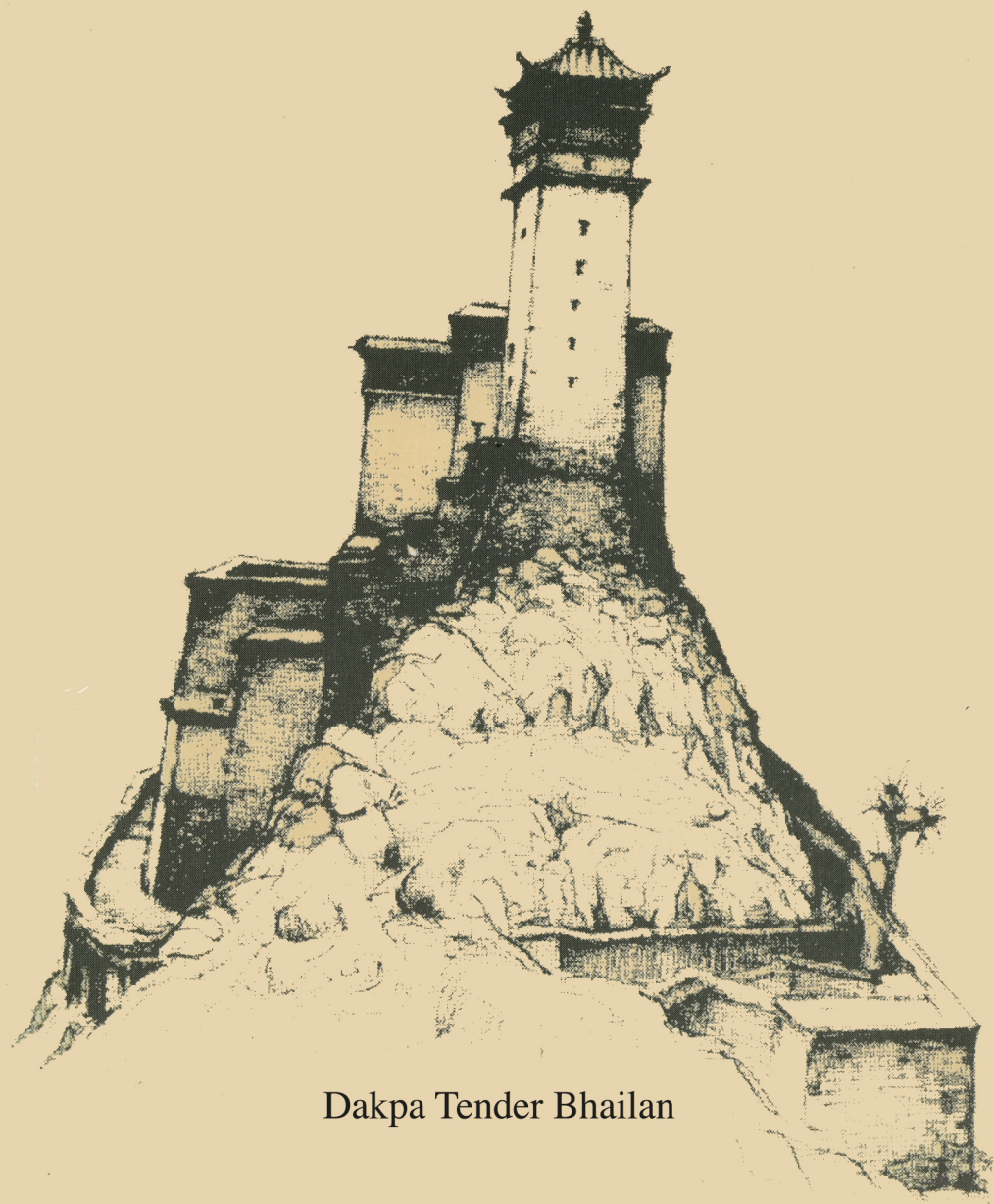
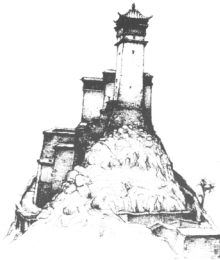


Tibet and China

Two Distinct Nations



Dakpa Tender Bhailan



Tibet and China
Two Distinct Nations

Published in 2002

I welcome all to reproduce or quote freely from this for your works for the cause of Tibet and peace.

I would like to thank Tibet Fund, New York, for working to secure the necessary funding for the publication of this book as well as its original Tibetan version. It is with deep gratitude and appreciation that I thank also the funding foundation who wishes to remain anonymous.

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Author

I was born in Dhagpo, Central Tibet. In 1956 I joined the Tibetan civil service and served briefly at Tse Yigstang, the apex ecclesiastical office of independent Tibet. Thereafter, I served at the Reform Committee and Choejin Lekhung, the office responsible for the disbursement of government grants to needy monastic students.

In 1959 I escaped from Tibet and served for two years at Buxa Duar, a refugee transit camp accommodating some 1,500 monastic students. I then moved to Darjeeling to work on the editorial staff of *Tibetan Freedom*, a weekly newspaper in *Tibetan language*. After seven years in Darjeeling, the Tibetan Freedom sent me to Dharamsala to work as its reporter. I spent 17 years working as a reporter, during which I served part-time at the Security Office and at the News Monitoring Office of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. Similarly, I served at the Kashag Secretariat, documenting the reports of Dharamsala's factfinding delegations to Tibet.

I, then, joined the Department of Information and International Relations, and served as additional secretary for seven years, putting together an enormous amount of materials on various aspects of Tibet.

On my retirement from the Tibetan government job, I joined the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, where I served part-time for 11 years, transcribing His Holiness the Dalai Lama's spiritual teachings.

In the course of my work, I came across a large amount of materials on Tibet, and had the opportunity

to hear first-hand accounts of the experiences of very, many Tibetans, including senior officials of the Tibetan government. I put together the essence of all these in my semi-autobiographical book, *A Hundred Chapters*, published in 1997.

Many readers of that book suggested that an English translation would be helpful to the cause of Tibet. Taking their suggestion, I set out to re-write the book. In doing so, I left out the autobiographical accounts and conducted further research on the issues dealing with the political status of Tibet. In the course of my research, I discovered that many books on Tibet contained importance references pointing to the independence of Tibet before the Chinese invasion. I thought these should all be put together in one book for easy reference of future researchers on the subject. This slim volume, published both in Tibetan and English, is the final result of my efforts.

This book contains bare facts about Tibet's independent status from 128 BC to 1959. It tells the story of Tibet's destruction and death of over 1.2 million Tibetans under Chinese occupation. It points out how the Chinese government, in its white paper on Tibet, seeks to misinterpret the text of Tibet-China treaty, as inscribed on the stone pillar erected in 823.

Dakpa Tender Bhailan

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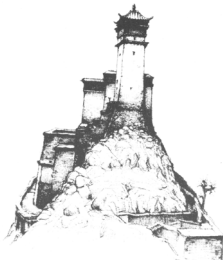
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Part One

**Avalokitesvara's prayer
Historical Buddha's prophesy
Genesis of Tibetan race**

Boddhisatva's Taming Ground

Tradition holds that the snow land of Tibet is the taming ground of the Boddhisatva Avalokitesvara. In the *White Lotus Sutra*, Avalokitesvara is said to have offered the following prayer to the Thousand Buddhas:

May I bring enlightenment to the benighted land,
Where the Buddhas of the three times have not trodden,
And where sentient beings are difficult to tame.
May that benighted land become my taming ground.
May I become a parent to the spirits and demons of
that land.

Karandavya Sutra makes reference to an interview between the historical Buddha and Avalokitesvara. When the Lord Buddha was about to pass into Paranirvana, Avalokitesvara requested him to live longer for the people of the northern snow land, where the Buddha had neither trodden, nor given Teaching. The Lord Buddha replied,

O Boddhisatva, adopt that land as your taming Ground!
First manifest yourself as a human being.
Then tame them with worldly means.
Finally tame them with the Teaching.
Let this be your service to sentient beings.

In the *Jataka Tales on Ratna Das*, it is stated that Dakini Sangwa Yeshe and others offered this vajra song to Avalokitesvara:

O Avalokitesvara! Guardian of the Snow Land!
This auspicious region is yours.
Here are the beings waiting to be tamed by you.
They have forged karmic bonds with you.
They have accumulated merits.
Let the rays of Ten Dharmic Virtues fall on them.
Make this place an ideal example of happiness.
Let your sun shine on this land.
This land seeks peace and tranquility from you.

The *Jataka Tales* goes on to mention this prophecy of the Buddhas:

That Snow Land to the north
Is shaped like a lotus blossoms.
O Avalokitesvara! Supreme source of happiness!
And the supreme source of inner peace!
You are the saviour of all beings.
You should rule the land of snow mountains.

Origin of Tibetan Race and Early History

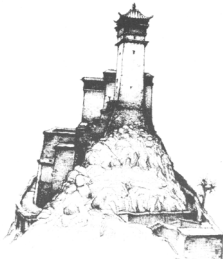
The Tibetan race is said to have originated from the union of a Boddhisatva Monkey and Rock Ogress. It is said that Avalokitesvara manifested himself as a monkey and Goddess Tara as an ogress. The two consorted in a rocky mountain, begetting the first ancestors of Tibetans. The population of Tibet increased gradually.

Tibet's first king was Nyatri Tsenpo. His successors ushered in a period of glory for Tibet until Lang Tharma ascended the throne. During this golden age, Buddhism was introduced to Tibet. Thonmi Sambhota invented the Tibetan alphabet and grammar, basing them on the phonetic characteristics of spoken Tibetan. A large number of Buddhist translators and scholars were invited from India, and the entire corpus of Buddhist teaching was translated into Tibetan. The *Ten Dharmic Virtues* and *Sixteen Humanitarian Conducts* were codified as law. An army of 62 divisions was established. The whole of Tibet was united to form a formidable power. The king of Nepal and the emperor of China were forced to give the hands of their daughters, together with dowries, in marriage to the Tibetan monarch Songtsen Gampo. The border between Tibet and China was defined, and the Great Oath taken to respect this demarcation. Border checkpoints were established to monitor the traffic of goods and people. The checkpoint on the Tibetan side of the border was named the "Wooden Gate of Tibet" and the Chinese side the "Iron Gate of China".

Speaking about the “Wooden Gate of Tibet” reminds me of a story I heard in 1980 from a man who returned to Dharamsala after visiting his village in Amdo. He said that the local people observe this border demarcation even today. To the extreme east of Tashikyil, he said, is what is well known as the White Stupa of Kachu. The area in the vicinity of this stupa is referred to as the Wooden Gate. A little way further east, he said, is an area known as the Iron Gate. If the animals from one side stray over to the pastureland on the other side, the animals are, seized and fines collected. This tradition, he said, has been passed down from the time of the Great Oath.

Again, when the 13th Dalai Lama visited Khalka land, Kubum and Beijing, the Kalkha monks carried him on a palanquin from their land to Kubum, and the Kubum monks from Kubum to Lanzhou. At each point, the 13th Dalai Lama was received by the leaders and soldiers of the respective area, in addition to those from Beijing.

The Dhartsedho range forms a dividing line between the Dhartsedho town in Tibet to the west and Chengdu area in China to the east. This is probably one of the borders referred to in the Great Oath.



Part Two

**Tibet-China treaties on stone pillars.
Misinterpretation of the treaty texts.
Rebuttal of the claims in the Chinese
white paper on Tibet.**



Tibet-China Treaty pillar of 823
Jokhang Square, Lhasa

Treaty Demarcating the Border Between Tibet and China

In 823, a treaty was signed between the Tibetan ruler Tri Tsugdhey and the Chinese ruler B'un B'u He'u Tgi Hwang Te. This treaty was signed also by the ministers of the two respective countries. One of the stone pillars, bearing the text of this treaty, stands in Lhasa. On three sides of the pillar are the texts in both Tibetan and Chinese and on the fourth only in Tibetan. The Chinese government has published the text of this stone pillar in *Bod-kyi Na-rab Yig-cha Chey-dhue* (People's Publishing House, Beijing, September 1983, pp. 5-8). The text of the inscription on the pillar goes thus:

The great king of Tibet, the supernaturally wise divinity, the *tsan-po*, and the great king of China, the Chinese ruler Hwang Te, Nephew and Uncle, having consulted about the alliance of their dominions have made a great treaty and ratified the agreement. In order that it may never be changed, all gods and men have been made aware of it and taken as witnesses; and so that it may be celebrated in every age and in every generation, the terms of the agreement have been inscribed on a stone pillar.

The supernaturally wise divinity, the *tsanpo*, Khri Gtsug-Ide-brtsan himself and the Chinese ruler, B'un

B'u He'u Tig Hwang Te, their majesties the Nephew and Uncle, through the great profundity of their minds know whatsoever is good and ill for present and future alike. With great compassion, making no distinction between the outer and inner in sheltering all with kindness, they have agreed in their counsel on a great purpose of lasting good - the single thought of causing happiness for the whole population - and have renewed the respectful courtesies of their old friendship. Having consulted to consolidate still further the measure of neighbourly contentment they have made a great treaty. Both China and Tibet shall keep the country and frontiers of which they are now in possession. The whole region to the east of that being the country of Great China and the whole region to the west being assuredly the veritable country of Great Tibet, from either side of that frontier there shall be no warfare, no hostile invasions, and no seizure of territory. If there be any suspicious person, he shall be arrested and an investigation made and, having been suitably provided for, he shall be sent back.

Now that the dominions are allied and a great treaty of peace has been made in this way, since it is necessary also to continue the communication of pleasant messages between Nephew and Uncle, envoys setting out from either side shall follow the old established route. According to former custom their horses shall be changed at Tsang Kun Yog, which is between Tibet and China. Beyond Stse Zhung Cheg, where Chinese territory is met, the Chinese shall provide all facilities; westwards, beyond Tseng Shu Hywan, where Tibetan territory is met, the Tibetans shall provide all facilities. According to the close and friendly

relationship between Nephew and Uncle the customary courtesy and respect shall be observed. Between the two countries no smoke or dust shall appear. Not even a word of sudden alarm or of enmity shall be spoken and from those who guard the frontier upwards all shall live at ease without suspicion or fear both on their lands and in their beds. Dwelling in peace they shall win the blessing of happiness for ten thousand generations. The sound of praise shall extend to every place reached by the sun and moon. And in order that this agreement establishing a great era when Tibetans shall be happy in Tibet and Chinese shall be happy in China shall never be changed, the Three Jewels, the body of saints, the sun and moon, planets and stars have been invoked as witnesses; its purport has been expounded in solemn words; the oath has been sworn with the sacrifice of animals; and the agreement has been solemnized.

If the parties do not act in accordance with this agreement or if it is violated, whether it be Tibet or China that is first guilty of an offence against it, whatever stratagem or deceit is used in retaliation shall not be considered a breach of the agreement.

Thus the rulers and ministers of both Tibet and China declared, and swore the oath; and the text having been written in detail it was sealed with the seals of both great kings. It was inscribed with the signatures of those ministers who took part in the agreement and the text of the agreement was deposited in the archives of each party.

Contradiction Between the Original Text and Chinese Interpretation

In re-rendering the archaic Tibetan wording of the treaty into modern Tibetan, the Chinese government has made the following changes:

- The original inscription states that “the whole region to the west being assuredly the veritable country of Great Tibet”. In re-rendering this into modern Tibetan, the Chinese government has deleted the word “veritable”. This is because the word, “veritable”, signifies that the area upto Gugu Meru is indisputably the territory of Tibet.
- The original inscription states that “horses shall be changed at Tsang Kun Yog”. This is re-rendered as “horses shall be changed at Chang Chunyu”
- The place name “Stse Zhung Cheg” has been changed to “Tseng Shu Hywan”
- The original inscription states that the treaty “was inscribed with the signatures of those ministers who took part in the agreement”. The Chinese have re-rendered it in the following words: “It was inscribed with the signatures of those ministers who entered into the oath.”

The use of words, “ministers who entered into the oath, reflects that that they were sent as a delegation to sign a treaty. But this treaty was a result of consultation between the respective sovereigns and their ministers. It was a treaty or oath, reflecting both sides’ desire to delimit the borders and live in peace.

- In the introductory note on the fourth page of *Bod-kyi Na-rab Yig-cha Chey-dhue*, this treaty is referred to as an important document showing the harmonious relationship between the Chinese and Tibetans. However, the order of the two words “Tibet” and “China” as well as of “Nephew” and “Uncle” are swapped in this document. While the original treaty shows “Tibet” and “Nephew” preceding “China”, and “Uncle”, respectively, the Chinese book shows “China” and “Uncle” preceding “Tibet” and “Nephew”, respectively. Nephew refers to the Tibetan king and Uncle to the Chinese emperor. If these words are left in their original order, Tibet comes through as an important independent nation, at least an equal of China. The Chinese document has changed the order of these words in order to belittle Tibet’s status at that time. Similarly, “Nephew” and “Uncle” refer to the kings of Tibet and China, respectively, and, in effect, the countries of Tibet and China. The Chinese documents explain them to mean two nationalities. In the white paper and all other Chinese documents on Tibet, Tibet’s name is always mentioned after that of China.

The eastern inscription of the stone pillar reads:

...From the time when the supernaturally wise divinity, the bstanpo ‘O-Ide spu-rgyal (Ode Pug-gyal), obtained the country and came to high estate, his line, unchanging, has ruled as great kings of Tibet. Saying, “it is the centre of high snow mountains, the source of mighty rivers, a high country, a pure land”, they came from being gods in heaven to be lords of men. By the great world order

they established an enduring dominion. By excellent religious laws they set right the ways of men. By loving benevolence they brought harmony to the affairs of the interior. Subduing external enemies through knowledge of the arts of war they increased the extent of their dominion. Through the ever-increasing might of their helmet, their wise order was immutable. They were great kings of the External Swastika of unsullied glory.

Thus, India of the borderland in the south, the Tajik in the west, the Gru-gu No-smel and so on in the north, all those known as the great kingdoms of the right and left, and every inhabited region without exception did not fail to revere the mighty helmet and excellent customs of the supernaturally wise divinity, the btsan-po; and on all sides, with happiness, they hearkened to whatever commands he gave.

In the east is China, extending to the great ocean, the king of the region where the sun rises, unlike other barbarians, by excellence of its dominion and religious customs and the greatness of its wisdom and method, a match even of Tibet in war and partner in friendship..

This inscription points out clearly that Tibet-centre of high snow mountains and the source of mighty rivers - is surrounded by India, Tajik, Gru-gu No-smel and so on; and that they all listened to whatever commands the Tibetan king gave. This is a clear evidence of Tibet's independent status at that time.

However, Tibet has a small population, devoted to the practice of Buddhism. It gave up violence and aggression as a national policy. Taking advantage of this, the populous

nation of China used its military might to invade Tibet illegally.

Mass repression, imprisonment, execution, starvation and destruction became the hallmark of Chinese rule in Tibet. The Tibetan people were dispossessed and turned into an army of destitutes until the decollectivization policy was announced. The Tibetan people were suppressed completely.

On the one hand, Tibet has become a weak, suppressed nation. On the other hand, China has a huge population with a powerful voice in the United Nations. The Chinese government has taken advantage of its position of superiority to distort even the texts of ancient treaties so that the words, “Tibet” and “Tibetan king” appear after the words “China” and “Chinese king”. Although the original inscriptions show “Tibet” and “Tibetan king” before “China” and “Chinese king”, the new Chinese rendering of the text has swapped this sequence in order to show China as the mother country and Tibet as its vassal. Although the Chinese government may hope that it could deceive the world into believing in their distorted account, historical documents tell a completely different story. A study of the pillar inscriptions show that Tibet was never part of China and that it was instead an independent country.

In the original inscription, it is stated that “Nephew and Uncle, having consulted about the alliance of their dominions, have made a great treaty and ratified the agreement.” The Chinese official document misinterprets this to say that the two sovereigns, uncle and nephew, reached an agreement to unite their territories.

The logic underpinning this agreement is this. The two sovereigns realized that frequent wars only caused loss of lives of soldiers and civilians, not to say anything about the destruction of properties. Therefore, Nephew and Uncle, in consultation with their respective ministers, decided to extend the hands of friendship to each other in order to bring stability, peace and harmony to the regions.

Since Tibet and China were two distinct countries, the text of treaty stated that the “whole region to the east of that being the country of Great China and the whole region to the west being assuredly the veritable country of Great Tibet”. This demarcates the border between the two countries. The text of this treaty was inscribed on three stone pillars: one was erected in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, the second in Chang-an, the then capital of China and the third in Gu-gu Meru, border town between Tibet and China.

The treaty states that the Tibetans shall be happy in Tibet and Chinese shall be happy in China. This, in effect, means the two sides will not attack each other. The treaty states that from either side “there shall be no warfare, no hostile invasions, and no seizure of territory”. Establishing a base for symbiotic relations between the two neighbours, both sides pledged to respect this treaty for generations, for tens of thousands of years to come. The treaty stipulates that if any party violates this agreement, the other party can take any form of retaliatory action. The contracting parties swore to respect this treaty by invoking the Three Jewels, the body of saints, the sun and moon, planets and stars as witnesses. Tibetan ruler Tri Tsugdhey and the Chinese ruler B’un B’u He’u Tig

Hwang Te affixed their official seals to this treaty, and the ministers entering into the agreement signed it.

Since this treaty clearly shows Tibet and China as two distinct sovereign nations, it behoves the international community to support the cause of Tibetan independence. There is no need for the international community to give in to the Chinese claim, which labels support to the cause of Tibet as an interference in China's internal affairs.

Tibetan Foreign Office Letter

The following is the text of Tibetan Foreign Office letter to Mao Zedong. The letter is dated the 12th Day of the Ninth Moon in the Earth Ox Year (corresponding to 2 November 1944). This letter points to the fact that Tibet was then an independent country. The English translation is from the British Foreign Office records (F0371/76317):

The Communist Party leader Mao Tsetung,

Tibet is a peculiar country where the Buddhist religion is widely flourishing and which is predestined to be ruled by the Living Buddha of Mercy of Chenresig [the Dalai Lama]. As such, Tibet has from the earliest times up to now been an independent country whose political administration had never been taken over by any foreign country; and Tibet also defended her own territories from foreign invasions and always remained a religious nation.

In view of the fact that Chinghai and Sinking etc are situated on the borders of Tibet, we would like to have an assurance that no Chinese troops would cross the Tibetan frontier from the Sino-Tibetan border, or any such military action. Therefore please issue strict orders to those civil and military officers stationed on the Sino-Tibetan border in accordance with the above request, and kindly let us have an early reply so that we can be assured. As regards those Tibetan territories annexed as part of Chinese territories some years back, the government of Tibet

A Study of the Chinese Claim, Based on the History of Mongol and Manchu Empires

The Chinese government's white paper on Tibet claims that in "the mid 13th century, Tibet was officially incorporated into the territory of China's Yuan Dynasty". Nothing could be farther from truth. The Yuan is a Mongol dynasty, and not Chinese. In the 13th century, Tibet and Mongols established priest-patron relationship. The Mongol khan invited the Tibetan ruler Drogon Choegyal Phagpa to his court and received a series of tantric initiations. Overcome with deep respect for the Tibetan spiritual master, the Mongols supported the Tibetans in defending their independence from external aggression.

Subsequently, the Manchu Emperor invited the Fifth Dalai Lama to his capital and established priest-patron relationship. Historical records of the time show that the Manchu Emperor received the Dalai Lama with all the ceremony which could be accorded only to a ruler of an independent country.

Since the Yuan and Qing are not Chinese dynasties, there is actually no need to reply to the Chinese claims. Having said this, we must not forget that outsiders without adequate knowledge of Tibetan history may be deceived by the Chinese propaganda. Therefore, the Tibetan Government-in-Exile has refuted the Chinese claims, basing its contention on historical facts.

It must be stated during the height of Mongol might, countries like China, Burma, Russia, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Vietnam, Korea, Laos, Cambodia, Hungary, Romania, etc. came under its sway. The Mongols even

became the emperors of China and made Beijing their capital.

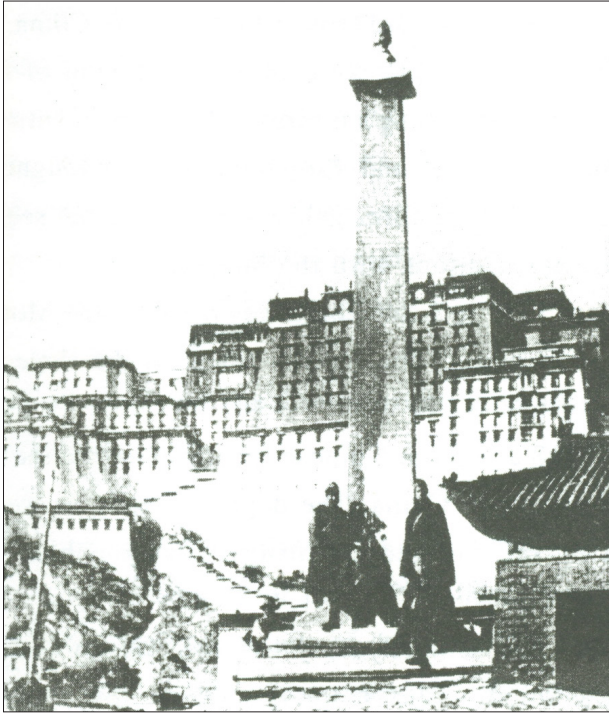
Later, when the Manchus became the emperors of China, they conquered North and South Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Mongolia. Now, can the Chinese say that these countries became inseparable parts of China since the time of the Mongol and Manchu dynasties? If the Chinese do make such a claim, it will only be meaningless since these countries exist as independent, sovereign entities. In the case of Tibet, China took advantage of the Himalayan kingdom's peace-loving and non-violent culture to annex it, claiming historical rights by citing Mongol and Manchu histories. This is totally unjust and illegal. International legal experts and objective observers have a responsibility to study the Chinese claim and issue a verdict, pointing out the facts and fiction.

Government-in-Exile's Clarification:

The Tibetan Government-in-Exile has refuted Chinese claim of sovereignty over Tibet by drawing on historical records, pillar inscriptions, biographies, autobiographies, etc.

The Chinese white paper states that in “the mid-13th century, Tibet was officially incorporated into the territory of China's Yuan Dynasty. Since then, although China experienced several dynastic changes, Tibet has remained under the jurisdiction of the central government of China.” The relationship between Tibet and China was first established between the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo and the Chinese Tang emperor. Since then, the

two countries sometimes enjoyed cordial relations while at other times they fought each other. In the eighth century, China was bound to pay Tibet an annual tribute of 50,000 bolts of brocade. This fact is stated very clearly on the stone pillar standing in Shol, in front of the Potala.



Eighth-century Tibet-China treaty on
the pillar in Shol, Lhasa

Gradually, the relationship between Nephew and Uncle became cordial, leading to the treaty of the ninth century. The text of this treaty was inscribed both in Tibetan and Chinese on three stone pillars: one was erected in Lhasa, the second in Chang-an, and the third on the Tibet-China border. After that, there had been no direct contact between the two countries till the demise of the Tang dynasty.

In the early part of the 10th century, the Tibetan empire disintegrated as did that of the Chinese. China, however, reunified quickly with the establishment of northern and southern Sung empires. There are mentions of the Tibetan Tanguts and Tsongkhas having fought wars against the Sung empire. Other than that, Tibet seems to have had no relations with the Sung empire. From 1279 to 1368 China was ruled by the Mongols. During that period, the Sakyas ruled all the three provinces of Tibet.

In 1368 a popular Chinese rebellion ousted the Mongol dynasty from China. The deposed Mongols were replaced by the indigenous Ming dynasty, which ruled China till 1643.

When the Ming dynasty assumed power in China, Tibet was ruled by the Nedhongs. During this period, the relationship between Tibet on the one hand and the Mongols and China on the other hand was confined to the presentation of complimentary titles, seals, gift of gold, silver, brocade, silk, etc. by the Mongol and Chinese courts to Tibetan lamas. Some Tibetan lamas were invited to Mongolia and China, where the respective sovereigns gave them lavish gifts. Other than that, there is no historical record of any political relationship between Tibet and China.

In 1644 the Manchu conquered China and deposed its Ming dynasty. At that time, Tibet was ruled by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Manchu dynasty ruled China till 1912.

In 1912 the Nationalist toppled the Manchu government, and the Guomintang came to power. In 1949 the Communist routed the Guomintang forces and took power in China. These historical events, showing Tibet and China as two separate countries, are clearly mentioned in the Tibetan Government-in-Exile's document.

Ngabo Comments on the Guomintang Historical Documents

The Guomintang government of China claims that it approved the enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama, forgoing the traditional ceremony of drawing lots from the Golden Urn. The Guomintang document also states that its representative presided over the enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama.

Ngabo Ngawang Jigme refuted this claim in his address to a meeting in Lhasa on 31 July 1989. Ngabo said, "I looked at the related Guomintang documents. There was a document dealing with the event of Regent Reting's Lhamoi Lhatso lake vision. It was written on a Chinese paper, and not on the traditional Tibetan paper. The calligraphic style of that document shows that it was written by someone in Amdo. It was by no means an original document. The Guomintang government has preserved this document in their national archive as if it was a piece of gem. The Guomintang government had regarded this as an original document. However, the fact

that it was not written on a Tibetan paper shows that this was not an original document. The document did not even have an official seal.”

Ngabo demanded to know why the Communist government should follow the Guomintang practice of prevarication. Ngabo reported that when he had brought his finding to the attention of Chang Feng of the United Front, the latter said, “In future, we will not claim that Wu Zhongxin presided over the enthronement of the 14th Dalai Lama.” Ngabo berated the historians for distorting facts in order to protect their salary and ranks.

The Chinese white paper on Tibet talks about the Manchu Emperor’s 29-point regulations for the governance of Tibet and appointment of Ambans in Tibet as if they were orders from the Manchu government to Tibet. In reality, the 29-point regulation was a suggestion given by the patron to his spiritual master for the latter’s wellbeing. This suggestion was made in the spirit of priest-patron relationship that had existed since the time of Kublai Khan.

Furthermore, it must be pointed out that the regulation was announced after all its points were discussed between the Tibetan ministers and Manchu officials. It certainly did not come as an edict from the Manchu emperor.

This becomes clear from the following statement made at that time by Manchu General Fu K’ang-an. In Ya Angchang’s *Biography of the Dalai Lama*, the Manchu General is quoted as having made the following statement:

The Emperor issued detailed instructions to me, the Great General, to discuss all the points, one by one, in

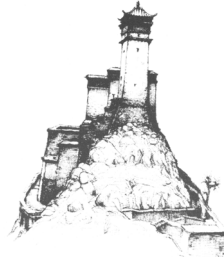
great length. This demonstrates the Emperor's concern that the Tibetans come to no harm and that their welfare be ensured in perpetuity. There is no doubt that the Dalai Lama, acknowledging his gratitude to the Emperor, will accept these suggestions once all the points are discussed and agreed upon. However, if the Tibetans insist on clinging to their ancient habits, the Emperor will withdraw the Ambans and the garrison after the troops are pulled out. Moreover, if similar incidents (external aggression) occur in the future, the Emperor will have nothing to do with them. The Tibetans may, therefore, decide for themselves as to what is in their favour and what is not, or what is heavy and what is light, and make a choice of their own.

At that time, the Manchu general and army had come to Tibet to repel the Gorkha invaders from Tibet. In the priest-patron relationship that existed between Tibet and the Manchu, the patron was bound to protect the priest (the Dalai Lama) and defend his country from foreign aggression. The aforesaid statement of General Fu K'angan shows that there was no other purpose for the Manchu intervention in Tibet.

The Manchu Amban was merely a liaison between the priest and the patron. He had absolutely no say in the administration of Tibet. The Amban's role in Tibet is best defined in the explanation Amban Yu Tai gave in 1903 to Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India (as reported by him), "he was only a guest in Lhasa - not a master - and he could not put aside the real masters, and as such he had no force to speak of."

These facts prove the independent status of Tibet and

contradict the Chinese claim in its white paper that in “the mid-13th century, Tibet was officially incorporated into the territory of China’s Yuan Dynasty. Since then, although China experienced several dynastic changes, Tibet has remained under the jurisdiction of the central government of China.”



Part Three

The Government of Tibet re-established its legal codes and signed international treaties. Objective observers throughout the world acknowledge that Tibet was an independent country invaded illegally by China.

The Government of Tibet Issued a Series of Legal Codes

King Songtsen Gampo established the legal code of “Ten Dharmic Virtues” and “Sixteen Humanitarian Conducts” for Tibet. He built an army of 61 *tongdheys*, and promulgated the Six Great Legal Codes.

The Tibetan army at that time was known as the valiant *tongdhey*; *tongdhey* meaning a military unit comprising of 1,000 to 999 men. There were a total of 61 *tongdhey*: 10 *Yoru Tongdhey*, 10 *Oru Tongdhey*, 10 *Yeru Tongdhey*, 10 *Rulag Tongdhey*, five Upper *Shangshung Tongdhey*, five Lower *Shangshung Tongdhey*, and 11 *Sumpai Tongdhey*.

The Six Great Legal Codes established by Songtsen Gampo were a) *Tritse Bumsher Gyi Trim*, b) *Bumser Thog Shawa Chen Gyi Trim*, c) *Gyalkham Perlang Kyi Trim*, d) *Dolon Shuchey Kyi Trim* e) *Wangchen Chey Kyi Trim*, and f) *Khabso Nangpai Trim*. The codes were amended by later religious kings in 655, 690, 721, 726 and 778.

Thereafter, the Sakya ruler, Shonwang, established a number of civil and military taxation laws. He conducted land surveys and established a system of maintaining the records of the poor and rich as well as of the fertile and arid lands.

Later, Phagmodrup Jangchup Gyaltzen deposed the Sakya ruler and built the forts of the 13 Great Districts. He revised the Tibetan legal system and established the code of *Gyaltrim Sheychey Cho-nga* (15-point legal code), in which he did away with the Mongol influence in the Tibetan legal system.

Subsequently, Tsang ruler Karma Tenkyong Wangpo

added one more point to address the special legal needs of the southern border region of Mon. Thus the 15-point legal code came to be called the 16-point legal code. In 1679 the Fifth Dalai Lama established the *Gyaltrim Shelchey Chu-nyi* (12-point legal code).

In 1681 Administrator Desi Sangye Gyatso established the *Trim-yig Dhangshel Melong* (Clear Mirror of Legal Code).

Thus, Tibet was ruled independently by Tibetans from the earliest king, Nyari Tsenpo. From the time of Songtsen Gampo, Tibetan kings established a series of legal codes in answer to the needs of time. None of the Tibetan historical records make any mention of foreign powers imposing their laws on Tibet. From this point of view also, it is clear that Tibet existed as an independent country before the Chinese invasion.

International Recognition of Tibetan Independence

The Chinese white paper on Tibet states that not a single country has recognized the independence of Tibet. This, as we shall see, is totally untrue.

Tibet has over 2,000 years of history as an independent country. All the countries with whom Tibet had any contacts recognized it as an independent country and entered into treaty relations with it.

The 823 stone pillar, bearing the text of a treaty between the Tibetan religious king and the Chinese emperor, refers to the former as “the supernaturally wise divinity”, implying that the Tibetan ruler’s wisdom was

more than that of a mere mortal. The Chinese king was the first to accord such a high recognition on Tibet and its ruler.

Similarly, other countries with whom Tibet had any contacts recognized it as independent enough to enter into treaty relations with them.

The Gorkhas signed three treaties with Tibet, i.e., in 1789, 1855 and 1856.

In 1842 Tibet and Raja Gulab Singh of Kashmir signed an agreement.

In 1852 the king of Kashmir and Tibet signed an agreement.

In 1904 and 1914 Tibet and British India signed conventions.

After the expulsion of Manchu forces from Lhasa in 1912, Tibet and the Manchu government signed two treaties.

In 1912 Tibet and Mongolia signed a treaty.

After the skirmishes of 1918, Tibet and China signed two treaties, demarcating their respective boundaries. These treaties were signed on the basis of equality. They were lawful documents, reflecting the mutually-accepted will of the two countries.

In 1951 the Chinese army occupied the eastern Tibetan town of Chamdo. However, since Tibet was an independent country at that time, China found itself compelled to sign an agreement with it. In the event, the agreement was dictated by the Chinese government. The Tibetan delegates were threatened and forced to sign this agreement. However, the delegates did not affix their official seals to the agreement. Similarly, by 1959, the

Chinese had violated every provision of this agreement, thus, rendering it null and void.

At the time of negotiating this agreement, the Tibetan delegates were forced to accept the Chinese diktats. In his autobiography, *Mitse'i Bhalab Trukpo*, delegate Sampho Tenzin Dhondup reminisces the events surrounding the signing of this agreement. He writes: "There was absolutely no equality between the two sides. It was as if the Chinese were masters and we their order receivers."

Another delegate, Lhawutara, told the Chinese, "You are like a strong, able-bodied man and we are like a seven-year or eight-year old child. You have the strength to beat us or kill us. You can treat us in any way you fancy."

Li Weihai, head of the Chinese delegation, wanted no consultation with the Tibetans. He asked the Tibetan delegates to choose between an armed liberation and a peaceful liberation. He meant that if the Tibetan delegates signed the agreement, there would be a peaceful liberation, and that if they did not, the Chinese army would simply attack the remaining part of Tibet. From this, it becomes clear that the Tibetan delegates had absolutely no say in negotiating this agreement; they were merely required to accept anything the Chinese desired.

Later, the Tibetan delegates met among themselves many times in Ngabo's room and expressed concerns over how the negotiations might end in the light of the Chinese delegation's constant use of threats and bullying tactics. In reply, Nabo remarked, "Now, we are in Chinese hands; they can beat us or kill us." In short, the Tibetan delegates had to sign the agreement without having had the opportunity to contact their government. This was the

reason why Ngabo did not affix the seal of the office of Chamdo governor to the agreement document.

When Ngabo reached Beijing railway station on 23 April 1951, Premier Zhou Enlai, Vice-premier Gou Moru, Secretary of the Chinese People's Government Lin Beiqu, other dignitaries and hundreds of ordinary Chinese citizens came for reception. This kind of reception could be accorded only to a representative of a sovereign nation. Furthermore, the signatories of the agreement were referred to as the "Plenipotentiaries of the Government of the People's Republic of China" and "Plenipotentiaries of the Local Government of Tibet". This shows that the parties signing the agreement were two separate countries. The "Local Government" was a new phrase imposed at that time through the use of military threats.

Point 14 of this agreement states: "The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralized handling of all external affairs of Tibet and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and the establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty." This point, in effect, acknowledged the independent status of Tibet at that time.

In 1947 a Tibetan delegation, headed by Taiji Sampho, visited India to attend the Asian Relations Conference. In the same year, a trade delegation, headed by Tsipon Shakabpa, visited countries like the United States. Both the delegations carried Tibetan passports, written in Tibetan on the traditional Tibetan paper and stamped with the Tibetan government seal. The governments of the host

countries recognized these documents as valid passports and stamped their visas on them.

During World War II the Allies requested the Tibetan government to allow passage of military supplies through Tibet to China. Tibet declined the request.

The International Commission of Jurists, after studying historical records, submitted a report to the UN General Assembly, stating that Tibet in 1911/1912 was independent from China in fact and law.

The United Nations General Assembly passed three resolutions on the issue of Tibet--in 1959, 1961 and 1965. The 1961 resolution stated that the General Assembly:

1. Reaffirms its conviction that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the Rule of Law;

2. Solemnly renews its call for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination;

3. Expresses the hope that member States will make all possible efforts, as appropriate, towards achieving the purposes of the present resolution.

In 1959, Jawaharlal Nehru, first prime minister of independent India, addressed the Lower House of the Indian Parliament and said that “the last voice in regard to Tibet should be the voice of the people of Tibet and nobody else”. All of these statements represent support to the independence of Tibet.

Apart from a small number of communist bloc countries, most objective international observers regarded the Chinese presence in Tibet as an act of illegal occupation.

Laws Governing International Treaties:

In 1981 the Chinese government convened a large meeting in Lhasa to celebrate the 30 anniversary of the signing of the 17-point Agreement. The participants of this meeting were given lavish gifts.

Regarding this agreement, the Tibetan Government-in-Exile has made the following argument: “The laws governing treaties is based on the universally recognized principle that the foundation of conventional obligations is the free and mutual consent of contracting parties and, conversely, that freedom of consent is essential to the validity of an agreement. Treaties brought about by the threat or the use of force lack legal validity, particularly if coercion is applied to the country and government in question rather than only on the negotiators themselves.”

Lawyers Conference in London

From 6 to 10 January 1993 international lawyers met in a conference in London to consider the question of Tibetan people’s right to self-determination and independence. The conference came to the conclusion that at the time of the Chinese occupation, Tibet possessed all the attributes of an independent country. The conference, therefore, decided to recognize the Tibetan people’s claim to

independence. In the debate, the conference discussed the Chinese claims and found them untenable. The conference unanimously agreed that the Tibetan people's claims were more credible than that of China.

Numerous other conferences were held to this effect in different parts of the world. All of them recognized Tibet as an occupied country.

UN Debates on Tibet

When Communist China marched into Tibet in 1949, the Tibetan government sent urgent appeals to the United Nations for mediation on behalf of Tibet. The United Nations recognized the Chinese invasion as illegal, but did nothing practical to stop the invasion. Whatever the case may be, the United Nations did recognize that China had invaded an independent country.

This becomes clear from the General Assembly debates of 1959, 1961 and 1965. The Ambassador of the Philippines stated that Tibet was an independent country, and not under the rule of any foreign power. Many other countries made statements to this effect. The Philippine Ambassador described the Chinese occupation as "the worst type of imperialism, and colonialism past or present"

The Nicaraguan Ambassador condemned the Chinese invasion of Tibet and said, "The people of America, born in freedom, must obviously be repelled by an act of aggression... and particularly when it is perpetrated by a large state against a small and weak one."

It was, in fact, only the communist bloc countries who openly sided with China on the issue. Official

statements from neutral countries have proved wrong the Chinese claim, in their white paper, that no country has recognized the independence of Tibet.

US Congressional Resolution on Tibet

On 28 October 1991 US President George Bush signed into law a congressional resolution, which stated the following:

1. Tibet, including those areas incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu and Qinghai, is an occupied country under the established principles of international law;

2. Tibet's true representatives are the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in exile as recognized by the Tibetan people;

3. Tibet has maintained throughout its history a distinctive and sovereign national, cultural, and religious identity separate from that of China and, except during periods of illegal Chinese occupation, has maintained a separate and sovereign political and territorial identity;

4. historical evidence of this separate identity may be found in Chinese archival documents and traditional dynastic histories, in the United States' recognition of Tibetan neutrality during World War II, and in the fact that a number of countries, including the United States, Mongolia, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, India, Japan, Great Britain and Russia recognized Tibet as an independent nation or dealt with Tibet independently of any Chinese government;

5. in 1949-50, China launched an armed invasion of Tibet in contravention of international law;

6. it is the policy of the United States to oppose aggression and other illegal uses of force by one country against the sovereignty of another as a matter of acquiring territory, and to condemn violations of international law, including the illegal occupation of one country by another; and

7. numerous United States declarations since the Chinese invasion have recognized Tibet's right to self-determination and the illegality of China's occupation of Tibet.

Tibet's Neutrality in World War II

During World War II, China, the United States and Britain requested the Tibetan government to allow passage of military supplies to China through the Tibetan territory. Tibet, citing its neutrality, turned down the request.

If Tibet had been part of China, there would have been no need for the Chinese government to make such a request; it would have simply made the decision on behalf of Tibet. The fact of the matter is that China at that time had no authority in Tibet. That is why it, along with the United States and Britain, had to request the Tibetan government to allow use of Tibet's territory in their war efforts. Tibet's act to decline the Allies' request and assert its role as a peaceful, neutral country is a clear evidence of its independent status.

Tibet Not Included in the Chinese National Mobilization Campaign

When the Japanese attacked China in 1937, the Communist and Guomintang forces declared truce in order to fight jointly against the foreign aggression. The two combatants declared a ten-point resolution, the third point of which announced mass mobilization throughout the length and breadth of China to focus national efforts in challenging the Japanese invasion. The Tibetan government was not asked to join the mass mobilization as no one at that time looked upon Tibet as part of China.

Chiang Kei-shek Asked Tibet to Join the Chinese Republic

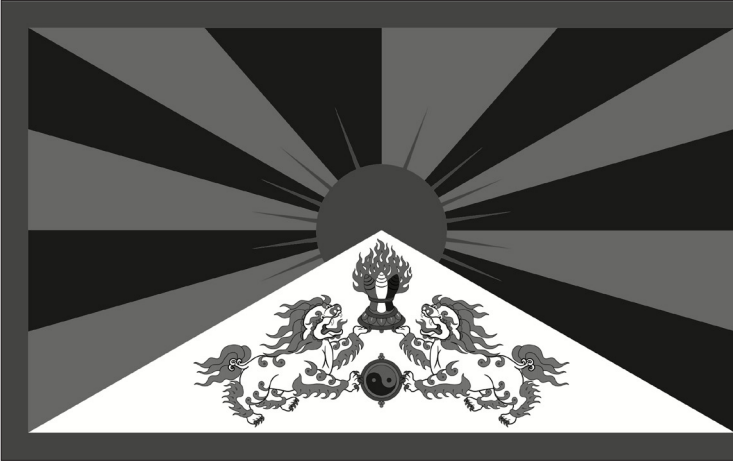
When the Republic of China was formed, Chiang Kei-shek requested Tibet to join it. He did not claim that Tibet was part of the Chinese Republic. The fact that Chiang Kei-shek asked Tibet to join China shows that Tibet at that time was not part of China. In the event, the Tibetan government exercised its right to self-determination and refused to join the Republic. This is another evidence of Tibet's independent status.



Part Four

China invaded Tibet

Tibetan national flag. It refused also to accept the “17-point Agreement”. Tibetan people protested against the Chinese invasion and launched armed resistance.



Tibetan National Flag

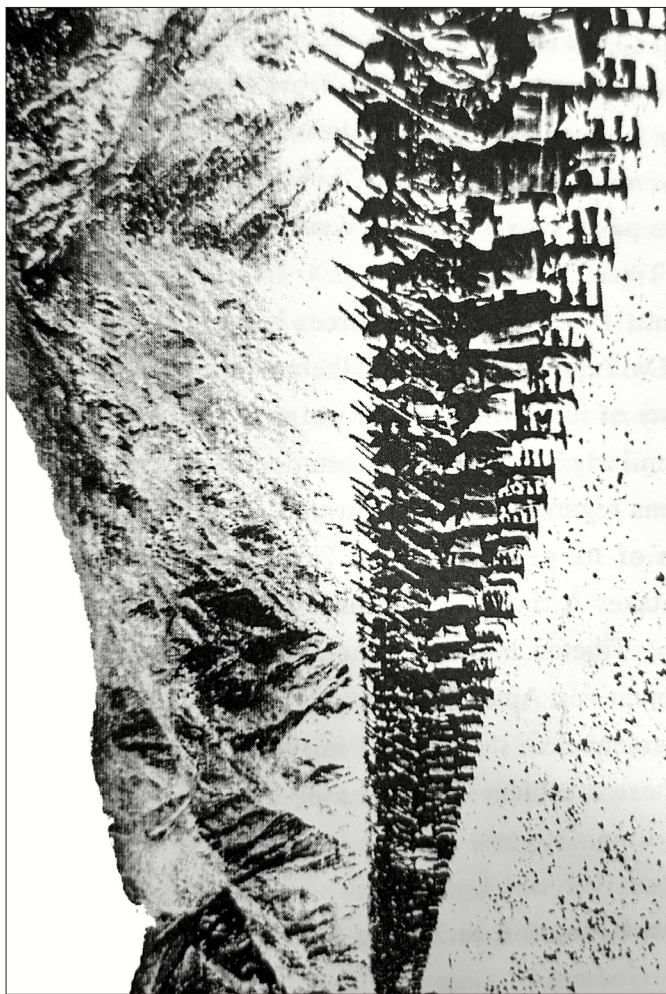
Chinese Army Reached Lhasa, but Tibet Refused to Change its National Flag

In 1950 the Dalai Lama moved his headquarters to Dromo in southern Tibet, after appointing Lobsang Tashi and Lukhangwa as prime ministers in Lhasa. The prime ministers immediately collected from the Kashag and Tse office all the documents relating to Tibet's external affairs. The office of the prime ministers studied these documents every day from dusk to dawn.

Later, Zhang Jinwu came to Lhasa and sought a meeting with the prime ministers. The meeting took place in the assembly hall of Lating Nagsi complex. As Zhang Jinwu entered the assembly hall, he offered scarves to the prime ministers and shook their hands. While holding Prime Minister Lukhang's hand, Zhang Jinwu asked, "Don't you think that the 17-point Agreement and the peaceful liberation of Tibet were positive developments?" Lukhang replied, "Having journeyed from afar, you must be tired now. Please, be seated first." Zhang was then offered the traditional Tibetan tea and biscuits. Zhang repeated his question about the "17-point Agreement" and the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet. Lukhang said, "We have a lot of complaints about the 17-point Agreement. We shall talk about this later. Today, you must be tired. Please, have your tea and biscuits." Zhang Jinwu had expected the prime ministers to agree that the "17-point Agreement" was a good thing. However, as the prime ministers did not give the desired reply, he was unable to make any announcement about the Tibetan government having welcomed the "agreement"

Subsequently, Zhang Jinwu had a series of joint meetings with the Dalai Lama, the Prime ministers, and the Kashag members. In all these meetings, Zhang asked for the implementation of the 17-point Agreement's clause to incorporate the Tibetan army into the People's Liberation Army. He asked also for the replacement of the Tibetan national flag with the Chinese flag. Expressing their unwillingness to enforce Zhang's demands, the prime ministers said, "The "17-point Agreement" was signed under threat. That is why our delegates did not affix the genuine seals of office. This "agreement" needs to be changed... We can never replace the flag. We are willing to talk on the basis of historical records. However, if you insist on using military threats, there is nothing we can talk about. If you hoist the Chinese flag atop us, the Tibetan army will remove it." At one point, Prime Minister Lobsang Tashi lost his patience; instead of using the translator, he shouted in Chinese. Prime Minister Lukhang concluded the meeting by insisting that the "17-point Agreement" must be renegotiated.

As a result of this disagreement, the Tibetan army uniform and national flag remained unchanged for nine years after the Chinese army marched into Lhasa. Such Tibetan military personnel as came to India in 1959 were sporting the Tibetan army uniform, and they were armed with Enfield rifles, artilleries, machine guns, sten guns, etc. The Tibetan national flag continued to fly over Lhasa for nine years since the Chinese army first came to Lhasa. In those years, Tibet's status as an independent nation remained undiluted.



Tibetan army

Even after the arrival of Chinese forces in 1950, the Chinese paper currency notes were not used as legal tender in Tibet.

Until 1959 the Chinese forces had to exchange their silver Da Yuan coins for 15 Tibetan Ngul-sang each, on the basis of its silver value in weight.

Similarly, the Tibetan government made independent decisions regarding the appointment, promotion, and demotion of its personnel. The Tibetan government also levied taxes without any Chinese interference.

The Tibetan Foreign Office had some new Chinese representatives. Apart from that, there wasn't a single Chinese personnel in the Tibetan military and civil service.

These are clear evidences of Tibet's independence at that time.

Tibetan Reception to Zhang Jinwu

If Tibet had been under China, the Tibetan prime ministers would have showed up for the reception of Zhang Jinwu when he arrived in Lhasa in 1951. Zhang would have been accommodated in Norbulingkha, or Chensel Phodrang, or in one of the new residences built during the reign of the 13th Dalai Lama, where Regents Taktra and Reting stayed during their reign. Instead, he was accommodated in a house belonging to Trimon family, like any other representative of a foreign country.

The fact of the matter is that the Tibetan government viewed Zhang Jinwu as a representative of the invading force. That is the reason why the prime ministers did not receive him. Instead, Kalon Lhalu and Katsab Thubten

Rabyang were sent to receive him. Later, when Zhang Jinwu made a call on the prime ministers, they did not even go upto the door of the meeting hall to receive him. This gesture of the Tibetan government has a significant political message.

Secret Organizations

As soon as the Chinese army arrived in Lhasa, some members of the Tibetan government formed a secret organization in defence of Tibet's religious and political systems. The Department of Information and International Relations interviewed leading members of this organization. Kasur Phala Thubten Woedhen said, "Members of this organization included Tsechag Khenchung Gyaltsen, General Khenchung Lodroe Kalsang, Chief Justice Khenchung Kalsang Ngawang, Tsipon Namseling Paljor Jigme, Takla Phuntsok Tashi (commander of the Dalai Lama's body guards) and Tashi Palrey (commander of the Drapchi military camp). Kenchung Gyalsten was the chief coordinator of this organization."

Khenchung Gyaltsen's confidant was Tsedrung Lobsang Nyendrak, who had his residence at the chapel of Tenma deity. The two men undertook a number of secret activities against the Chinese occupation.

On 20 March 1959, at about sunset, the Chinese forces stopped shelling the Norbulingkha palace, and entered it to flush out the remaining pockets of Tibetan resistance. At the same time, Khenchung Gyaltsen and his confidant offered their last prayers in the shrine of Mahakala, opened

their amulets and swallowed the holy pills from within. Then, they went to Tsechag's residence and shot each other. They knew that if they were wounded and captured while trying to escape, they might be tortured to reveal the names of the other members of the organization. Suicide, they decided, was a much more desirable alternative. As I write this, I pay my respect to the sacrifice of these two martyrs.

Petition From the Tibetan Military Camps

After signing the "17-point Agreement", the surviving Tibetan troops in Chamdo were allowed to return home to Lhasa. At that time, there were some 3,000 Tibetan troops in Lhasa. The Chinese demanded that the Tibetan government should retain only 1,000 troops: 500 in the bodyguard regiment and 500 for public security. The remaining troops, they said, should be disbanded. Under intense pressure from the Chinese authorities, the Tibetan government made an announcement to this effect in 1955. In reply, the Tibetan military camps in Lhasa wrote a petition to the government, requesting that they be allowed to serve their country, even if that be without pay. Thus, the Tibetan army remained in active service until the fall of Lhasa in March 1959.

The First Resistance Organization

The standing committee members of the first resistance organization were Chagzod Dhamchoe Sonam, Jamyang Dawa, Karne Khang Phuntsok Tashi and Lobsang

Phuntsok. They made secret contacts with craftsmen, artisans, traders, government and private building caretakers, janitors, messengers, police personnel, local toughies, and other volunteers in Lhasa. Similarly, they contacted the government officials and leaders of various districts in Tibet. These contacts resulted in a six-point petition against the “17-point Agreement”. On 31 March 1952 the petition was submitted to the Chinese representative in Lhasa. A copy of the petition was submitted to the Kashag. The petition demanded that:

1. The power and position of the Dalai Lama should be preserved.

2. Tibetan independence should be preserved. Tibetan religious days should be observed as before.

3. The Tibetan government should continue to exercise its traditional political power.

4. Only a limited number of Chinese troops should remain in Lhasa. The surplus troops should return to China.

5. The Tibetan army should be allowed to wear the traditional uniform and they should follow their traditional military rules.

Business activities in Tibet should continue as before.

The Second Resistance Organization

The people’s representatives in the second resistance organization were Bumthang Secretary Gyaltsen Lobsang, Lhabchuk Dakpa Thinley, and Alo Chozed Tsering Dorje. This organization also submitted a six-

point petition against the “17-point Agreement” to the Chinese representative in Lhasa. A copy of the petition was submitted to the Kasha. The petition expressed opposition to:

1. The practice of forcing tens of thousands of Tibetans to work on road and airstrip constructions.

2. The presence of a large number of Chinese civilian and military personnel in Tibet.

3. The Chinese demand that the Tibetan army should be reorganized into the People’s Liberation Army.

4. The Chinese demand for an end to the use and printing of Tibetan currency notes.

5. The Chinese proposal for the establishment of the “Tibet Autonomous Region”.

6. The Chinese reforms in eastern Tibet, which had driven thousands of Tibetans to the mountains.

The Chinese arrested three leaders of this organization, of whom Lhabchuk died in captivity.

The Third Resistance Organization

The increasing Chinese atrocities drove the Tibetan people to desperation, forcing them to take up armed resistance. Adrung Gonpo Tashi formed the first armed resistance force, known as Chushi Gangdruk. Led in main by fighters from Kham, people from Amdo and U-Tsang gradually joined this force. The fighters converged on Driguthang and formally inaugurated the organization. As there was no way for the fighters to receive their provisions from the Tibetan government, local Tibetans ministered to all

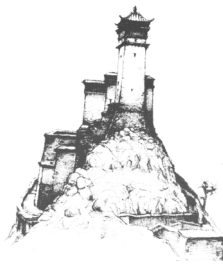
their needs. Wherever the fighters bivouacked, the district administrations, aristocracy, monasteries and ordinary people took care of their privisons. Local Tibetans, particularly the people of Lhokha, provided them with barley, wheat, meat, butter, cooking oil, potatoes, radish, fuel, utensil for roasting barley, water, horses, logistic service, scouts, messengers, etc.

A detachment of this force seized arms and ammunition from the government depot in Gaden Choekhor monastery. They harassed the Chinese soldiers in a series of engagements in Nyemo and other parts of Tibet. Gradually, they made their way to Chagra Palbar, where their ranks swelled. The main detachment, based in Driguthang, dealt crushing blows to the Chinese troops in skirmishes that took place in Tsethang, Gongkar and nearby areas, forcing the Chinese to withdraw from the Lhokha belt. As a result, the Dalai Lama was able to make his way safely to India though the Lhokha area.

Khenchung and Tsipon Joined the Resistance Fighters

In 1958 the Tibetan National Assembly resolved to persuade the resistance fighters to stop their campaigns. The Kashag sent Khenchung Thubten Samchok and Tsipon Namseling to Lhokha to communicate the Assembly's decision to the fighters. When they reached Lhokha, they discovered that the Tibetan fighters were in no mood to call off their campaign. The two officials then decided to join the resistance force. They immediately summoned the administrators and their servants from the 28 districts lying between Nagartse and Kongpo. About 1,500 of them

came, armed and ready to fight. They were joined by over 9,000 local militiamen, composed of ordinary Tibetans and monks. The militia was sent to different parts of Tibet with an instruction to fight the Chinese soldiers. The district administrators were sent back with an instruction to defend the areas under their respective jurisdiction. This story was related to me by Chime Gonpo of Lhasol district. He said he had been responsible for registering the names of the militiamen. Chime Gonpo later died in Dharamsala, after his retirement from the service of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile.



Part Five

**The events of 1959, and the repression,
Plunder and destruction till 1980.**

Two Separate Entities

Tibet and China are two completely separate nations with distinct national flags. Their separateness is reflected in geographical features, architecture, language and literature, dress, custom, food, and way of life. Tibetans are deeply religious-minded while the Chinese regard religion as poison. Tibetans believe in the democratic system of government while the Chinese believe in the dictatorship of Communist Party. In short, the difference between the two countries cannot be over-emphasized.

In the seventh century, king Songtsen Gampo forged matrimonial alliance with the Chinese emperor. Since then, Tibet and China have fought several wars. Later, Tibet came to enjoy distant priest-patron relations with the Mongols and the Manchus. However, the Chinese never ruled Tibet. In fact, Tibet and China had no relations whatsoever. Tibetans do not speak or write Chinese just as the Chinese do not speak and write Tibetan.

When the Chinese invaded Tibet, they had to bring interpreters in order to communicate with Tibetans. Without the interpreters, there was no way the Chinese and Tibetans could communicate with each other. The only word commonly understood by the two peoples was “Da Yuan” (Chinese silver dollar). In the marketplace, they used this word and gesticulated to communicate with each other. These are the evidences pointing to the fact that the two peoples had never had any contact with each other.

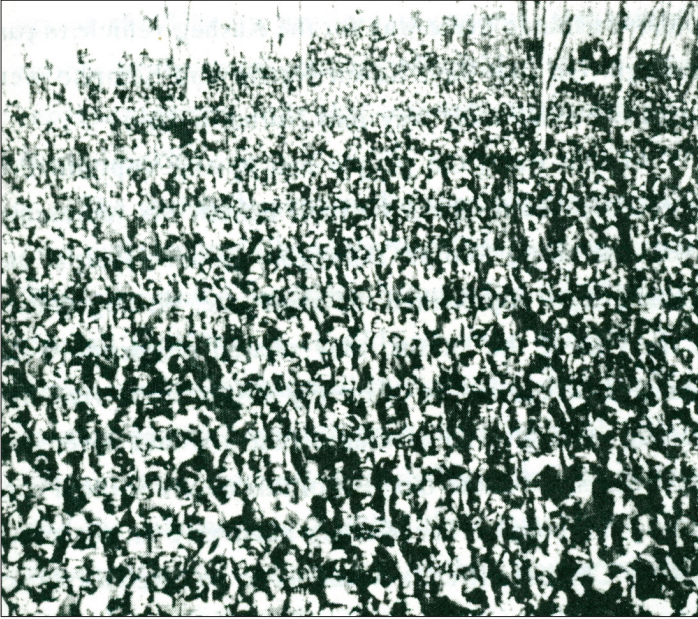
National Uprising in 1959

On 10 March 1959 the Dalai Lama was scheduled to visit Siliphug, the main Chinese military camp in Lhasa, for a theatrical show. Chinese General Tan Guansen called Takla Phuntsok Tashi, commander of the Dalai Lama's bodyguard regiment, to their military camp to discuss the visit. The General said that only a limited number of attendants and bodyguards should accompany the Dalai Lama. The bodyguards, he said, should not bring their arms into the military camp, and that the populace should not approach anywhere near the military camp, and that they should not cross the stone bridge in front of the Potala.

When the visit was finalized, it was announced that the Tibetan soldiers should guard the Dalai Lama's route and that the people of Lhasa and Shol should not come near the Chinese military camp.

The people of Lhasa received this announcement with great anxiety. They knew that important Tibetan lamas and leaders in Kham and Amdo had disappeared mysteriously after being invited to Chinese shows, meetings and banquets. They reasoned that if the Chinese were sincerely interested in presenting a show to the Dalai Lama, its venue should be Norbulingkha palace. The Tibetans were convinced that this invitation was a trap to abduct the Dalai Lama.

On 10 March, early in the morning, the whole of Lhasa camped around the perimeter fence of the Norbulingkha. The multitude clogged all the approach routes to the Norbulingkha, and requested the Kashag to call off the



Tibetan national uprising of March 1959

visit. The Kashag communicated this request to the Dalai Lama and decided to send a delegation consisting of Kalon Surkhang, Kalon Neushar and Kalon Shenhawa to explain the new development to the Chinese military camp. But as all the paths were blocked, the delegates had a difficult time in threading their way out of the Nobulingkha premises. Speaking aloud from the main gate platform, the Kashag representatives asked the people to go home, stating that the Dalai Lama had decided to postpone the visit. They requested the throng to move

aside to make way for the Kashag vehicle to pass through. On that day, Kalon Ngabo and Sampho were unable to make their way into Norbulingkha.

At that time, the people had hastily appointed 30 representatives to speak on their behalf. Six representatives, including Sholpa Tadongpa, Kopon Nyerpa, and Manang Apo, approached the main gate. Placing scarves at the feet of the kalons, they related the people's demands: It would not do to merely postpone the visit. The Kashag must give an assurance that it would never ever make decisions about the visit of this nature without consulting the people. The Kashag must give an assurance that the Chinese officials would never be given direct access to the Dalai Lama. If the Chinese government had anything to say to the Tibetan government or the Dalai Lama, it should do so through the Kashag and not approach the Dalai Lama directly. If the Chinese accepted this, the people would return home. Otherwise, there was no way they would leave. At that time, I was standing close to the main gate and was able to hear everything.

Thereafter, the Kashag members left for the Chinese military camp to communicate the people's demands. At the same time, a meeting of the Tibetan National Assembly was held in the Norbulingkha's prayer hall. Presided over by the four secretaries of the monk officialdom and the four *tsipons* of the lay officialdom, the meeting was attended by all the monk and lay officials, abbots or their representatives from the Three Great Monastic Seats, leaders of the Tibetan military regiments, treasurers and scribes of the monk and lay officialdoms, and about 30 representatives of the crowd surrounding the Norbulingkha.

The multitude convened a separate meeting of their own and drafted a letter to the Chinese representative. The letter stated that Tibet belonged to the Tibetans and that all the Chinese should leave the country. A large group of people marched through the streets of Lhasa, pasting posters inscribed with these demands. Shouting slogans, they marched through Tromsik-khang, Barkhor, and the marketplace, making their way to the Chinese representative's residence at Yuthok house, where they gave the protest letter.

Those who remained around the Norbulingkha made stoves and gathered firewood. Some of them went home to fetch food provisions.

When the kalons left for the Chinese military camp, the Tibetan military leaders displayed their anger and started using abusive words. They exchanged secret letters, in which they probably speculated whether the kalons would return safely or would find themselves made prisoners of the Chinese. In the event, the kalons did return safely.

By then, the Chinese army was in full alert. After the inauguration of the of Chushi Gangdruk force in Lhokha in 1958, all the Chinese bases in Lhasa were fortified with sand-bag emplacements on roof-tops and windows. Machine guns were trained from these emplacements. Reinforcement arrived soon after the Tibetans surrounded the Norbulingkha. A large number of military trucks trundled along the Kyangthang Naga road, bringing in additional soldiers and arms.

Lhasa was now an extremely dangerous place for the Dalai Lama. On the night of 17 March, the Dalai Lama left Lhasa secretly and went to Lhokha. There was

nothing to suggest that he had left. All the horses and pack animals in the Norbulingkha were still there. Similarly, the crowd surrounding the Norbulingkha had not moved. The Chinese were certain that the Dalai Lama was in the Norbulingkha. In the dead of night on 20 March, at 2pm, artillery shells pounded Norbulingkha, Chakpori, and Potala. Thousands of Tibetans were killed.

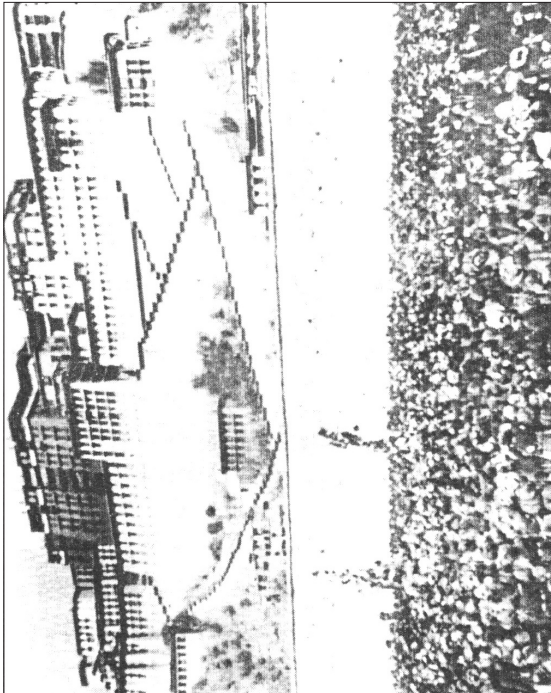
On 21 March, the Chinese moved into Norbulingkha and jailed the surviving Tibetans after screening them. When the Chinese did not find the Dalai Lama among the survivors, they checked each and every dead body with a clean-shaven head. On 21 and 22 March, they checked the dead bodies within the Norbulingkha premises. Then they checked the bodies on the banks of the Southern River, on the hillsides, and on the Great Swamp land of the north.

Women's Uprising

On 12 March 1959 a large contingent of women met in Lhasa and wrote posters, demanding Chinese withdrawal from every part of Tibet. The multitude then went on a procession, shouting slogans and pasting the posters on the wall. Led by Kunsang, resident of Kunling Gurteng house, and nuns of Galing Sharchoe nunnery, the demonstrators went to the Chinese officials at Yuthok house to give a memorandum, asking them to quit Tibet. The demonstrators included the residents of Lhasa and a large number of pilgrims from different parts of Tibet, who had converged on Lhasa for the Great Prayer Festival, at which the Dalai Lama was to sit for the Doctor of Divinity examinations.

A section of women went to the Indian and Nepalese missions, where they reported that they were engaged in a peaceful campaign to seek justice against the Chinese. They asked the Indian and Nepalese governments to mediate and bear witness to the illegal Chinese occupation of Tibet. (I was myself a witness to this incident. Later, in India, I had the opportunity of exchanging stories about this incident with other witnesses.)

Later. Kunsang. nuns of Galing Sharchoe nunnery,



Tibetan women's demonstrations of 12 March 1959

and many other members of the women's movement were arrested and subjected to 20 years of interrogation and imprisonment. Kunsang was finally executed.

Before the execution, the Chinese called a meeting of the inmates of Gutsa, Sangyib and Drapchi prisons, as well as of the monasteries in Lhasa which had by then been turned into prisons. The meeting took place on the ground of Drapchi prison. Kunsang was brought to the meeting with a dunce hat that had her so-called crime written on it. Her hands were bound tightly behind her.

With her head forced down, she listened to her death sentence. Kunsang was accused of the crime of leading the 1959 women's uprising. She was then driven off to the east of Sera and executed in a narrow gorge. Her body was buried even before she was completely dead. (This story is transcribed from the tape-recorded testimony given in India by her daughter.)

Other testimonies stated that the nuns of Galing Sharchoe were brought to a public sentencing rally at Powo Lingkha. They were then taken to the other side of Kyichu river and executed in a gorge.

Atrocities After the “Liberation”

Soon after crushing the Lhasa uprising, the Chinese launched class struggles in Tibet. Under this campaign, a large number of Tibetans were labelled as “feudal lords” or “agents of feudal lords”. People classified thus were looked upon with less respect than animals, deserving only to be exterminated. Here, I cite an example of my own relatives, which typify the fate of Tibetans throughout the country.

Sonam Topgyal and his wife, Sonam, belonged to Kotsa family in the Gyatsa district of Dago. In 1959 they were stigmatized as class enemies and imprisoned. Their family house was sealed, rendering the five children-daughter Pema, daughter Kunsang, daughter Tsering, daughter Tseten, and a grand child from son Dawa - homeless.

The children had to sleep on the porch of someone else's house. On the night of 2 January 1962 Cadre Chaktak Lhundup came to rape them. When the children raised alarm, he shot dead four of them. The following is Sonam Topgyal's letter to his relatives in exile:

My dear younger relatives-Yeshi Lhundrup, Ngag-dhon, So-rig and Dakten,

Over the past many years, the years when we have barely managed to survive, we have not been able to write to each other, let alone meet. However, (name withheld to protect the individual in Tibet) writes to me often to say that you are well and serving the cause of our nation. Every minute of your service for the cause of Tibet should earn you more merit than one can hope otherwise in many lifetimes. I, therefore, rejoice for you like a blooming lotus.

My wife, daughter and I are well. Having crossed the age of 70, my wife and I have no work; we can't even move about with ease. Our daughter is now the sole bread winner of our family. Naturally, we lead a poor life.

The tragedy that befell our family has few parallels in this world. My wife, my sibling and I were imprisoned and all our possessions confiscated. In prison, we were subjected to constant struggle sessions, criticism and

labour-reforms; each day and each night seemed to pass like eternity. Cadre Chaktak Lhundrup killed four of our children in their bed. The fifth child, daughter Tseten, managed to run away naked from her bed. No compensation has been given to us for their death. Certainly, you must have heard this heart-rending news.

Most of our relatives are dead now. Brother Pema Chojor died at the age of 64. Before his death, we looked after him to the complete satisfaction of the deceased and us both. We did not get to see Trinchoe-lak as he had died in Lhasa, aged 60. Most of other relatives-including Norlha, Damdrol, Dhetso, Dhonyu, Woedrol, Legdrup Gyatso, Lupon Thubkhey, Tedhor-had died in their mid-life. Their children now live in their respective homes in Tibet.

We received your message, sent through (name withheld), inviting Apho Yonten, Achak Doltse and me to spend the rest of our life at your home. You said that you would look after us as long as we lived. Unfortunately, I am not strong enough to make a journey of this magnitude. Moreover, I can't bear to part with my wife and daughter at this juncture of my life when I am nearing the end of my life. Nevertheless, I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kind offer.

If I live for one or two more years, I may hear more news about you. Although, I wish to continue to communicate with you, it seems almost certain that I will not live long. The sea of my bad karma in the past life has burst its banks in this life. As the *Sherting* text states: "Even a duration of a hundred aeons/ Will not undo

Handwritten text in Tibetan script, likely a letter or document, showing dense cursive writing across multiple lines.

Reproduction of Sonam Topgyal's original letter

time when all the conditions come together.” Indeed, our cyclic existence is full of suffering. Much as we wish to overcome our suffering, we fail to do anything toward this end.

Although I may not be able to meet you, I request you to send me news about yourselves. And please keep up your virtuous works for the benefit of both this and next lives.

Sonam Topgyal, Gyatsa Work Unit 1, Lhokha Prefecture, Tibet.

Death Toll Under Chinese Rule

A study conducted by the Tibetan Government-in-Exile showed that from 1949 to 1983, over 1.2 million Tibetans had died as a direct result of Chinese occupation. The break-down of this figure is as follow:

Toured to death in prison	173,221
Executed:	156,758
Killed in fighting:	432,705
Starvation death:	342,970
Suicide	9,002
Struggled to death:	92,731
Total	1,207,387

To cite but one example of the Tibetan death toll, a Chinese official document captured by the Mustang-based Tibetan resistance force stated that from March 1959 to September 1960, 87,000 Tibetans in Lhasa and environs had been annihilated.

Destruction and plunder

China has not only occupied Tibet, a country that has a history of over 2,200 years of independence, it has also plundered the nation's central and regional government treasuries. How many billions of yuans would that loss amount to?

Members of the Tibetan government and nobility were dispossessed of all their belongings. On the eve of Chinese invasion, an average member of the nobility as well as the higher official of the government had a three storied stone house in Lhasa. Each of these houses had some 20 to 30 rooms with the courtyard fringed by stables on the ground floor and servants' quarters on the upper floor. Similarly, they had huge estates and manorial houses outside Lhasa. The Chinese destroyed most of these houses. While some houses had the two upper floors destroyed, most of them were pulled down completely and their ruins used for other purposes. How many billions of yuans that loss amount to?

Before the Chinese invasion, Tibet had over 6,000 monasteries and nunneries, belonging to all the schools of Buddhism and Bon. Each of them had between 100 to 7,700 monks and nuns. All of these religious institutes were vandalized; some were partially destroyed and put to banal uses while others were reduced to complete ruins. How many billions of yuans would it cost to restore these institutes to their former glory?

All of these structures had very thick walls; some made of stones and others of packed mud. On the average, each building had three to four floors. The highest

quality timber was used. Similarly, their foundations were extremely sturdy. The bigger monasteries were emblazoned with curved ornamental roofs of gilded-gold. They were ornamented with *ganjira*, victory banners, and other traditional artifacts. These monasteries and nunneries had a rich collection of valuable statues and other ritual objects. As well as being excellent scholars and practitioners, members of these religious institutes observed their ordination vows strictly. They were indeed the gem of the areas where they lived.

The Tibetan people had built these institutes with monumental efforts. I cite one example here. Drok Riwoche Gaden Nampar Gyalwai Ling, the seat of Tsongkhapa, was built on a very high mountain, far away from the stir of society. Each and every stone was transported on human backs over a long distance from the valleys. The timber for pillars and beams was brought all the way from Kongpo in Central Tibet and other places. Between six to ten men carried each log. The timber used for making windows and floors was brought from a distance of one to two days. Not a single iron nail was used in the wood work. Wooden pegs and saw paste were used in place of nails. The water used in the construction was transported on human backs from a spring in the Wangkur mountain.

During the reign of Regent Reting, the monastery's assembly hall was expanded. I saw hundreds of monks transporting stones from a rocky hill on the western side of Wangkur mountain. This is a distance of more than two kilometres. When the Chinese destroyed this monastery, all the big stones were rolled down the hill. It is now impossible to rebuild this monastery with bare human hands.

Under the decree of *Tentsik Shebam*, the Tibetan government gave huge estates to most of the monasteries. Similarly, ordinary people donated agricultural lands, horses, donkeys, yaks, sheep and goats. The pastoral lands owned by the monasteries had huge animal population. The proceeds from the grasslands were used to make offerings during major prayer rituals. The land-holding of the monasteries and nunneries depended on the size of their respective population. The Chinese seized all these, including the wealth of all the lamas. How many billions of yuans would that amount to?

The Communist Chinese labelled the above-mentioned entities-namely, the Tibetan government, the aristocracy and the clerics-as the three feudal lords and class enemy number one. They say that the feudal lords consisted of five percent of the Tibetan population, numbering 50,000 people.

The next in the hierarchy of “class enemies” were “agents of feudal lords”. This included local leaders, *tso-draks*, *ding-khaks*, rich merchants and rich farmers. My family was categorized in this class, being, as they were, local *tso-draks* in Dagpo. By the standard of the whole Tibet, it was a middle-class family. However, it was one of the three richest families in our own small village. Ours was a three-storied building, built on a platform that was about a metre high. In addition, we had a number of smaller houses nearby. When the Chinese launched their reforms in our village, the top local Chinese official took up residence in our house. He made the local people built a road between the house and the highway, which was about a whole day’s walk. Later, they destroyed the two

upper floors. Similarly, they destroyed the house of my uncle's in-laws in Lower Dagpo. This was also a three storied building. Since the population of the "agents of feudal lords" was several times that of the "feudal lords", one can well imagine how many billions of yuans would it cost to rebuild all these houses.

The Chinese also confiscated the belongings of all these families, which would have amounted to billions of yuans.

The third "class enemies" were what the Chinese termed as rich and average families. Their houses and belongings were not confiscated. However, all their possessions were listed and taxed. The taxes were so heavy that many families were forced to hand over their wealth to the authorities.

Finally, the Chinese introduced commune system throughout Tibet, ending private ownership completely. Families were now left with their clothing, bed-cloths, stoves and pots and pans. Everything else became the property of the communes. Thus, Tibet became a land of paupers.

The Chinese imposed "Democratic Reforms", Purges, Re-purges, Cultural Revolution, Destruction of the Four Olds, etc. on Tibet. The Cultural Revolution divided the nation into two opposing groups, known as "The Great alliance" and "Rebels". They were encouraged to fight each other. Thousands of people were killed and the whole populace was reduced to poverty.

The life-size image of Jowo Mikyoe Dorjee in Ramoche Cathedral and Jampa Gonpo in Jokhang were destroyed. Similarly, the statues belonging to

monasteries, lama households, and the general populace were destroyed. Some of these statues date back to the time of the Third and the Fourth Buddhas. Even a handful of relics in these statues is invaluable. In short, 99 percent of religious objects were destroyed. How many billions of yuans would that amount to?

From 1959 to 1979, the Tibetan people were made to toil like animals without any pay. Starvation diet was all they got. The bulk of Tibet's produce during those two decades was appropriated for the Chinese cadres and army. How many billions of yuans would that have cost Tibet?

After 1979, China introduced the decollectivization policy, thus reinstating private ownership. How many billions of yuans would the taxes collected until then amount to?

It is said that the produce of Tibet's borax mine in Tsalakha paid China's entire debt to the Soviet Union. How many billions of yuans would that be?

Tibet is rich in mineral resources. For decades, China exploited the virgin mining areas of Tibet. How many billions of yuans has China benefited from this?

Apart from the northern Jangthang region, the bulk of Tibet was once covered with a rich variety of ancient forests. For over two decades, thousands of Chinese officers and tens of thousands of workmen were involved in felling trees in Tibet. How many billions of yuan would be the value of Tibet's felled trees?

Almost the entire collection of Tibetan religious scriptures was destroyed. The collection included works of Indian scholars and yogis, written on palm

leaves. It included other important works, hand-written on parchment papers with the ink made from precious metals and stones. It included numerous sets of Kagyur scriptures, written with the ink made from precious metals and stones. How many billions of yuans would that be worth?

Wood blocks for printing scriptures in almost all the printing presses at Tibet's religious institutes were destroyed. The 900-year-old Narthang Press, Amdo Press, Shol Press and Derge Press were the biggest printing presses in Tibet. How many billions of yuans would this loss have cost Tibet?

More than half the livestock population of Tibet was slaughtered to feed the Chinese. Before the Chinese occupation, Tibet abounded with wildlife. Herds and herds of wild-yaks, wild-asses, gazelles, antelopes, blue sheep, gazelles, etc. were once a common sight in the mountains of Tibet. Now the wildlife has become a rare sight; only solitary animals are seen once in a long while. How many billions of yuan would be the value of this loss?

China has exploited the inexhaustible natural salt from the lakes of Jangthang. How many billions of yuans would it have earned from this?

Over 1.2 million innocent Tibetans have been killed. They included accomplished religious scholars, political scholars, rich people and brave nationalists. How many billions of yuans would be the value of these lives?

Branding religion as poison, people were deprived of right to worship. Thousands of monks and nuns were forced to defrock. I cite an example of this from the late Panchen Lama's 70-000 Character Petition, submitted to

Zhou Enlai. The Panchen Lama wrote this petition after visiting the Tibetan areas in Qinghai, Sichuan, Yunnan, etc. The petition details what he had seen and what people had reported to him.

He said: “In some monasteries monks and nuns had been made to stand in rows. Each monk in the row had been forced to come together with his opposite number in the nun’s row. As a result of this campaign, nuns, monks and tantric practitioners went out of existence for many years.”

Tibetans categorized as “feudal lords” and “agents of feudal lords” were subjected to all kinds of punitive measures. Many of them were imprisoned and put to hard labour on starvation diet.

When the liberalization policy of 1979 granted amnesty to them, there were very few survivors, who had managed to keep their body and soul together by supplementing their diet with all kinds of inhuman food. Naturally, they were sick and did not live long after their release.

The statements of Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Yin Fatang reveal the suffering of Tibetans from 1959 to 1980.

Deng, Hu and Yin Accepted that the Tibetans were Reduced to Poverty:

The first Tibetan fact-finding delegation, who visited Tibet in 1979, gave this report on their return. In Beijing, Deng Xiaoping stated that Tibet over the past 20 years had suffered greatly under the Gang of Four. “That is why the Tibetan people’s living standard is low right now.

This cannot be improved overnight. However, we will definitely be able to improve their living standard in the coming 20 years.”

In June 1980 Hu Yaobang, Chinese Communist Party secretary, visited Tibet. Hu was shocked by the region’s poverty. At a meeting of the senior leaders of the “Tibet Autonomous Region”, Hu demanded to know if the Central Government’s funding for Tibet had been flung into the Yarlung river. He stated that the living standard of Tibetans had fallen since 1959. The presence of a large number of Chinese, including cadres, was obstructing the development of Tibet, he said. Hu called for efforts to bring the standard of living to pre-1959 level within a period of three years. He also called for the repatriation of 85 percent of Chinese cadres from Tibet.

In the eighth issue of the *Red Flag* (1983), Yin Fatang, the then Communist party Secretary of the TAR, stated that Hu Yaobang had visited Tibet in June 1980 to discover that the region was steeped in poverty and backwardness.

Whatever reports the local officials in Tibet may send to the Chinese government, the fact of the matter is that Deng Xiaoping, who knew Tibet, and Hu Yaobang and Yin Fatang, who had first-hand knowledge of the condition in Tibet, stated clearly that all was not well there.

The following figures show the number of monasteries and nunneries destroyed in Tibet:

Religious Schools	Monastery	Monks	Nuns	Tantrics Nunnery
Gelug Monastery	2,827	323.392		
Gelug Nunnery	220		11.589	

Nyingma Monastery	1,597	124,040		7.240
Nyingma Nunnery	320		9.638	
Sakya Monastery	388	53.396		17
Sakya Nunnery	41		1.239	
Kagyud Monastery	480	39.007		209
Kagyud Nunnery	137		4.714	
Unspecified Sects	92	13.355		
Bonpo Monastery	157	12.258		
<hr/>				
Total	6,259	565,448	27,180	2,466

Cultural Institutes Suffered 100 Percent Damage

The late Panchen Lama, in his statement to the first meeting of the Institute of Tibetology in 1988, stated that 100 percent of monasteries in Tibet had suffered damage. “99 percent of them were destroyed completely; only seven or eight remained. There isn’t a single surviving monument that has not suffered some sort of damage. The Potala is in the best shape. But its interior is in disrepair. This is why I say that the monasteries had suffered 100 percent damage.”

Humiliation of Spiritual Persons

A select group of Tibetan reincarnated lamas - including Reting, Tsemonling, Dhedruk, Takdrak - were taken to Lhokha and Yamdrok, where they were forced to slaughter livestock for a whole winter.

In 1959 the Chinese moved the gigantic tea cauldrons of Drepung and Sera to the monastic courtyards. Two wooden planks were mounted across the mouth of the cauldrons. The monks imprisoned in the monastic rooms

were marched out to the courtyards and forced to defecate in the cauldrons. They were then asked to stir the faeces and transport it to the Chinese vegetable garden. Each monk carried two pails, slung from a pole. The monks were then made to pour a ladleful on each plant.

Destruction of Objects of Worship

In 1965/1966 a campaign was launched to “Destroy the Four Olds” as part of the Cultural Revolution. This campaign wreaked irreplaceable damage to the culture of both Tibet and China. The foolhardiness of such a large-scale destruction left everyone shocked, not knowing whether to cry or laugh. Some media reports of the time commented that although it is commonplace for individuals to go insane, this is the only case of a whole nation going mad. And, indeed, China took a mad plunge and destroyed 99 percent of the Tibetan objects of worship. First, they chipped out the precious stones and relics. Objects made of gold, silver, copper, brass, gilded-copper, bell-metal, etc. were beaten into ingots and transported on pack animals to the nearest motorable road. Then, they were loaded onto hundreds of trucks and carted out to China, where they were melted down.

In the early 1980s, when China announced a measure of religious freedom as part of the liberalization policy, the Buddhist Association in Tibet decided to restore the ancient statue of Jowo Mikyod Dorje in Ramoche temple. At that time, the lower half of the statue was in its original place, having been pinned there. However, the torso had been hacked and taken to China. The Buddhist Association

took permission from the authorities to visit China and retrieve the torso. A search team, headed by Ribhur Tulku, visited five foundries in China. In one, they found the torso in a heap of twisted statues. Ribhur Rinpoche testified to having seen huge piles of broken statues on the foundry grounds, waiting to be melted down.

Wild Vegetation as Food

Tenpa Soepa, a survivor of Jiuqian labour camp, told me this story:

70 of us from Lhasa were commandeered onto trucks and driven to a labour camp, known as Jiuqian, in the wilderness of Chinese border area. The survivors, numbering twenty-two and a half, were repatriated to Lhasa after 20 years. I use the term “half”, because one prisoner was close to death; he died a day after our arrival. We were then incarcerated in Drapchi prison.

A person nearing starvation death was easy to recognize. His face would swell and lose lustre, and his hair would remain bristled. A person showing such symptoms did not live longer than three or four days. Some people died in their sleep; when they were woken in the morning, there would be no response. Others died on work sites; they would collapse and die, after tottering for a while with rocks on their backs. Still others died in toilet.

Prisoners who developed symptoms of imminent death gave their daily ration of a tinful of tsampa to their friends. They would say things like, “I am going to die

anyway. If you supplement your diet with my share of ration, it may help to save at least one life.

This shows the kind of camaraderie that existed among the Tibetan prisoners. The prisoners were so hungry that we ate all kinds of green vegetation. The leaves of willow trees were particularly good. It passed softly down the gullet and didn't upset the stomach.

Human Faeces as Food:

Choegyal-lag, a former cook of the Potala and survivor of Drapchi prison, told me this story:

Many prisoners in Drapchi died of starvation. Every day, they removed two or three lifeless bodies. There were six former monk officials and one or two children of "feudal lords" in one cell. All of them were emaciated and on the verge of death. I was so weak that I had to support my head with both the hands as I rose. My body could not carry the weight of my head. As I had no flesh on my legs, the bones of my knees knocked painfully against each other. We were constantly tormented by the pang of hunger. All I yearned for was a good hearty meal on my release. I think all the prisoners longed for the same thing.

Feudal lord Tekhang Choephel was the healthiest of us. His daily duty was to remove the dead bodies. He slept next to me. One night, I stretched my hand towards him and asked him to give me something to eat. He thrust a dry lump in my palm. It made crunchy sound between my teeth. It was totally tasteless. I asked him what it was. He said it was dry human faeces, which the undertakers like himself picked from under the rocks when they went out

to dispose of dead bodies. Later, all of us started eating this. If we drank cold water to wash it down, our mouth did not smell. Actually, it did not smell even if we did not drink water.

This is the Chinese strategy of exterminating the feudal lords, agents of feudal lords and reactionaries without using a single bullet.

The Panchen Lama's Statement at the NPC:

In his address to a meeting of the Sub-committee of the National People's Congress in Beijing, the late Panchen Lama said, "If there was a film made on all the atrocities perpetrated in Qinghai province, it would shock the viewers. In Golok area, many people were killed and their dead bodies rolled down the hill into a big ditch. The soldiers told the family members and relatives of the dead that they should all celebrate since the rebels had been wiped out. They were even forced on dance on the dead bodies. Soon after, they were also massacred with machine guns." He said that in Amdo and Kham, people were subjected to unspeakable atrocities. "They were shot in groups of 10 or 20."

The Panchen Lama further stated, "In Qinghai, for example, there are between one to three or four thousand villages and towns, each having between three to four thousand families with four to five thousand people. From each town and village, about eight hundred to one thousand people were imprisoned. Out of this, at least three to four hundred people died in prison. This means almost half the prison population perished."

Call for the Use of Full Force to “Rectify Religious and Nationality Issues”

In February 1999, the propaganda department of Ganze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture issued a document, which states: “Now that socialism is firmly established, religion will die a natural death.”

Then, in 1991, the department issued another document, headlined “Policy towards religion and nationalities”. It states, “We must struggle against those who seek to split the Motherland by using religious and nationality issues. No matter what, we should not hesitate to take severe action against those who foment disturbances in the name of religion and nationality. We have to use the nation’s political force, legal force and military force to crack down on disturbances. Swift and unhesitating action must be taken against any quarter that creates disturbances.”

Although this directive is targeted specifically against Tibetan Buddhism, it is certain that the aim of the Chinese Communist Party is to wipe out all forms of worship. Wherever communism spreads, religion will be persecuted. Thus, it is essential for the followers of all religions to come together and take out a joint campaign to counter this threat.

Chinese Attempts on the Dalai Lama’s Life

In 1949, when the Dalai Lama had moved to his temporary headquarters in Dromo, Chinese official Ping Daihui from Beijing paid a visit to Kubum monastery. At that time,

Taktse Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama's elder brother, was studying at Kubum. Ping Daihui advised Taktse Rinpoche to go to Central Tibet and persuade the Dalai Lama to work for the Chinese Communist Party, or, at least, not to leave Tibet. "If the Dalai Lama refuses to listen to this, you should finish him off and take his place," Ping said. (I heard this from Gelong Lodhen la, who had transcribed Taktse Rinpoche's statement.)

In 1955, the Dalai Lama's bodyguards intercepted a Chinese soldier on the steps of the Potala. When the man was searched, they found a bomb on him. The soldier was later handed back to his unit at Qiyi Nongchang army camp, based in Nortoe-lingkha. (I heard this account from Rupon Sonam Tashi of the Bodyguard Regiment.)

In 1959, on the day the Dalai Lama was to attend the Monlam festival to sit for his Doctor of Divinity examinations, two Chinese soldiers were seen proceeding towards the site of the festival. As they reached the point below Phurchog Labrang, the Tibetan Drapchi soldiers apprehended them. The search of the two revealed loaded sten guns. Not very far, on the ground of Tromsik-khang, three Chinese soldiers were arrested; bombs were found on them. The five Chinese soldiers were detained at the Tibetan police station. They were later handed over to the Chinese authorities on the order of the Kashag. (I was told this by Tashi Pelrey, who was then a Dapon of Drapchi regiment.)

Former Tibetan Minister Thubten Tharpa Neushar said this about the above incidents: "Some time before that, the Chinese sentry at the bridge shot dead a staffer of the Dalai Lama's stable. There were frequent incidents of Chinese

and Tibetan soldiers shooting at each other. Tension was running high on both sides. And since a Tibetan military parade was scheduled on the day of the Dalai Lama's examinations, there were fears of further clashes between the Tibetan and Chinese soldiers. Therefore, the Tibetan government ordered the apprehension of all straggling Chinese soldiers and civilians on that day."

My uncle, Yeshi Lundrup, was one of the monk protocol officers at the Potala at that time. He told me this:

"In the past, the Chinese officials followed the same protocol for meeting His Holiness as did the members of other foreign missions. The request for the meeting was made three or four days before hand. But at that time, four or five Chinese officials would come and seek a meeting immediately or on the following day. As a protocol officer, my job was to serve tea and biscuits and then go out. I could not sit on the meeting. I came in only when His Holiness beckoned him in. There were two bodyguards at the gate of His Holiness residence. Inside the residence were an elderly attendant, an elderly chamberlain, and one bodyguard. The Chinese interlocutors could have harmed His Holiness very easily. Even today, I shudder to think of the danger to His Holiness at that time."

Militarization Touted as Development

The Chinese have long since realized the strategic importance of Tibet. As soon as the Communist came to power in China in 1949, they marched into eastern and northeastern parts of Tibet. This was a part of the

conspiracy between Mao and Stalin. The Chinese army then had the backing of the Soviet Union. By 1950, the Chinese army advanced into the heart of Tibet and declared a part of the Himalayan areas as a special restricted area. This part of the Himalayas was garrisoned. While hundred of Chinese military trucks plied men and materials to this area, Tibetans were not allowed to go there. Tunnels and caves were dug into the Himalayan mountains. Tibetans have absolutely no idea about the scale of military build-up there.

The Chinese built a few air-strips, bridges, roads, office buildings, residential quarters for Chinese cadres, military camps, etc. Auditoriums, hospitals, schools, and handicraft industries were built in major towns and cities. In every part of Tibet, they built prison complexes, restaurants, shops, and warehouses. Power plants were built wherever the conditions were favourable. Foreign visitors were taken to the areas that had been developed. Big, luxury hotels were built in such places.

Elegant dance costumes are prepared in places where the visitors are expected. In such places, the living standard of the people may look good. However, if one travels on horseback to rural areas, areas where there are no roads and hotels, one will see the true plight of Tibetans. In such places, it is possible to get the people to speak out their minds.

To Sinicize Tibet, a large number of Chinese migrants are sent to the plateau. The Chinese population in Tibet outnumbers the Tibetans by two or three times. To grow food for this growing population, they have build irrigation canals and dug up the earth in many places.

The Chinese official media never tires of announcing these as development for Tibetans. In reality, most of these were built by the Tibetans between 1959 and 1979. Prisoners and all able-bodied Tibetans were made to toil from dawn to dusk by their respective work unit leaders. The monthly ration allotted to the Tibetans was 28 pounds of grains for the most productive workers, 26 pounds for the average workers, 24 for the weaker workers, and 22 for the weakest. Tens of thousands of Tibetans died of malnutrition.

In short, Tibetans were forced to work these developmental projects on a starvation diet. Materials, such as timber, stones and earth, were provided by Tibet itself.

No doubt, the Chinese development brought bridges, medical care, shops, restaurants, schools and electricity to Tibet. But the Tibetans are made to pay for medical care, schools and electricity.

The only houses for which the Tibetan don't have to pay rent are the large number of prison complexes. Tibetans in Tibet are deprived of freedom on their body, mind and speech. Brutality, coercion and repression are the hallmark of Chinese rule in Tibet. This is the reason why there is no end to protest demonstrations in Tibet just as there is no end to the flow of refugees from there. Ceaseless arrests and oppression mean prison complexes have become the only right of Tibetans. All the other new houses are meant for the Chinese military and civilian personnel. Not a single new house has been allotted to a poor, homeless Tibetan.

The Chinese authorities do not say anything about the destruction or confiscation of Tibetan possessions.

Mechanized Abattoirs:

In Kyigudho, Kham, there is a sacred hill, known as the Soul Hill of Avalokitesvara. On the ground in front of this hill, there was once a huge cairn of mantra-carved stones. It is as high as one storey. The thickness of this cairn is such that if there is a horse at one end, you would not hear its bell from the other end. Its length is about two kilometres.

The Chinese destroyed this cairn and transported the mantra-stones to construction sites. The site of the cairn was converted to a huge abattoir. In winter, between 100 to 200 yaks are slaughtered daily and the meat transported to China by road and rail. The animals for the abattoir are brought from nearby areas and Amdo.

Such mechanized abattoirs exist in Amdo as well. The large number of Chinese population in every part of Tibet has resulted in a dramatic decrease in the livestock population. Similarly, wildlife, which once teemed the mountains and deep valleys of Tibet, is now reduced to one or two solitary animals. (This was told to me by Drawu Pon, after his return from his village in Kyigudho.)

Meat Export from Tibet

On 13 December 1984, Radio Lhasa announced that the nation had slaughtered 364,5000 heads of livestock in Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture from 1949 to 1984.

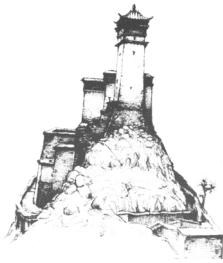
On 27 May 1985 Radio Lhasa, quoting Beijing Review, stated that the yak population in Qinghai was 3.3

million, and that in 1980 the nation exported the meat of 30,000 yaks, of which 5,500 tons was exported to Hong Kong. This shows how much benefit China receives from the sale of Tibetan meat alone.

Execution

A Tibetan, who escaped to Nepal in 1980, told me this story:

In 1969, the struggle between the “Great Alliance” and the “Rebels” was brought to an end. (The Maoists of the Cultural Revolution had initially encouraged this struggle). The PLA soldiers hunted down the “Rebels”. Twenty “Rebels” were taken behind the cremation ground of Shigatse, and the populace was ordered to witness their execution. 19 of them were shot dead. One man was spared, for displaying “a slightly better attitude”. I was in the crowd of onlookers at that time.



Part Six

**The World must pay attention to
The Chinese action in Tibet**

The Issue of Tibet has Bearing on the Whole World

The issue of Tibet concerns not only the Tibetans, but also all those who care for world peace, religious freedom, and democracy. Tibetans are religious-minded and compassionate people. They believe in democracy and non-violence. The Dalai Lama stated that he wanted future Tibet to be a peace-loving democratic entity. Already, the Tibetan diaspora elect their executive head and legislatures on the basis of universal adult franchise.

When China invaded Tibet and deprived the Tibetan people of their right to self-rule, Tibet's neighbours and the international community refused to speak up. If the democracies of the world continue to stand by and watch as the tidal wave of communism rolls over Tibet, the people of this mineral-rich high plateau will find themselves condemned in eternity to the religion-less darkness of misery. If the lovers of peace, religion, freedom and democracy give China a free hand over Tibet, it will mean that the world's most populous and brutal nation with the largest standing army will have the world's largest uranium reserves and the most strategically-advantageous highlands at its disposal.

Most of Tibet is inaccessible mountains. If China makes Tibet an important military base, if the Tibetan mountains near important roads are dug out to make fortresses and arms depots, then the region now neglected and sacrificed by the world may one day pose a serious threat not only to the neighbouring countries, but also to the major powers of the world. Once China develops its

military technology, it will definitely pose serious threats to world peace.

Tibet is historically an independent country; it has never been part of any foreign power. This is abundantly clear from the treaties and history of Tibet, as related in the earlier chapters. Tibet, which is like a fortress of peace, has no doubt fallen to China. But the spirit of the Tibetan nation is still alive. It is important for the international community to continue to keep alive this spirit so as to enable the Tibetan nation to rise from the ashes of Chinese destruction. This is in the interest of world peace, particularly of Tibet's neighbours.

Radio Lhasa on Minerals in Tibet

Tibetans had left their country's mineral resources unexploited for fear of depleting the soil's nutrition. However, with the arrival of the Chinese, Tibet's mineral resources have begun to be exploited and transported to China by road and rail. In 1980, Radio Lhasa announced the prospecting of platinum, gold, chromium, steel, copper, bronze, lead, jade, diamond and uranium in Tibet. The broadcast stated that Tibet had huge reserves of uranium. This announcement was monitored and transcribed by the Research and Analysis Office of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile.

On 6 August 1982, the *Hindustan Times*, an Indian national daily, carried a Reuters news dispatch from Beijing, quoting Yin Fatang as having said that the mountains of Tibet held the world's largest reserves of uranium.

If China were allowed to exploit the uranium reserves of Tibet, it would have serious repercussions for world peace. China has the largest army in the world. It is also the most brutal and imperialistic nation, having scant respect for international law. It is, therefore, important for the world to ensure that China is not allowed continued control over Tibet.

Undermining Tibetan Language

Every year, the Chinese authorities select thousands of Tibetan students on the basis of their allegiance to the Communist party. The students are sent to China, where they are taught Chinese language and indoctrinated in communist ideology. They are then sent back to Tibet and given important government posts. People in Tibet are constantly reminded of the grim reality that one can't go up in life without proficiency in the Chinese language. Learning Tibetan, they know, serves no practical purposes since Chinese is the sole administrative lingua franca of the plateau. Naturally, the Tibetan language is suffering setback. Even in rural Tibet, there are very few people who can read and write Tibetan.

The Chinese people cannot sing Tibetan songs with Tibetan notes and flavour. When Tibetans sing songs, they sing with a note that distinguishes them from the Chinese. Therefore, the authorities have decided to Sinicize Tibetan songs. Tibetans who sing Tibetan songs in the Chinese tune are given recognition and all kinds of encouragement. They are given good salaries and facilities, taken on the performing tours of Tibet, China and other parts of the

world. Naturally, it has become fashionable for young, budding singers to emulate the notes of these famous singers. If one listens to a song sung by the members of the Tibetan Dance and Song Ensemble or any well-known artiste in Tibet, it will sound totally different from the same song sung by the members of the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts in Dharamsala or by any exile Tibetan. This is another area in which all must pay attention.

Since Tibet and China are different in every aspect, the Chinese authorities have had to employ all kinds of strategies to make the Tibetans sing like Chinese.

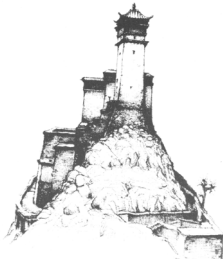
Absence of Freedom

The Chinese experiment in the commune system failed miserably. Therefore, in the 1980s the communes were disbanded, leading to the privatization of agriculture and pastoral activities. Now, the people began to receive wages, albeit small, for their work. The stores began to fill with goods. The salaries of government employees were increased dramatically. The government employees now receive residential quarters. Retired employees, with no private homes, are given lands and money to build houses. Today, the livelihood in urban Tibet is just about good enough for survival. However, poverty continues to be the hallmark of rural Tibet.

Most importantly, freedom, which is the prerequisite of happiness, is lacking completely in Tibet. Coercion, repression and arbitrary laws cause constant fear in the minds of Tibetans. Despite the constant police surveillance, arrest, torture and quiet killing, Tibetans

continue to shout slogans and put up wall posters, calling for Tibetan independence. New refugees streaming into the Reception Centre in Kathmandu keep on bringing tales of such incidents in Tibet.

The Chinese Communist Party view religious believers and economically well-to-do people as their enemies. Therefore, it is now not possible to see a Tibetan who is as rich as the middle-class family in old Tibet.



Part Seven

**Tibet's historical contribution to
peace and non-violence in China**

Ending Mass Killing of Ethnic Chinese

When the Mongols ruled China, they feared that if the Chinese population were allowed to grow too big, they would face rebellion. Therefore, they adopted a policy of ritual killing of ethnic Chinese. Once every 12 years, thousands upon thousands of Chinese, above the age of nine, were driven into the sea and drowned.

Later, when Drogon Choegyal Phagpa became the imperial preceptor of Kublai Khan, he extracted an oath from the emperor to end this barbaric ritual. The Tibetan lama also secured the emperor's promise to end attacks on the Chinese, Uighur and Tangut monks and tantric practitioners. Similarly, he asked the emperor to exempt these religious practitioners from paying taxes and performing corvee labour for the imperial army. In this way, the Tibetan lama saved the lives of thousands upon thousands of Chinese people.

The Third Dalai Lama and the Mongol

In 1573 the Third Dalai Lama visited Mongolia to the reception of tens of thousands of people. He spread the Buddhist teaching in Mongolia and established a culture of peace and non-violence there.

Before the arrival of the Third Dalai Lama, the Mongols followed a tradition of sacrificing the widows, servants, horses and other animals when a noble or any wealthy man died. The Dalai Lama ended this practice, and introduced the tradition of making offering to monks and lamas at the time of death. The Mongols then

instituted a new law, by which those sacrificing human beings were executed, and those sacrificing animals had their wealth confiscated.

The Mongols also had the tradition of sacrificing horses and cattle to images possessed by a spirit, known as Ong-kod, on the eighth, fifteenth, and thirtieth moons. The Third Dalai Lama burned all these images and built the statues of Six-armed Mahakala in their place. The Mongols started making the offerings of milk and other vegetarian food to the new statues. Now, special Buddhist conducts of abstinence began to be observed on the eighth, fifteenth and thirtieth moons.

The Dalai Lama asked the Mongol ruler to follow the example of U-Tsang and stop the tradition of plunder and destruction. In this way, he introduced spiritual laws in Mongolia, thus bringing peace and happiness there.

The Fifth Dalai Lama and the Mongols

In 1646 the Fifth Dalai Lama sent this note to the Khaklha khan: “The khan should govern according to the spiritual law. As the aforesaid reasons show, you should forge cordial relations both internally and externally. You should be satisfied with what you already have, and desist from unmeritorious acts. You should firmly internalize the value of acting in good faith towards those who have accepted you as their allies. You should see this as your serious responsibility.”

The Fifth Dalai Lama pointed out the mistakes of the Khalkha Khan as does father to his son. This shows that Tibet was then an independent country.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Message to Manchu Emperor

In 1646 the Fifth Dalai Lama sent this message of instruction to the Manchu Emperor: "The three Boddhisatvas came to the Snowland of Tibet in the bodies of the Three Religious Kings. They led the people of Tibet on the path of the Ten Dharmic Virtues. Those on the throne of China are said to enjoy the blessing of Manjushri. This belief will become meaningful if the Religious Emperor leads his subjects on the path of merit by implementing the Code of Sixteen Humanitarian Conducts."

At that time, the power and prestige of the Fifth Dalai Lama reached their peak; he was able to bring peace and happiness to all. The authority with which he instructed the Manchu Emperor on moral values shows Tibet's independent status at that time

This book contains bare facts about Tibet's independent status from 12BC to 1959. It tells the story of Tibet's destruction and death of over 1.2 million Tibetans under Chinese occupation. It points out how the Chinese government, in its white paper on Tibet, seeks to misinterpret the text of Tibet-China treaty on the stone pillar erected in 823.