

元以来西藏地方与
中央政府关系档案史料汇编
(7)

中国藏学出版社

元以来西藏地方与中央政府关系 档案史料汇编

第七册

中国藏学研究中心
中国第一历史档案馆
中国第二历史档案馆
西藏自治区档案馆
四川省档案馆

合编

中国藏学出版社

(京)新登字 058 号

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

元以来西藏地方与中央政府关系档案史料汇编/中国藏学研究中心等编. —北京:中国藏学出版社,1994. 10

ISBN 7—80057—181—5

- I. 元… II. 中… III. ①西藏地方和中央的关系—中国—史料—汇编—元代—明代—清代—民国②地方史—史料—西藏—古代—近现代 IV. K297. 5
中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(94)第 12957 号

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中国藏学出版社出版
新华书店北京发行所发行
外文印刷厂印刷

开本:850×1168 1/32 印张:113.75 字数:2783 千
1994年10月第1版第1次印刷 插页:38 印数:2000

ISBN 7-80057-181-5/K · 37 定价:210元(全七册)

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2757 军委会办公厅为转送重庆行营对
解决班禅回藏问题及今后处理藏事
的意见致蒙藏委员会公函

民国二十六年(1937年)七月十九日

国民政府军事委员会办公厅公函 高一字第 11379 号

案查前奉交下行政院第壹——二一五三号密函：为拉萨蒋参议致余蒸电陈报藏方决定不派噶布伦入京，谨贡今后处理藏事意见四点；又真电为藏方积极备战及铣电请贯彻到底等情，应请统筹办理。等因一案。当经本厅艳申高一代电连同前案转送巴县行营查照核办去后。

兹准函复内开：案准贵厅艳申高一代电，以奉交行政院函，为拉萨蒋参议致余蒸电陈报藏方抗拒班禅回藏近情，拟具处理意见一案，附抄原件，送请查照核办。等由。

查班禅回藏问题，关系国家前途至为重大，自非详密研讨，不足以协事理之宜。藏方情形如果突变，公然出于调兵抗拒一途，本诸有备无患之原则，行政院主张青康边境军事妥为布置一层，本为正当办法，应即根据院函并转电西安行营分饬青康军事长官，严密注意藏方对于青藏、康藏边境之军事行动，随时详报，以期无失。惟关于本问题之解决，经本行营再四审虑，以为藏方虽有如是中变情形，而丁此外患方殷、内忧未泯、补苴罅漏、宵旰不遑之会，为持重计，终以避免武力、力图和平送达为宜。所有理由，粗举如次：

(一)边地用兵，扼于地理险阻、人事拮据，收功最为难必，观于西藏往例，尤为历历可征。盖其艰窘之点[至]不〈止〉一端，而全部军实均须后方接济运输，斯为至苦。现在青康当匪祸之后，四川值奇旱之年，皆绝无协助能力，开拔一层已属不易，遑论其他？且兵力如仅布于青康边境，彼方未必遽行屈伏，若渡江而西，则耗费愈大，

取给愈难，飞轺愈劳，力役愈绌，胜负之数亦愈不可知；即令取得昌都，距藏仍远，于护送事无补如初，万一由此兵连祸结，其势必且举藏中亲我背我者悉数驱而附英，是未用兵藏犹不失为我藩服，用兵而藏转恐非复我版图矣。

(二)达赖、班禅二系，其初虽在亲英、亲汉之分，然达赖晚年亦已同心内向，热振摄位，诚信有加，去年西安之变，曾率众修法祈祷，救国敬上之忧，不以在远而衰；且其政事无阙，僧俗咸安，全宇绥宁，有足多者，我中枢协和(五)族，力谋复兴，达班二系，功绩并著，优遇从同，或不宜因班禅回藏小有参差，遂外视达赖一方而竟绝之也。

(三)藏方表示抗拒，据闻其意不在班禅之归，而在扈从之入。道路流传，班禅左右与护送员兵，人品复杂、言行不谨，时播修怨蔑教之谈，此于多疑畏笃信仰之藏人适相刺谬。证以最近刘总指挥文辉转报玉树仪仗队郭彪等之谋叛，即足以征班禅所率以俱行者之不尽当矣。准此以言，则藏方抗拒之形，乃基于卫身家、卫宗教之心理，尚未可以反对班禅、违逆中央目之。在彼初非乐祸为怀，在我岂宜迫之遂过？迴旋启悟，余地尚多，似无遽然用兵之必要。

(四)班禅克成愿望，全国所钦，随处安禅，皆可利物。目前似无取冒难回藏，徒增阂隍，即令回藏，亦有侧重政治与侧重宗教之殊。如回藏之旨在收揽达赖政权，则与原有统系相乖，必招噶厦反抗；一朝变置，久而后宁，既难必其有成，成亦虑其弗固。革而无悔，谋国者盖重言之。如回藏之旨在恢宏本有教权，则固全藏人士之所欢迎，毫无阻碍；此时本问题正在变化之际，取舍仍属自如，倘认为挟前旨以去，其道难通，则转以班禅回藏专为宏教之意宣示全藏，以利其行，未为不可。但得归藏以后，坐镇僧俗、稳定后防、辅政相民之效，自然兼收；必欲用兵，反成僵局。现在班禅驻锡玉树，其地瘠陋，非可久留，若我中枢不速运神断，早为解决，则未来事端难保无重劳当宁廛虑者。

兹谨根据上述理由，附陈解决班禅回藏问题及今后处理藏事管见于后：

(一)由中央迅行派遣诚信素著大员再行披诚晓谕藏方，以政府护送班禅回藏德意，务期彻底谅解，达到仍旧和平护送入藏之目的；如藏方仍不同意，则责令组织迎护队于适当地点与我护送官兵交替，负责保护大师回藏之安全。

(二)如班禅因原护送人员、部队不得入藏而不愿回，即仍令宣化西陲，驻于西宁塔耳寺等处，藉以团结内蒙、甘、青诸民族。

(三)西藏问题如不能因班禅之归得进一步解决，则今后对于达赖一系即当益加扶植怀徕，俾与班禅一系同心向内，共护中枢，以宏厥休而固吾圉。

(四)采纳蒋参议蒸电第一项意见，明示藏人，准其依照旧时佛法规范治理，绝不轻以新时代政制、政理变更其固有之政治机构与社会组织。

(五)达赖之呼毕勒罕闻已转生，其处所且接近内地，应特别予以寻求之便利与扶助，于寻得后，隆其安送禅榻之礼，藉收精诚团结之效。

(六)特别注意青、康两省政治，于无损宗教精神、不背人民信仰之条件下，力图刷新，以增进藏卫观感，诱其忻慕步趋，俾无形中同化于我。

(七)对西藏各系人物之有才识、可造就者，广为吸引，量能位置于中央机关或送入相当学校肄业，以资鼓舞而昭宏育，藉挽背我亲英之失。

(八)藏方一向与中央隔阂，交通梗阻不便，实为一有力之因，为促进双方关系使日臻于亲睦融洽计，宜及时为藏方商洽筹办青藏与康藏间之邮航、公路等，以为完成建国方略中高原铁路系统计划之准备。

准电前由，除分别函令外，谨陈如上。可否由贵厅转呈委员长

核转行政院查酌施行之处，即希卓裁，并祈赐复是荷。等因。准此，经转呈奉批：先送蒙委会核复。等因。相应抄同原函并抄函，一并送请查照核复为荷。此致

蒙藏委员会

附抄行政院原函一件，又抄原函二件^①

中华民国二十六年七月十九日

(二史馆藏蒙藏委员会档案)

① 抄件略。

2758 外交部为英使表示仪仗队入藏无 论藏方意见如何英国不能同意 事致蒙藏委员会公函

民国二十六年(1937年)八月四日

外交部公函 欧 26 字第 6802 号

关于班禅喇嘛回藏仪仗队事，先后接准七月二十四日密藏字第九七号暨七月二十九日密藏字第一〇二号来函录送赵专使马、梗两电，并准七月三十日密藏字第一〇五号函，以迭接赵专使由玉树电告仪仗队入藏事，正会同班禅与藏方商洽妥协入藏，以期决不致有何纠纷，可否据此先行函复英大使之处，请查酌办理，各等由。准此，本应依照来函意旨据复英言，惟七月二十三日英大使来部会晤以后，情形又有不同。查该项会晤谈话，业于七月二十四日函达查照在案。该大使此次将噶伦之藏函及西藏一般问题同时提出，当时对于一般问题虽允缓议，而重视藏事之声明，谆述再三。质言之，即谓仪仗队果入藏，无论藏方意见如何，乃为英方之所不能同意，故更作进一步之表示，以留交涉之地步。若照赵专使来电所述，纵藏方不成问题，而英方未能缄默，事势显然。现在班禅入藏行程甚迫，倘仪仗队一事仍贯彻既定计划，则所谓西藏一般问题交涉