

**CONCERNING
THE QUESTION
OF TIBET**

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This collection of documents, speeches, news dispatches, editorials, commentaries and background materials concerning the Tibetan question is published to help readers abroad acquire a full understanding of the recent situation in China's Tibet, the background knowledge of the Tibetan question, and the policy of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China towards the Tibetan region.

The book falls into four parts. The first part covers the important documents, news dispatches, speeches, editorials and commentaries concerning the Tibetan question published during the period between March 28 and April 19, 1959. The second part covers the period between April 20 and April 30, 1959. The third part consists of reference materials and articles giving background information of Tibet. The fourth part contains "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy," an article by the Editorial Department of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily).

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I

ORDER OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The following order is herewith proclaimed:

Most of the *kaloons** of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata colluded with imperialism, gathered together rebellious bandits, rebelled, wrought havoc among the people, held the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17-article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local army and rebels in an all-out attack against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa. Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt the unification of the country cannot be tolerated by the law.

To safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, it has been decided that as from today the Tibetan local government is dissolved and its functions and powers will be exercised by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. During the time when the Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is held under duress, Panchen

*The local government of Tibet is called *kasha* and its six members are called *kaloons* in Tibetan — Ed.

Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, shall act as Chairman. Pebala Choliehnamje, member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is hereby appointed Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee. Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee, is hereby appointed Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee.

Eighteen traitors, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), Yuto Chahsidongchu, Tsrijong Lozong-Yiehsi, Kachang Lozong-Rentzen, Dala Lozongsungdin, Khemey Sonamwongdui, Rongnamse Thubtan-Norzong, Pala Thubtenwenten, Nonghsi Thubtan-Zongchu, Namselin Panchunjigme, Menjelin Jalyanggeltseng, Karihpen Tsewong-Dorje, Pengchu, Weisegeltseng (Kundelinchasa), Gungalama, and Tsupugamapa Rihpeidorje, are hereby dismissed from their posts as members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and from all their other posts and shall be punished respectively according to law.

Sixteen persons, Teng Shao-tung, Chan Hua-yu, Hui Yi-jan, Liang Hsuan-hsien, Tsuiko Dongchutseren, Chantung Lozongnamje, Gahden Tsripa Thubten-Kunga, Chienpaitzuli, Ngapo Tsirtenchoga, Dorjetsirten, Shirou Dungchu, Geltsengpintso, Lozong Tzucheng, Chunjue, Pintowongchiu, and Wang Pei-sheng, are hereby appointed members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region will lead all the people of Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, to unite as one and make common efforts to assist the People's Liberation

Army in putting down the rebellion quickly, to strengthen the national defence, protect the interests of the people of all nationalities, maintain social order and strive for the building of a democratic and socialist, new Tibet.

● **CHOU EN-LAI, Premier**

March 28, 1959

COMMUNIQUE ON REBELLION IN TIBET

Issued by the Hsinhua News Agency on March 28

Violating the will of the Tibetan people and betraying the motherland, the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata colluded with imperialism, gathered together rebellious bandits and during the night of March 19 launched an armed attack against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa. Acting on orders to put down the rebellion, the units of the valiant People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet utterly routed the rebellious bandits in the city of Lhasa by March 22. Units of the People's Liberation Army, assisted by patriotic people of all sections of the population in Tibet, both ecclesiastical and secular, are now mopping up the rebel bandits in some other places in Tibet.

In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and national unity, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council issued an order on March 28 which, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, announced the decision that as from that day the Tibetan local government which instigated the rebellion would be dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region would exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan local government.

The Tibetan local government, and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata began their armed rebellion in Lhasa on March 10. The Dalai Lama was originally scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army on March 10. The proposal was made by the Dalai Lama personally more than a month earlier and the date of March 10 was fixed by the Dalai Lama himself. On that day, however, the rebellious Tibetan clique spread wild rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama; and using this as a pretext, they staged the armed rebellion, put the Dalai Lama under duress, and raised such reactionary slogans as "drive out the Han people" and "independence for Tibet." At the same time, they killed Kanchung Soanam-chiatso, a Tibetan official of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and wounded Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, the Tibetan Vice-Commander of the Tibet Military Area, and others who opposed the rebellion. The armed rebels at the same time surrounded the headquarters of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the offices of the Central People's Government agencies in Lhasa.

The Tibetan traitors have carried on their rebellious activities for quite a long time. These rebels represent imperialism and the most reactionary of the big serf-owners in Tibet. Since the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet and the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government concluded the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (namely, the 17-article agreement)* in 1951, they have been plotting to tear up this agreement and preparing for

armed rebellion. But the motherland thrives and prospers day by day, the policy of the Central People's Government towards Tibet is correct and the garrison units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet observe strict discipline; all this has won the warm support of the people of all sections in Tibet, and so the rebellious conspiracy of this handful of reactionaries got no support from the Tibetan people. In accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, the Central People's Government has always upheld the solidarity of all the nationalities in the country and solidarity among the Tibetan people, and the implementation of regional national autonomy in Tibet. This is warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was established as early as April 1956. But owing to obstruction by the reactionaries in the local government of Tibet, the preparatory work for the autonomous region made little progress. The 17-article agreement stipulates that the Tibetan army must be reorganized and that Tibet's social system, which is serfdom, must be reformed in accordance with the wishes of the people. These two important tasks could not be carried out as a result of obstruction by the reactionaries. The Central People's Government, waiting for the reactionaries to see the light, informed them at the end of 1956 that during the next six years, that is, for the duration of the Second Five-Year Plan, the reform would not be carried out and the Tibetan army would not be reorganized.

The local government of Tibet is called *kasha* and its six members are called *kaloons* in Tibetan. Of the six *kaloons*, two are patriots: Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Sampo Tsewang-Rentzen, who was wounded by the rebels on March 10. One of the other four, Yuto Chahsidong-

chu, had already turned traitor in 1957 and fled to Kalimpong — the centre of the rebellious elements' activities abroad. The three others, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, and Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), came out openly as traitors in the present rebellion. Before this, these traitors had used their legal status in the *kasha* to muster the reactionary forces of the upper social strata, collaborated with the external enemy and actually directed some of the most reactionary big serf-owners in Sikang and Tibet in organizing armed rebel forces in certain regions east, north and south of the Tsangpo River to oppose the Central People's Government and betray the motherland. Their rebellion was engineered by the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bands and foreign reactionaries; the command centre of the rebellion was in Kalimpong; and their leader is the dismissed *sitzub* Lokongwa Tsewongrouten. Many of their arms were brought in from abroad. The rebels' base south of the Tsangpo River on a number of occasions received air-dropped supplies from the Chiang Kai-shek bands, and radio stations were set up there by agents sent by the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek bands to further their intrigues.

Beginning in May and June last year, on the instructions of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata, the rebel bandits attacked the Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka areas; they disrupted communications; plundered the people and engaged in rape, arson and murder; they attacked agencies and army units of the Central People's Government in these places. In the spirit of national unity, the Central People's Government repeatedly enjoined the local government of Tibet to punish the rebels

and maintain social order. But the local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata took the magnanimity of the Central People's Government for a sign of weakness. They were saying: the Han people can be frightened off; in the past nine years, the Han people have not had the courage to lay even a finger on our most wonderful and sacred system of serfdom; if we attack them, they can only defend themselves and not hit back; they dare not suppress the rebellion themselves, but only enjoin us to suppress the rebellion; if we bring a large group of forces to Lhasa from other places to deal them a blow, they will surely run away; if not, we can seize the Dalai Buddha, take him to Loka and gather forces for a counter-attack to retake Lhasa; if we fail, we can run to India; India sympathizes with us and may help us; there is also the powerful United States which can also help us; president Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan has already given us active help; the Dalai is a god, who dare disobey him? The Americans say that the people's commune movement in China has angered the people who are ready to rebel; it is high time to drive out the Han people and proclaim independence, and so on.

The ambitions of these reactionaries soared sky-high and they were ready to take over the whole universe. They therefore refused to do their duty to check the ravages of the rebel bandits, but instead actively stepped up their treacherous intrigues. After concentrating considerable counter-revolutionary armed forces in Lhasa, they started their armed rebellion on March 10, openly scrapping the 17-article agreement.

After the outbreak of the March 10 rebellion in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama wrote to the representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet on three occasions

saying that he had been seized by the reactionaries and was making all possible efforts to deal with the illegal actions of the reactionary clique. In reply, the representative of the Central People's Government welcomed the attitude of the Dalai Lama and expressed the hope that the local government of Tibet would change its wrong attitude and do its duty in suppressing the rebellion.

The reactionary elements, however, not only failed to show any sign of repentance but were determined to extend the rebellion. They had the effrontery to carry off the Dalai Lama by force from Lhasa on March 17; on the night of March 19 they launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa. Hopes for a peaceful settlement were thus extinguished. The reactionary forces of Tibet finally chose the road to their own extinction.

At 10 a.m. on March 20, the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were ordered to take punitive action against the clique of traitors who had committed these monstrous crimes. With the aid of patriotic Tibetan lamas and laymen, the People's Liberation Army completely crushed the rebellion in the city of Lhasa in just over two days of fighting. Preliminary statistics show that by March 23, more than 4,000 rebel troops were taken prisoner, and over 8,000 small arms of different kinds, 81 light and heavy machine guns, twenty-seven 81 mm. calibre mortars, six mountain guns and 10 million bullets were captured. Encircled by our troops, many of the rebel troops surrendered in groups.

The rapid suppression of the rebellion in Lhasa shows that the traitorous clique in Tibet is certainly doomed and that the future of the Tibetan people is bright. Pri-

marily this is because the Tibetan people are patriotic; they support the Central People's Government, ardently love the People's Liberation Army and oppose the imperialists and traitors. Tibet (including the three areas of Chamdo, Chientsang [Yu], and Houtsang [Tsang]) has a total population of 1,200,000, while the rebel bandits number only about 20,000. Most of these were deceived and intimidated into joining the rebels. This number also includes some rebellious elements who fled to Tibet from areas east of the Kingsha River in what was formerly Sikang Province, and are known as the Khamba people. The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsman who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world. There are also many patriotic progressive people among the upper and middle social strata in Tibet. They support the Central People's Government, oppose the rebellion and advocate democratic reform of the unjust social system so as to turn Tibet step by step into a civilized, progressive area. Thus, Tibet already has a labouring class determinedly aspiring to emancipation, and fairly large sections of patriotic, progressive people as well as middle-of-the-road elements in the upper and middle social strata who are in favour of reform. The task at present is first to put down the rebellion and establish peace and order. In the course of this, the policy of the Central People's Government in dealing with the rebel elements is to punish without fail those guilty of major crimes, not to punish those who were intimidated into joining, and award those who perform meritorious services. The Central People's Government has instructed the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet to unite on a broad front with all Tibetans who