the Commission's Deputies who represent the people.

The Commission has yet another function, since the Government is composed of the Executive body headed by the Kalons/directors of departments, the Commission which is the Legislative wing, also acts as a check on the executive powers of the Government.

The Commission also strives to establish a healthy relationship of mutual trust between the Government and the people.

In March every year, the Commission scrutinizes the annual Reports of all the Departments, and other offices, and centres that are connected with the Tibetan Government. The Annual reports are reviewed and criticised or lauded as the case may be.

The Commission directs and guides over 60 Regional Committees of Bhod Rangwang Denpai Legul (Tibetan Freedom Movement Committee). This

Committee is the political organization of the people devoted solely towards Tibetan national freedom struggle.

The Deputies make frequent tours of all Tibetan community centres, to learn the problems of the people and suggest remedies at the local level or at the national level in Dharamshala. The Deputies also make known legislative decisions and executive-functioning to the people. The people are also informed of conditions in Tibet and prevailing international situation.

TIBETANS IN EXILE

by
LEILA HADLEY

Tibet, some said it was an Asiatic Graustark; that it was a semifeudal theocracy ; but the concerned civilized, cultivated and scholarly upheld Tibet as a conservatory of the unique artistic, religious and literary heritage dating from the 7th century A.D.

Like the Brahmaputra River, which rises in Tibet, flowing in a diametrically opposite direction to that which it formerly did, while occupying the same bed, the current of life in Tibet has been reversed.

The change has taken place in less than 30 years.

In Mao Tse-tung's vision of global domination, beginning with the "liberation" of the Asian subcontinent, Tibet was essential as a military bridgehead and an impregnable missile-launching site. Also, persuasive were Tibet's mineral wealth, unworked coal deposits, untapped oil reserves, fertile grain-producing lands, and rivers that could provide hydro-electric power for establishing an industrial complex. In 1950, the Chinese People's Liberation Army successfully marched to annex Tibet.

In March 1959, calculated provocation incited a Tibetan uprising that was met with crushing retaliation and the takeover of Tibet by the Chinese Army. The 24-year old Dalai Lama, supreme temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet, regarded by his people as the personification of their country, found refuge and welcome in India.

In 1960, the International Commission of Jurists, reporting on the Chinese occupation in Tibet, charged genocide and torture; cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.

Latter-day propaganda and Potemkinizing to the contrary, the Chinese Cultural Revolution, aimed at the assimilation and eradication of the symbols, traditions, culture and people of "merged nations," delivered further death and destruction.

The Panchen Lama, the second-highest ranking Tibetan leader, was deported to Peking after public humiliation and torture. In 1978, the Chinese planned to reinstate him in the hope that after 14 years of instructive rehabilitation he might bring his six million countrymen more into accord with Chinese policies. He declined.

Over 100,000 Tibetans, bringing whatever treasures they could with them in most cases their children, and very little in the way of material possessions or money-have escaped from the "Roof of the World" and survived the 1,800-mile trek across the Himalayas to Nepal, Bhutan and India. Internationally funded, over 1,000 then made their way to Switzerland, 250 to other European points, 500 to Canada and 200 to the United States.

The administration at Dharamshala, India, the seat of the Tibetan government-in-exile, has been competent in its organization of the Tibetan Refugee Settlement Project, enabling the majority of the Tibetan diaspora to regroup in small communities.

In Dharamshala, you also find the Tibetan Children's Village, where there are more than 1,000 toddlers, children and teenagers separated from their parents or orphaned, each fed, housed, schooled, doctored, for 75 cents a day. Then there is the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, where a Tibetan staff of 40, aided by a few volunteer Western students, preserves, compiles and translates Sanskrit and Tibetan social, political and religious histories. In it, there are manuscripts of the earliest known Aryan texts and Buddhist scripture, comprising a precious fragment of the lode destroyed by Chinese Army vandals.

There are 11 Tibetan Buddhist settlements in Nepal, six in Bhutan, 23 in India. Basically, each has its temple; a monastery that serves as a school and university; a handicraft or carpet-weaving center; frequently, small herding, dairy, gardening cooperatives; and there is a calendar highlighted by religious festivals. New arrivals are guided to transit camps, where they subsist on 15 cents a day earned as road-construction labor until arrangements can be made to move into a settlement where better-paid jobs are guaranteed. Generally treated with friendship by their Indian hosts, the majority of the Tibetans, incredibly hard-working, ever-industrious, making the most use of whatever money they have, in 20 years or less with the help of Dharamshala and their own efforts have been able to make the transition to the economic middle class in time to see their children educated and housed, from the highlands of Sikkim to the scorching Deccan plain.

It is not far from a miracle.

This article appeared in the New York Times, Feb. 3, 1979

The Right to Choose for Ourselves

By

His Holiness the Dalai Lama

The recent developments in China indicate that the present Chinese leaders are following a moderate and pragmatic policy in their domestic as well as foreign affairs. As a result of this overall change, a certain amount of liberalization and leniency has been introduced in Inner Mongolia, East Turkistan and particularly Tibet.

This policy is certainly welcome, but it is difficult for us at the moment to be overly optimistic about these changes. It is yet too early to form a definite judgment on this. We view these recent changes with suspicion: something we have learned from the Chinese with our experience of having lived with them for nine years and having felt the impact of their policies in exile for almost two decades now. Chinese policies and the dramatic political changes in China have often been too unpredictable.

Teng Hsiao-ping was recently quoted as having said in Japan: "If you have an ugly face, it is no use pretending to be handsome." I am impressed by this philosophy, particularly when it is adopted by a Chinese leader. This is definitely a correct and practical attitude, and if he means it sincerely it reveals his willingness to accept existing realities. There is always the danger for those who are powerful to be overconfident and be unaware of their faults or intentionally ignore them. This, in fact, is one of the sources of many problems that we are confronted with in the world today.

The Chinese, through their official organs, have been saying that all is well and normal inside Tibet; that the Tibetan people are happy and contented under their rule.

We are far from being convinced and we cannot accept this propaganda for obvious reasons. We have, in our possession, information and reports to the contrary. Therefore, we have two versions about the conditions inside Tibet: the Chinese version and the Tibetan version. I do not insist that the people of the world blindly accept the Tibetan version as the truth. I am simply demanding that the

Tibetan people be given the opportunity of freely expressing themselves. So far the tendency in the world has been to regard only the Chinese version as authentic. There is a double standard to it.

While the world press diligently follows what the Chinese leaders have to say about China, about Tibet, and report matters of even the least importance if they come from the mouths of the Chinese leaders, they do not give credence to the ridiculous Chinese versions of the international situation, American “imperialism,” Soviet “revisionism,” or Indian “expansion.” Just the history of the past 20 years should make the people outside China realize the extent of distortion of facts that comes from the Peking organs. When the Tibetans tried to tell the world in the 60’s that conditions were bad inside Tibet, the world, by and large, chose to call it refugee propaganda and accept the Peking version of a “socialist transformation” as authentic.

In the 70’s, when sufficient evidence to support the previous refugee claims has emerged, the world again turns to Peking for an official explanation. The new leaders in Peking now have to admit things were not as rosy in the 60’s as were painted at the time, but that is because the “Gang of Four” was handling it at the time. This again is a perfectly acceptable explanation to the world.

I have repeatedly said that the nature of our struggle is not anti-Communist, anti-reform or even anti-Chinese. It is also not whether those of us in exile can return to Tibet. Fundamentally, the real issue is the happiness and welfare of the six million Tibetans inside Tibet. We are carrying out our freedom movements in accordance with the wishes of our people there. The majority of them, especially the young, are not at all happy with the Chinese and are not willing to live under their domination. But they are unable to do anything as the whole country is like a vast prison.

And as is the case with prisons of any size, not very many inmates succeed in effecting their release themselves. So they depend on us and we in turn depend on world conscience to support our cause.

Why should an alien rule be forced upon six million unwilling people? Why shouldn’t they be given the right to choose for themselves? If the majority of people in Tibet are really happy and willing to live under the Chinese rule, it would be foolish and unreasonable on the part of the 100,000 Tibetans in exile to stubbornly act contrary to their wishes. It would not be right morally. But we must first know for certain that the Tibetans are completely satisfied and happy. So far it is only the

Chinese publicity organs and their recognized spokesman in the West who claim that the Tibetans in Tibet are happy.

We do not have a single independent Tibetans support this claim.

During the past 30 years there has been much propaganda about the tremendous progress made by China in virtually every field, contrary to what was actually happening in the country.

We now read that even the Chinese people are expressing their discontentment with the existing conditions and admitting failure to make adequate progress. If Chinese themselves have suffered so much under their own leadership, one can well imagine the extent to which the minorities have suffered, particularly the Tibetans, whose race, language, culture and way of life have no affinity whatsoever with the Chinese.

If the Tibetans are genuinely contented with the present state of affairs, there is a way in which the Chinese can easily convince us and the world of this. As I demanded in a statement on March 10, 1978, Tibet should be opened so that Tibetans within and without can freely visit each other.

If the rosy picture painted by the Chinese is authentic and they have nothing to hide, we should be given the opportunity to see it for ourselves in a free and unrestricted manner.

Such an opportunity will help us in “seeking truth from facts,” a popular slogan in China today.

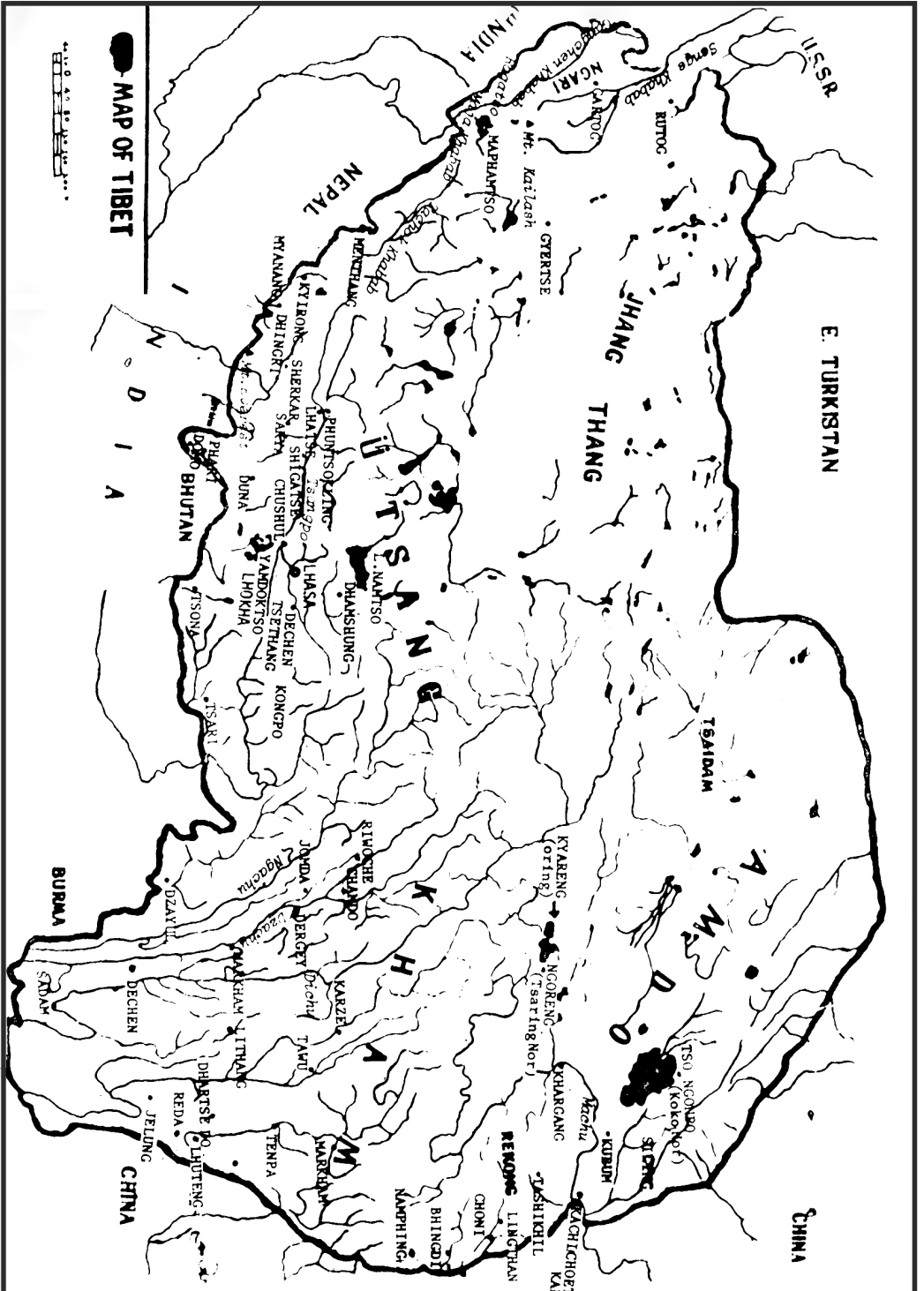
And in this context I welcome the recent Chinese consent to allow a group of Tibetans in India to visit their relatives in Tibet.

The ultimate decision about the future of Tibet must be made by the majority of the people there. This is democratic; this is reasonable; and this is just. In order to be able to make that decision the people must have the freedom to express themselves without fear. The world must remember that the 1959 Tibetan revolt against the Chinese was ruthlessly suppressed by labeling it as counter-revolutionary, while it was, in fact, a popular people’s uprising against the oppression and foreign domination of Tibet by Communist China.



“The very nature of our struggle is different in the sense that there is no ideology involved in it. Tibetans are not anti-revolution, anti-communist, anti-reform nor even anti-Chinese. What we are against is the forcible and illegal occupation of our country by a foreign power. We are fighting for our rights and the right to govern ourselves”

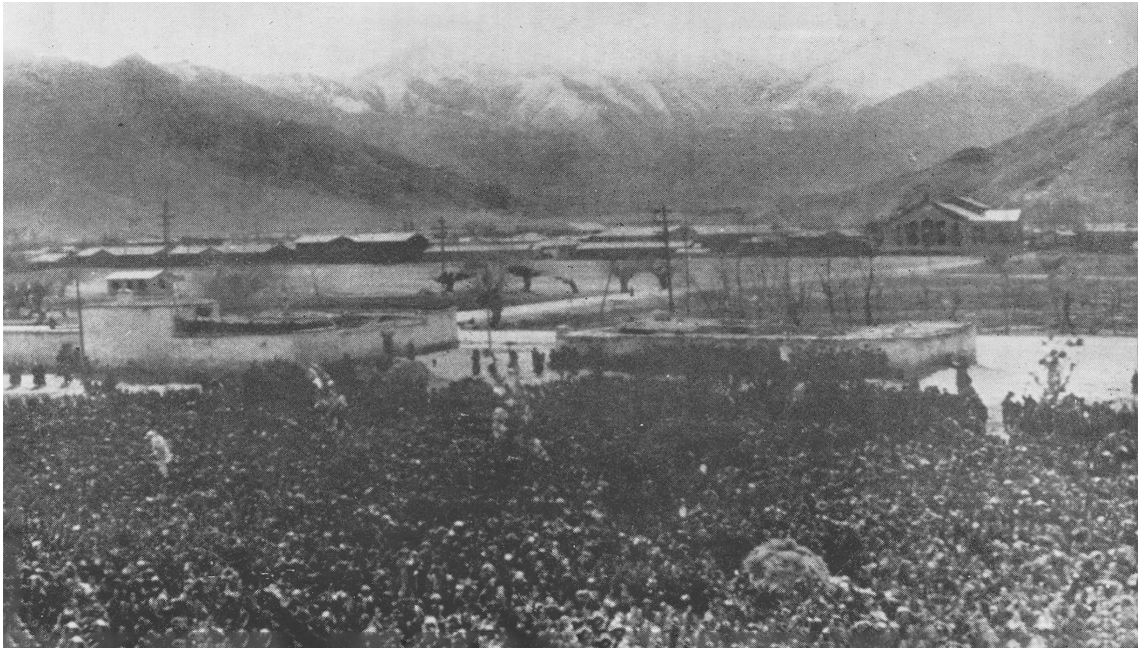
-His Holiness the Dalai Lama
1978



Tibet composed of three provinces, Kham, Amdo and Utsang.



Tibetan people gathered outside the Norbu Linka to protect His Holiness the Dalai L



On March 10, 1959, Tibetan people marching from Norbu Linka (the residence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama) to Lhasa city.

The Dramatic flight of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, members of the Kashag and His Holiness' family began on March 17. The party travelled through inhospitable regions, travelling through little-known routes with armed escorts of the Tibetan Resistance Movement. The party headed for Lhoka in southern Tibet, where on March 28, the provisional Government of Tibet was proclaimed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama.



His Holiness and members of the entourage heading for Lhoka, in southern Tibet.



His Holiness (centre) with escorts.



Crossing a past.



Part of the crowd who attended the proclamation ceremony



Villagers making offerings to the Provisional Government. at Lhuntse Dzong.

His Holiness and the party
nearing the Indian border.



His Holiness and Tenzin Choegyal
(right) younger brother walking
with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.





His Holiness with Monpa villagers, near Tawang



Shortly after crossing the Indian border, His Holiness gave a religious discourse at Tawang Monastery, Arunachal Pradesh.



The special Indian Govt. envoy, Mr. P.N. Menon receiving His Holiness at Bomdila, Arunachal Pradesh.



Mr.Nehru and His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Birla House,Mussoorie, April 1959. This is the first meeting of the two leaders since His Holiness arrived in India.

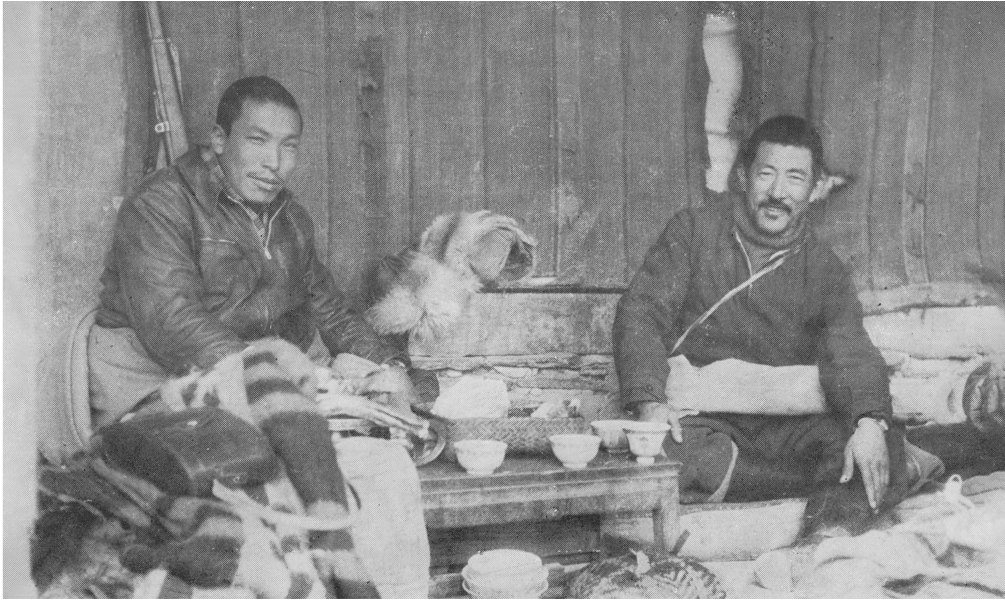
The Tibetan resistance against the Chinese invasion of 1959 began from Kham and Amdo in the early 1950's. The resistance movement was led by Andruk Gompo Tashi. Soon there was resistance against the Chinese throughout Tibet and between 1958/1959 the Tibetan resistance forces were in full control of Lhoka and the neighbouring areas with 50 dzongs (district headquarters) with an estimated population of 500,000. After the march 10, Tibetan National Uprising, the Chinese launched a massive offensive on three sides with heavy air attacks. However Tibetan resistance goes on unabated both inside and outside Tibet. The Tibetans under the Chinese occupation forces have been most active through underground resistance movements in Tibet, while Tibetan guerrillas made forays into Tibet through Himalayas at many points.



Members of the Tibetan Resistant Movement in formation at Lhoka, 1959



Returning to camp after a mission



Tibetan Resistance leaders at their headquarters at Lhoka in 1959



A member of the Tibetan Resistant force in Lhoka.



Leaders of a Tibetan underground resistant group, discovered and executed by the Chinese forces in 1972. The photograph appeared in a Chinese leaflet which stated that the group was found guilty of “counter-revolutionary acts against the motherland.”



His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaking at the first general meeting of the Tibetan Youth Congress at Dharamshala, 1970. The Tibetan Youth Congress today has a membership of over 10,100 with 40 Regional Branches both in India and abroad.



Tibetans in Switzerland taking out a protest march through the street of Zurich, March 10 1978.



Tibetans protesting before the United Nations in New York, March 10, 1978.



Tibetans protesting before the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi, March 10 1978



The Tibetan University students at Chandigarh against a Chinese delegation in 1978.



The Tibetans in Dharamshala gathered to commemorate the 10th March in 1977.



Tibetans taking out a protest demonstrating in Dehra Dun.



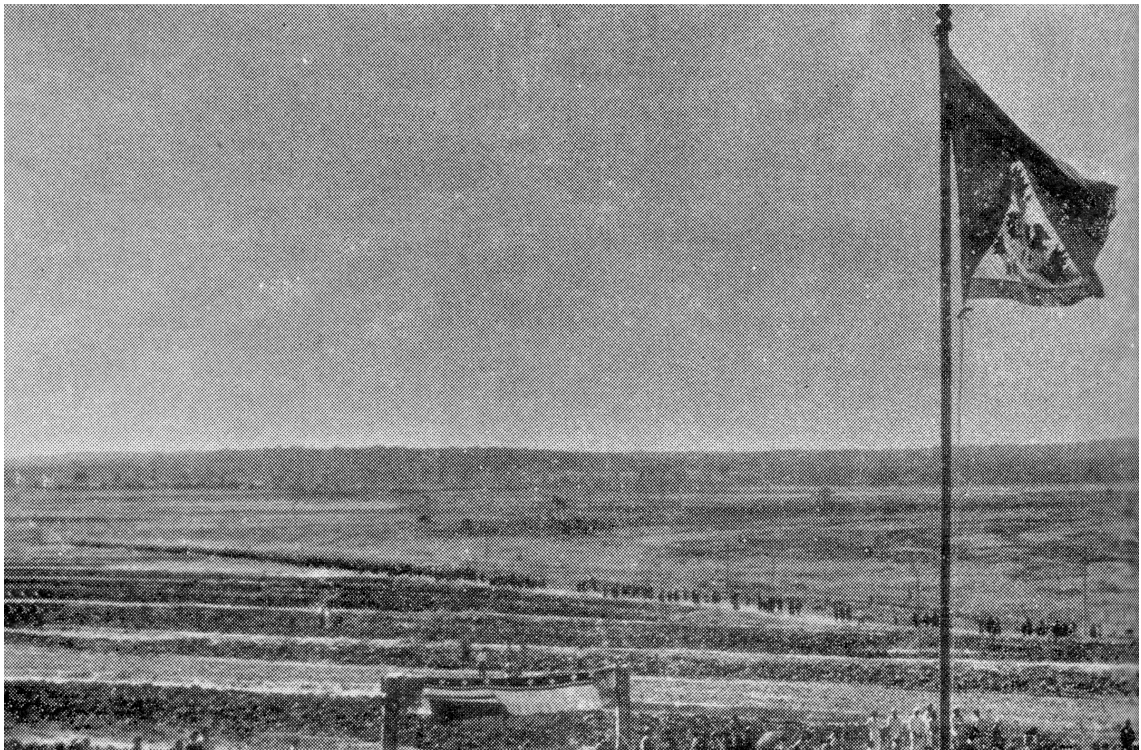
Tibetans demonstrating in Mussoorie, 1975



Tibetan children in exile, growing up with hope and determination.



The Tibetan Children's Village band leading a march.



The Tibetan national flag flying at Luksum Samdubling Settlement Byllakuppe,
Mysore



A Tibetan girl and her blind mother escape to Nepal for refuge and hope.

