

**The letter sent to the Dalai Lama from by General Tan Kuan-san  
Acting Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and  
Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command<sup>1</sup>**

*March 10, 1959*

Respected Dalai Lama:

It is very good indeed that you wanted to come to the Military Area Command. You are heartily welcome. Since you have' been put into very great difficulties due to the intrigues and provocations of the reactionaries, it may be advisable that you do not come for the time being.

Salutations and best regards,

Tan Kuan-san

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<sup>1</sup> As published by New China News Agency. The Indian Prime Minister said in Parliament that he doubted that these letters had been written by the Dalai Lama.

## Letter to the Dalai Lama from General Tan Kuan-san

*March 11, 1959*

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar Tan:

I decided to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by the people, both religious and secular, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts.

This has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss as to what to do. When I received your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama on the 10th), I was immediately overjoyed because you were not disturbed by the trouble).

Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down. In a few days when the situation becomes stable, I will certainly meet YOU. If you have any internal directives for me, please tell me frankly through this messenger (this refers to Ngapo Ngawang Jigme).

Dalai Lama  
written by my own hand  
March 11, 1959

## Letter to the Dalai Lama from General Tan Kuan-san

*March 11, 1959*

The reactionaries are now audacious enough to have openly and arrogantly carried out military provocations. They have erected fortifications and set up a large number of machine guns and armed reactionaries along the national defence highway (the high way north of Norbulinka), thereby seriously disrupting the security of the national defence communications.

Many times in the past, we have told Kasha that the People's Liberation Army is duty-bound to defend the country and to protect the security of communication lines related to national defence, and therefore it certainly cannot remain indifferent to this serious act of military provocation. Therefore, the Tibet Military Area Command has sent letters to Surkong, Neusha, Shasu and Pala asking them to tell the reactionaries to remove all the fortifications they have established and withdraw from the highway immediately.

Otherwise, they themselves will have to bear the responsibility for all the serious consequences. I want to inform you of this. Please let me know what your views are at your earliest convenience.

Salutations and best regards,

Tan Kuan-san  
March 11, 1959

## The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san

*March 12*

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar Tan:

I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (referring to March 11) forwarded to you by Ngapo. I have received the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful actions of the reactionary clique break my heart. Yesterday I told Kasha to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into Lo-pu-lin-k'a [Norbulinka] under the pretext of protecting me. As to the incidents of yesterday and the day before, which were created under the pretext of protecting my safety, and have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them. At 8:30 Peking time this morning a few Tibetan army men suddenly fired several shots near the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway. Fortunately no serious disturbances occurred. As to the questions mentioned in your letter (referring to the letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama), I am planning to persuade my few subordinates and give them instructions. Please tell me frankly any instructions you have for me.

Dalai

March 12, 1959

## Letter sent to the Dalai Lama by General Tan Kuan-san

*March 15, 1959*

Respected Dalai Lama:

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your two letters dated March 11 and March 12. The traitorous activities of the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet have grown into intolerable proportions. These individuals, in collusion with foreigners, have engaged in reactionary, traitorous activities for quite some time. The Central People's Government has long adopted an attitude of magnanimity and enjoined the Local Government of Tibet to deal with them seriously, but the Local Government of Tibet has all along adopted an attitude of feigning compliance while actually helping them with their activities, with the result the things have now come to such a grave impasse. The Central People's Government still hopes that the Local Government of Tibet will change its erroneous attitude and immediately assume responsibility for putting down the rebellion and mete out severe punishment to the traitors; Otherwise the Central People's Government will have to act itself to safeguard the solidarity and unification of the motherland.

In your letter, you said; "As to the incidents which were created under the pretext of protecting my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local -Government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them."

We warmly welcome this correct attitude on your part.

We are very much concerned about your present position and safety. If you think it necessary and possible to extricate yourself from the present dangerous position of being abducted by the traitors, we cordially welcome you and your entourage to come and stay for a brief period in the Military Area

Commando We are willing to assume full responsibility for your safety. As to what is the best course to follow, this is entirely up to you to decide.

In addition, I have much pleasure in informing you that the second National People's Congress has decided to open its first session on April 17.

Salutations and my best regards,

Tan Kuan-san

March 15, 1959

## The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san

*March 16.*

Dear Comrade, Political Commissar Tan:

Your letter dated the 15th has just been received at three o' clock. I am very glad that you are so concerned about my safety and hereby' express my thanks.

The day before yesterday, the fifth day of the second month according to the Tibetan Calendar (March 14, 1956) I made a speech to more than 70 representatives of the government officials instructing them from various aspects, calling on them to consider seriously present and long-term interests and to cairn down, or my life would be in danger. After these severe reproaches the conditions took a light turn for the better. Though the conditions here and outside are still very difficult to deal with at present, I am trying skillfully to make a demarcation line between the progressive people and those opposing the revolution among the government officials. A few days from now, when there are enough forces that I can trust, I shall make my way to the Military Area Command secretly. When that time comes, I shall first send you a letter. I request you, to adopt reliable measures. What are your views? Please write often.

Dalai