

## **The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama**

*Report on the sufferings of the masses in Tibet and other Tibetan regions and suggestions for future work to the central authorities*

*through the respected Premier Zhou Enlai*

*1962*

*(A Few Chapters)*

Most respected and honourable Premier:

I respectfully petition: I wish to express my sincere thanks for the fact that although you are extremely busy with many great affairs of state and the well-being of the people at home and abroad, you have looked kindly on your humble servant who has boldly begged for consideration, and have granted me an audience. Putting aside any personal purposes, sincere in the interests of the people and for the reputation of the Party, I would like to use today's rare and excellent opportunity to report major matters concerning Tibet, together with that part which should be reported to the central authorities of some of the bitter circumstances in the Tibetan areas with which I became acquainted by direct and indirect methods when I visited provinces including Yunnan, Sichuan and Qinghai, which have jurisdiction over those areas. I ask that you give these a little consideration in your magnanimous heart, as well as to those opinions based on these circumstances that call for more attention in future work policy and to use them as a reference for that future work policy. I entreat you to grant strict guidance and criticism, using the heart of parents correcting a child, in relation to those parts which are inappropriate or unfitting.

In the vast land of our beloved, holy and pure Great China with beautiful mountains and rivers, where there are all things above earth and rich resources hidden beneath, the great and glorious Chinese Communist Party, saviour of people of all nationalities, and the great leader of the people, the

great, correct and wise Chairman Mao, led the broad masses of working people with the Chinese working class in the vanguard, caused the great wave of the Great Proletarian Revolution to surge up to the heavens, fought a series of class battles with reactionary cliques at home and abroad, launched a revolutionary struggle of historic significance, and at long last in 1949 they eliminated from Chinese soil the imperialist powers and their running dogs - the reactionary forces of the scoundrel and representative of the reactionary ruling class Chiang Kaishek - from Chinese soil and liberated the greater part of the country's territory, and moreover on 1st October gloriously established the great and happy family in which the people of all nationalities are equal and joyful - the People's Republic of China. This closed completely the final curtain of the reactionary rule of bureaucratic capitalism, feudalism and imperialism in the motherland. They controlled the working classes' own state apparatus under the administration of the proletariat, and so began a bright and glorious new epoch in the history of China.

Under the leadership of the great Party and the master revolutionary Chairman Mao, the people of all nationalities stood up, and, with the revolution as a foundation, a hitherto unheard of unity of will and a tight-knit and pure solidarity, as strong as steel, have emerged. They triumphantly carried out the glorious democratic reform, socialist revolution and socialist construction of great historical significance, achieving colossal results on a historically unprecedented scale. This made certain the gradual transformation of all the backward features of our country and the establishment of a great socialist nation, a joy to its own people and the envy of others, full of glory and happiness, with limitless wealth and invincible strength, and with a modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture and a modern national defence.

As for our region of Tibet, under the radiant illumination of the Party and of the Great Thought of Chairman Mao, it formally obtained peaceful liberation in

1951. This ended Tibet's former separation from the motherland and its quasi-colonialised condition: Tibet returned to the great family of the motherland. Since then, the people of Tibet have affirmed their wish to walk along the glorious road of democracy and socialism, together with people of all nationalities in the motherland. After the entry into Tibet of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and cadres of all nationalities, under the leadership of the Party, Chairman Mao and the Central People's Government, and also under the direct leadership and control of the CCP Tibet Work Committee [Zhonggong Xizang gongzuo weiyuanhui] which was headed by the representative of the central authorities, Zhang Jingwu, the PLA and cadres have whole-heartedly and selflessly done innumerable good things for the people of Tibet. This is evident to me and to all Tibetan people, male and female, old and young. Most importantly, they have respected the religion which Tibetan people love as their life itself, their nation and its language, costume and good customs. At the same time, for the sake of the people's health, they have established many small and large hospitals, and free medical treatment has been carried out. In order to develop agriculture, animal herding and other forms of production, they provided interest-free seed grain and loans; they also provided disaster relief for the people; they established schools, thus enabling many children to have an opportunity for schooling, sent many students to study in the interior [neidi], and nurtured Tibetan cadres; they built the three world famous highways and the regional network of roads, and also carried out to some extent the establishment of factories, and so on. As regards the Party's United Front [tongyi zhanxian] and the care of people of the upper strata, the All-Knowing Buddhist Master (i.e. the Dalai, who is referred to in Tibet as the "All-Knowing Buddhist Master" - Chinese translator's note) was placed as Vice-Chairman [fuweiyuanzhang] of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and I as Vice-Chairman [fuzhuxi] of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In relation

to lamas and officials in the lower levels of the upper strata , appropriate arrangements were made in accordance with individual circumstances, and they were placed in the central authorities, in the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet or at prefectural level, they were given very high salaries and so on, and great care has been taken over their political status and their life in general. Those points of the Seventeen Point Agreement which had to be implemented by the central authorities have all been implemented; those which have to be implemented by the original Tibetan local government, such as the reorganisation of the Tibetan army, are being delayed day after day. At the time when I came to Beijing in 1954, after a long period of discussions between representatives of the central authorities and representatives of the Gexia and the Kanting in Tibet, all parties reached agreement, and the sanction for the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was discussed and approved at the Seventh Enlarged Conference of the State Council. This Committee was formally established in Lhasa in 1956, under the leadership and guidance of Deputy Premier Chen Yi and of Zhang Jingwu, the representative of the central authorities, who is based in Tibet. The resolutions passed by this meeting, which are significant for preparation and experimentation in democratic reform and which are in accordance with the immediate and the long-term interests and aspirations of the Tibetan people, have been obstructed by various means by reactionaries in the upper levels of the Tibetan local government, who were publicly receptive but privately opposed. But the central authorities once again showed tolerance and patience towards these people, gave them time to realise their errors and change their ways, and gave directions that reform would not be carried out in Tibet for six years; later, when conditions were ripe for reform, they would gradually carry out reform after full consultation with the responsible Tibetan personnel. The central authorities have always been cautious and careful in the work in Tibet, its care of and tolerance towards the

people of the upper strata [ceng] have reached the point of extreme forbearance, and it has provided patient education and assistance. This is evident to everyone in the Tibetan upper strata. But the reactionary Tibetan upper strata deliberately misinterpreted the great forbearance, tolerance, patience, endurance and preferential treatment given to them by the central authorities, and thought that the central authorities were weak and could be deceived. At the same time, they realised that their class sooner or later would be eliminated from the stage of history. After the liberation of the working people, the small number of exploiting elements could no longer continue to ride on the backs of the broad masses of the working people, oppressing and exploiting others and carrying on a decadent life. Therefore, these people wanted the exploiting class to continue to exist forever and so disliked revolution, and as a consequence they came up with the idea of rebellion. At the same time, the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries were anticipating that the whole revolutionary cause of our motherland, in particular the elimination of Tibetan feudal serfdom and the exploiting class and the liberation of the masses of the working people, would change our backward and dark Tibet into a beautiful region with bright and progressive democracy and socialism. They anticipated that its beneficial effect could not be obstructed by the Himalayas, and that it would inevitably draw in the suffering people of India, awakening them, and stirring up a revolutionary wave across the vast land of India, which would be disadvantageous to the imperialists and to India's reactionary rulers. They therefore actively colluded with Tibetan reactionaries, and wanted to split Tibet from the motherland; they used the name of independence to carry out semi-colonialism and to oppress and exploit Tibet's working people under the rule of the most cruel, dark and backward feudal serf-owning system, just as before. Internal and external reactionaries, in order to realise their various fantasies, plotted to launch an armed uprising which betrayed the motherland, the revolution, the people,

democracy and socialism. However, if they spoke about the real purpose of the rebellion, among the masses and the exploiting classes there were many people of the middle and upper strata who were against imperialism and were patriotic; they would all have strongly opposed the scheme of the reactionaries, who then would have no way to realise their fantasies. But because Tibetans are a nationality with deep love, faith and respect for their religion and their nation and who are brave and diligent, so they used the power of customary thinking, and spread many sweet words and honeyed phrases to deceive people, saying that since the Communist Party wanted to extinguish our religion and our nation, the whole of the people of our snowy region who eat tsampa and chant mani must unite, take up our weapons and strive for independence, in order to protect our own religion and our own nation. But many ordinary people and those in the upper and middle strata did not see, did not hear and did not understand the actual situation and so were deceived, and this made the uprising prevalent throughout the greater part of the Tibetan area. The flames of rebellion gradually began to burn, starting in the area of Kang [Kham], then spreading to Anduo [Amdo], and afterwards to the region of Tibet itself. Finally, on 10th March 1959, not only did they gather the people together in the Luobulinka [Norbulinka] in Lhasa, where the leaders of the rebellion [panluan touzi] announced, "Today Tibet has become independent, and we will get rid of the Chinese from Tibet", etc., thus publicly declaring their reactionary uprising, but they also mobilised the people of Lhasa aged between 18 and 60 years of age for army service, they mustered rebel army forces from outside the region, sent the Dalai Lama to India, and finally on the evening of the 19th launched a frenzied armed attack against the CCP Tibet Work Committee and other organs of the central authorities, and against the military area command of Tibet and other military units. Therefore, in order to preserve the unity of the motherland, to safeguard security in the area, to protect the interests of the revolution and of the people, the central

authorities ordered the units of the powerful Chinese PLA stationed in Tibet to suppress this counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. Moreover, because the Tibetan local government had betrayed the motherland, it was dissolved, and its duties and powers given to the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. Its crime of rebellion was exposed to all the monastic and secular masses, and the latter were called on to participate in the suppression of the rebellion. At the same time, the rebels revealed directly and indirectly in their actual deeds that the rebellion was really not for the interests of religion or the nation, but rather it was for the realisation of the hidden schemes and crafty plots of internal and external reactionary forces, and most of the monastic and secular masses, together with persons of integrity in the middle and upper strata of Tibet who wished for collective happiness, gradually realised this. As a result, they burned with raging flames of anger against the criminal leaders of the rebellion and their supporters, the imperialists and the Indian reactionary forces, and resolutely contributed whatever strength they had to the suppression of the rebellion by the PLA. Thus, under the leadership of the Party, the army and the people united in supporting the suppression of the rebellion and isolated the rebels, and so in a short period not only did they thoroughly quell the rebellion in the Lhasa area, they also suppressed rebellions in Shannan [Lhokha] and other areas one by one. These actions caused the clandestine plans of internal and external enemies to fall apart, and caused them to advance a further step on the road to self-destruction. The thorough elimination of the feudal serf-owning class from the Tibetan plateau was a great and important event and has already entered the history books. After this, the broad masses of the Tibetan working people demanded that democratic reform be carried out promptly in Tibet, and that under the leadership of the Party, all the shackles of the feudal system which had bound them should be cut off, in order to realise their urgent desire for freedom., In the eight years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, due to the care and

solicitude and the ideological help and education of the central authorities, those progressive Tibetan friends of the middle and upper strata who were against imperialism and who loved their country had gained a different level of understanding about the crimes of the exploiting class from which they came, and they had also gained a foundation of revolutionary ideology, of sympathising with the suffering of the masses of the working people and of hoping that they would be liberated and gain new life. So, after the uprising in Tibet, the central authorities cancelled the directive, promulgated in 1956, that reform would be delayed and not carried out in Tibet for the six years up to 1962, set a time when democratic reform would be carried out in Tibet.

Because patriotic and progressive people from the middle and upper strata all firmly supported the implementation of democratic reform in Tibet, myself and Vice-chairman A Pei and others came to Beijing in April 1959 on behalf of the Tibetan people, and clearly explained to the leaders of the central authorities and to the National People's Congress the urgent need for democratic reform in Tibet. We explained that the patriotic and progressive people of the middle and upper strata also supported the carrying out of reform, and wanted to contribute all of their strength to democratic reform. At that time, the United Front Department of the Central authorities, by means of various methods including collective and individual discussions, issued instructions about democratic reform, and also solicited our opinions. Afterwards, when the Great Leader, Chairman Mao, and you, Premier Zhou, met us in a special location, you said: the Tibetan local government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with the imperialists and the foreign reactionary faction, and in accordance with their schemes launched the rebellion which betrayed the motherland, betrayed the people and betrayed the revolution. Now the rebellion has been basically suppressed, and the masses of the Tibetan working people long to carry out democratic reform, to destroy the Tibetan feudal serf-owning system, and to liberate the working people. You also gave

instructions, which included your pointing out the directions, policies, tasks, methods, limits and steps which this type of movement had to adopt. In addition, democratic reform had to be carried out in each monastery and temple in Tibet, in order to completely get rid of the feudal system, exploitation and oppression, and to eliminate rebellious activity. The number of monks had to be appropriately reduced; we were to allow all those who did not wish to be monks and who wish to return to secular life to return to secular life, have a family, and engage in human reproduction and material production; but those monasteries, temples and religious believers who are patriotic and obey the law had to be given protection under the Party's principle of freedom of religious belief, and a certain number of monks had to remain in monasteries to engage in religious activities. The religious activities of the masses of monks and ordinary people could be freely carried out, and so on. As regards the people of the middle and upper strata, the means of production of the feudal lords, including their agents, who did not take part in the rebellion, would be bought out ; they would be given a political way out, and we had to care for them. In overcoming barriers to democratic reform, apart from carrying out direct confrontation with the most reactionary feudal lords and their agents, rebels and anti-revolutionaries, once the rest of them agree with and support democratic reform, the Party would give them protection; and we had to win over the middle elements and right-wing elements.

You also solicited our opinions about methods of reform in Tibet, so we had the opportunity to speak out openly about what we thought: it was correct and necessary to suppress the rebellion in Tibet thoroughly and to carry out democratic reform in Tibet, and so we sincerely agreed with, supported and complied with this as set out above. In addition, we spoke honestly of what we thought about religion, monasteries, temples and so on. When we returned to Tibet, under the direct leadership of the CCP Tibet Work Committee, in

accordance with the directions, policies and instructions of the Central authorities and the CCP Tibet Work Committee, we passed several resolutions in the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet concerning the implementation of democratic reform in Tibet. And so throughout Tibet, and under the leadership of all levels of the Party Committee, the first step of democratic reform, ie., the "Three Anti's" [san fan] and the "Two Reductions" [shuang mie] , and the second step, land redistribution [fenpei tudi], were carried out in the agricultural areas; the "Three Anti's" and the "Two Benefits" [san fan, shuang li] were carried out in the animal herding areas, and the "Three Anti's" and the "Three Settling of Accounts" [san fan, san suan] were launched in the monasteries. Because of the mobilisation of the masses, the broad serfs and slaves, who had endured tragedy and suffering caused by all types of oppression and exploitation for hundreds and thousands of years under the rule of the three great feudal lords, awakened and acquired revolutionary fervour and class consciousness; they dug up bitter roots and spat out their bitterness, exposed the crimes of the feudal serf-owning class and so on. This wave of life-and-death, sharp and acute class struggle shook the earth, and from this, the democratic reform movement began to develop vigorously. The liberated broad masses of the working people used their own two hands to completely overthrow and eliminate the great burden [shan] of the system of feudal serfdom and rule by the three types of feudal lords, which had suppressed them for generations, which had exploited the fruits of their labour and their sweat and toil, which had caused them to lose their own freedom and which had carried out the many evils of slavery. They broke every shackle of the feudal system from their bodies, stood up and gained complete liberation and became masters of the new society and of the land. Under the unified leadership of the Party, each level of government of the working people was established, and the people's democratic dictatorship was put into practice, enabling the old Tibet,

which was still a feudal serf-owning society, to be transformed into a new Tibet, a democracy of the people with a glorious future. This was an extremely grand and glorious cause, and it was a very happy event in the development of humankind. For Tibet itself, it was a turning point between the old and the new, darkness and light, bitterness and happiness, oppression and equality, poverty and prosperity; historically, this began a glorious new era. Tibet was walking down the road of democracy and socialism like all other nationalities of the motherland, and the light of and prosperity and happiness shone out in all directions; a heaven on earth in which people are lucky and cheerful, equal and happy, like a flourishing lotus garden, with endless sweetness and happiness, which is splendid and auspicious; it was already certain that a new Tibet where everything is complete and which has limitless glory, which is the envy of others and a joy to ourselves, would be realised. This was a transformation of historic significance, which turned heaven and earth upside down, and made a clear distinction between bad and good. It has caused fundamental changes on all fronts. Not only has it liberated all the forces of production, but also the people have adopted the attitude of being masters of society and of the land, their industriously planted trees are rich and splendid [ganjin zhi shu maosheng], and they have changed the poor and backward features of Tibet in a short period of time. The strong desire to build a fine and happy life was like a flower in full bloom, and so under the leadership of the Party, mutual aid teams were formed, and a series of appropriate methods was adopted in order to overcome difficulties in production, to extend and push forwards experience and to improve and renew technology. This enabled Tibet to enjoy bumper harvests for three years in succession. At the same time, outstanding results were also achieved in areas such as the economy, culture, health, industry, transport and communication. In particular, under the united leadership of the Party, the foundations of the alliance between the workers and peasants in Tibet were reinforced, and new relationships have

been established on the foundations of the revolution between the Han and Tibetan nationalities, between cadres and the masses, between workers and peasants, and between the leaders and the people. By means of a comradely ideology comprising a unified way forward and unified objectives, and under a unified leadership, the whole people formed a unity as strong as steel, which no enemy had the means to destroy, and which was as mighty as a mountain. In the last few years, the changes made and the achievements and triumphs obtained in Tibet have been of the utmost greatness, glory and significance, without comparison and impossible to erase. In three short years, there have been phenomenal achievements and triumphs over all disadvantageous factors such as have never been seen in hundreds and thousands of years. This is principally because under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, which is great and glorious, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, who is great and correct, who is the source of talent and wisdom and who leads each nationality of the people on the road to happiness, under the leadership of the State Council and in the splendid light of the Party's ethnic minority policies and various correct policies which have been formulated for Tibet by the Party, the CCP Tibet Work Committee resolutely, correctly, and thoroughly implemented the guiding principles, policies and instructions of the Central authorities and directly led and commanded various types of work in Tibet, and thus obtained great achievements. At the same time, with the Han nationality at their head, the brother and sister nationalities, brother and sister provinces and autonomous regions and cities of the whole country gave wide-ranging help in manpower, material resources and financial resources, and they also gave a great deal of moral support. These achievements are also due to the leaders and cadres of every nationality and officers and men of the PLA in Tibet greatly exerting themselves and carrying out a great deal of work for the Party and the people.

Therefore, the monastic and secular masses of all strata in Tibet have feelings of respectful love, support and gratitude towards the Chinese Communist Party and the great leader Chairman Mao, and will never forget it was them who saved them from the bitterness of the rule of the feudal serf-owning system and placed them in the happiness of people's democracy; and they feel enthusiastic admiration for the nationalities of the whole country with the Han nationality at their head and for the PLA and cadres based in Tibet. Due to the establishment of a burgeoning and sturdy paradise which has revolutionary, class, and political consciousness, now, in every area in Tibet, whether in cities, towns, villages or the countryside within the agricultural and animal herding areas, the people, male or female, young or old, are all very grateful to our great and glorious Party and the great Chairman Mao who guided the people of the whole country on the road of happiness, for saving them from the abyss of bitterness and placing them in happiness. This is all engraved on their hearts, and they are constantly praising them. The people have composed and performed many songs of praise and gratitude, in order to express the joyful emotions which they have no way to express in words. At the same time, they did not just praise the warmth of the great family of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities, and with joyful emotions sincerely praise and give thanks for all the sincere support and assistance which had been given by all the brother and sister nationalities with the Han nationality at their head to the liberation of Tibet and to the revolutionary cause, and for the hard work carried out for the Party and the people by the PLA and cadres based in Tibet; they also expressed their determination to steadfastly obey the words of the Party, follow the Party, and to join hands in solidarity with every nationality of the motherland, and rapidly establish a new, democratic and socialist Tibet. The whole of Tibet had a flourishing, auspicious, bright and glorious new appearance, as if spring was coming to the earth.

Consequently, the achievements were of primary importance. The democratic reform campaign, which was carried out in conjunction with suppression of the rebellion, was a large-scale, fast-moving, fierce, acute and life-and-death class struggle, which overturned heaven and earth, and so it was possible for some unavoidable errors and mistakes to arise. However, some unnecessary and disadvantageous mistakes were also made during the campaign. Below, I am humbly going to report about some circumstances of a fundamental [quanzexing] nature and some serious problems which are representative in nature, from some materials with which I am acquainted.

### **The First Problem: On Suppression of the Rebellion**

The rebellion in Tibet was counter-revolutionary in nature, being against the Party, the motherland, the people, democracy and socialism. Its crimes were very grave. Thus, it was entirely [feichang] correct, essential, necessary and appropriate for the Party to adopt the policy of suppressing the rebellion. Moreover, the Party wisely and properly pointed out that to suppress the rebellion required continuous and concurrent implementation of the three policies of military attack, political winning-over and mobilisation of the masses, from start to finish. Of these, concerning the political winning-over of rebels, the first point was to carry out the policy of the "Four Don'ts" towards those rebels who came to surrender, making no distinction between the leaders and the masses. The second was to carry out a thorough investigation of the specific circumstances of each individual, making distinctions between cases and dealing with each case as generously as possible, and offering them a way out. The third point was to expose the clandestine plans and cunning schemes devised for rebellion of the reactionary factions at home and abroad, to declare the criminality of the rebellion, and to examine whether there were any mistakes and defects in our work which could be used by the rebels for spreading rumours. If there were they had to be resolutely corrected and

improved, and we had to strictly ensure that such things were prevented from happening again in order to gradually eliminate, by means of facts, the suspicions and anxieties of the masses of the people of all social stratas who were fooled for a time by the reactionaries. There were no further points apart from these.

However, when these points were implemented:

- (1) Those who put down their arms and surrendered, having realised and regretted taking the wrong road, were not dealt with completely in accordance with the "Four Don'ts" policy, and many people were fiercely struggled against, arrested and imprisoned, and met with severe attack.
- (2) When dealing with captured rebels, cadres adopted vengeful, discriminatory, casual and careless methods. Because they did not investigate the circumstances of the rebels with sufficient thoroughness or depth, they had no way to make rational distinctions in their treatment. As set out above, the reactionary factions at home and abroad launched the rebellion in the name of their religion and nationality. Therefore, among the rebels, there were many good people who had been deceived by the reactionaries, and there were also some people who were forced into joining the rebels by armed threats and because of the ruling power of the upper strata reactionaries. Most of the former and many of the latter were labelled as rebels and dealt with as such; they were not treated leniently.
- (3) As for exposing the clandestine plans and cunning schemes of the reactionaries at home and abroad and declaring the criminality of the rebellion, of course [benlai] it was done well. However, as the reactionaries principally used the slogan "in order to save religion and in the interests of the nationality" to deceive the people, it is obviously of extreme importance for us to safeguard religion and the interests of the nationality, and to ensure that they are not damaged in the slightest. I

shall discuss below how this area was the source of worry for us and pleasure for our enemies. Due to this, the work of political winning-over was not done well enough, which caused the rebellion to be large scale, to involve many people, to last a long time, to be stubborn in its stance and to rebel to the end. This caused unnecessary difficulty in the suppression of the rebellion.

### **The Second Problem: On Democratic Reform**

First, concerning the "Three Anti's" and the "Two Reductions" in agricultural areas, when opposing the rebellion it was correct and necessary to declare the criminality of the rebellion, to give the masses of the working people a thorough class education, including as to who are our enemies and who are our friends, to stimulate a mood of anti-imperialism, patriotism and hatred towards rebels among the people, so destroying the foundations of the rebellion. As for the investigation of rebels and others who may or may not have colluded with them, due to the fact that the causes, circumstances and characteristics giving rise to the rebellion in each place, and the causes, circumstances and characteristics causing each person to take part in the rebellion certainly had all sorts of differences, these needed thorough investigation and review. Therefore it was very important to completely mobilise the masses, for cadres to carry out a conscientious and careful analysis, and to deal with every aspect of the situation. But when this was implemented, the holding of a couple of meetings and the rapid [jizao] carrying out of a few studies was mistaken for the mobilisation of the masses, [we] believed everything the activists said; between those of the masses who had to pay rent and those who did not; however, apart from the fact that profits obtained among the masses and among the feudal lords were not too similar, there were no other big problems. As regards cancelling loan principal and reducing interest: in relation to loans made to the working people by the

feudal lords and their agents prior to 1958, the loan principal and interest were completely cancelled; when this was carried out there were no great problems. Regarding new loans made from 1959 onwards, the interest was reduced, but the loan principal and interest both had to be repaid. As regards new and old debts between the working people, these were dealt with on the basis of the principle of solidarity and carried out according to the regulations on contract and other policies. In some places this was not carried out well enough.

Second, concerning land distribution, all the land and all the means of production owned by the serf owners was confiscated and bought out according to whether they had participated in the rebellion or not, and divided between all the people of the agricultural areas. The serf-owning feudal system in Tibet was abolished and the system of ownership by the peasants was established; therefore, the system of land ownership was fundamentally changed. But as to whether people would be completely convinced and feel that this confiscating and buying out was fair, this depended entirely on whether the investigation of and distinction between different levels of participation in the rebellion was correct. When investigation is made into whether or not people were rebels, and whether or not they supported and collaborated with the rebellion, we should acquaint ourselves with the cases conscientiously and thoroughly; in dealing with the cases in accordance with the factual situation. We should be as generous as possible, labelling fewer people as rebels, limiting the scale of attack as much as possible and winning over more people. These things would have been of great benefit for strengthening ourselves and weakening and isolating the enemy. However, as I have just set out above, because the investigation was not thorough, careful or in accordance with the actual situation, this led to many people being given the label "black" and to the range of the attack being too broad, and so many households whose property should not have been confiscated did have their

property confiscated. This made the people feel suspicious, anxious and disappointed with us. As regards the buying out, previously our leading patriotic and progressive people had expressed the view and attitude that there was no need to carry this out. This was because the Tibetan land is created by the labour of the people, and should not be owned by the few. Now, when it is returned to ownership by the working people, we really ought not to receive payment in instalments from the nation for the buying out. As regards investigation of the source of the original ownership of the land and determination of its owner, this was a very complicated matter, which was difficult to do with any precision. These conditions had already been reported, but the Party, in order to take care of those people of the middle and upper strata who were patriotic and against imperialism, and to honour those people who did not take part in the rebellion, still adopted the policy of buying out, and the people of the middle and upper strata expressed their great gratitude and support. But because they were only keen on carrying out a policy of the "san guang", they were not cautious enough and their control of the situation was inadequate; this led to many licenses showing proprietary rights over land [tudi suoyouquan de zhizhao] being burned together with reactionary documents. This produced a situation where either there was no way to find out or it was difficult to find out exactly who were the owners, the size of the area of land, and what issues were involved [qianlian] in relation to the land. In addition, there were some differences in the methods used by cadres throughout the area which produced some situations where buying out was carried out inappropriately. This led to some complaints among the feudal lords. However, this related to only a small number of the overall population, and was not very important. When assessing each person's class, a situation occurred (which I shall describe below) in which some serfs were categorised with the agents of the feudal lords which, when added to the fact that the "Five Winds" also blew a little in Tibet, brought about some losses to the land

and to the means of production, housing and surplus grain of the middle-ranking and well-off serfs. At the same time, if the middle and rich serfs were not extremely cautious in their actions and words, then they were immediately attacked, and became the targets of people's contempt and insults. Because we had not carried out as well as possible the work of uniting with the medium-ranking serfs including the well-off serfs, they felt frightened and anxious.

Third, concerning the "Three Anti's" and the "Two Benefits" in the animal herding areas. In the carrying out of the "Three Anti's", the situation was for the most part similar to that in the agricultural areas, described above. As regards the "Two Benefits", because there were comparatively large differences in the characteristics of production and economics of animal herding and the characteristics of agriculture, in order to prevent losses through animal deaths, and steadily develop animal herding, the Party proposed, in the work in animal herding areas in Tibet, and under the principles of no class designation, no struggle and no division [fen], to implement policies which would benefit both herd owners and their serfs. On the one hand this was to turn herd serfs into herd workers; they were to be paid a reasonable wage by the herd owners, and the herd workers themselves were to have an ideology of seeking their own liberation and standing up to be the masters of society, and should look after their herds well. On the other hand, care was to be taken of the legitimate interests of herd owners, in order to bring into play their enthusiasm for herd management. These were policies which were even more relaxed and lenient, careful, appropriate and gradual in their progress than those in the agricultural areas; they were completely appropriate for the specific conditions in Tibet's herding areas, and therefore entirely correct. But when the policies were actually implemented, because our cadres for the most part had just carried out a fierce democratic reform struggle in the agricultural areas, at that time they were hot-headed, and once

they arrived in the herding areas they started the "Three Anti's" and the "Two Benefits" campaigns. They launched a fierce and acute struggle against many herd owners and wealthy herding people, which led to many of these herd owners and wealthy herding people only thinking about how to preserve their own lives; they were unable to carry out management and breeding of their animals. When mobilising the herding serfs, the cadres only laid particular stress on educating them to oppose the herd owners and wealthy herding people, and they neglected the necessary education about the "Two Benefits" policy. So, even though the herd serfs were paid their full salaries, they did not follow instructions about putting the animals out to pasture. Moreover, when the herd owners or wealthy herding people made any slight complaint [shushuo] they were struggled against, and so on. Because in this way, the overall picture was not seen, factors were created on the foundation of the "Two Benefits" policy which were disadvantageous to advancing peace among people and the thriving of livestock.

Fourth, concerning categorisation into classes, the Party, based on the actual situation in Tibet, proposed a class distinction between the serf owners' class, and the serf class which included slaves, forming two large classes. The class line during the period of democratic reform was to depend on the poor and suffering serfs and slaves, and to unite not only with the middle-ranking serfs including the rich serfs, but also with the leftists and centrists within the serf-owning class and with all other strength which could be united, to isolate and attack rebels, counter-revolutionaries and the most reactionary serf owners and their agents who obstinately stick to the wrong course, in order to completely eliminate that dark and most cruel feudal serf-owning class and their system. All these policies were correct. But because this work was a great responsibility [ganxi da] and very complicated, it was necessary for cadres to cast aside all prejudices which did not correspond with the established policy. They had to carefully investigate and study each person's

individual background, history, circumstances and standpoint, and using the method of seeking truth from facts rely on the actual situation to assign their class and fully consider the rights and wrongs. They had to take the long term view, deal with things as leniently as possible, and apart from attacking without exception those whom it was necessary to attack, the scope of attacks on the remainder had to be strictly controlled, and they had to win over as many people as possible to our side.

Although this was very important, when it was carried out in many or most areas, cadres did the complete opposite, and gave no thought as to whether the movement was carried out with care and whether the quality was good or bad; they single-mindedly sought to be fierce, fearful and acute. They did not look at whether their attacks were correct or not - what was important was the scale and quantity of those attacks. In the midst of this storm, they put the majority of those who had ever held posts as "geng bao" (similar to minor heads of villages - Chinese translator's note), "cuo ben" (similar to township heads - Chinese translator's note), monastery administrators and so on, and categorised them as feudal lords and their agents. But if one were to ask whether these people should have been categorised with the feudal lords and their agents, we can say that they should not all have been categorised in this way. As regards the "geng bao" and the "cuo ben", the situation was different in different places; there were some who obtained a feudal living [shi yi] because of their post and so on, and these people can be counted as agents of feudal lords. But there were some who were not like this, who took their turn at a post, and who were persons suited to the post, entreated and pushed forward by the people themselves; they obtained no advantage and would suffer losses, and were the agonised victims of vicious beatings by the bureaucrats. To categorise them with the agents of the feudal lords is to muddle up the divisions between the classes. The situation of monastery administrators was the same. As to whether the work of uniting with the

middle-ranking and well-off serfs was carried out well or badly, I have already discussed this above. In addition, I will discuss the two issues of attacking and unity below.

Fifth, concerning mobilisation of the masses and the struggle. During democratic reform, under the leadership of the Party, the working people who had suffered bitterly in the past stood up, overturned the feudal system and the ruthless ruling serf-owning class that had been oppressing them, thoroughly liberating themselves and becoming the masters of the land and of society. Therefore, the nature of democratic reform could only be one which gives the masses of the working people a definite revolutionary enthusiasm and class consciousness that gets rid of their feudal illusions characteristics". When mobilising the masses, although cadres gathered together the masses and made a report or speech about democratic reform mobilisation and so on, the masses understood very little of it. This is because:

- (1) in every place at grassroots level, there were no documents about democratic reform in the Tibetan language, or only part of the documents was there, or the documents were there but they were imperfect;
- (2) the standard of the oral interpreters was very low;
- (3) the political and cultural knowledge of the masses was deficient;
- (4) the cadres were not attentive, not patient and put no effort (or not enough) into the problem of how to get all the masses to understand the questions.

The situation in relation to studying was, generally speaking, the same; it was carried out whether by persuasion or by force. I will discuss this below. For reasons of this kind, the majority of the people found it hard to understand in depth the questions of democratic reform. On the other hand, cadres thought that in mobilising the masses and other democratic reform movements they only had to act rapidly, carry out acute struggle, act vigorously, and then their

duty would be done. Beneath the surface appearance of the storm, when they were first nurturing the activists, they paid insufficient or no attention to acting in accordance with the spirit of the principles of the Party: that is to say, nurturing a team of activists of true quality who are in the front ranks of the democratic reform struggle on the basis of the people's heightened political consciousness and class awareness. In addition, the cadres primarily put their efforts into producing a group of activists who did not care about benefit or harm, truth or falsity, but were only bold in carrying out an acute and terrifying struggle, and they showed off the quantity of their activists to other people. They said to those people among the masses who had such aspirations, using economic benefit to arouse them: "You must indiscriminately look for trouble among and raise more criticisms of the feudal lords and their agents, and even some of the middle-ranking and well-off serfs, you must stand in the front ranks of the struggle; only if you do this will we be able to confiscate more and will we be able to apportion more property to you", and so on. When some people said that they had no criticisms, they were given all types of labels, such as "you are a running dog of the feudal lords", "of the feudal lords' position", and they were pressurised. The cadres adopted various types of hard and soft methods which were not even consistent with acting in accordance with secular justice, let alone the spirit of the revolution. As a consequence, in a short period, activists of all types (considerable only in quantity) were produced. Because the cadres did not give consideration to the state of the masses' ideology and although problems arising in the ideology of the masses had not been resolved, they thought that the masses had already been thoroughly mobilised, and launched the campaign. Although the teams of Tibetan activists were large, the situation of whether or not they were of pure quality was very complex: the activists were born of the suffering working people and in the past, under the serf owners in the old society, they had experienced all types of suffering, and they had class

hatred. Now, they stood up correctly and heroically in the front ranks of the working people, speaking out about their hardships and bitterness and about class struggle. True activists who do not confuse people's minds by biased methods including harbouring evildoers or treating good people unjustly, and do not fabricate mistakes or make trouble, are the precious treasures of the Party, and they are the objects of the love and esteem of persons of integrity. Although there was a certain number of these people, they only comprised a few tens in percentage terms of the total number of activists.

It was complicated and difficult to distinguish whether the background of the majority of activists was good or bad: there were some who hankered after economic advantage; there were some who tried to do things according to the cadres' desires, to obtain their favour and take part in political power at the grassroots level, so as to pursue their own interests; some of them sought to sneak past the barrier of democratic reform in order to hide their own evil deeds [yi hun guo mingai guan]; some of them were enemy agents who, in order to attain their objectives, disguised themselves as activists, and so on. Because there were various factors involved, various types of activists were produced. Not only did cadres not carry out sufficient investigation and examination of these people but they were actually proud and showed off that they had produced a large number of activists in a short time; so, in the campaign, they shouted noisily and felt satisfied, thinking that they had fulfilled their duty. For example, what if we asked cadres in some locality how the mobilisation of the masses was going? Apart from saying that mobilisation was going well, because activists occupied a certain percentage of the total population and because the campaign was lively and acute, what about the understanding of the masses of the democratic reform movement, the boundary line between the enemy and ourselves, the requirements of the revolution and class consciousness? Were the activists in the movement loyal or not? What about the extent of their love for the Party and the people? Was

work carried out justly or not? Were they, or were they not, reversing right and wrong and creating trouble? In particular, is it not true [shi bu shi] that there were few activists who were genuinely welcomed and praised by the broad masses, who were able to analyse the quality of their work by means of thorough investigation and in accordance with reality, and also who could point out the good points, defects and so on? Therefore, it is obvious that there were many problems. The Party has taught us time and time again that we can only educate and assist people in the reform of their ideology, and we cannot compel, force, or be impatient with them; individuals themselves are to [yao zuodao] consciously and voluntarily reform or improve their ideology. We must consider this as a very long term, complicated and important task. This is wise and correct. When carrying out democratic reform in Tibet, we did not implement the essence of this policy very well in most of the area. All such leftists could not stand the sight of, or were not happy about, religious belief in the ideology of adults; so cadres and activists jointly, inflexibly, and by means of their political power, used hard and soft methods, including coercion; they carried out struggles, gave people "black" labels, declared them guilty of crimes, and they planned to use coercive methods to resolve the ideological problem in a short period of time. Consequently, at that time it seemed on the surface that to a certain extent the problem had been resolved, but in fact suspicions and doubts were produced in many people's minds [sixiang]; they felt discouraged, disheartened and dissatisfied, which led to the ideological problem becoming much more complicated. As regards the ideology and actions of a portion of the activists, there was in fact no further assessment, and these were taken to be the ideology and the actions of the whole mass of the people. The first problem is principally about religion; the second problem is unjust punishments which do not accord with the actual situation; the third problem is excessive struggle. There are other similar problems apart from these, which will be discussed below when appropriate. In summary, we

consider that: people are all the same, whether they are cadres, activists or any other type of person. No matter what the ideology and actions of cadres are like, they can only really be considered as those of the masses if they have gained the approval, endorsement and support of 70% to 90% of the masses. If this was not the case and we regarded their ideology and actions as being those of the masses, then this would be inconsistent with the actual situation, inappropriate, and therefore unacceptable. It was important to carry out a careful examination of the truth or falsity of criticisms [yijian] of the crimes of the feudal lords and their agents who have been exposed as the targets of this campaign.

But they used sayings such as "the people's eyes are keen", and took many things which were not real problems to be real, rashly labelled many people who had committed no crimes as having committed serious crimes, and attacked them. This was astounding and it was the principal reason why so many people were wrongly attacked. In fact, it is true that the people's eyes are keen, but we should have examined whether the criticisms raised by these critics could represent the masses or reflect their ideology. We could not take all that was said as being the criticisms of the masses, or think that they were all correct. This problem has already been discussed in the explanation of the fourth characteristic, given above.

As regards struggle, the struggle of democratic reform was the most important part of the class struggle. By means of the life and death class struggle in which the serfs and slaves liberated themselves, the working people realised that their experiencing all kinds of grievous suffering for generation after generation was entirely the result of the cruel oppression and exploitation by the feudal lords under the feudal system. Through their lighting the angry fire of class hatred, launching struggle, bringing an end to their bitter pain by tempering themselves, improving their class consciousness and arousing their revolutionary enthusiasm, the working people moved a stage further on [yi

bu]. To extinguish the serf-owning class, not only was it necessary to change the "exploiting class" viewpoint, understanding and stance of the people of this class into the viewpoint, understanding and stance of the people [renmin], and turn them into new people; but also, in carrying out the struggle, there were differences in targets and also in methods of struggle; that is to say, not only were there differences between the serf-owning class and the people in this class, but also among the people there were leftists, those of the centre and rightists; there was also a difference between extreme rightists and counter-revolutionaries. There were also differences in crimes, as to whether they were political in nature, and other differences such as whether they were committed recently or a long time ago, the degree of seriousness, the duration and the number of people who had made a criticism. In particular, we needed to look at whether they had a good or bad attitude towards repenting and making a fresh start. The methods adopted should be a combination of protection, winning over and attacking, and we should act according to the differences in the actual circumstances of each individual in aspects including the scale, the number of the struggles and whether public confrontation was used. When carrying out struggle against a person, there must be irrefutable proof of each actual crime of the criminal, the masses must testify, and maligning and fiercely beating them on occasions of struggle should not be allowed. These are all correct policies of the Party. However, in the actual struggle movement, the policies of the Party have rarely been followed completely. Just as I have been reporting to the Central authorities since the second half of 1959, there has been no rational division of classes and individuals, and serious crimes of a person's class have been classified together with crimes of that individual. In relation to some individuals who should respectively have been protected and won over, according to their individual political stance, unbearable fierce struggle involving public confrontations has taken place, in which they have been treated in the same way as counter-revolutionaries, leaders of the

rebellion and feudal lords and their agents who obstinately stick to the wrong course. Compulsion, coercion and exploitation produced by the feudal system have been treated in the same way as political crimes of counter-revolutionaries, and this has been done in an astounding way. At the same time, no distinction has been made between crimes committed recently and those committed a long time ago.

As regards giving special care and encouragement, in order to encourage their urge for improvement, to those who were able to acknowledge their errors and apologise to the masses and who were willing to repent and renew themselves and thoroughly remould themselves, this is very important, but it has not been done perfectly. Take as an example Gongbao Caidan , of whom I was born [yi sheng wo zhe]. Although there were no serious errors in his behaviour, he was for a period part of the feudal serf-owning class, and so there will have been instances where he contravened the will of the people. He understood the importance of acknowledging his errors and apologising before the masses and of reforming himself properly; so, when democratic reform was carried out in Xigaze [Shigatse], he went of his own accord from Lhasa to Shigatse and did these things (i.e., acknowledged his errors and apologised to the masses - Chinese translator's note). It goes without saying that in Shigatse he was not cared for and commended, but on the contrary cadres of the work teams instigated struggle against him, including public confrontation and fierce beating, by a group of bad people from the middle and upper strata who had disguised themselves as activists, the eloquent, and opportunists. This is not the only such incident in Tibet. Many other friends like him, who believe in the Party, sympathise with the people, support democratic reform and are willing to reform themselves, have been attacked in the democratic reform struggle. This has poured cold water on their well-intended and soaring enthusiasm, discouraging and disheartening them. In addition, two great storms have blown up in the places where democratic reform has been carried out.

The first storm was that where people wanted to carry out struggle, even though those who were being struggled against had committed no especially serious crimes or errors, they fabricated many serious crimes, exaggerated, followed their own inclinations, reversed right and wrong and so on. Not only did they unscrupulously frame people ever more fiercely and sharply, violently, arrogantly, boastfully and excessively, without a shred of evidence, and even unjustly persecuting many good people, but also, the people who did these things were praised and rewarded, truth and falsity was not investigated, and the necessary control was not exercised.

The second storm was that the target of the struggle should be confronted in a careful, clear and conscientious manner with conclusive evidence of his crime, in order to break down his imposing appearance. This certainly was not done. Once the struggle had started, there were some shouts and rebukes, and at the same time there was hair pulling, beating with fists and kicking, pinching people's flesh, pushing back and forth, and some people even used a large "lun shi" (this is a steel tool shaped like a key which is specifically used for fighting - Chinese translator's note) and clubs to beat them fiercely. This resulted in bleeding from the seven apertures in the heads of those who were being beaten and in their falling down unconscious and in their limbs being broken; they were seriously injured and there were even some who lost their lives during the struggle.

In this situation, needless to say, those people who had committed crimes, that is, people of the middle and upper strata and the middle and well-off serfs, felt extremely fearful and scared. Many innocent people fled to foreign lands, some who were unable to flee ended up in the unfortunate and terrible situation of throwing themselves into rivers or using weapons to kill themselves. This has produced suspicion and loss of hope in people of integrity. What has happened made the enemy feel satisfied and made us [qin] feel discouraged. These were errors and mistakes which were

disadvantageous to solidarity and to our work and which were the source of increasing trouble. Each place is different in terms of the degree of seriousness, differences in character, and whether the variety of cases is large or small. I will not give a specific explanation of the "Six Fondnesses" mentioned above, as they can be understood from many of the other problems discussed in this report.

Sixth, concerning the "Seven Examinations [cha]", the substance of the seven issues [qi xiang neirong] in carrying out re-examination into democratic reform in Tibet was completely necessary and correct; the work has obtained some achievements and advantages. We think that re-examination should be carried a stage further beyond the democratic reform period, and that the way in which we deal with problems must be clearer, more conscientious, more thorough, more careful and of a higher quality. We should thoroughly mobilise the masses, act in accordance with the Party's policies, and deal correctly, steadily, leaning neither to the left nor the right and with complete conviction with the problems left behind by democratic reform, in order to enhance and bring into play the class consciousness and revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses; we should investigate cadres and deal with those trouble-making elements who cause harm and do no good, in order to purify and strengthen our teams of cadres, to consolidate the achievements and victories of democratic reform and to guarantee that each type of work advances without cease on a perfect foundation. Re-examination had no other purposes.

However, it was certainly not done as well as possible. For example, when the first democratic reform campaign had not yet been completed, the second campaign was set in motion. This campaign took as its principal content the right wing errors and mistakes of the first campaign period, a fierce investigative movement was launched, and those cadres who had rightist tendencies [wenti] were comparatively seriously attacked. This led to further development of the leftist tendency. Consequently, among the errors and

mistakes of which I have just spoken or which will be discussed below, although all are discussed in this essay, many or most of the leftist errors and mistakes have occurred during the re-examinations. This is the reason why many people say that "the re-examinations have been carried out cruelly", or "haven't been carried out properly".

The Third Problem: On Production in Agriculture and Animal Herding and on the Livelihood of the People

The Party has always emphasised, especially in production, that the Party leads the broad masses of the working people in forming mutual aid teams, arranging production, overcoming difficulties, and mobilising and educating people to launch a patriotic increase in production. In order to prevent a decline in production, the Party adopted an excellent series of measures; the majority of cadres of all nationalities at the grassroots level obeyed the Party, led the masses, lived together with the masses, consulted the masses, worked with the masses and so on, which has had a great effect on production. At the same time, because the masses had obtained their liberation and had become the masters of the land and of society, they were able to cherish their own interests by having the mentality [sixiang] of being the masters. They brought their soaring enthusiasm into play in production, which had a great effect on the front line of production. On the other hand, nature [lao tian] did not create any difficulties, and so Tibet had three successive years of good harvests. However, many problems also arose. Controlled by the heartfelt desire to swiftly wipe out all backward features in Tibet and leap into a happy and glorious socialist society as soon as possible, the first stage of the "co-operatives wind" blew in Tibet. But at that time the working people of Tibet only had an ideology of democratic reform, the level of their socialist ideology was low, and so their demands were not that pressing. As a result they thought that the land which had been allocated to them at the time of democratic reform would soon no longer be theirs, and so they felt unhappy

and their interest in production declined; they did not carry out their agricultural production work carefully, and so a situation arose in which they recklessly used up all the property which, early or late, they had gained. Furthermore, the mutual aid teams had not yet completely implemented the principle of "voluntary mutual benefit", and there were some who did not want to take part in the mutual aid teams but had no alternative but to do so, and there were some who wanted to take part but were not able to do so. The mutual aid teams were too big. The method of allocating labour rewards was not rational, and because there was an increase in expropriations for collective stores and collective use, the interests of private individuals were harmed. At the same time, some cadres were thinking and acting as if everything old was backward and everything new was progressive, they carried out in a muddled fashion all types of half-baked directives in relation to production, acted as they pleased, applied theory in a subjective fashion, forced people to work overtime, and did many things which were contrary to the actual situation and which caused the masses to be demoralised.

In Tibet, owing to the Party considerably setting a low tax rate, the quantity of patriotic public grain [aiguo gongliang] was not large. However, during the big movement for competition in production, because of a tendency to boast and exaggerate, there were false reports of increased production which were inconsistent with reality. There were those who in order to cover up their own lies took the falsely reported production indicators as the basis, and after the collection of patriotic public grain, apart from some seed grain, grain for everyday consumption, and animal fodder, bought up the majority of the remainder, and tapped past grain reserves. Because this was done too strictly, difficulties arose in the livelihood of the masses. In our work some factors remain which should not exist and which are disadvantageous to bringing into play the zeal of the masses for production, to paying close attention to

production, and to developing production. I will not talk about these in detail today.

In the border areas, apart from as described above, under the pressure and influence of errors and mistakes which occurred at the time of democratic reform or re-examination, not only the local feudal lords and their agents, but also the middle and well-off serfs, and even the poor serfs and the slaves, and similarly some herding peoples, i.e. many people from every background, felt scared and frightened and fled abroad. Without people, there was no way to carry out production, and so huge damage was done to production in agriculture and animal herding. There were many cases of rebel bandits who had fled the country sneaking back to rob and plunder. This is a particular circumstance of the border areas.

In the animal herding areas, because the duration of the rebellion in those areas was quite long, there were great losses to livestock. This resulted in confirmation of the ownership of livestock being delayed. Also, the "Two Benefits" policy has not yet been completely implemented. In addition, from 1959 to 1960, after exchanges between agriculture and animal herding were discontinued, although replacement grain was supplied to animal herding areas by the government, it was not sufficient, and neither was it universal. This resulted in a grain shortage, and the people had to slaughter and eat much of their livestock. All this has had an effect on production in animal herding.

As regards the cities, even though Tibetan cities have a small population and little industry, they are in the transition from feudalism to capitalism [sic]; the three main industries are commerce, handicrafts and agriculture. Many residents do not have fixed employment, and change their occupations with a big profit as their motive; this reveals the unstable nature of their occupations, and so the situation is relatively complex. Consequently, it is important in all our work to implement a complete series of guiding principles which has

leadership, is in control of the situation, has a plan, has steps and has main and supplementary parts, is on a foundation of careful investigation and study, and which has a grasp of the actual situation.

1. Concerning the handicrafts industry: apart from the principal handicrafts including stone, wood and steel, we have not paid enough attention to the handicrafts industry; this made people think that their skills were of no use in the new society. As a result they changed their occupation or became unemployed, so it was hard for them to make a living and the people's needs could not be satisfied. In addition, for a period, because insufficient attention was paid to secondary production in the cities, countryside and animal herding areas, and because there was a lack of overall planning and so on, a phenomenon emerged in production where there were the main industries [zhudao] but no supplementary industries [fuzhu], which was unbalanced and incomplete.

(2) Concerning commerce: of the many big Tibetan traders, some took part in the rebellion and some have fled abroad. Our commercial capacity is limited, and we do not import goods from abroad. As a result, goods in the marketplace are somewhat lacking, there is not a full range of goods, and there is not an inadequate supply of essential goods. In accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, which considers that in order to allow the State to exercise its sovereignty, citizens must fulfil their duties, it was decided to collect taxes from industries and businesses. In order to protect and encourage those industries and businesses which were law-abiding, those which broke the law were banned or restricted. However, when this was implemented and when some areas first allowed traders to register their own individual funds [zijin] voluntarily, all sorts of true and false circumstances were reported by individual shopkeepers, and after investigation, cadres discovered that a number of people had made false reports, and exposed them. This was a good thing. But after this, cadres did not trust any of the

traders, or just believed what others said about them, or made haphazard calculations; they put some money which should not really have been considered as funds into the calculations, and insisted that the traders' funds amounted to a certain figure. When the people who did not actually have such funds appealed, they were threatened and pressurised by the cadres, who said that they had problems in their minds [naozi you wenti]. This happened just at the time of the democratic reform struggle, when their arrogance was difficult to endure, and so the traders had no choice but to agree. Taxes on commerce were collected on the basis of a percentage of capital [ziben], and so those traders whose stated funds did not accord with reality, because their tax burden was too heavy, so that even paying over their entire profit from the sale of their goods was not sufficient, had to make up the rest by drawing it from capital. This resulted in businesses losing capital and not making any profit, and many traders had to request to cease trading [qingqiu tingye]. In addition, some traders who were speculators and profiteers appeared and turned the marketplace into chaos. Because of this, prices went up and were not stable and there was serious exploitation, creating factors disadvantageous to the strengthening of production in Tibet and to the stability of the livelihood of the people.

As regards the livelihood of the masses, after suppression of the rebellion and democratic reform, life gradually became more stable and changed for the better. Not only did this make all people feel very happy, but at the same time these became the principal factors for people loving the Party and the motherland and working hard in production; revolutionary enthusiasm was aroused and class consciousness was enhanced. But owing to some errors and mistakes in work and to the work style of some cadres, difficulties were produced in the lives of the masses in some areas. Owing to the "Five Winds" [wu feng] appearing in some agricultural areas, to the work of grain collection being done too strictly, to the low level of grain which the masses were

permitted to retain, so that there was barely enough grain for consumption, and also to the fact that some of the masses used grain in an inappropriate way, many families ran out of grain. As regards people complaining, some people complained because they really had run out of grain, and some people complained because they had a little bit of grain left and did not want to let others know about it; there were all kinds of situations. It was very important, on the foundation of enhancing the class consciousness of the masses, to thoroughly and conscientiously carry out overall investigation and review, to provide relief for those households which have run out of grain, not to allow the masses to go hungry, and for those households which have grain not to have to hand it over as collective grain without reason. But some cadres failed to do this, and they assumed that the circumstances in some individual households were representative of those in all households, with the result that some households took advantage of the government, and some households which had genuinely run out of grain were unable to gain relief. Because at that time there was a shortage of grain, people who lacked grain could not obtain it from elsewhere. Consequently, in some places in Tibet, a situation arose where people starved to death. This really should not have happened, it was an awful business [zhuolie] and very serious. In the past, although Tibet was a society ruled by dark and savage feudalism, there had never been such a shortage of grain. In particular, because Buddhism was widespread, all people, whether noble or humble, had the good habit of giving help to the poor, and so people could live solely by begging for food. A situation could not have arisen where people starved to death, and we have never heard of a situation where people starved to death. In Tibet during the two years of 1959 and 1960, free exchange of agricultural and animal herding products more or less ceased. Because of this, those people who worked in animal herding were extremely short of grain, and the peasants were short of meat, butter, salt and soda, which resulted in difficulties in life in the agricultural and the animal

herding areas. In order to solve these problems in their lives, people had to eat many of their animals, which created conditions disadvantageous to the development of production. At the time of democratic reform, it was forbidden to travel back and forth to transport materials and grain, and people's travel to different places was very restricted. Consequently the supply of goods which the towns needed and which had to be brought in from the countryside was almost cut off. A lot of surplus grain was also collected from the people in the towns; perhaps collection was excessive, and even grain and tsampa contained in sachets was collected. Families who secretly concealed a few litres [sheng] of grain and tsampa were struggled against, which appears very petty and mean-spirited. Most households were ransacked, and almost all of the residents' own stores of grain, meat and butter were taken away. Because the government supplies of grain, oil and butter to the cities were not supplied universally and in time, or were not supplied properly, many of the residents were very short of grain; some ran out of grain, and were very short of meat, butter, oil and so on; there was not even any lamp oil. Even firewood could not be bought. People were frightened and anxious and complained incessantly, and they were not content in their work. This made the situation in the city very tense, harm was done both to reputation and in reality [ming shi liang sun]. In addition, domestic spinning throughout the area stopped for a period, which had an effect on clothing for the masses.

The Fourth Problem: On the United Front

As described above, the Party has given great protection to and taken good care of those anti-imperialistic and patriotic Tibetan people in the middle and upper strata, and in the areas of solidarity, care and concern, education, reform and co-operation, there was nothing to speak of which was not satisfactorily done. Although politically speaking we, the people of the middle and upper strata, are anti-imperialistic, patriotic and progressive, in terms of our background, we come from the evil feudal serf-owning class. During the

democratic reform campaign, we needed to recognise [yinggai renshi] the crimes of our class and apologise for those things which we did to the working people in the old society, which should not have been done and which were herding were extremely short of grain, and the peasants were short of meat, butter, salt and soda, which resulted in difficulties in life in the agricultural and the animal herding areas. In order to solve these problems in their lives, people had to eat many of their animals, which created conditions disadvantageous to the development of production. At the time of democratic reform, it was forbidden to travel back and forth to transport materials and grain, and people's travel to different places was very restricted. Consequently the supply of goods which the towns needed and which had to be brought in from the countryside was almost cut off. A lot of surplus grain was also collected from the people in the towns; perhaps collection was excessive, and even grain and tsampa contained in sachets was collected. Families who secretly concealed a few litres [sheng] of grain and tsampa were struggled against, which appears very petty and mean-spirited. Most households were ransacked, and almost all of the residents' own stores of grain, meat and butter were taken away. Because the government supplies of grain, oil and butter to the cities were not supplied universally and in time, or were not supplied properly, many of the residents were very short of grain; some ran out of grain, and were very short of meat, butter, oil and so on; there was not even any lamp oil. Even firewood could not be bought. People were frightened and anxious and complained incessantly, and they were not content in their work. This made the situation in the city very tense, harm was done both to reputation and in reality [ming shi liang sun]. In addition, domestic spinning throughout the area stopped for a period, which had an effect on clothing for the masses.

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were indiscriminately attacked, with no rational distinction being made between black and white, and those who attacked more fiercely being regarded as heroes. Often, all types of malicious methods were adopted, in particular formally instructing the working people not to have any contact with the feudal lords and their agents. Control was extremely strict, and consequently the feudal lords and their agents were excluded from the masses; as a result, they had no political way out and they had great difficulties in their lives. They no longer retained any hopes about the world, and their situation appeared miserable. Therefore, it was difficult to win over and reform these people. This was capable of creating conditions leading to the enlargement of the underground foundation for the reactionaries ("underground foundation" means secret agents [*yinzang de tewu duiwu*] - Chinese translator's note). This was of no advantage and only increased trouble; it was not appropriate to uniting more people around the Party and enlarging and consolidating the people's democratic united front in order to isolate and rapidly eliminate the enemy, or to safeguarding democratic reform, or to encouraging more people to stride forth happily, confidently and vigorously on the glorious road to democracy and socialism. All of these things, due to leftist errors and mistakes, had a serious negative effect within the united front.

### **The Fifth Problem: On Democratic Centralism**

Democratic centralism is not only a principle which is most important in the political life of our country, it is also a principle which must be followed in all internal work among the people. This has time and again been clearly laid down in all of the Party's policies and all of the State's laws and regulations. Chairman Mao, when he talked about the political situation in our country, said that we should have a political situation which is both centralised and democratic, which has discipline and has freedom, which has unity of will and

has individual emotional happiness, and which is both lively and vivacious. Speaking in more detail, it is both a high level of centralism on a basis of a high level of democracy, and a high level of democracy under the leadership of a high level of centralism. Therefore, all of our lines and policies are formulated and will be formulated on the basis of the will, wishes and experience of the people. This is why the Party constantly says that those victories and achievements which we have obtained in the past and the errors and mistakes which have been seen in our work have all come from the masses of the people. Thus, we must accept the will and wishes of the people and the opinions which have resulted from people's good and bad experiences, we must accept surveillance of our work, and we must base ourselves on the hopes of the masses, the actual situation and the laws of development, in order to overcome mistakes and errors in our work and to obtain benefit. This is indeed a democracy which can guarantee that all our work is carried out well and ceaselessly makes progress. It is also especially important and utterly correct to properly [*hao*] implement the spirit of centralism, so that this democracy has a beginning and an end and also can be unified. It goes without saying that, in Tibet, democratic centralism also had to be completely implemented. At the time when it was implemented, basically it can be said that this was done well. But when it is looked at in detail, there were many problems including incomplete, non-universal and imperfect implementation. I will discuss these from the two angles of democracy and centralism: First, as regards democracy, among leading people and cadres of every class, there were some people who took actions which went against democracy and which created many factors disadvantageous to the completion and development of our work. Carrying out our work by uniting the policies of the Party with the actual situation in Tibet is the fundamental guarantee of our completing all of our undertakings and tasks. If we did nothing except talk about it, then there would be no way to bring into play the role of the Party's

policies united with the actual situation, and in a very short time we would have lost contact with reality. This would be like taking medicine for one's head for a foot ailment. Not only is it of no advantage to the real symptoms, but on the contrary there is the danger of it giving rise to other illnesses. The situation in Tibet has many special characteristics, and in addition it is very complex. This is something which nobody can understand easily, and so arrogance and subjectivity should be cast aside and more consultation carried out with people of every class, investigation and review carried out and the opinions of others listened to more, and questions should be asked of those who understand the situation. All of these methods should be used in order to understand the actual situation in Tibet and the opinions and wishes of the Tibetan people. In order to do this, we must first of all go among public figures of every class and the masses, and patiently and carefully listen to the progressive, neutral or backward opinions of leftists, centrists and rightists, which are raised in accordance with their individual points of view, ways of looking of things and understanding. No matter whether they are pleasant to listen to or not, or to our liking or not, we should listen to them with a magnanimous spirit, with "a stomach that can hold [*ke rong*] knives, guns, arrows and spears", seeking out the good and the bad opinions and gathering together those which have the correct spirit, in order for the Party's policies in future to be more consistent with the actual situation in Tibet and with the will and wishes of its people. By doing these things, we would overcome and prevent errors and mistakes in our work and develop the good points from each and every aspect; it goes without saying that this was by far the most important thing. But the bureaucratic way of doing things has penetrated little of the lower strata, and attitudes towards the opinions of others were greatly biased, depending on whether or not they were pleasant to listen to or to the cadres' liking. Not only did they express attitudes of dislike towards those who express opinions which were not pleasant to listen to or not to their liking, but

they also said, "You have weaknesses in your mind [*naozi you maobing*], you have not learned your lessons" and so on, and they even labelled them as reactionaries, had malicious intentions towards them and attacked them. This type of situation put them in a position where they had no opportunity to raise and expose the errors and mistakes in work, or opinions which although beneficial to the cause lacked a progressive and positive flavour. On the other hand, phrases such as "we must do" and "we must act" were welcomed and trusted, and those who spoke such phrases were honoured and cared for by the progressives and the activists. Because of this, although many different types of meeting had been convened at each level, and although groups and individuals had been visited and their opinions sought many times, apart from the majority of people saying: Very good! Most satisfactory! Splendid! and other such fine-sounding blandishments, few or no people said that it was not like this or it should be like that; there are this sort and that sort of errors and mistakes; we should correct them this way and that way. The reasons are as I have given above. So, the significance, benefit and usefulness of adopting the method of holding meetings and consulting about work and the cause, and of gathering together opinions in order to prevent what is bad and publicise what is good, diminished or gradually disappeared. For example: in raising a question for discussion, once one or two people of those present at the meeting had briefly explained the principles, they would say "No more opinions?" "No", and everyone raised their hands, applauded, and passed it. Of course, there would have been some people who raised their hands or applauded because they were in heartfelt agreement. But there were also many people who, although they were dissatisfied, because they considered that they should not sacrifice their own interests for the public good, expressed their agreement on the outside. We should only let them gradually carry out all of the guiding principles, policies and tasks of our work after vigorously explaining them to the masses, convincing them and obtaining the

agreement of the masses. The higher levels must not coerce them or give them orders. But subjectivism and commandism forced them to do things which the masses had not approved or welcomed. Therefore, democracy was not completely implemented.

Second, as regards centralism, certainly the Party's committees at every level would be perfect as regards the question of centralism, and so we do not need to go into details. As far as each level of our [Tibetan] government is concerned, my knowledge is only partial [*ru bi er yi*]. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet is the highest administrative organ in Tibet and is under the direct leadership of the CCP Tibet Work Committee. It should exercise the duties and authority which are stipulated by our country's Constitution, laws and regulations, and it is very important for it to exercise leadership of organisations directly under its control and of all levels of government, allocate work and have proper control of working methods, investigate and report, praise achievements and put right errors and mistakes, in order to complete the tasks which have been given to our Preparatory Committee by the Party and the State. However, each organ under direct control and each prefecture, in ideological terms, paid insufficient attention to the fact that the Preparatory Committee was their leadership organ. Also, in each of their seasonal or annual work reports, they gave priority to speaking of tasks satisfactorily completed and great achievements. Apart from what was broadly similar to a basic level of knowledge or what had been published in the newspapers, they would never make clear internal reports about major problems. What appeared shallow from the outside was in fact deep on the inside [*nei shen wai qian*], to the point that upper administrative levels could not be fully acquainted with lower-level administrative problems. The upper and lower levels were not that close in their relations nor did they have that much confidence in one another, and in addition we ourselves had insufficient experience of the work, so that it was

difficult to make the most [*fa huī*] of the leadership role. Thus, because many different circumstances of this nature existed, the centralism of our administrative system was fundamentally unsatisfactory.

### **The Sixth Problem: On Dictatorship**

One of the Party's policy principles is that dictatorship should only be exercised towards rebels who obstinately stick to the wrong course, counter-revolutionaries, and the most reactionary of the feudal lords and their agents; they should be given punishments such as detaining them and putting them under surveillance in accordance with the law of the State, and not a single innocent person should be treated unjustly. When this was put into practice in Tibet, most of the people whom it was not necessary to arrest [*ke bu ke bu bu de ren*] and many good and innocent people were unscrupulously charged with offences, maligned, and categorised with criminals; this has astounded people of integrity. These things can be understood from what I have already set out above, and there is no need to explain further. Here, I will discuss briefly what happened to those people who were arrested when they were put under surveillance, jailed or subjected to labour reform: the number of prisoners in the whole of Tibet reached a percentage of the total population which has never been surpassed throughout history.

First, as regards assembling for training, when studying the Party's policies, because one hundred people will have one hundred ideologies, everybody will certainly have their own different understanding and viewpoint. It is very important to give patient help and education to those who have a relatively inappropriate viewpoint and understanding. However, not only were things not done in this way, but acute struggles took place, and some people were subjected to cruel ill-treatment. Consequently, once people heard the cry of "Come to study!", their hearts palpitated with terror. The majority of people of integrity felt discouraged and disheartened, laden with anxieties, and lost

confidence in reforming themselves to become new people. Some people's hatred gave rise to various types of evil thoughts; some just wanted to muddle through life by adapting to changing conditions, and in order to attain their own goals, they learned the technique of keeping a considerable distance between what they said and what was in their hearts. Thus, there emerged a considerable number of people who were good at flattering with deceitful talk and brandishing their willingness to pander to others [*wu nong ying he*]. This created, during the actual reform process, a situation where on the surface it appeared that achievements had been made, but underneath it was the complete opposite.

Second, as regards those formally imprisoned who are in labour reform; owing to there being an excessive number of prisoners, there were difficulties in managing them. In relation to the ideological reform of these people, presumably the situation could not even have been as good as that in the "assembling for training". Furthermore, apart from part of the upper strata who were imprisoned in the Tibet military region and a small number of administrative personnel detained in ordinary prisons who were treated in accordance with the Party and State law, in the majority of other prisons, the personnel and the managing personnel [*fuzeren huo guanlirenyuan*] principally responsible did not care about the life and health of the prisoners. In addition, the guards and cadres threatened prisoners with cruel, ruthless and malicious words [*canku wuqing de eyan donghe*] and beat them fiercely and unscrupulously. Also, prisoners were deliberately transferred back and forth, from the plateau to the lowlands, from freezing cold to very warm, from north to south, up and down, so that they could not accustom themselves to their new environment. Their clothes and quilts could not keep their bodies warm, their mattresses could not keep out the damp, their tents and buildings could not shelter them from the wind and rain and the food could not fill their stomachs. Their lives were miserable and full of deprivation, they had to get

up early for work and come back late from their work; what is more, these people were given the heaviest and the most difficult work, which inevitably led to their strength declining from day to day. They caught many diseases, and in addition they did not have sufficient rest; medical treatment was poor, which caused many prisoners to die from abnormal causes [*fei zhengchang de siwang*]. Old prisoners in their fifties and sixties, who were physically weak and already close to death, were also forced to carry out heavy and difficult physical labour. When I went back and forth on my travels and saw such scenes of suffering, I could not stop myself from feeling grief and thinking with a compassionate heart "Why can't things be different?" [*nandao bu zheyang bu cheng ma*], but there was nothing I could do. In brief, in 1959 Chairman Mao gave us a directive: because the population of Tibet is small, we should adopt a policy of not killing people or of killing very few people. For example, it was all right not to kill the rebellious leaders La Lu and Luosangzhaxi . This was not only a wise and great idea which was absolutely correct and which touched people, but also it was completely consistent with the actual situation in Tibet. The real chief criminals had to be jailed and undergo labour reform and be punished mercilessly, to warn others against following their example. As for the remaining people who have committed no crimes or have committed minor crimes, if we could strictly control them, so that essentially [*genben bu fasheng*] there would be no arrests, imprisonments and sentences, we could eliminate the bad and protect the good, and then we would obtain the benefits of using medicine appropriate to the symptoms. However, the reality was the opposite to this. Criminals were being locked up everywhere, but this brought no benefit and only created trouble, and there appeared the dead bodies of many criminals whose crimes did not merit the death sentence. This certainly caused the parents, wives, children, relatives and friends in hundreds and thousands of households to be overwhelmed with grief [*shifen beican*], and it goes without saying that their eyes were constantly filled with tears. Many

people were imprisoned, no matter whether they had or had not committed a crime or whether their crime was large or small; and, in addition, bad management led to many people suffering abnormal deaths. The masses of the Tibetan people not only did not welcome this, but moreover they felt dislike and regret, they felt panic-stricken, suspicious and resentful, and they felt pity for those who had been imprisoned. Therefore, these errors and mistakes created conditions where we were cut off from the masses, and those rebels who had fled abroad and those remnants of the rebels scattered in Tibet had even more doubts and fears about us. Not only did they not come forward to surrender, but also this was the principal factor creating the tendency for die-hard counter-revolutionary thought to become stronger. At the same time, among those of the upper strata in Tibet who were imprisoned, there were many officials of the official Tibetan local government who had been ranked as chief criminals of the rebellion [*panluan zuiku*]. On 10<sup>th</sup> March 1959, the leaders of the rebellion made their reactionary announcement in the Luobulinka [Norbu Linka]. Between that date and 19<sup>th</sup> March, they convened various types of meetings of the monastic and secular officials of the original Tibetan local government on the subject of the rebellion, in the Luobulinka and other places. Most of those officials who had been ranked as chief criminals of the rebellion were, at the time of the rebellion in Lhasa in 1959, simply participants in those meetings. All those who were captured at the time of suppression of the rebellion were perfunctorily swept together, regarded as chief criminals of the rebellion and imprisoned. However, what if we ask whether or not these people were all leaders and/or chief criminals of the rebellion? It is very difficult to say that this is the case. At the time when the meetings relating to the rebellion were convened, the chief criminals of the rebellion said: "If you come, nothing will happen to you; if you do not, then you and your entire families will be killed." Just like the saying "If insects do not produce oil, then cut their heads off" [*chong bu tu you, jiu yao sha tou*],

due to the unbearable pressure exerted on them, and to serious threats made by means of special power and force, and driven by thoughts of self-preservation, in order to save themselves and their families from danger, they had no choice but to be ordered about by the enemy. This is the first point. The second point is that the leaders of the rebellion used the pretexts [*jiekou*] of religion and the national interest, and so good people who had deep faith, love and respect for their religion and nationality, and who did not understand the actual situation, were deceived by the enemy. The third point is that because Tibet has a feudal system, and the officials of the local government received favours from and derived their living from the "*Juxigong*" ; (the original Tibetan local government - Chinese translator's note) since the time of their ancestors, and furthermore since they themselves were officials of the local government, the situation was more or less that they all thought along the lines of "act as the watchdog at the gate of those who feed you" [*zai nali chi shi jiu zai nali dang kan men gou*"]. At the time when the Juxigong's [*Gaden Phodrang*] political authority was at the crucial point between life and death, people acted rashly because of their affection for their government. These three points were of a nature which did not allow for easy resolution in the minds of centrists [*zhongjian ren*]. Therefore, if we consider carefully their predicament, that if they did not participate to some extent in these meetings then they would have difficulty in carrying on their normal life, then we can understand. Now, it can be said that at that time, the work of winning over the people of the middle and upper strata was being carried out by all of the relevant organs of the Party, the Government and the Army under the leadership of the CCP Tibet Work Committee. Is it not the case that people who feared the enemy, no matter what department they moved to within the Party, Government or Army, would then be in absolutely no danger? Certainly this was the position, but the actual situation was that the winning over work was only carried out towards the people who had contact with us in normal

times, and was not carried out towards all of the monastic or secular officials of the local government. Vice Chairman A Pei [Ngabo] actively and conscientiously made contact with the officials of the local government and did much work of persuasion and winning-over among them, and although this played an important role, it was difficult to extend. In fact, we have not been able to carry out the work of persuading and winning over in relation to all of the monastic and secular officials of the local government. Therefore, those people among the monastic and secular officials of the local government who in their neutral thinking inclined neither towards the revolution nor against the revolution, who blindly followed others and took part in meetings relating to the rebellion and in the rebellion itself, and those people who were compelled and coerced and had no option but to take part in the meetings relating to the rebellion and in the rebellion itself, should not have been regarded as chief criminals of the rebellion. However, when dealing with all those people who had been captured, we did not seek information about their circumstances from those patriotic and progressive friends who knew their circumstances well, but we accused them of being leaders and criminal chiefs of the rebellion, which was inconsistent with the actual situation, and we implemented strict and heavy punishments such as imprisonment. Because of this, people felt that our laws and decrees were unjust, and so on. As regards dictatorship, from what I have described above, it can be perceived that when dictatorship was implemented in Tibet, this produced many serious situations where people confused black and white. This type of situation, obviously, is beneficial to our enemies and harmful to us.

### **The Seventh Problem: On Religion**

Whether we look at the whole Tibetan region or at any part of it, more than 99% of those in each strata of the people (excepting children) have great faith, love and respect for religion. For this reason, everyone is extremely

concerned with the future of religion. Because this is a crucial question of great importance, whether it is dealt with well or badly has a direct influence, in which advantages and disadvantages are interrelated, on whether or not we can obtain genuine warm affection from, and be welcomed by, the masses. Because of this, in May 1959, our Great Leader, Chairman Mao, and you, Premier, indicated in the wise and correct guiding principles, policies, methods, steps and other instructions and guidance which were of great significance and which you created for us in relation to the suppression of the rebellion, democratic reform and other aspects of work in Tibet, that in the aspect of religion, the Party Central Committee would not only continue to give the masses, both monastic and secular, freedom of religious belief, but also would protect law-abiding monasteries and believers, and that we could carry out religious activities including "teaching, debating, writing" [*jiang, bian, zhu*] as before. This was really exciting. You also pointed out that it was important to carry out reform of the contaminated religion which for a period had seeped into Tibet's temples and monasteries, and of the feudal serf-owning system and system of oppression and exploitation, including prerogatives [*tequan*], which was incompatible with social development, in order to purify the monasteries. Moreover, as a proportion of the overall Tibetan population, the number of monks who did not carry out human reproduction and material production was too high; this was very harmful to population growth and development of production in Tibet. Therefore, it was important to reduce the number of monks, and to let some monks return to secular life, go back to their native places, establish families, start careers, and engage in human reproduction and material production. A certain number of good monks [*hao de lama*] should remain in the monasteries, to engage in religious activities; their livelihood could be arranged [*jiejue*] by the government.