

May 5, 1959

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PEKING REVIEW

Special Tibet Number

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The Rebirth of the Tibetan People

Cannot Be Halted

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*May Day Demonstrations and
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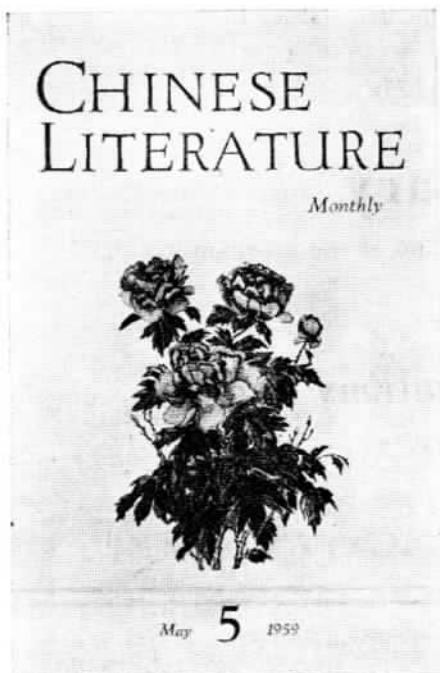
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PEKING REVIEW

北京周报

(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE
NEWS AND VIEWS

May 5, 1959 Vol. II No. 18

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Published every Tuesday by PEKING REVIEW,
Pai Wan Chuang, Peking (37), China
Cable Address: PEKING 6170

Post Office Registration No. 2-922

Printed in the People's Republic of China

The Real Story of Tibet

THIS special issue is our response to readers' request for more material about Tibet. The material and factual data in the following pages on Tibet's historical background and political developments will, we hope, enable the readers to understand the Tibet question as it really is and draw their own conclusions.

During recent weeks, much has been said and written abroad about Tibet. Imperialist interventionists and Indian expansionists, taking advantage of the rebellion in Tibet, have launched an all-out campaign of slander against People's China. Their favourite but long discredited weapons include name-calling, mud-slinging, deliberate distortions and outright lies. All these tricks, however, will be of no avail once the cold, hard facts become fully known. The motley band of slanderers and liars will stand exposed to the entire world in all their nakedness.

The first fact that has to be faced is that Tibet is an inalienable part of China. A complete record of Tibet's relationship to China dating back to early days is given elsewhere in this issue. It proves beyond doubt that the Tibetans, like the Mongolians, the Uighurs, the Huis, the Chuangs and other minority nationalities in China, constitute an integral part of China's multi-national population. The Tibet question, therefore, is China's internal affair, pure and simple. No self-respecting, independent country, least of all, People's China, will tolerate outside interference in its domestic politics. That's why the huge volume of anti-Chinese hullabaloo created by Indian expansionists on the Tibet question is deeply resented and sharply condemned by the Chinese people.

Since the Tibetans constitute one of China's many nationalities, it has been the fixed policy of the Central People's Government to introduce local autonomy in the Tibet region with a view to cementing the unity of the various nationalities and the unity of the Tibetan people themselves. The resolution on the Tibet question adopted by the National People's Congress on April 28 once again declared that "national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government should be resolutely implemented in Tibet as in other national minority areas of our country." As a matter of fact, all talk about "independence" for Tibet is nothing but a smokescreen for the imperialists and interventionists' evil designs on Tibet.

Some people abroad openly expressed "sympathy" with the "Tibetans in distress." The clamour in certain Indian newspapers and political circles is particularly high-pitched. However, they dare not make clear which section of the Tibetan people they sympathize with: the overwhelming majority of the common Tibetan people who stand solidly behind China's national unity and demand social reform in Tibet, or the handful of reactionaries of the upper strata who, in collusion with the imperialists and foreign reactionaries, are bent on splitting China's national unity and maintaining their dark rule intact. In fact, they are butting into China's internal affairs under the cloak of "sympathy."

May Day Demonstrations

MORE than half a million people in Peking marched past Tien An Men Square to celebrate the 70th May Day in the annals of the workers of the world.

All the colour, pageantry, and festive celebration of the achievements of socialism for which Peking May Day parades are now famed greeted the eye, but this year an additional theme ran through the entire parade which transformed the ranks of the marchers into a mighty demonstration of the Chinese people's unity against any interference in China's internal affairs by the imperialists and foreign reactionaries.

At ten o'clock, to the strains of *The East Is Red*, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the beloved leader of the Chinese people of all nationalities, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Chu Teh, Soong Ching Ling, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yun, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and the state walked up to the rostrum amidst the cheers of the crowds in the Square to review the parade.

Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party and Mayor of Peking, spoke. He said that on this May Day the people of Peking assembled to celebrate the great victories the Chinese people have won under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung in industry, agriculture and other fields; to celebrate the great victories of the people's commune movement and to celebrate the victory in the quelling of the rebellion in Tibet.

"Tibet," Peng Chen solemnly declared, "is an inalienable part of the territory of China. The putting down of the rebellion in Tibet is our internal affair. We cannot permit intervention by any foreigners! We must thoroughly wipe out the rebellion of the pro-imperialist elements in Tibet. We must smash the conspiracy of the imperialists and foreign interventionists to intervene in our domestic affairs. . . ."

On behalf of the people of Peking, Peng Chen greeted the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet who put down the rebellion in Tibet and all the Tibetan people who helped quell the rebellion.

Peng Chen also called the attention of the people to the fact that the U.S. imperialists still occupy China's territory Taiwan. He said, "We must liberate Taiwan, the Penghu Islands, Quemoy and Matsu Islands! We must thoroughly smash the U.S. imperialist plot to create 'two Chinas.' All U.S. armed forces must quit the Taiwan area!"

The Mayor then called on the people to carry out the resolutions of the National People's Congress which concluded its session a few days ago, to work to fulfil and overfulfil the 1959 national economic plan.

Then the paraders started marching across the Square which looks more impressive than ever against the silhouettes of the new, modern buildings that are rising around the Square.

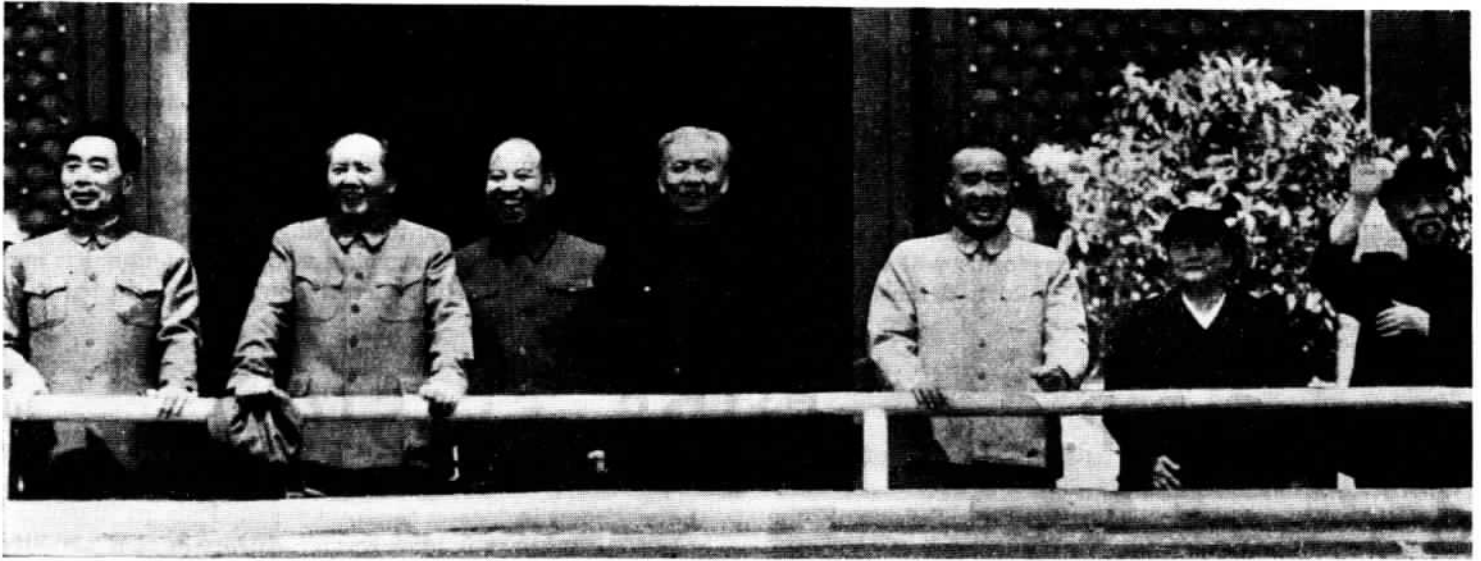
Contingents of Young Pioneers, school children, workers, peasants, government cadres, university students, professionals and people of various walks of life marched 110 abreast, cheering: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" "Long live the Chinese People's Republic!" Four huge contingents in succession, with models of a giant steel ladle pouring out red molten steel, a spectacle of coal mining, huge sheaves of wheat and massive cotton balls—were near the head of the parade dramatizing the four targets the nation is striving for this year: 18 million tons of steel; 380 million tons of coal; 1,050,000 million *jin* of grain and 100 million *dan* of cotton.

The steel workers displayed their slogans in big, red Chinese characters saying: "We Will Get 18 Million!" In their ranks there were six outstanding workers, representatives from the Penki Iron and Steel Works, Shanghai's No. 3 Steel Works and the Talien Steel Works—the three steel companies which have hit exemplary production records. The coal miners carried charts of various sorts describing how China surpassed Britain in coal production last year. They were followed by the workers of other industries, displaying floats and models—oil derricks and the figures of oil production, metals and machines, power plants, locomotives, etc., each with their own story of their big leap.

The peasants formed an interesting part of the parade. Older commune members, playing the bouncy tune *The People's Commune Is Good* on various kinds of Chinese



Tibetan students cheer as they pass the reviewing stand on Tien An Men Square



On the reviewing stand at Peking's May Day demonstration (from left to right): Chou En-lai, Mao Tse-tung, Peng Chen, Liu Shao-chi, Chu Teh, Soong Ching Ling and Tung Pi-wu

folk instruments, led the way. Carrying huge models of farm products, grain, cotton, vegetables, hogs, sheep, fruits, the peasants cheered the people's communes and proclaimed the harvest they are striving for this year.

They were followed by tens of thousands of teachers and students, scientists from Peking's colleges, schools, scientific research institutes and government workers.

In bolder relief than the diversity of occupations and walks of life of the marchers was the common mood of indignation that turned the parade into a demonstration—anger at the support given to the rebels in Tibet by the imperialists and foreign reactionaries and opposition to foreign intervention in Chinese domestic affairs. It was a clear reflection of the mood of the nation.

The people of China's numerous nationalities took part in the parade. They shouted angrily: "Oppose foreign intervention!" "Tibet is part of China!"

Tibetan students, Tibetan workers in the Dalai Lama's Office in Peking and the Panchen Erdeni's Office in Peking, and other Tibetans in the capital were among the demonstrators, some of them in lama's cassocks. They were vehement in denouncing the foreign interventionist plot to disrupt the unity of the Chinese people. They shouted: "Tibetans Unite! Strive for the building of a new, democratic, socialist Tibet!" The Tibetan students also voiced a stern warning: "The 650 million Chinese people will resist any provocation!"

Coal miners from Peking's Chingshi Coal Mines who overfulfilled their targets for April shouted: "We have the power to beat Britain in coal production; we also have the power to smash any foreign intervention!"

The paraders showed how they felt when they cheered the representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in Tibet who had come especially to Peking to watch the parade from the reviewing stands.

A highlight of the cultural workers' contingents was a dramatic parade dance—*Unity of China's Nationalities Dance*. Members of China's many nationalities in their national costumes danced around a statue of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. They were followed by many colourful

dances of China's various nationalities. Ten thousand athletes in ingenious displays ended the parade as balloons bearing the slogans "Long Live World Peace!" "Long Live the Unity of the Workers of the World!" and "Long Live the Great Unity of the Peoples of the World!" rose high into the sky.

In Lhasa, over 30,000 people turned out to celebrate. The ancient city's May Day paraders marched past the shopping centre of Parkor from five directions, and as they headed for the People's Square in front of the Potala Palace for the rally to be held at noon, men and women, young and old, lamas and laymen, danced through the streets to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets and the shouting of slogans. "Hail the victory in quelling the rebels in the Loka area!" "Condemn the foreign interventionists for engineering the Tibetan rebellion!" and

Nationwide Discussion of Nehru's Statement on Tibet Begins

The Sunday issue of national dailies in China front-paged the news that the country has begun discussing the statement on the situation in Tibet made by Indian Prime Minister Nehru in the *Lok Sabha* (the House of the People) on April 27. *Renmin Ribao* on May 3 published letters from readers which challenged Prime Minister Nehru's views on the rebellion in Tibet.

On April 30, *Renmin Ribao* published the full text of the Indian Prime Minister's statement of April 27. On the following day it published a brief editorial note urging everyone in the country to study this statement which gives full expression to the attitude and views of the Indian Government in regard to the rebellion in Tibet. This statement of April 27 and earlier statements on this question by Prime Minister Nehru fully revealed the Indian Government's attitude towards the rebellion in Tibet, the editorial note pointed out, and this is a matter of vital importance to the Chinese people. It therefore proposed that people in the factories, mines, enterprises, people's communes, schools and universities, government offices, the armed forces, democratic parties, people's organizations and other bodies study the statement and discuss it. *Renmin Ribao* informed its readers that it was studying the statement itself and will publish a detailed commentary within the next few days.

other slogans resounded through the air. Many of the peasants on the outskirts brought with them food and *qingke* barley beer to celebrate their first May Day.

At the Lhasa rally General Tan Kuan-san, political commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command, sharply denounced foreign interference in China's internal affairs and proclaimed that the rebellion will be put down thoroughly and that national regional autonomy will be realized resolutely and democratic reforms will be carried out gradually in the struggle to build a democratic and

socialist, new Tibet. Representatives of the Tibetan people spoke at the rally. They said that no foreign reactionaries can sever Tibet from China, nor can they stop the march of the Tibetan people to democracy and socialism. The rally adopted a message saluting the People's Liberation Army in Tibet.

Big parades and demonstrations were also held in Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, Wuhan, Sian, Lanchow and other cities, sounding a warning to the interventionists and heralding China's further victories in socialist construction.

C.P.P.C.C. ENDS SESSION

ON its closing day, April 29, the First Session of the Third National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference adopted a resolution calling on the people of all nationalities in China, all democratic parties and people's organizations and patriotic people to further strengthen unity, work to fulfil and overfulfil the 1959 national economic plan under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung to build China into a great, prosperous, strong socialist country.

A day before, the 947 C.P.P.C.C. members present at the session voted Chairman Mao Tse-tung the Honorary Chairman of the Third National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. and Chou En-lai, its Chairman. Fourteen vice-chairmen and a new 143-member Standing Committee were also elected.

C.P.P.C.C. member Panchen Erdeni was one of those who spoke on the closing day. He dealt with the comments of Indian Prime Minister Nehru on his speech of April 22 at the National People's Congress which, the Indian Prime Minister said, "did not do justice." Panchen Erdeni declared, "It is not only absolutely just but necessary for me to utter a solemn warning in the interests of upholding the unity of the motherland and national solidarity, and in the interests of friendship between China and India." (Text of this speech is published on page 12 of this issue.)

The First Session of the Third National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. convened in Peking when the First Session of the Second National People's Congress was taking place. When Premier Chou En-lai reported on the work of the government, and Vice-Premiers Li Fu-chun and Li Hsien-nien reported on the 1959 national economic plan and on the 1958 final state accounts and the 1959 state budget at the N.P.C. respectively, the members of the C.P.P.C.C. also sat in to hear the reports. They were also present at several general discussion sessions of the N.P.C. and when the people's deputies elected the new leading personnel of the state on April 27.

During the session more than three hundred members spoke. They warmly endorsed Premier Chou's report and the other reports to the N.P.C. They expressed views on a great variety of subjects ranging from the speedy development of China's industry and agriculture to the care of the blind. They also put forward many proposals to improve various aspects of work.

Members from the industrial front discussed the various aspects of industrial growth. Others dealt with

the changes in particular provinces. Peasant members spoke about the immense changes in production and life in the rural areas since the communes were formed.

Members of the various democratic parties and other democrats described how the great progress of the nation has inspired them to transform their outlooks and raise their political understanding even more rapidly so that they could play a still more active part in uniting all the democrats to help build socialism. Representatives of the overseas Chinese told how Chinese residents abroad were heartened by the news of great progress in their motherland. Lu Hsin-yun related that during the past four years more than 118,000 overseas Chinese have returned to their motherland and described how well they are cared for. Wong Wen-hao, one-time Kuomintang prime minister, recently made an inspection tour around Shanghai and the hilly regions of Chekiang. He described the amazing changes he found in these places.

Like the N.P.C. deputies, the members sternly denounced the imperialists and Indian expansionists for instigating the rebellion in Tibet and intervening in China's domestic affairs.

The political resolution which the session adopted spotlights the views of the C.P.P.C.C. members on the economic development in the country and on Tibet. The resolution warmly endorses the Premier's report and the reports on the 1959 national economic plan and on the 1958 final state accounts and the 1959 state budget. It says that the C.P.P.C.C. regards the 1959 national economic plan as "a great plan, which is a continuation of the big leap forward of 1958" and its members are confident that it can be carried out.

On the question of Tibet, the resolution says: "Tibet is an inalienable part of the territory of China; the Tibetan nationality is a member of the big family of all the nationalities in China. The Tibetan question is China's internal matter, which does not allow the intervention of foreigners. The activity of certain expansionists in India who are following in the aggressive footsteps of the British imperialists in supporting the rebellion of the reactionary clique in Tibet and clamouring for so-called 'Tibetan independence,' seriously undermines the five principles of peaceful coexistence and harms the great friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples. This has not only aroused the great indignation of the Chinese people but also runs counter to the interests of the Indian people."

Kalimpong: A Link Between Tibetan Rebels and Indian Expansionists

ON May 1 *Renmin Ribao* published photostats of four documents captured by the People's Liberation Army at Kungtehlin, a famous monastery in Tibet used as a rebel headquarters. Two of the documents provide further confirmation of the fact previously made clear in the Dalai Lama's letters to General Tan Kuan-san already reproduced in an earlier issue of *Peking Review*, namely, that the Dalai Lama was held under duress and deprived of freedom of movement before his final abduction by the rebels to India. The other two documents, photostats of which are reproduced on this page, are confidential dispatches sent by the rebels to Shagob-ba, their contact man and one of the rebel leaders in Kalimpong, India. Shagob-ba, known as Tzepon Shagob-ba Wongchiudeden, fled from Lhasa in 1951 and has been in Kalimpong ever since, directing traitorous activities against the motherland with the help of the imperialists and Indian expansionists. He is one of the moving spirits of the reactionary "Society for the Cause of Tibetan Welfare" in Kalimpong, mentioned in the two telegrams, the goal of which is to sever Tibet from China.

The two secret messages are dated the 7th day and the 8th day of the second month of the Tibetan calendar respectively, or March 16 and 17 according to the usual calendar. The first message reads in full:

Kalimpong, Shagob-ba, to be forwarded to the Society for the Cause of Tibetan Welfare:

Independent state of Tibet already established on first day of second month, Tibetan calendar (March 10, the day the armed rebellion was started in Tibet—Ed.). Please announce this to all. Please go to Gangtok (capital of Sikkim—Ed.) to receive telephone message on March 18.

(Signed)

Tibet Independence Conference

7th day of Second Month, Tibetan calendar

This message was sent by Tzechhag Kanchung (i.e. Thubten Lekmuun, one of the rebel leaders—Ed.).

The second message, dated March 17, reads as follows:

Kalimpong, Shagob-ba Tzepon (Tzepon is an official in charge of personnel and finance of the kasha, former local government of Tibet—Ed.) to be forwarded to the Society for the Cause of Tibetan Welfare stationed in India:

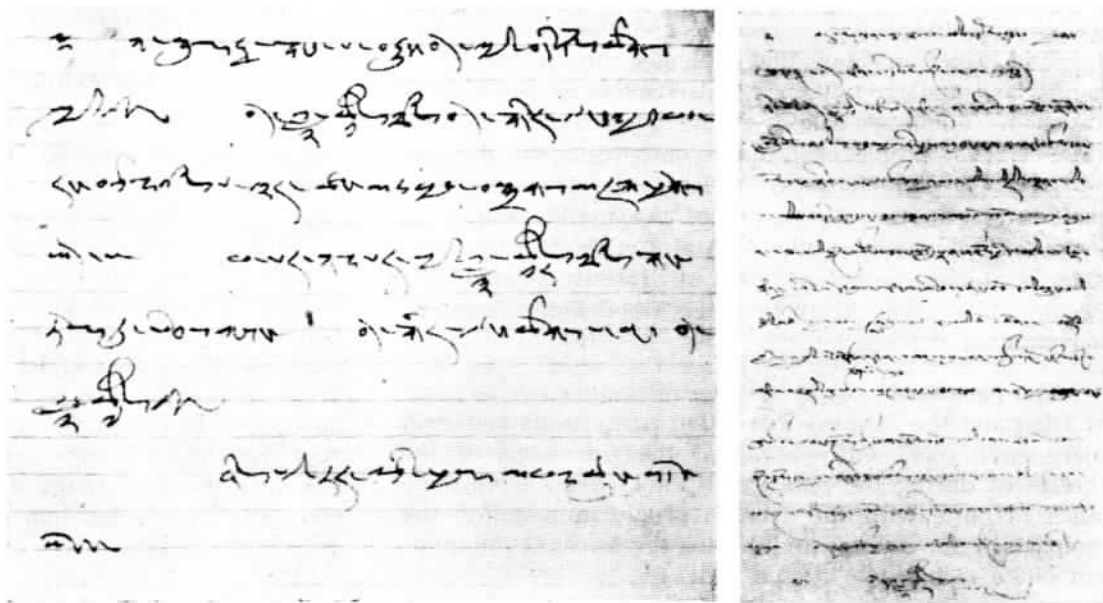
Recently, on 1st day of second month, Tibetan calendar, all Tibetans, high and low, clerics and laymen, unanimous in their will, already declared standing up from under power of red Communist Party of Hans and establishment of independent state. Should make propaganda about this in your place. Han government already preparing large-scale suppression in areas surrounding Lhasa. This being likely, to avoid swallowing of weak by strong, please report to government of neighbouring country, India, Buddhist Conference, United Nations to send delegates here immediately to inspect real situation. Also please find ways to wire Indian representative in Lhasa who should know situation beforehand. In short, better seek support by some means. Please carry on with all efforts in spirit of past knowledge of situation. Also please send inside information.

(Signed)

Plenary Meeting of People's Conference of Independent State of Tibet

8th day of Second Month, Tibetan calendar

The above is fresh evidence that the rebels used Kalimpong as a centre for directing treasonable activities against the motherland.



Photostats of the March 16 and March 17 telegrams of the Tibetan rebels to Shagob-ba in Kalimpong

The Rebirth of the Tibetan People Cannot Be Halted

by CHANG LU

Following is an abridged translation of an article which appeared in "Hongqi" (Red Flag), No. 9 (May 1, 1959), theoretical fortnightly published by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Subheads are ours.—Ed.

THE armed rebellion in Tibet has met with ignominious defeat. Aimed at selling out the motherland and striking at the unification of China, this rebellion was launched by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet and the former local government there which they controlled, and at the instigation of imperialism and the expansionist elements in India.

In the eight years since its peaceful liberation the people of Tibet, including the broad mass of working people and the patriotic and progressive elements of the upper and middle sections of Tibetan society, supported the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet and upheld the unification of the motherland. But the reactionary clique of the upper social strata, aided and abetted by the imperialists and the Indian expansionists, were bent on tearing up the agreement and splitting the mother country. Thus there has been a constant struggle between the two forces, one seeking to preserve the unity of the motherland and the other to undermine it. The quelling of the rebellion shows that the former has won a great victory.

The agreement on peaceful liberation signed between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet in May 1951 upholds the unity of the motherland and strengthens solidarity among the nationalities of China. Article I of the agreement stipulates: "The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out the imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland—the People's Republic of China." And Article II stipulates: "The local government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence."

The personnel sent by the central authorities to work in Tibet and the People's Liberation Army units stationed there have consistently observed the provisions of the agreement during the past eight years. They have done much to unite with the Tibetan people in manning the ramparts of our country and driving the forces of imperialism out of Tibet.

It may be recalled that in 1904, the British imperialists seized the prerogative of setting up trading posts at

the towns of Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok in Tibet. They, and later the Indian Government, appointed officials, garrisoned troops, opened postal and telegraph services, built schools and hospitals in these three places and set up post-stages along the routes; furthermore, they enjoyed the right of extraterritoriality in Tibet. These special privileges were all abrogated after the conclusion of the negotiations held between the Central People's Government of China and the Government of the Republic of India in 1954. The various special privileges wrested from Tibet by the Kingdom of Nepal during its invasion, egged on by the British imperialists, were also abrogated in 1956 after negotiations between the Chinese and Nepalese Governments. The peaceful liberation of Tibet enabled the Tibetan people to put an end to nearly a century of enslavement by the imperialists, it turned into a reality the unification of the motherland and secured the integrity of China's sovereignty.

Since its peaceful liberation, Tibet has made progress in the development of its economy and culture. This was achieved with the assistance of the Central Government and with the support of the brother nationalities and in spite of all manner of obstruction by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet. All this has further tightened the solidarity between the Tibetans and their brother nationalities and internal unity among the Tibetans themselves and has created favourable conditions for the Tibetan people to build a new life.

Aggressive Plots Continued

Nevertheless, the imperialists and the Indian expansionists did not give up their aggressive designs against Tibet. Nor did the reactionary clique of the Tibetan upper strata who had always worked hand in glove with the British imperialists and the Indian expansionists, take Tibet's peaceful liberation in good part. They conspired together to sabotage the agreement. For eight years the band of traitors, headed by Lokongwa Tsewong-ruten, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Tsrijong Lozong-Yiehsi, Pala Tudin Younding, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, Tzepon Shagobba, Jialo Dundrub, Yuto Chahsi-dongchu, and Weisa Gelseng (Kundelin-dzasak), never ceased plotting against the motherland with the backing of the imperialists, and especially the British imperialists, and the Indian expansionist elements.

In the winter of 1951 when the People's Liberation Army units were moving into Tibet, a number of reactionaries led by Lokongwa, the *situb* of the former local

government of Tibet and head of the gang of traitors, and Lozong Tsashi, another *sitzub*, knocked together a so-called people's conference to oppose openly the agreement on peaceful liberation and clamour for the withdrawal of the People's Liberation Army from Tibet. The former local government of Tibet, after being seriously reprimanded by the central authorities, could not but proscribe this reactionary "people's conference" and removed Lokongwa and Lozong Tsashi from their posts. All the same, the reactionary activities of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists and the reactionary clique in Tibet to split the motherland went on unabated. At the end of 1956, while the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni were on a visit to India to attend the celebrations of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's entrance into Nirvana, they took advantage of the opportunity to try to abduct the Dalai Lama and prevent his return to Tibet. At the same time, they were hatching a rebellion in Lhasa.

The central authorities had knowledge of all these criminal activities all the time, but did not take a hand in dealing directly with the case. They held the former local government of Tibet responsible for putting an end to these activities and meting out due punishment and made it perfectly clear time and again that these rebels would not be called to account for past misdeeds if they saw their mistakes and made amends.

The former local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata, however, were unmoved by this magnanimity on the part of the central authorities. Not only did they show no sign of repentance but they carried their criminal activities further. They exerted outrageous pressure on a small number of people who had fallen under their influence in various places to go along with them; thus they expanded their ranks. They held up and attacked motor convoys, wrecked high-ways, murdered cadres, killed and maimed people, and sniped at the People's Liberation Army. Their activities culminated in the all-out armed rebellion launched in Lhasa on March 10 this year, when they openly raised the slogan of "Independence for Tibet!" and "The Han People Must Get Out!" and abducted the Dalai Lama in their flight to India.

Intrigue in Kalimpong

At this juncture the gang of traitors clustered round Kalimpong in India, who had long been carrying on criminal activities in league with imperialist agents and the Indian expansionists, became frantically active; they turned Kalimpong into a centre of activities to direct the rebellion. At the same time, the Indian expansionist elements left no stone unturned to interfere in China's internal affairs, with such cries as "Tibet is an independent country," "the relations between India and Tibet are like the relations between mother and son," the suppression of the rebellion by the Chinese Government was an "act of aggression," etc., etc. This chorus of the clique of Tibetan traitors and the Indian expansionists, this collaboration between people inside and outside Tibet, exposed the rebellion as being the handiwork of the imperialists and Indian expansionists from beginning to end. That the imperialists and Indian expansionists should cry their

hearts out, as if they were bereft of their very parents, when the rebellion was suppressed in Tibet is therefore quite understandable.

From 1886 to 1888, the British Army for the first time penetrated towards the borders of Tibet and seized Sikkim. In 1904, British imperialism launched another attack on Tibet, took Lhasa and acquired various privileges in Tibet from the effete Ching government. The resolute resistance of the Tibetan people, however, showed the British imperialists that armed aggression alone could not enslave the Tibetan people. After 1904, they resorted to more subtle means. In order to hoodwink the Tibetan people, divert their attention, and get them to oppose their motherland instead of imperialism, they now claimed to be helping to bring about "independence" for the Tibetans. To carry out this plot, British imperialism selected a group of traitors from among the big Tibetan serf owners—men who were willing to seek personal gain at the expense of their own country and serve as willing claws of the tiger—and supported them in seizing power in Tibet. Thus, as early as the beginning of the 20th century, the British imperialists had planted a group of agents within Tibet.

During the Second World War, U.S. imperialism tried to penetrate Tibet. Following 1947, the Indian expansionists inherited the British imperialist policy of interference and disruption in Tibet. Since then, the group of Tibetan lackeys trained for so many years by the British imperialists has become the servants of the trio of British and U.S. imperialism and Indian expansionists. This group represents, on the one hand, the interests of imperialism and the Indian expansionists and, on the other hand, that of the big serf owners in Tibet. A study of the biographies of some of the ringleaders of the recent rebellion makes this very clear.

Biographies of Rebel Leaders

Surkong Wongching-Galei was a *kaloön* of the former local government of Tibet. Members of his family have been imperialist lackeys for generations. As a youth, he studied in the English school run by the British imperialists in Gyantse and received a slavish education from the imperialists; in 1941 the local government of Tibet sent him to buy arms from the British imperialists. It was he and Lhalu, another *kaloön*, who murdered the Tibetan patriot Rabchen Hutuktu in 1947. He fled to India before the peaceful liberation of Tibet but returned to Tibet in 1952 to undermine the unity of the motherland, a task entrusted to him by the British imperialists and Indian expansionists. His father, once director of the "bureau of foreign affairs" before the peaceful liberation of Tibet, was also an agent trained by the British imperialists and had close ties with the Indian expansionists.

Surkong Lhawang Dorje, younger brother of Surkong Wongching-Galei, studied in the English school in Darjeeling, India, and received training at the British army camp in Gyantse. As a member of the "trade mission of Tibet" he went to the United States and Britain in 1948, and since the liberation of Tibet he has lived in Kalimpong taking part in traitorous activities.

Tsrijong Lozong-Yiehsi is generally known as the "Living Buddha Tsrijong." He comes from the Tibetan aristocratic family of Kemad and is a big comprador as well, holding a large number of shares in the Himatsang Company, a comprador trading agency in Tibet. He is a trusted follower of the former *situb* Tagcha, faithful henchman of the imperialists. Before the peaceful liberation of Tibet, he went to India to establish contacts with the imperialists and the Indian expansionists. Since the peaceful liberation he has persistently plotted against the motherland, and has been one of the chief "advisers" of the traitorous clique in Tibet. In 1955 as he passed through areas inhabited by Tibetans in Szechuan Province on his return to Tibet from Peking in the company of the Dalai Lama, he incited the Khambas to launch a rebellion.

Pala Tudin Younding, an ecclesiastical official, was the Dalai Lama's aide-de-camp in the former local government of Tibet. He has long been a lackey of the imperialists, a henchman of the former *situb* Tagcha. Before liberation, he established close contacts with the Indian army unit stationed in his home town of Gyantse. He was one of the plotters who in 1952 set up the bogus "people's conference," a counter-revolutionary organization. His brother Pala Dorje Tsetan was trained in the British military camp in Gyantse, was commander of the Dalai Lama's guards regiment and was a key man in the recent rebellion.

Yuto Chahsi-dongchu was an acting *kaloon* of the former local government of Tibet. While in India, he took military training under the British imperialists. In 1948, he bought arms and munitions from the British imperialists on behalf of the former local government of Tibet. In 1950, the local government of Tibet appointed him leader of a "goodwill mission" to Britain. After Tibet was liberated, he travelled between Kalimpong in India and Lhasa carrying on his traitorous activities.

Lokongwa Tsewong-routen was acting *situb* of Tibet before its peaceful liberation. He is a faithful agent trained by the British imperialists. After the peaceful liberation, he zealously carried out the orders of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists, organized the bogus "people's conference," engaged in counter-revolutionary activities, and after his dismissal from his post, fled to Kalimpong, to become leader of the Tibetan traitors living in exile there. After the recent armed rebellion in Tibet broke out, he led a so-called "Tibetan delegation" to appeal to the Indian Government for help; they sent a representation to Prime Minister Nehru, declaring with servile submission "we prostrate ourselves before you."

Tzepon Shagob-ba was an important official of the former local government of Tibet in charge of finance, personnel and training of lay officials throughout Tibet. A returned student from England, he is a loyal agent of the British imperialists. In 1947, the local government of Tibet appointed him leader of the "trade mission of Tibet" to contact the U.S. and British authorities and beg for "aid" from the United States. In 1950 he was again appointed leader of the "goodwill mission" which was preparing to go to the United States and Britain to ask for intervention by Britain, the United States, India and Nepal to prevent the People's Liberation Army from

entering Tibet. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, he has lived in Kalimpong, engaging in traitorous activities in close association with Jialo Dundrub, Alochoitse and other reactionaries.

This group of traitors, trained up by the British imperialists, are political agents in Tibet of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists and at the same time big compradors of the foreign aggressors engaged in the economic plunder of Tibet. They monopolized the local and external trade of Tibet. Through them the British imperialists and their successors squeezed raw materials out of Tibet such as wool, borax, hides, deer's antlers, musk and medicinal herbs, and dumped in surplus goods such as cotton piece-goods, woollen goods, tobacco, sugar, hardware, etc. The result was that before liberation the Tibetan market was completely flooded with foreign goods.

Big Serf Owners

These loyal agents of the foreign aggressors all come from the families of the big serf owners in Tibet. Each of their households owned from 1,000 to over 10,000 serfs, from whom they squeezed rent worth from 2,000 to over 30,000 *ke* of grain each year (each *ke* is about 25 *jin*). To preserve this brutal and backward serf system in Tibet, they needed the backing of the imperialists, and the imperialists and Indian expansionists on their part, in order to enslave the Tibetan people and prevent their awakening, have done all they could to maintain the serf system in Tibet and perpetuate the brutal rule which this handful of traitors has imposed on the Tibetan people.

The serfdom of Tibet is more brutal, more obscurantist and more reactionary than the social system in Europe of the Middle Ages. Under this evil system of exploitation, all land and other means of production in Tibet are owned by the nobles, monasteries and the local government. In Tibet, there are altogether between 200 and 300 households of nobles; over 20 of these are big serf owners, while only seven or eight rank as the biggest serf owners. Government-owned land may be distributed to the nobles and monasteries, and land owned by the nobles and monasteries may be given as gifts between them, used as alms and mortgaged, but it cannot be bought or sold. It is through ownership of these lands that the Tibetan serf owners have imposed their vicious system of exploitation and oppression on the serfs of Tibet. They allot their serfs a small portion of land so as to chain them more firmly to the land. Each year a serf has to give two-thirds or even three-quarters of his time to unpaid labour service on the land of his overlord. The overlord provides him with seed only, while draught oxen, farm tools and labour power must all be contributed by the serf. Spring-sowing, summer-cultivation, autumn harvesting and winter-storing are all done by the serfs. When they work on the land of their overlords they have to provide their own food, and as a rule they work under the whips of stewards. They have no personal freedom. If they attempt to run away and are captured, heavy punishment is inflicted on them, they may have their eyes gouged out, their noses cut off or their hands and feet amputated. As soon as a child is born to a serf it is registered by the nobles as their property. To suppress the resistance of the serfs, the nobles have set up

prisons with implements of torture on many of their estates. They may give serfs away to another as a gift together with their estates, or mortgage them, hand them over as alms or even take them as part of a marriage dowry.

Desperate Plight of Serfs

The serfs are liable to be drafted for heavy labour for the nobility, the monasteries or local government of Tibet. The serfs have to provide free lodging for passing officials of the local government, get them fresh mounts, make them offerings of beef, mutton, buttered tea, garden peas or *tsamba** and, in addition, send young women to wait on them. They are also responsible for the transport of food supplies for the army and other materials of the local government by contributing their own services and beasts of burden without pay. They must repair and build houses for the local government without remuneration. Besides these services to the local government serfs belonging to the nobility and monasteries are also burdened with various odd jobs imposed on them by their masters such as repairing houses, bringing in rents in kind and other goods, carrying water, collecting or cutting firewood, tending horses and other household chores. Little time is thus left to them to work for themselves and much of their "own" land is thus left untended.

They are often driven into debt in order to survive. According to an investigation made in the four *dzong* (counties) of Longtang, Katse, Linchou and Pangtu to the north of Lhasa, all 166 serf households in Pangtu are in debt; in Linchou, 217 out of the 227 households are in debt; 185 of the 215 households in Katse are in debt; and 40 of the 50 households in Longtang are in debt. Roughly about 90 per cent of all serf households are in debt. Twelve owe a debt of over 10,000 *ke* of grain; 14 owe over 5,000 *ke*; 159 owe over 1,000 *ke*, 106 over 500 *ke* and 266 over 100 *ke*. These debts are inherited; some, it is said, run back 120 years, or were incurred in their grandfathers' time.

The former local government of Tibet represented the dictatorship of the serf owners. The serfs are not allowed to take any part in politics; they are never allowed to remain seated in front of the nobility, nor to intermarry with members of the nobility; even the style of their dress is prescribed; they are not allowed to dress like the nobility, and cannot use certain expressions in conversation. In the religious world, poor lamas coming from families of serfs or herdsmen are not allowed to take part in politics, and are oppressed and exploited by the upper ranks of the clergy.

Progressive mankind demands that serfdom with its

cruelty and darkness must go. The only people who oppose this are the imperialists, the expansionists in India and the reactionary clique in Tibet who wish to perpetuate this serfdom. But this, of course, is a vain hope that runs counter to the laws of social development.

Contrary to the wishes of the imperialists, the expansionists in India and the rebel clique in Tibet, the rebellion of the reactionary elements in Tibet and its suppression have helped the unification of the motherland and brought a new life to the Tibetan people. They attempted, through armed rebellion, to block the way to social reforms in Tibet and to realization of democratic regional autonomy there. But, on the contrary, their rebellion has aroused the indignation of the mass of the Tibetan people, and spurred the long pent-up desire for democratic reforms; more and more people of the middle and upper social strata too have come to realize the necessity of such reforms. The suppression of the rebellion, and the dissolution of the former reactionary local government of Tibet have also cleared the way for introducing democratic reforms in Tibet; this will lead to an early realization of democratic reforms in Tibet so that the mass of the Tibetan people may become the masters in their own house and really bring about democratic regional autonomy. Future democratic reforms in Tibet will be carried out step by step, in accordance with the will of the Tibetan people, with regard for the specific conditions there, and by appropriate means. In the course of and after the reform, proper arrangements will be made both for the political life and material livelihood of all members of the nobility and others of the middle and upper social strata who set store by the unification of the motherland, both the progressives who advocate reform and those middle-of-the-roads who may agree to the reform after persuasion. There is no doubt that once the Tibetan people are rid of their many shackles, they will succeed in creating an earthly paradise on the Tibetan plateau.



Left: A poor man's hovel in Lhasa



Right: The barbarous serf system, which the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet sought to perpetuate, turned men into beasts of burden. A rich man being carried by a serf

*Roast milled *qingke* barley — the staple food of the Tibetans. —Ed.

The Tibet Question Can Be Settled Only in China

Following is a speech made by Panchen Erdeni at a meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking on April 29, 1959.—Ed.

RECENTLY, I made a speech at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress in accordance with the wishes of all the Tibetan people, lamas and laymen. My speech was based on ample facts but it evoked the hostility and vituperation of certain Indian newspapers and journals. I did not expect that even Prime Minister Nehru should say that my speech "did not do justice. . . ." I should like to avail myself of this opportunity of the C.P.P.C.C. meeting to say a few words on the matter.

Prime Minister Nehru offered no explanation when he made his charge against me. Even now I still do not understand just what it was in my speech that "did not do justice. . . ." Could it be that my solemn declaration of the indisputable fact that Tibet is an integral part of China "did not do justice" to India? Could it be that what I said about our not allowing foreigners to interfere in the affairs of our Tibet and our motherland—the Chinese People's Republic—"did not do justice"? Could it be that I "did not do justice" when I expressed my indignation at the absurd outburst of certain expansionist elements in India who were trying to disrupt the unity of our motherland and the friendship between China and India?

In my opinion, none of these can be the grounds on which to charge that I "did not do justice." The question may be asked: When the internal affairs of any state in India are subjected to crude foreign interference, can Indian patriots approve it, welcome it, or keep silent? In the face of impudent foreign interference in China's internal affairs, it is not only absolutely just but necessary for me to utter a solemn warning in the interests of upholding the unity of the motherland and national solidarity, and in the interests of friendship between China and India.

Prime Minister Nehru said in his speech that he would welcome my going to India to see the Dalai Lama or any person I wanted to meet. He also said that India would receive me with every courtesy. Undoubtedly thanks should be expressed for the invitation. But it is reported that this invitation has been extended to me with the view of having me verify that the Dalai Lama was not abducted to India. Since Prime Minister Nehru has also said that the Dalai Lama admitted the authenticity of his three letters to General Tan Kuan-san, I think this fact alone gives convincing proof that the Dalai Lama was abducted. In these circumstances, I see no point of my visiting India.

If Prime Minister Nehru meant that he hoped I would go to India to enter into talks on the so-called Tibet question, then I must solemnly declare that the Tibet question

can be solved only in Tibet; it can be solved only in China, and definitely not in any foreign country. The reason is perfectly clear. I am sure nobody can fail to understand or is unable to understand this.

Pending the return of the Dalai Lama, I shall be acting as chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and, much as I am concerned over the situation of the Dalai Lama, it is difficult for me to undertake a long journey because of the heavy responsibilities on my shoulders. However, I take great pleasure in comforting the Dalai Lama by informing him:—one: the National People's Congress has elected the Dalai Lama and myself Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Congress, and two: the rebellion launched by the reactionaries in Tibet has been put down in the main, the bloodshed and fighting have virtually come to an end, social order has been quickly restored, the relations between the army-men and civilians are like members of a family, the people are settling down in happiness, national autonomy in the region is being promoted and preparations are underway for democratic reform. I myself and the people of Tibet hope that the Dalai Lama will be able to return to the motherland at an early date to see that his long-cherished wishes for reform in Tibet are being realized smoothly.

India is our great neighbour. I fully respect India and the Indian people. In 1956, the Dalai Lama and I visited India at the invitation of the Indian Vice-President. The Indian people gave both the Dalai Lama and myself a cordial welcome, another demonstration of the profound friendship between the peoples of China and India. For this I express my deep gratitude. But, incidentally, I should like to recall a minor incident: during the visit, some Indian officials often showed some kind of discrimination against me in arranging receptions. My entourage sometimes had to sleep on trains because they were not provided with accommodations. The Indian people of course did not know about this. I thought this might not be the arrangements planned by the Indian Government. But this could not but make an impression on me.

Mr. Nehru said that India's interest in Tibet was "historical, sentimental and religious and not essentially political." This statement, in my view, cannot explain the recent words and deeds of certain political figures in India in interfering in our internal affairs. The people of the whole world clearly know that Kalimpong in India has, in the past few years, become a centre of intrigues and manoeuvres against the People's Republic of China by imperialists, Kuomintang bandits and rebellious elements of Tibet. Recently some frenzied characters in India

have used the rebellion in Tibet and the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" to launch slanderous attacks against our great motherland, to undermine the five principles, interfere in our internal affairs, advocate what they called "Tibetan independence," and stir up anti-Chinese feelings. How can it be said that the utterances and actions of these people are not "political"?

As for displaying an interest of a religious character, I cannot help recalling a personal experience. Buddhism was once popular in India, and there are many sacred Buddhist spots in that country. But during our visit to India in 1956, we saw for ourselves that the famous Nalanda, Sarnath of Varanasi (the monastery where Buddha first preached), and Rajgir and quite a number of other monasteries were in a dilapidated state, with small attendances, and almost no charity services. The Buddhist images were either toppling over or had damaged noses, blinded eyes, or mutilated limbs. We are aware that there are now few followers of Buddhism in India. But is it not strange that those people who care so little for Buddhism in their own country yet talk so much about their concern for Tibet's Buddhism and ancient cultural relics?

(1) Historical Background

Tibet: An Integral Part of China

CHINA is a country composed of scores of nationalities: Hans, Tibetans, Mongolians, Uighurs, Chuangs and many others. All of its nationalities, through long years of co-operation, contributed to its formation as a united country. Tibet became a component part of the motherland in the course of a long historical process.

Long Tradition of Friendly Contact

Friendly contact between the Tibetans and China's other nationalities, mainly the Han nationality, began a long time ago. By the 7th century, in the early Tang dynasty, common associations and contact were already quite extensive. Apart from economic and cultural ties, close political relationships had also been established. In 641 A.D. Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang dynasty married Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King, Sron-tsan Gampo. She took with her to Tibet a large number of Han craftsmen specializing in brewing, rice-milling, paper and ink-making. She also brought with her silk-worm eggs. This played no small part in promoting the economic and cultural development of Tibet at that time. The memory of Princess Wen Cheng is held in very high esteem by the Tibetan people. Her statues are in the Jokhan Monastery and the Potala Palace in Lhasa. One of the best traditional Tibetan plays sings her praises.

In 710 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Chung Tsung, another Han princess, Chin Cheng, was married to the Tibetan king Tridetsogtan. Princess Chin Cheng took with her tens of thousands of pieces of silk and brocade, as well as Han acrobats and musical instruments. Later she asked for copies of the classic works of *Mao-*

We are faithful religious believers. But we resolutely oppose any interference by any person in another country's internal affairs under the cloak of religion. Tibetans or Indians, we should all of us heighten our vigilance against these persons. Beware not to fall into their traps!

Now that the rebellion of the reactionary elements in Tibet has been virtually put down, the so-called Tibet question has been basically solved. A handful of foreign interventionists are still attempting to make use of the so-called Tibet question to create disturbances. I believe that all our Indian friends who are not in sympathy with the criminal rebels who abducted the Dalai Lama but have real regard for the Dalai Lama and the mass of the Tibetan people, lamas and laymen, and who stand for the five principles and the preservation of Sino-Indian friendship, will certainly condemn severely and put an end to the wild clamouring of these interventionists. The over 600 million people of all the nationalities of China and the 400 million people of India will never permit any sabotage by any person, no matter under what pretence, of the great friendship between the peoples of these two countries.

shih (Book of Odes with the Commentary of Mao Chang), *Li-chi* (Book of Rites), *Tso-chuan* (Tso's Commentary) and Hsiao Tung's *Wen Hsuan* (General Anthology of Prose and Verse). Tibet thus obtained further access to the handicrafts, production techniques, music, scholarship and culture of the Han nationality.

In 729 A.D., the Tibetan king Tridetsogtan wrote a memorial to Emperor Hsuan Tsung in which he said: "I, a close relative of the Tang Emperor, also have the honour to be married to Princess Chin Cheng and we are thus members of one family, and the common people throughout the land live in happiness and prosperity."

In 821 A.D., a "Monument of the Unity of Uncle and Nephew" was jointly erected by the Tang Emperor Mu Tsung and the Tibetan King Triralpajian, a monument celebrating the friendship of the Tibetan and the Han peoples. This monument, erected a thousand years ago and still in good condition, stands in front of the Jokhan Monastery in the centre of Lhasa.

Foundation for Unity

Throughout the Tang dynasty, Tibetan emissaries were frequently sent to the Tang court. When a *tsanpu* (Tibetan ruler) died or a new *tsanpu* was installed, the fact would be reported to the Tang court, and when a new emperor of the Tang dynasty was enthroned, greetings would come from Tibet. Besides, large numbers of Tibetan emissaries went to the Tang court to present tributes and ask for trade. The Tang dynasty was an era which saw the great development of friendly contact

between the Tibetan and Han peoples. This laid a foundation for the unity between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of China, first of all, between the Tibetan and Han peoples, and for the Tibetan people to join the great family of the motherland and work together with the other nationalities to build a unified country.

At the close of the Tang dynasty, in the middle of the 9th century, internal disturbances broke out in Tibet as a result of the strife between the Tibetan king Langdarma and the upper strata of the lamas. Langdarma was killed by the lamas and chaos reigned in Tibet. Some people proposed to install a new *tsanpu*. A general, who opposed this action and started an uprising, declared: "How can a new *tsanpu* be installed without the conferment of the title by the great Tang dynasty?" Many of the family members of the fallen Tibetan king and his ministers and subordinates fled to the Tang court. Tibet was then divided into many small tribes. This chaotic situation lasted for 400 years, until the beginning of the 13th century.

Chinese Territory Since 13th Century

The chaos in Tibet was brought to an end and unity was achieved when Mongko, Emperor Hsien Tsung of the Yuan dynasty, sent an army to Tibet in 1253. Tibet was then incorporated into the Yuan Empire, and it has been a part of the territory of China ever since.

The political and religious systems were gradually defined by the successive central governments of China from the 13th to the 18th century. The present system of merging political and religious rule into one entity was first introduced in 1275. At that time Kublai Khan, in recognition of the services of King of the Holy Law Pagspa, of the Sakya (coloured) Sect of Buddhism in Tibet, in helping to introduce a new script for the Mongolian language, conferred the title "Tutor of the Great Yuan Emperor" on him. At the same time Kublai Khan placed the Tibet area under Pagspa's rule. This marked the beginning of the combination of the political and religious rule in Tibet. From then on, the successive Yuan emperors appointed a "Peace Commissioner" to Tibet [resembling the Resident Representative (Amban) in Tibet appointed by the Ching dynasty]. It was his duty to levy a certain amount of taxes and collect tributes from the Tibetan people every year. The Yuan dynasty also set up a number of courier stations and military posts in Tibet, conducted a census and instituted the check-up of the service records of the local officials.

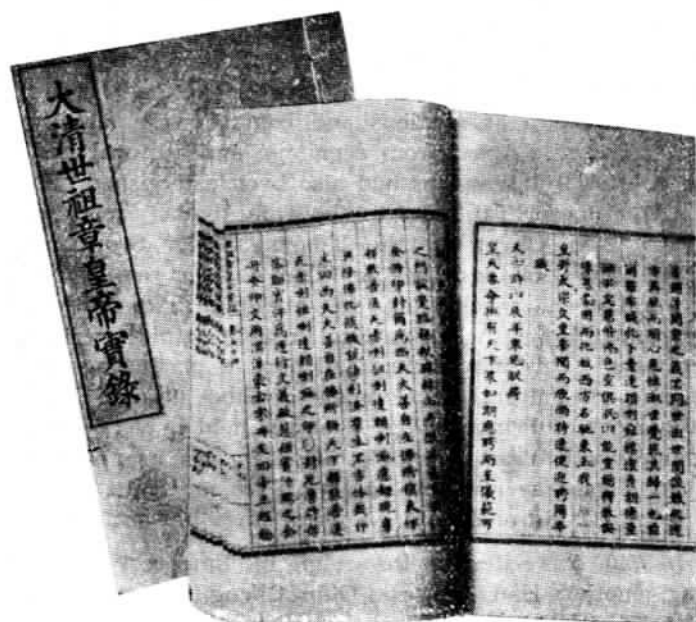
With the fall of the Yuan dynasty, the regime of the King of the Holy Law of the Sakya Sect collapsed, and King of the Holy Law Pagmochupa of the Kagyud (White) Sect came to power. This, however, did not bring any change in the relations between Tibet and the motherland. In 1372, King of the Holy Law Chiayang, the second ruler of the Kagyud Sect, sent an emissary to Nanking (then capital of Ming dynasty) to ask Emperor Tai Tsu of the Ming dynasty to approve his rule in Tibet. Emperor Tai Tsu conferred several titles of honour upon him and made him the Tibetan ruler. From then on, when each King of the Holy Law acceded to the throne, he never failed to send an emissary to the capital to ask for titles of honour to be conferred on him.

Friendly contact between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of China was further developed during the Ming dynasty. In 1409 four imperial emissaries were sent by Emperor Cheng Tsu to Lhasa to invite Tson-kha-pa, founder of the Yellow Sect, to preach the Buddhist canons in the interior of the country. Tson-kha-pa was unable to go himself and sent his disciple Jamchinguje as his representative to Peking. Emperor Cheng Tsu granted him a title of honour.

The statistics of the Board of Rites of the Ming dynasty show that in the 1450s about three to four hundred Tibetans came to Peking each year to present tributes, and in the 1460s the number reached three to four thousand.

When the Ming dynasty was on the verge of collapse the rule of the King of the Holy Law of the Kagyud Sect in Tibet also tottered. In 1643, the sixteenth year of the reign of Emperor Chung Chen, the Fifth Dalai and the Fourth Panchen, leaders of the Gelug (Yellow) Sect, overthrew the power of the Kagyud Sect with the help of the armed forces of Gushi Khan, a Mongolian chieftain in Chinghai. From that time on, the Tibetan people came under the rule of the group headed by the Dalai Lama.

After the Manchu troops pushed forward south of the Great Wall, the Fifth Dalai Lama came to Peking from Tibet in 1652 to offer his congratulations and asked Emperor Shun Chih to confer titles of honour on him. In 1653, when the Fifth Dalai returned to Tibet, the Emperor conferred upon him the title of Dalai Lama which was officially established from then on. The functions, powers and organization of the Tibetan local government (*kasha*) were defined by Emperor Chien Lung of the Ching dynasty. The Emperor laid down that the *kasha* was the highest administrative body in the Tibet area and that it was composed of four *kaloons* who were the highest officials in the local government of Tibet, second to the regent in rank.



The "Annals of Emperor Shun Chih of the Ching Dynasty" (1644-1662) recording the Emperor's conferment of the title Dalai Lama upon the Fifth Dalai Lama and the bestowal of a gold seal to him

In 1791, during the reign of Emperor Chien Lung, the Gurkhas from Nepal launched large-scale aggression against Tibet on the pretext of a minor incident on the Tibet-Nepal border. The invading forces pushed forward to Shigatse. They seized the areas west of Shigatse. The troops of the local Tibetan government were defeated by the invaders and all of Tibet was in danger of falling into the enemy's hands. The Dalai and Panchen then sent their representatives to Peking to ask for help. The Ching court immediately sent an army of about 20,000 men to Tibet. With the support of the Tibetan people, the troops of the Ching court drove the invaders out of Tibet in 1792.

In the closing years of the Ching dynasty and the early years of the Republic of China (founded after the 1911 Revolution), the relations between Tibet and the rest of the motherland were seriously impaired because of the intensified efforts of the imperialists to incite the reactionaries in Tibet to carry out all kinds of criminal activities against the motherland. However, fraternal friendship between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of China had deep roots and they had forged a common destiny. Under the popular pressure, the reactionaries of the upper social strata in Tibet had to acknowledge Tibet as a part of China and maintain contact with the central authorities.

Chinese Sovereignty Maintained

In 1930, the Kuomintang government sent an official to Tibet to contact the local authorities. In the same year the local government of Tibet also sent its representative, Konchio Trongnier, to Nanking and set up an office of the Tibetan local authorities there. When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama died on December 17, 1933, the local government of Tibet, in accordance with traditional practice, reported this to the Kuomintang government in Nanking on January 1, 1934. In April of the same year, the Kuomintang government sent Huang Mu-sung as a special envoy to Tibet to express condolences. Huang arrived in Lhasa in September, and bestowed a posthumous title on the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. He also set up in Lhasa an Office of the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs.

In the winter of 1938, the local government of Tibet found the incarnation of the Dalai Lama at Tangtsai,

(II) From the 1880s to 1949

Imperialist Schemes in Tibet

TIBET has long been one of the targets of the imperialist powers in their efforts to conquer China.

At the very outset, imperialism resorted to brute force in the hope of occupying Tibet by armed invasion. The first armed invasion of Tibet by the British imperialists took place between the years 1886 and 1888, after their earlier conquest of Nepal and Bhutan. The Tibetan people displayed remarkable perseverance and great courage in fighting the British invaders. Their armed resistance



Statue of Princess Wen Cheng
in the Jokhan Monastery, Lhasa

Huangchung County, Chinghai Province, and asked the central government of the Kuomintang to send a senior official to Tibet to preside over the installation of the holy throne. In March 1939, the Kuomintang government sent Wu Chung-hsin, Chairman of its Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, to Tibet. On February 22, 1940, the ceremony of the installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, presided over by Wu Chung-hsin, was held in the Potala Palace.

After the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Rabchen Hutuktu carried out the duties of the Dalai Lama. Rabchen was patriotic. During his administration the relations between the Tibet region and the motherland improved.

In the following ten years and more, although the British and U.S. imperialists and other foreign reactionary forces became more active in engineering splitting activities to sever Tibet from China, Chinese sovereignty over the Tibet region was maintained all along.

was carried out without active support from the central government in Peking (the Ching court at that time), which was corrupt and inefficient. The resistance went on for almost two years but was defeated in the end because the enemy was far superior in strength. This resulted in the British seizure of Sikkim.

The second armed invasion was the so-called Young-husband "expedition" to Lhasa in 1904, over a trail of Tibetan corpses. Monasteries on the way were sacked. The

correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle* at the time reported that "the expedition has looted monasteries, and for weeks past, bales of plunder have been coming over the passes into India. Their contents have brought joy to the officers' wives and friends whose houses in the hill stations began to look as some of them looked after the sack of Peking four years ago"—that is, during the Yi Ho Tuan (Boxer) Uprising. The Tibetans were finally forced to sign a convention imposed by British bayonets.

Change of Tactics

On both occasions, however, the British imperialists had failed to annex Tibet, thanks to the heroic resistance of the Tibetan people. So they changed their tactics and bought over a handful of reactionaries in Tibet to act as their agents in an attempt to disintegrate Tibet from within. They egged on their lackeys in Tibet to fight the Ching government in the name of opposing national oppression so as to divert the Tibetans from their struggle against imperialism to fighting against their own motherland. From then on there existed among the reactionaries of the upper social strata in Tibet a so-called pro-British clique bent on severing Tibet from its motherland and drawing it into the imperialist sphere of influence. The clamour for so-called "independence" for Tibet in modern times has from the very beginning been a dirty trick of the imperialists.

After the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution in China to overthrow Manchu rule, the British imperialists lost no time in inciting their protégés in Tibet to stage a revolt. The Resident Representative of the Ching government in Lhasa was expelled. Many Tibetan patriots of the ecclesiastical order and the nobility were murdered in cold blood. Even the Ninth Panchen Erdeni, who was loyal to the motherland, was forced to flee to the interior to avoid persecution.

The next step taken by the British imperialists was to put their plot into motion in the diplomatic field. Hand in glove with the Tibetan reactionaries, they engineered the Simla Conference in 1913-14, the so-called "Conference Between China, Great Britain and Tibet," at which they brought pressure to bear upon the then warlord government of China. At the conference, the British terms were deliberately designed to annex Tibet and extend its colonial rule there through its colonial government in India. This aroused the indignation of the Chinese people, the Tibetans in particular. The treaty drafted at the Simla Conference was never recognized by the Chinese Government.

In 1918, the British imperialists instigated the Tibetan reactionaries to send their troops to Chamdo, Tenko and other places. The British Minister to China then offered his "mediation," demanded the convocation of another "conference between China, Britain and Tibet," and tried to get the Chinese Government to sign the Simla conference draft treaty which aimed at the British seizure of Tibet. But their scheme came to naught once again in the face of the strong opposition of the Chinese people, including those of Tibet.

In the following decade or so, the British imperialists never ceased to foster its influence in Tibet and its underhand activities to undermine the relations between the

Chinese Central Government and the local government of Tibet.

Following the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933, Rabchen Hutuktu was named regent to administer Tibetan affairs pending the assumption of power by the Fourteenth (the present) Dalai Lama. Rabchen, reflecting the patriotic will of the lamas and laymen in Tibet, worked to cement the ties between Tibet and the motherland. This, of course, was not to the liking of the British imperialists and the reactionaries in Tibet. They spread slanders about Rabchen and forced him to resign in 1943. But they didn't stop there. They framed up false charges against him, produced false evidence of an alleged "plot to revolt," and in 1947 put Rabchen under arrest and murdered him. They also poisoned Chochotsering, father of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, who was closely related to Rabchen and had the interests of the motherland at heart.

After Rabchen resigned from the office, the most reactionary imperialist henchmen in the ruling clique in Tibet, headed by Tagcha, Lokangwa, Lozong Tsashi, Shagob-ba, Lhalu, Shasu and Surkong, became the rulers in Tibet. They made no secret of their intention of breaking away from the motherland and turning Tibet into an imperialist colony. In the summer of 1943, the Tibetan local government (*kasha*), encouraged by the imperialists, abruptly announced the establishment of a so-called "Bureau of Foreign Affairs." This infuriated the people throughout China. The Kuomintang government at that time ordered its office in Lhasa not to have anything to do with this "bureau."

Dirty Trick Failed

The British imperialists and the Tibetan reactionaries sought to play another trick. In 1947, an Asian conference was convened in New Delhi, India, to which all Asian countries were invited. Tibet was also invited as a separate "country." At the conference, the pennant of Tibetan Buddhism, the "snow mountains and lions," was deliberately displayed as the "national flag" of Tibet side by side with the national flags of other Asian countries. On a map of Asia displayed in the conference hall, Tibet was drawn outside the Chinese boundary in a vain attempt to make Tibet's "independent" status a *fait accompli*. But the imperialists were forced to make a correction when the Chinese people learnt of this with indignation and the Chinese delegation to the conference lodged a strong protest against it.

In plotting for the "independence of Tibet" the British imperialists looked for pretexts in the relations between China and India. Sir Basil Gould, once British representative in Tibet, for instance, openly declared that there should be a "buffer state" between the two big powers, and that China should make Tibet a "buffer state" so as to avoid conflict with India. In point of fact, China and India have lived in peace for many years and there is no need for any such "buffer." This proposal for a "buffer state" is obviously just another guise for the expansionist scheme of severing Tibet from China.

After the victory of the Chinese people in their war of resistance to Japanese aggression, the U.S. imperialists took the place of the Japanese colonialists in China in their efforts to turn China into an American colony.

During World War II, the U.S. imperialists already tried to get a finger in Tibetan affairs. Since then, they have collaborated with the British imperialists in hatching the plot of "Tibetan independence."

U.S. Butts In

In October 1947, at the dictation of the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists who were actively supporting the Kuomintang to fight the Chinese Communists and people, the reactionary elements in Tibet organized a "trade mission" headed by Tzepon Shagob-ba, to visit the United States, Britain and other countries. Nominally a "trade mission," it actually was to go to the United States to further the imperialist plot for Tibet's "independence" with the aid of Washington. After its arrival in the United States in 1948, as arranged by the U.S. Government, the "mission" acted shamelessly against the motherland and betrayed the interests of the Tibetan nationality. Members of the "mission" went about spreading the nonsense that Tibet has only religious ties with China and that China has no right whatsoever to govern Tibet.

Later events proved that the Tibetan reactionaries had sent the "mission" to the United States and Britain to discuss directly with their masters how to carry out further activities against the motherland. In the summer of 1949, when the whole of China was about to be liberated, the Anglo-U.S. imperialists, together with reactionary elements in Tibet, hastily conducted a "campaign to drive out the Hans" in Lhasa. On July 8, the local government of Tibet suddenly notified the office of the Kuomintang government in Lhasa that all its staff members and their families were to leave Tibet immediately.

(III) Some Recent History (1949-1951)

The Peaceful Liberation of Tibet

ON May 23, 1951, at a solemn ceremony held in Peking, delegates of the Central People's Government and the former local government of Tibet affixed their signatures to a historic document—the seventeen-article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. This signified Tibet's return to the fold of the motherland. Here is a brief review of the events preceding the signing of this document.

On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded. By the end of the year all of China, with the exception of Tibet and Taiwan, had been liberated. To complete the liberation of the mainland, it was decided that the People's Liberation Army should march into Tibet to free the people there from imperialist domination. Preparations began in 1950 and the advance units of the P.L.A. reached Kantse to the east of the Kingsha River. This caused panic among the U.S. and British imperialists and the reactionaries in the local government of Tibet. In January 1950, United Press, the U.S. news agency, spread reports to the effect that the Tibetan au-

thorities would send "goodwill missions" to the United States, Britain, India, Nepal and Peking to declare Tibet's "independence." This was part of the manoeuvres of the U.S. and British imperialists to manufacture pretexts for open intervention in China's internal affairs and to prevent the P.L.A. from entering Tibet.

Apparently, they hoped that in this way they would be able to sever the ties between Tibet and its motherland, to keep the People's Liberation Army out of Tibet and continue to enslave the Tibetan people.

It was at this time that an American named Lowell Thomas went to Lhasa from Washington on a "journalistic" assignment to carry out conspiratorial activities. In his book on the trip, *Out of This World*, Thomas admitted that he suggested to the *kasha* firm opposition to the entry of the People's Liberation Army into Tibet. If Tibet could organize a technically equipped guerrilla force, he added, the P.L.A. could be prevented from entering Tibet. In October 1949, when Lowell Thomas returned to the United States, American newspapers shrieked that the United States was ready to recognize Tibet as an independent state and support its application for membership in the United Nations, and that the United States would give "military aid" to the local government of Tibet.

When the "campaign to drive out the Hans" was initiated in Lhasa, Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to publish an editorial (September 2, 1949) which pointed out that the aim of the British and the U.S. imperialists in instigating the incident "was not only to prevent the Tibetan people from attaining liberation at a time when the People's Liberation Army was about to liberate all China but, furthermore, to turn them into the colonial slaves of foreign imperialism."

But as history shows, all the schemes of the imperialists and of the reactionaries in Tibet and abroad to sever Tibet from China are doomed to failure.

The spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a statement issued on January 20, 1950, sternly condemned this imperialist trick. He declared:

Tibet is a territory of the People's Republic of China. This is a fact which is known to everybody in the world and which has never been denied by anybody. Since this is the case, the Lhasa authorities, of course, have no right arbitrarily to send out any "mission" and, still less, to prove Tibet's "independence." Since the "independence" of Tibet has to be publicized to the Governments of the United States, Britain, India and Nepal, and has to be announced by the American United Press, it is not difficult to see that, if the content of such news is not a United Press fabrication, it is at best merely a puppet

show directed by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices who are invading Tibet.

Seeking a peaceful liberation, the Central People's Government made efforts to enter into negotiations with the *kasha* (the local government of Tibet) at an early date. In July 1950, it sent Living Buddha Geda, Vice-Chairman of the former Sikkang Provincial People's Government, on a mission to Tibet to open discussions with the *kasha*. Living Buddha Geda arrived in Chamdo on July 24. There he immediately met with obstructions placed by the British imperialist agent Robert Webster Ford and the local Tibetan reactionaries who prevented him from proceeding further to Lhasa. Ford and his accomplices murdered Living Buddha Geda in August by poisoning and burnt his corpse to hide the crime.

The U.S. and British imperialist intrigues in Tibet were farflung. The Central People's Government deemed it necessary to clear up the situation there and drive out the imperialist forces at an early date. It ordered the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet. At the instigation of the U.S. and British imperialists, the reactionaries in the local government of Tibet directed the Tibetan army to block the entrance of the P.L.A. at Chamdo. The P.L.A. had to deal punitive and smashing blows to the Tibetan army and, on October 19, 1950, wiped out its main force of over 5,000 men. Chamdo was thus liberated.

Liberation of Chamdo

Following the liberation of Chamdo, the U.S. and British imperialists raised a ballyhoo. At a press conference held in Washington on November 1, 1950, Dean Acheson, then U.S. Secretary of State, openly slandered the entry of the P.L.A. into China's own territory Tibet as "aggression." In an editorial on October 31, 1950, the London *Times* brazenly asserted: "The claim [that Tibet is a part of Chinese territory — *Ed.*] cannot be justified in history." It tried to incite the Governments of India and Pakistan to lodge "protests" with China.

Among the Tibetan ruling clique, there was a handful of reactionaries headed by Regent Tagcha who were working hand in glove with imperialism and foreign expansionists. They abducted the Fourteenth (the present) Dalai Lama to Yatung from where they planned to take him abroad. They were counting on a third world war for staging a come-back. However, their scheme to abduct the Dalai Lama to India aroused opposition among both the masses of Tibetan people and the three major Tibetan monasteries. Not a few *kanpos* and *kaloons* close to the Dalai Lama also disapproved of the scheme and favoured negotiations with the Central People's Government. The struggle ended in victory for the patriotic and progressive forces which opposed the flight of the Dalai Lama and represented the wishes of the Tibetan people.



Left: One of the radio sets captured when the P.L.A. liberated Chamdo. All of them bear the mark: "U.S. Army"

Right: Robert Webster Ford, the British imperialist agent arrested when the P.L.A. liberated Chamdo in 1950

Consequently, in the spring of 1951, Tagcha stepped down and the Fourteenth Dalai Lama assumed power. The Dalai Lama then appointed *kaloon* Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and four others as plenipotentiaries of the local government of Tibet to conduct negotiations in Peking. The U.S. and British imperialist plot to prevent direct negotiations between Tibet and the motherland was completely foiled.

Agreement Signed in Peking

Upon its arrival in Peking the Tibetan delegation started negotiations with the delegates appointed by the Central People's Government for a peaceful liberation of Tibet. In the short period of one month, agreement was reached on all important questions. On May 23, 1951, the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed.

This document provided correct solutions to the question of the relations between Tibet and the motherland, and also to problems of relations between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni which had been outstanding for 30 years. This agreement was a brilliant achievement of the Chinese Communist Party in settling a very intricate domestic question of nationalities.

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama returned from Yatung to Lhasa on August 17, 1951. On October 26, units of the People's Liberation Army arrived in Lhasa and were warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people, both lamas and laymen. In a telegram to Chairman Mao Tse-tung on October 24, 1951, the Dalai Lama said that "the delegates of both parties, on a friendly basis, signed the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet on May 23, 1951." The lamas and laymen of Tibetan nationality, he said, support the agreement unanimously. "Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government, they are actively helping the People's Liberation Army units marching into Tibet to strengthen national defence, drive imperialist forces from Tibet and safeguard the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the motherland," he stated.

The Tibetan people were thus freed from imperialist fetters and returned to the big family of fraternal nationalities of the People's Republic of China.

A HANDY GUIDE TO TIBET

TIBET is located in the southwestern part of China. It borders on the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region in the north, Chinghai Province in the northeast and Szechuan Province in the east. To its south and west are India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. It has a total area of more than 1.5 million square kilometres. It lies on an average of 4,000 metres above sea level. Together with that part of Chinghai Province south of the Tsaidam Basin, it forms the "Chinghai-Tibet Plateau." Known as the "Roof of the World," this is the world's highest and largest plateau. The Himalaya in the southern part of Tibet is the highest and longest mountain range in the world. The Jolmo Longma (Mount Everest), rising 8,882 metres above sea level in the centre of the Himalayas, is the world's highest mountain.

The three areas of Tibet—the Chamdo area, Chientsang (Yu) and Houtsang (Tsang), are inhabited by 1,200,000 people, more than 90 per cent of whom are Tibetans.

The eastern part of Tibet is called the Chamdo area with Chamdo as its centre. After its liberation by the People's Liberation Army in October 1950, the People's Liberation Committee of the Chamdo Area was established in Chamdo with offices in Dinching and Bomi. The committee has 22 *dzong* (see below) under it.

The central area of Tibet is known as Chientsang (Yu). Its capital Lhasa on the north bank of the Lhasa River is the political, religious, cultural and economic centre of Tibet. On the Potala hill in the northwestern suburbs towers the imposing 13-storey Potala Palace, the abode of the Dalai Lama. There are three famous monasteries in Lhasa—the Daipung, the Sera and the Gahdan. The Norbu Lingka in the western suburbs is the Dalai Lama's summer abode.

To the west of Chientsang is Houtsang (Tsang). Its capital Shigatse, situated at the junction of the Tsangpo and the Nyanchnu Rivers, is the political, economic and cultural centre of the western part of Tibet. The Trashilhunpo in Shigatse is the abode of Panchen Erdeni. It is also the site of the Panchen Kanpo Conference Committee.

Tibet is rich in natural resources. Its main agricultural areas lie in the broad valleys of the Tsangpo River and its tributaries, the Lhasa and Nyanchnu Rivers in southern Tibet. *Qingke* (highland barley) is Tibet's main crop. Other crops include wheat, rice and maize.

Animal husbandry has an important place in the Tibetan economy. The main pasture lands are on the northern Tibetan plateau. Here graze yaks, sheep, goats, horses and camels.

Contrary to general belief in the past, Tibet is very rich in mineral resources. Preliminary prospecting shows that there are more than 30 minerals including coal, iron ores, copper, salt and borax.

Timber forests of Chinese firs, pines, cypresses and other trees are also an important source of Tibet's wealth. Most of these are virgin forests.

Tibet also grows many varieties of medicinal herbs.

Carpets made of yak and sheep's wool and incense are the best known handicraft products in Tibet.

The following is a brief explanation of certain commonly used Tibetan names and terms:

Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni

In Tibet, religious leaders are at the same time political leaders. According to historical tradition in the Tibet region, there are two political-religious leaders: the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni. In Mongolian, Dalai means "ocean," implying that his wisdom is as great as the ocean. The title of the Dalai Lama began with the Third Dalai (his two predecessors received the title of Dalai Lama retroactively). After the Third Dalai, Sonam Gyatso, went to Chinghai to propagate the faith on the invitation of the Mongolian chieftain Altan Khan (Anda Khan) in 1575, the third year of the reign of Emperor Wan Li of the Ming dynasty, he was honoured with the title of Dalai Lama. The title of Dalai Lama was officially conferred on the Fifth Dalai by the Emperor Shun Chih of the Ching dynasty in 1653.

In Sanscrit, Panchen means profound wisdom and great learning. Erdeni is a title of honour. The title "Panchen Erdeni" was first conferred by Emperor Kanghsi of the Ching dynasty in 1717. The Dalai Lama lived in Lhasa, and Panchen Erdeni in Shigatse.

According to Tibetan annals, the First Dalai and the First Panchen were the disciples of Tson-kha-pa, founder of the Yellow Sect of Buddhism in Tibet. After his death, Tson-kha-pa was reincarnated in the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, who became his successors. Since then, when the Dalai or Panchen Lama dies, people are sent out to find the infant into whose body his spirit has passed, according to Tibetan belief, and the infant so found becomes his successor.

The present Dalai Lama is the Fourteenth Dalai, and Panchen Erdeni is the Tenth Panchen.

Lamaism and Lama

After Buddhism was brought to Tibet in the 7th century it was permeated with elements of the indi-

genous religion. It was generally called Lamaism to show that it differed from ordinary Buddhism.

Lama means "supreme," or "sage," according to the Lamaist canons. An honourable title for the monks in Tibet, it applies to the ordinary ecclesiastic as well.

Living Buddha

A Living Buddha is a lama of the upper strata. After political and religious rule is merged into one entity, Living Buddhas have always been the political leaders of Tibet. With the rise of the Yellow Sect, which advocates celibacy, the system of "reincarnation" replaced the system of father to son succession. Living Buddhas are divided into the following ranks:

1. The Dalai and Panchen are the highest Living Buddhas, and the political and religious leaders of Tibet.

2. "Gyalpo-trulku" are grand Living Buddhas, second in rank only to the Dalai and Panchen. "Gyalpo" means "king," and "trulku" "reincarnation." There are only four or five Living Buddhas of this rank.

They received the title of Hutuktu from the Ching court.

3. There are a large number of ordinary Living Buddhas who have their own monasteries and manors and exercise immense power in their own areas.

There are some minor Living Buddhas who also have their own small monasteries and estates.

Kanpo

Kanpo has the following three meanings:

1. Lamas who have a profound knowledge of the scripture and have mastered the canons of the faith;

2. Leaders of the monasteries and

3. High-ranking ecclesiastical officials who are part of the retinues of the Dalai, Panchen and other grand Living Buddhas.

The Yellow Sect and White Sect

The Yellow Sect and the White Sect are two different schools of Lamaism in Tibet.

The Yellow Sect, founded by Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419) in the early Ming dynasty, is now the largest religious body of Lamaism. His "Jangchhub Lam-rim" (The Graded Path) is today the basic scripture of the Yellow Sect, which began to hold the reins of the local Tibetan government in the early Ching dynasty with the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni as its leaders. In addition to the three chief Buddhist monasteries of Lhasa (Daipung, Sera and Gahdan) and the Trashilhunpo Monastery in Houtsang, which are the centres of the Yellow Sect, monasteries affiliated to it are found throughout Szechuan, Chinghai, Kansu and other regions inhabited by Tibetans; among the larger ones are the Kungtehlin Monastery, the Rabchen Monastery, the Gumbum Monastery in Chinghai and the Labrang Monastery in Kansu.

The White Sect is more specifically known as the "Dagyudpa Sect," meaning oral preaching. It was founded by Marpa (1012-1095) in the Sung dynasty. The Phamodrupa school of the White Sect once succeeded the Sakya Sect in the political control of all Tibet. Its main monasteries include the Trigung, the Taglung, the Palpang and others. Lamas of the "Dagyudpa Sect" wear a white gown, hence the name "White Sect."

Titles in the Former Local Administrative and Military Organizations in Tibet

Gyaltsab: meaning regent. After a reincarnation, the Dalai Lama is too young to assume his office, so a regent exercises political and religious power on his behalf. The regent returns the government and religious seals to the Dalai Lama when he grows up.

Silun: more generally known as *situb*, meaning political minister, the highest-ranking administrative official under the Dalai Lama.

Kasha: the local government of Tibet, the supreme administrative organ under the Dalai Lama. In Tibetan, *ka* means "order" and *sha* means "mansion"; *kasha* means the "place where orders are issued."

Kaloon: the highest-ranking political officials in the *kasha*.

Dron-drung-khang: the Secretaries' Office of the *kasha*, composed of two *kadrung* (secretaries) and three *kadron* (messengers or adjutants) in charge of correspondence, records and transmitting messages.

Chidzong or *Chichkab*: a fairly large administrative area in Tibet; each *chidzong* has several or dozens of *dzong* (counties) under its jurisdiction.

Dzong: equivalent to a county, the basic administrative unit in the Tibet region.

Zhika: has two different meanings: 1. an administrative unit on the same level as a *dzong*, but smaller in size; 2. a manor.

Tzikhang: the personnel and auditing department, accounting for the local financial expenditures and revenue of the Tibet region and in charge of the training of the younger generation of temporal aristocrats, and of all appointments, promotions and demotions of temporal officials.

Yigtsang: meaning the secretariat, in charge of the monasteries and religious affairs in Tibet, the keeper of the seals of the Dalai Lama, in charge of his correspondence and documents, of the training of the ecclesiastical officials, their transfers to new posts, promotions and demotions.

Tzezimchhunggag: the office of the retinues of the Dalai Lama.

Chikyab Kanpo: meaning the general *kanpo*, under whom are the retinues and officials directly serving the Dalai Lama.

Magchikhang: headquarters of the Tibetan army.

Magchi: commander of the Tibetan army.

SUNSHINE AFTER RAIN

From a Lhasa Diary

by SHAN CHAO

Tuesday, March 10

In March in Lhasa it is already too warm to wear a fur coat. At dawn the cadres just slip on sweaters when they go outdoors to do their daily morning exercises. Usually at this time we hear the temple bells and horns resounding from the roof of the Potala Palace, calling the lamas to their morning scriptures. But things were different today. There was a great deal of coming and going in that direction. Many of those who hurried by were in civilian clothes but there were also men of the Tibetan army.

Not a single one of the comrades of the Tibetan People's Broadcasting Station had come out for exercises, so I went over to their place and found them busy getting the tape recorder ready.

"Anything important happening today?" I asked.

"The Dalai Lama is coming to a concert of music and dancing in the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command," they said. "Our song and dance troupe has been preparing for it for more than a month. We are going to record their best numbers. Perhaps you'll take some pictures? The Dalai Lama will surely shake hands with the performers."

I hurried away to get my camera. I noticed that the water cart was already sprinkling the road in front of the Potala with water to keep the dust down for the Dalai Lama's car.

I had a snatch of breakfast and then hurried to the auditorium. Everything was spick and span. A velvet-covered armchair had been prepared for the Dalai Lama. The refreshments were ready. The performers had already put on make-up and costumes. At the door of the auditorium, some leading comrades were chatting and laughing while waiting for the guests.

It was nearly eleven o'clock and still no sign of the arrival of the honoured guest! Getting anxious, someone suggested that we send a car to welcome him. Others said that was not necessary because the Dalai Lama had just phoned to say that he would come on time.

While we were wondering what could have happened, U-gyan Tsering, the radio mechanic, came rushing in. All of a sweat and panting, he stammered out: "What a disaster! The reactionaries are holding the Dalai Lama in the Norbu Lingka. They are killing progressives. People living near the Lingka are in a panic, they are trying to find a place to hide!"

We hurried back to the office of the Working Committee.* At the gate, we saw a group of mounted soldiers coming from the direction of Norbu Lingka. A bloody corpse was slung over the back of a horse. The rebels had knifed and stoned Phagpalha Khangchung to death and now they were going to expose his corpse on the main street to terrify the people. By the roadside, tears in their eyes, people stood silent and with lowered heads.

I was seething with anger. Suddenly I heard someone behind me loading a sub-machine gun. I turned round and saw it was Ngawang Kazang.

"What are you doing?" I cried.

"Can we put up with such lawlessness? I want to empty the magazine on them!"

"Did you get orders to do that?"

"I want to shoot even if I get punished!"

It took me a lot of arguing to get him to put down his gun.

I returned to my room but was in no mood to sit quietly. From my window, with the help of binoculars I had a clear view of the Potala and the Yo Wang Hill. The window sills of the innumerable windows of the Potala are usually a favourite playground of doves; now rifle barrels glinted from them. Halfway up Yo Wang Hill rebel troops had taken up positions; at its summit there were signs of artillery activity. Many men were hauling up ammunition and other supplies.

Thursday, March 12

With the situation as tense as it is these days, what were the people up to moving around so early in the morning? Lhasa was still shrouded in mist when its inhabitants, downcast and depressed, began walking in small groups towards the west.

I was just going to find out what it was all about when I saw the radio announcer Dekyid Drolkar and U-gyan Tsering, the mechanic, talking excitedly to our comrades. Half in Tibetan and half in the Han language, the two of them were talking almost simultaneously: "The rebels ordered it! They said anyone who does not attend the meeting at Norbu Lingka will be fined; if he still fails

* The Tibet Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

to go, then they will have his head cut off! All the Tibetan cadres and students have been ordered to leave their offices and schools in three days. Orders have been issued to shoot to kill anyone who disobeys. Their families will be shot too! These rebels are devils!"

"Any news about the Dalai Lama?" someone asked.

"It's said these days the Dalai Lama doesn't eat well, nor sleep well. The pity is that he doesn't even dare to breathe a heavy sigh. . . ."

Members of the Tibetan cadres' families have been asking for permission to move for safety into our office buildings. In less than a day, all the rooms were packed. They said: "If the houses are full, we won't mind staying in the courtyards. As long as we are with the Communists, nobody will suffer even if the sky falls down."

How could we let our guests stay in the courtyards? We managed to put them up in our conference rooms, offices and dormitories.

Sunday, March 15

The bandits are showing their real face more and more clearly. They are raising such havoc all through the city that it's as if some imperialist invader had entered our land.

It is said that the worst atrocity was committed at the nunnery in front of the Jokhan Monastery; not a single one of the scores of young nuns escaped being raped. The bandits also broke into many shops and carried off all their goods. The reactionary nobles and officials made no secret of their moving to the Norbu Lingka when they passed by our office in the daytime.

In the afternoon, cedar incense was being burned in front of the Potala. It was clear the rebels were cooking up some new trick. It turned out that they were forcing the women to attend a "meeting" and swear to drive the Han people out and safeguard the "independence" of Tibet.

Monday, March 16

Even the sun was dark with anger, withdrawing itself behind the clouds as if it were disgusted at the monstrous things being done in Tibet. We decided to take a look around the Norbu Lingka. The rebels were building fortifications there.

We set out in a big armoured car with two accompanying smaller ones, one in front and one behind us.

We drove to the back of the Potala and thus got a clearer view of things. At the Yabzhi Lingka to the east and the Dragon King Pond to the north of the Potala, two of the loveliest summertime beauty spots, the rebels were busily digging in.

Behind the Potala, two Tibetan civilians with sacks of *qingke* barley on their backs were moving forward timidly in the same direction as we were. They slowed down their pace to wait for our armoured cars and then made haste to keep up with us, obviously trying to make use of our cars to shield them from the rebels who might shoot at them and seize their grain, a common happening these days. Full of sympathy, our drivers slowed down and protected the two as they made for a detour north-west of the Potala. Even when they were already a long distance away, they still turned round and waved to us.

No one moved on the roads to the west of the Potala. The rebels were also busily digging in at the northern entrance of the Norbu Lingka.

We had a photographer of the Central Newsreel and Documentary Film Studio with us, a tall, dark-complexioned Tibetan. He recorded some of these scenes with his camera.

Tuesday, March 17

It looks as if there is going to be fighting soon. The rebels have been busy day and night deploying troops and bringing up munitions. We cannot just sit by and wait. We have also been working day and night building defensive fortifications.

The families of the Tibetan cadres insisted on joining us at our work. They asked: "Don't we have a share to do in fighting the scum of our own people? The reactionaries want to kill us. Why shouldn't we take defensive action?"

Cadres working in other units situated farther away from the office of the Working Committee and the headquarters of the Military Area Command came to tell us about how their offices had been besieged and attacked with guns and stones by the rebels and asked whether they could fire back. The orders they got were to move and assemble in the larger government buildings.

Wednesday, March 18

The Dalai Lama is "missing." The reactionaries abducted him from Lhasa last night.

Many ordinary residents of Lhasa came to the Working Committee to complain that the rebel bandits were everywhere pressganging people to join them as "volunteers." Many people have been beaten to death on the spot for refusing to go with them.

A woman over fifty, her hair dishevelled and her eyes swollen from weeping, told us of the tragedy that had overtaken her family. Yesterday her son, a manual worker, and her daughter, a nun, both happened to come home to get some *tsamba*.* As it was getting late, she was afraid that they might meet with trouble on their way back, so she asked them to stay at home for the night. Soon after dark, a gang of the bandits broke into her house and took her son away by force as a "volunteer." They dragged her daughter from under her bed, where she had hidden herself, and raped her.

Thursday, March 19

After breakfast, I went to a bookstore to get some books. I found that several tents had just been set up in our area; outside them were tin stoves, cow dung, which the local people use for fuel, and sacks of *tsamba*. It was clear that the occupants of these tents, vegetable sellers, pedlars and beef and mutton vendors whom I had seen before, were not expecting a long stay. They invited me into a tent and I asked an old lady with a small boy sitting on her lap what had made them move to this place.

* Roast milled *qingke* barley—the staple food of the Tibetans.—Ed.

"What a question!" she exclaimed. "You think we can still live in the streets down there? Those wolves! They steal everything they can lay their hands on. Old as I am, I still want to live to see how many more days these monsters can roam around!"

On the approach of evening, messengers of the militia corps came racing to our place in a jeep and then sped away in a cloud of dust.

You didn't need to ask what was going to happen. Those who had their ears and eyes open once more began polishing their rifles and bullets. Following their example, I also took out my hand grenades and put them by the side of my pillow. Word went round that the rebels would start a large-scale attack against us either tonight or tomorrow night!

Friday, March 20

It was already long after midnight. The weather had turned cold. I put on my overcoat intending to take a stroll in the courtyard before going on with my editorial work.

Just as I stepped out, bursts of fire came from the Norbu Lingka, the Yo Wang Hill and the Potala Palace. Instantly the whole city resounded with rifle and artillery shots. I looked at my watch. The time was exactly forty minutes past three. The reactionary clique in Tibet had finally cast aside their masks and chosen the road of self-destruction.

Everyone was up and listening to the guns. People gathered together at the dug-out which could be used both as a defence position and a broadcasting room. The radio announcer Dekyid Drolkar kept on asking: "Why don't we counter-attack? Are our artillerymen asleep?" No one could pacify her.

"The time has not yet come to open artillery fire," someone said, not too confidently.

"What time is the right time then? I think the time has come long ago," she expostulated.

Nobody went to bed; we sat up till daybreak.

At ten o'clock sharp, our troops launched their counter-offensive. Our artillery thundered. It was a stirring moment for the people of the whole of Lhasa. Everyone in our office crowded out into the courtyard to have a look; members of the cadres' families came out too, even with their babies. We urged them to get back into shelter. Dekyid Drolkar was elated. Her voice on the loudspeaker came over strongly, excited and full of spirit.

From our watch tower we could see the whole city. The rebel positions were in utter confusion. No matter how the rebel officials stormed, soldiers who at ordinary times stood in utter awe of them, no longer listened to orders but ran for cover.

The Tibetan, Hui and Han cadres of our office were all busily engaged. The members of their families too got busy on their own initiative sending kettles of buttered tea to the positions of our fighting men. They also helped in the kitchen and in taking food to comrades too busy to leave their posts.

The Tibetan and Hui cadres of our office kept asking for permission to join the attacking forces. They wanted to organize themselves into shock brigades, arguing that it was just the time for them to start a "talking campaign" and persuade those whom they knew among the rebels to come over to our side.

Actually there was no need to be over-anxious. Some time after three o'clock in the afternoon, our national flag was hoisted high atop Yo Wang Hill. From there our troops dominated the Potala, only a hundred metres away, the Norbu Lingka and the Jokhan Monastery.

Saturday, March 21

A number of comrades went to the Norbu Lingka. When they came back, they said: "All our shells fell right on the fortifications in front of the walls. What shooting! Our men didn't destroy a thing in Norbu Lingka. But the rebel bandits, when they were cornered and put up a desperate fight, knocked out corners of houses and broke down walls; they dug out holes in the walls to fire their rifles through."

Our artillery fire now turned to the Potala. However, we saw shells exploding only on the concealed pill-boxes at the foot of the palace. What was the matter? Bad marksmanship? We found out later that the artillerymen had been given orders that no shell should fall either on the Potala or the Jokhan Monastery. They could fire only on places of secondary importance so that no building would be destroyed. The Tibetan and Hui cadres at our office were amazed. They said: "What a humane and polite way of fighting a battle!"

Sunday, March 22

The humanitarian spirit of our army and the special care it took in the fighting did a lot to break up the rebel ranks.

Just about the time for breakfast the call went around for us all to fall in. What was up? It was certainly not for breakfast! It turned out that we were to go out and help take prisoners.

The rebels remaining in the Potala and Jokhan Monastery had been captured. They filed past us. We found in their ranks oldsters, including one man aged 68, as well as children in their teens. One 14-year-old youngster, named Pintso and a resident of the city, had been kidnapped by the rebels three days before the outbreak of fighting. He had been tending a herd of sheep. The bandits drove away his sheep and forced him to join their ranks. He was crying as he told us his story. We wiped away his tears and thrust a handful of steamed bread into his pocket. His face broke into a smile, and he scampered off home.

A soldier who was guarding these prisoners told us a story. It happened the previous night. It was very late and he was very hungry. He knocked on the door of a shop selling cakes but felt that there was little chance he'd get an answer. Quite to his surprise, however, the shopkeeper came up and asked from behind the door who he was. He said he was a People's Liberation Army

Envoys from Fraternal Hungary

man. Soon five cakes were thrust through the crack between the two leaves of the door, and he threw in a silver dollar. After telling the story, the soldier took out the last cake from his pocket and showed it to all those standing around. His tale aroused many comments. Many said: "Those upper-class reactionaries are always saying that the Tibetans want to drive out the Hans. But what kind of Tibetans do they mean? It's certainly not the ordinary folk like the shopkeeper. It's those reactionary nobles themselves and running dogs of imperialism that they mean."

By the afternoon no more gunfire was heard in Lhasa. But a few rebel bandits were still hidden in private homes and firing pot shots at our men.

Among a group of captured upper-class reactionaries, I saw a Tibetan regimental commander whom I knew. In 1950 when the People's Liberation Army units marched to Chamdo, it was this man who had personally directed a machine-gun ambush against our cavalymen near the Kingsha River and caused us quite a few casualties. Later on he put up a stubborn fight in Chamdo city, but we finally captured him. We gave him very lenient treatment, good food and comfortable living quarters. Later he was again appointed a regimental commander. But he refused to mend his ways. Now for the second time he has been taken prisoner.

Monday, March 23

I went out into the streets in the morning. The Jokhan Monastery was the first place I visited. The monastery, with its golden-roofed buildings, remains intact. As soon as the enemy there surrendered, our men took it under their care to prevent damage by saboteurs.

People were once again walking freely on the streets. Everywhere you could see faces bright with smiles. Practically everybody held a piece of snowy white *hata* in his hands but no one knew who had initiated this idea. When people met us on the streets, they held up their *hata* high and spoke the Tibetan greeting: "*Chuhsidelai!*" This greeting, not normally used in daily conversations, was now on everybody's lips. It means "good luck and good fortune!"

China gave a rousing welcome to the Hungarian Party and Government Delegation led by Dr. Ferenc Muennich, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Premier of the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government.

Four thousand cheering Peking citizens were out at Peking airport to greet the delegation when it arrived on April 29. On the same day, several hundred Party and government leaders attended the gala reception given in its honour by Premier Chou En-lai. On April 30, some eight thousand Peking workers, students and government cadres gathered at the city's gymnasium to welcome the Hungarian guests. Special cheers were given to members of the Hungarian delegation by the passing columns of people when they appeared on the rostrum at Tien An Men with the Chinese leaders to review the great May Day demonstration.

Such warm expressions of friendship come from the heart of the Chinese nation. The Chinese and Hungarian peoples have long ago drawn encouragement and strength from each other's revolutionary struggle. Following in the wake of the October Revolution in Russia, the 1919 Hungarian Revolution as part of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, helped to inspire the Chinese May Fourth Movement, that marked the beginning of the new democratic revolution in China. Now, as members of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, fired by the same socialist ideals and guided by the same principles of Marxism-Leninism, China and Hungary have over the past decade built up a close fraternal friendship. In building socialism and opposing imperialist aggression, they have given each other unstinted mutual support and assistance, adding new strength to their common cause.

The Hungarian Party, Government and people have consistently supported the Chinese people in the struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression. They stood unswervingly by China last autumn, when Washington engaged in warlike provocations in the Taiwan Straits area. In his speech at the reception on April 29, Premier Muennich reiterated this forthright stand when he declared: "I want to assure you that we, the Hungarian people, our Party and Government, stand unanimously with you on all international political questions. We support your

just stand, and in the name of all my people, wish that your courageous struggles will be crowned with an early final victory."

In the same way, China gave resolute support to the Hungarian people in their suppression of the counter-revolutionaries and imperialist intervention in 1956. In that struggle China stood as one with the Hungarian people. It greeted the great victories won by the Hungarian Party, Government and people against the counter-revolutionaries and the revisionists and in socialist construction as a great contribution to the solidarity and strength of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

Premier Chou En-lai conveyed these sentiments to the Hungarian guests at the April 29 reception when he told them that the Chinese people follow with deepest admiration the struggles of the courageous and hard-working Hungarian people, and are overjoyed and inspired by the great successes won by the Hungarian people under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Hungarian Government, in consolidating their state power, developing the national economy, raising the people's living standards and working to complete the Three-Year Plan in two years.

This same spirit of proletarian internationalism has prevailed in all Sino-Hungarian relations, especially since 1951, when the two countries signed trade, cultural, and technical co-operation agreements. A stream of up-to-date Hungarian machinery has arrived to equip many of China's newly built factories. Hungarian experts are on hand to pass on advanced techniques to Chinese engineers and workers in many parts of China. All this has helped to speed up China's socialist construction. When Premier Muennich and members of the Hungarian delegation visited the giant Wuhan Integrated Iron and Steel Works now under construction, its vice-director told them how Hungarian help has played its role too in this great central China project. The Hungarian delegation heard many similar expressions of appreciation and gratitude for this fraternal assistance from Chinese Party and government leaders.

Rich and varied cultural co-operation during the past few years has also brought the two peoples closer together.

There is a lively exchange of Hungarian and Chinese literature. Over 70 Chinese literary works have been published in Hungarian while 80 Hungarian works have been translated and published in China since 1950. In this year alone, the two countries have exchanged delegations of educationalists, journalists and youth. The Hungarian State Ballet Troupe now visiting this country has won the hearts of Chinese audiences and made

G.D.R. Parliamentary Mission

Led by Chairman Johannes Dieckmann and First Vice-Chairman Hermann Matern of the Presidium of the People's Chamber, a parliamentary delegation from the German Democratic Republic arrived in Peking on the eve of May Day. This is the second major German delegation which has come to visit China this year. Its arrival highlights the closer ties which are being constantly forged among the nations of the socialist camp. In January, a G.D.R. delegation led by Premier Otto Grotewohl toured this country and issued a joint statement with the Chinese Government expressing unanimity on all questions of common interest (*Peking Review*, Nos. 4 and 5, 1959).

Standing guard on the eastern and western fronts of the socialist camp, China and the G.D.R. have consistently supported each other in socialist construction and in the ceaseless struggle against the imperialist "cold war" warriors. The current efforts of the G.D.R. and the entire German people to end the occupation system in West Berlin and get a German peace treaty has China's wholehearted backing. At the Peking banquet given in honour of the G.D.R. delegation, Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, underlined this stand of the Chinese people. He declared that the Chinese people enthusiastically agree to and fully support all the G.D.R. and Soviet proposals on the German question and that "the policies of the imperialists to split Germany and preserve the occupation status of West Berlin are bound to meet with ignominious failure. Final victory will surely go to the great German people."

This is the stand of the entire socialist camp, from the Elbe to the Pacific coast. At the recent conference of the Warsaw Treaty Powers and China in which the Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Chang Wen-tien participated, the socialist countries reaffirmed complete identity of views on the coming

a hit as memorable as the Hungarian State People's Ensemble seven years ago.

During its visit, the Hungarian delegation will carry on friendly talks with Chinese Party and government leaders on many questions of common interest. This is a visit that will further cement fraternal relations between the Chinese and Hungarian Parties, Governments and peoples, and contribute to the solidarity of the socialist camp.

East-West Geneva conference which will discuss the Berlin and German questions.

The same unequivocal stand was voiced by Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence Marshal Peng Teh-huai, who heads a Chinese military goodwill delegation now visiting the German Democratic Republic. On April 30 he told a mass meeting in Berlin, "The People's Republic of China, starting from the premise that world peace is indivisible, hopes that the foreign ministers' conference soon to be convened will pave the way for a summit conference, that a peace treaty with Germany will be concluded soon and the peaceful unification of Germany realized." In a warning to those hotheads who are bent on carrying on an aggressive war policy, he declared that if, disregarding the German people's aspirations for the peaceful unification of their fatherland and refusing to seek a solution of the German question by peaceful methods, they resort to armed force and encroach on the territory and sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic, then the more than 600 million Chinese people, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, will give unreserved

support to the G.D.R. to smash such imperialist aggression.

Premier Chou's May Day Speech

Premier Chou En-lai gave a gala party on the eve of May Day to the foreign guests and delegations which joined the Chinese people in their May Day celebrations. In his toast to the guests, he expressed the heartfelt gratitude of the Chinese people "for the powerful support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as the sympathy and support of all the countries and peoples of the world who love peace and uphold justice."

"The present international situation," the Premier noted, "is unprecedentedly favourable to the forces of peace and progress, and unfavourable to the forces of war and reaction." But, he pointed out, "the U.S. imperialists are trying to disrupt the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, and particularly that between the socialist and the nationalist countries. They are attempting by this means to isolate the nationalist countries and deprive them of the support of the socialist countries so that they can be manipulated and controlled at will." However, Premier Chou En-lai predicted that the awakened people of Asia, Africa and Latin America will not be deceived. "The more the U.S. imperialists want to undermine our unity, the more firmly will we consolidate it," he said.

"The Chinese people," pledged Premier Chou En-lai, "stand resolutely by the countries and peoples who are subjected to oppression and aggression; they give all-out support to the national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Polish Party Delegation

A fraternal delegation from Poland is also visiting China. It is headed by Jerzy Morawski, member of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and consists of several members and alternate members of the Central Committee and leading comrades of the Party's organization, propaganda and economic departments and first secretaries of provincial committees.

In Peking, the delegation had a meeting with Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, and Teng Hsiao-ping, General-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In Poland, a Chinese military goodwill mission led by Marshal Peng Teh-huai, Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, has just completed a 5-day visit.

At a reception in Warsaw, Marshal Peng Teh-huai greeted the growing friendship between China and Poland. The Chinese people, he declared, fully support the Polish people in their struggle to defend their country; they and the Chinese People's Liberation Army will always stand by the Polish people and their army, the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and the world forces of peace and democracy and in defence of lasting world peace and against aggression.

Szechuan Opera

One of the strongest assets of Szechuan opera is the originality of its acting. This was demonstrated anew during the Szechuan Opera Troupe's current visit to the capital, its fourth since the National Drama Festival in 1952. "Love at First Sight," a scene from the full-length opera *Chance Encounter at the Fan Wang Temple*, gives a measure of this artistry. This dance drama (in general style Szechuan opera is similar to Peking opera) is set in the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). A young daughter of a noble Mongol family is intrigued when she sees a hunter bring down two golden eagles with a single arrow. They meet and fall in love at first sight. They cannot take their eyes off each other. The girl's sister-in-law pinches her . . . she makes no response. She speaks to her . . . she makes no answer. She "touches" and "bends" the invisible "threads" that link their eyes and they move in the direction in which the "threads" are pulled. After the hunter is gone, the girl, still oblivious of her sister-in-law, still speechless and entranced, imitates his gestures in bending the bow. Even when finally the ringing of the temple bell brings her back partly to herself and her sister-in-law succeeds in getting her to enter their coach, all of a sudden she sees her beardless hunter-lover in the person of the bearded coachman. Then suddenly the coach starts off, gliding so fast that the coachman is left far, far behind; the surging emotions of this ardent young girl race on like a wild, unbridled steed. We, the audience, are carried away on this flight of artistic imagination. In this wordless dramatic fragment, told in mime, dance and music, silence is indeed golden.

The "threads" are non-existent. This materializing of a spiritual state is utterly unexpected, yet is completely understandable and reasonable, and fully accords with the stage convention that enables the actors to leave and enter a "coach" that is present on the stage only in the form of two symbolic flags with wheels painted on them. It is utterly exaggerated; yet, we, the audience, are thoroughly convinced of the sureness, the truth of the artistic touch. Artistic generalization is truer than life itself. And what seems to be fantastic exaggeration is more "real" than reality. It is with such artistry that Szechuan opera captivates Peking.

This fanciful treatment in Szechuan opera is typified again in *Princess Hundred Flowers Bestows a Sword*, another

traditional piece newly added to the troupe's extensive repertoire.

Returning from a review of troops, Princess Hundred Flowers, a young lady versed in both the scholarly and military arts, finds a drunken man in her bedroom. Enraged, she draws her sword, but before she strikes she sees that the intruder, instead of being the knavish rogue she expected, is a handsome and refined young scholar who has been tricked into this compromising situation by a jealous political rival. The princess' raised hand trembles. She is so moved that she does not notice that her maid has replaced the sword in her hand with a feather fan. But what else can a princess do under such circumstances except appear to be very angry? So she thrusts at the scholar with her fan—a movement that at the same time aptly symbolizes her changed attitude.

This interlude takes several minutes and is loaded with meaning, with humour and dramatic tension. One's admiration for producers and actors increases when it is noticed that the stage direction contained in the libretto for the entire episode are six succinct characters in Chinese: "Sword drawn; fan substituted for sword."

Its music is another distinctive feature of Szechuan opera. It has five types of singing, of which the most unique is *gao qiang* (high-pitched melodies) developed from the southern drama of the Sung dynasty (960-1279). To this day, many of the toneful melodies in *gao qiang* still have the same titles they got in Yuan and Ming (1368-1644) times when the southern drama still flourished, and *gao qiang* developed their qualities of lyricism and vivid portrayal of character. In *gao qiang*, the only accompaniment is a pair of castanets to mark the rhythm, but the soloist is supported by a chorus of singers off stage who sometimes merely echo his words, but on occasion comment on or explain the action or his feelings.

On each visit to the capital the Szechuan troupe has brought something new from its rich traditional repertoire: new productions of old classics or improved versions of earlier productions.

If you ask a veteran actor about the Szechuan opera repertoire, as like as not he will reply with the old saying: "Three thou-

sand plays about the Tang dynasty and eight hundred about the Sung; and untold numbers about the Three Kingdoms and the Eastern Chou!" This may not be strictly accurate in terms of arithmetic but it does indicate both the richness of the traditional repertoire and this theatre's acute awareness of the tradition, an awareness that, properly wedded to respect for the heritage, is infused with a modern scientific spirit of enquiry and a discerning understanding of the modern implications of these old dramas.

The richness of the Szechuan repertoire is shown in its wide range of theme and subject matter. There are the poetic dramas like *Love Under the Willows* which is accepted now not only as the love story of Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-tai but also as an impassioned protest against the heartless marriage customs of feudal society and a call for freedom of marriage. (An English version of the libretto is published by the Foreign Languages Press.—Ed.) There are the hundreds of operettas which take their subject matter from the daily life of the people and are vignettes of life, comedy, melodrama, fable, legend, moral tales, exercises in homely wisdom and wit. Among the many presented on this tour by the Szechuan troupe is that perennial favourite *Autumn River* in which an old boatman mischievously teases a young nun who is in a desperate hurry to catch up with her lover's boat. Chen Shu-fang, as the nun, and Chou Chi-ho, as the boatman, have made this scene peculiarly their own. With an oar as their only "prop" they turn the empty stage into a river; they sail on a tossing boat as subject to sudden alarms, and ups and downs, as the tremulous heart of the little nun.



Princess Hundred Flowers stays her raised sword
Sketch by Li Keh-yu

Szechuan opera also has its historical plays like *Resisting the Kin Invaders*, a eulogy of the patriot general Yo Fei of the 12th century, and the *Festival at the Firewood Market* which portrays the national hero Wen Tien-hsiang of the 13th century. These operas have always been close to the hearts of audiences because they truthfully express the patriotic aspirations of the people.

Szechuan opera is particularly famous for its satirical comedies. *Strife in the Palace of Chi* is one of these which the troupe has brought for the first time to a Peking audience.

Duke Huan of Chi had five sons, so the story goes, all claimants to the dukedom. Even before his death a feud raged between them. The comedy plunges the audience immediately into the midst of an argument among the five brothers and their mothers around the duke's deathbed.

The eldest son is mightily pleased with himself for asserting his claim to the succession only to find that the ducal

seal is lost. The whole court is turned upside down in the search for it. But it is right there all the time, safe and sound, wrapped in a piece of silk and tied to the neck of nobody else but the eldest son himself. When the seal is found, he is again in the seventh heaven. But at the very moment that he is to take his place as head of the dukely house the feud flares up anew. The contending brothers with men-at-arms swarm into the hall and a brawl ensues.

The whole opera is uproariously funny, but it aptly serves its dramatic purpose, reminding us of the quarrels, big and small, that raged in the halls of the landed gentry for centuries.

The Szechuan troupe has a lot more of such fare to offer. *Szechuan Opera Librettos* recently published in nine volumes contains thirty-six full length operas amounting to 1,800,000 words. Also published recently are seventeen operas, totalling 700,000 words, selected from the works of Huang Chi-an of the

late Ching dynasty, who was one of the most prolific writers for this style of opera. An additional 1,400 traditional operas have been collected but not yet published and new treasures are being unearthed as the search goes on.

The Szechuan opera troupe brought several of its new young members to Peking. These range in age from 18 to 24 and have been learning their craft for more than ten years now. Yu Kuo-ping, the actress who gives such a superb performance in the role of the Mongol girl in *Love at First Sight*, is only nineteen, with twelve years of training behind her. Like all good actresses in the classical tradition she has a fine feeling for dance, rhythm and movement. Her partner, who plays the hunter, is also a newcomer, another young actor with a very promising talent. Szechuan opera has long been a firm favourite in the southwest. These youngsters are helping to carry it to popularity on a national scale.

— KAI HSIEH

WHAT'S ON IN PEKING

— Highlights of Current Entertainment, Exhibitions, etc. —

Programmes are subject to change. Where times are not listed consult theatre or daily press.

PEKING OPERA

▲ **THE GENERAL MAKES PEACE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER** A famous Peking opera set in the period of the Warring States. When the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Chao sees that a quarrel between him and a general who envies him will play into the hands of the enemy state of Chin, he successfully seeks the latter's co-operation. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

May 7, 7:15 p.m. Music Hall in Zhongshan Park

▲ **THE PURSE OF GOOD OMEN** A traditional opera. A rich man's daughter helps a poor girl. Her generosity is later rewarded when she herself stands in need after all her property is destroyed by flood. Produced by the Peking Opera Company of Peking.

May 7, 7:30 p.m. Minzhu Theatre

▲ **THE PEACH BLOSSOM FAN** Based on a play of the same title by the famous playwright Kung Shang-jen of the Ching dynasty. The story of the tragic love of a courtesan for a scholar, who betrays his love and his allegiance to the Ming dynasty for wealth and position in the service of the Ching. The fan belongs to Li Hsiang-chun, the courtesan with whose blood the peach blossom is painted. Produced by the China Peking Opera Theatre.

May 8, 7:15 p.m. Renmin Theatre

PINGJU OPERA

▲ **BY THE KINGSHA RIVER** A new play produced by the China Pingju Opera Theatre. An episode from the famous Long March. It tells how the Red Army exposes a Kurmintang plot and unites in friendship with the Tibetans as it crosses the Tibetan region by the Kingsha River in 1936.

May 5-11, 7:30 p.m. Da Zhong Theatre

MODERN OPERA

▲ **SONG OF THE GRASSLANDS** Two young Tibetans are very much in love but

they belong to two hostile clans. Liberation puts an end to the evil feud that thwarts their love and the two live happily ever after. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

May 5 & 6, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

▲ **THE HEAVENLY MAID AND THE MORTAL** A modern opera adapted from an old fairy tale about the romance between a heavenly princess and a brave young peasant. Produced by the Central Experimental Opera Theatre.

May 7 & 8, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

BALLET

▲ **THE CORSAIR** China's first production of the classical ballet by the French composer Adam. Performed by teachers and students of the Peking School of Dancing. Restaged and directed by P. A. Gusev, Merited Artist of the R.S.F.S.R.

May 9, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

CONCERT

The Central Music Institute presents:

* Orchestral music * Vocal solos
* Piano solos * Choral singing

May 10, 7:30 p.m. Tianqiao Theatre

THEATRE

▲ **THE MISER** The comedy by the great French dramatist, Moliere. Produced in Chinese by the Peking People's Art Theatre.

May 5-15, 7:30 p.m. Shoudu Theatre

▲ **A SERVANT OF TWO MASTERS** Goldoni's famous comedy produced in Chinese by the Experimental Theatre of the Central Drama School.

May 5-10, 7:30 p.m. Peking Workers' Club

▲ **SAKUNTALA** Adapted from the classical Indian play by Kalidasa. The romance between King Dushyanta and Sakuntala, the daughter of a nymph. Produced by the China Youth Art Theatre.

May 5-7, 7:30 p.m. China Youth Art Theatre

FILMS

▲ **CHRYSANTHEMUMS ON THE MOUNTAIN** During the campaign for intellectuals

to work among the people, a young student is sent to the revolutionary base where he was brought up. He recalls how the people fought against the Japanese invaders there. Produced by the Haiyan Film Studio.

May 6-8, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Shoudu Cinema

▲ **BORN OF THE STORM** Adapted from N. A. Ostrovsky's famous novel of the same title. A story of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian youth against the foreign invaders during the Civil War. A Soviet film dubbed in Chinese.

May 6-10, Xin Jie Kou, Peking Exhibition Centre Cinema, Shoudu Cinema

▲ **LA P... RESPECTUEUSE** (The Respectful Courtesan) A French feature film about a girl of the streets who stands up with the Negroes against the wealthy forces of "law and order" in the fight against racial discrimination in a southern state of the U.S.A.

May 6-10, Da Hua, Jiao Dao Kou, Ertong May 11-14, Guang An Men, Peking Workers' Club, Zhongyang

EXHIBITIONS

▲ **ART EXHIBITION** by Peking's workers, peasants and soldiers. Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.

At Peihai Park

▲ **GRAPHIC ART EXHIBITION** by the Chanchiang Artists of Kwangtung. Open daily 9:00 a.m.-6:00 p.m.

At Summer Palace

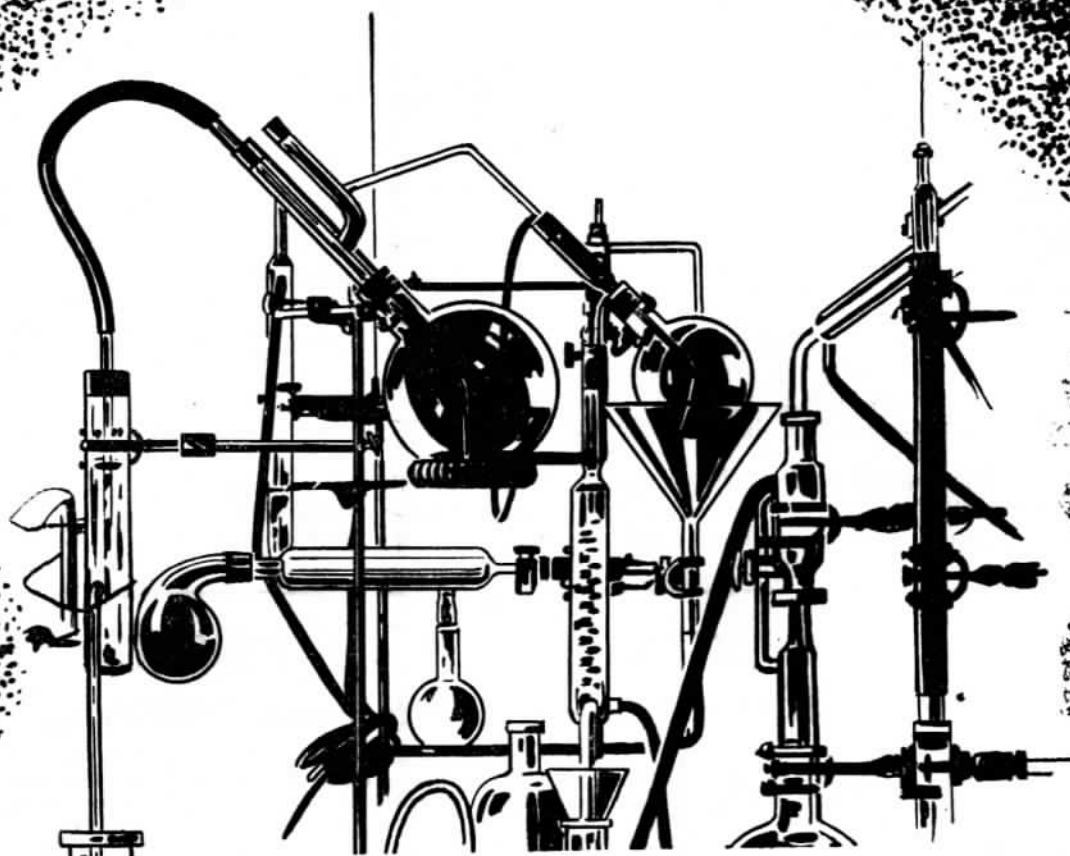
▲ **POLISH STAMPS AND BOOKLETS EXHIBITION** Sponsored by the China-Polish Friendship Association. Open daily (except Mon.) 9:00-12:00 a.m., 2:00-6:30 p.m.

At Beihai Park

SPORTS

▲ **TABLE TENNIS** The Czechoslovak Table Tennis Team will shortly visit Peking and compete with Chinese teams.

May 9, 10 & 12, Peking Gymnasium



INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS

High Voltage Insulating Compound

Soft Paraffin Wax (Match Wax)

Perfume Extraction Solvents

Sodium Sulphide

Calcium Carbide

Rubber Solvents

Coal Tar Pitch

For further information, please write to:

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