

The Dalai Lama's Flight

ON the 8th day of the Tibetan month Aswa Nepa (March 17) it was decided by the National Assembly and the Kashag that the Dalai Lama should leave Lhasa immediately; his life, they considered, was in danger. It was feared that if he remained in Lhasa the Chinese were bound to get hold of him and use him against the people, who had begun demonstrating against his going to China. There were demonstrations in Lhasa and it was reported on March 14 that the Khampa rebels were only 25 miles away from the capital. A plane had landed at a nearby airfield, which made the people rush to the Tibetan national arsenals.

The Dalai Lama's palace, Potala, was surrounded by the Tibetan Army (not Chinese Army). Inside the palace there were no Chinese. Small batches of his top men began escaping from Potala on March 16.

On the night of March 17, he himself, along with his bodyguard came out, and began his journey towards India.

Chinese Report Dalai Lama's Escape

The Chinese Radio, on about March 25-26, announced from Lhasa that the Dalai Lama had fled from the capital. Unconfirmed reports indicate that he fled two days before the fighting started in Lhasa.

—Statesman, Calcutta, March 26

Dalai Lama Decides to Leave

Tezpur

"IN spite of this demonstration from the people, the Dalai Lama and his Government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety. While these negotiations were being carried out, reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet. On the 17th of March, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the Norbulingka palace. Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond."

"After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama, and in those

difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, the members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa. The Dalai Lama would like to state categorically that he left Lhasa and Tibet and came on to India of his own free will and not under duress."

—Dalai Lama's Statement at Tezpur, April 14

Last-Minute Decision

THE Dalai Lama told Mr. Nehru, when they met at Mussoorie on April 24 that before 4 p.m. on March 17, he had no definite ideas of leaving Lhasa. He left six hours later at 10 p.m. despite his hope that something good might happen. But the Chinese shelling of his palace compound had a powerful effect on his mind. He felt that everything had broken down. The Tibetan ruler and his party had departed in such a hurry that they forgot to bring the necessary clothes.

—Mr. Nehru's Statement at Mussoorie, April 24

Fighting Starts

AFTER nightfall on March 17, the Chinese fired two shells on the palace which fell in the lake in front. Apparently they failed to intimidate the people of Lhasa.

The same night at 10-30 p.m. the Dalai Lama and some of his party left the palace, one by one, on their way to India.

After the bombardment when the Dalai Lama did not come out and surrender the Chinese suspected that the Dalai Lama had fled. Search parties and planes were sent scouring. The Chinese then started fighting the rebels in earnest and claimed that the rebellion was completely crushed by March 23. During these days, it was reported, 5,000 Tibetans were killed and 4,000 captured. According to one report the Chinese spent two days burning the bodies.

Dalai Lama's Escape

New Delhi

THE Dalai Lama made his escape from the capital on March 17. Accompanied by three members of his Cabinet, and the Lord Chamberlain, and guarded

Tibet Fights for Freedom

by remnants of the Tibetan Army and warriors from Kham, Amdo and Golok, he was proceeding to south and eastern Tibet which is still largely under the control of the insurgents.

It is still not clear why the Chinese in Lhasa took so long to react to the events which took place on March 10. Probably in the tense days that followed they were awaiting instructions from Peking. Evidently their minds were made up when the Kashag tore up the 17-point agreement.

It was the intention of the Kashag and members of the Grand National Assembly that their decision should be formally conveyed to the Chinese authorities in Lhasa. A committee was set up charged with the task of conveying the decision to the Chinese.

The first shots fired by the Chinese were directed against this assemblage. The knowledge that the Dalai Lama had escaped had further incensed the Chinese. In the confused 24 hours that followed units of the Tibetan Army rallied for the defence of their king and capital.

Heroic Defence

Among those who distinguished themselves by their heroism were the Dalai Lama's bodyguard, the Kusum Regiment, the Drepche Regiment and units of the Gyantse Regiment which had also arrived in the capital.

Powerful assistance was given by men of the "four waters and six hills." This would mean the Khampas and insurgents from Amdo and Golok.

The Khampa partisans are still in administrative control of south-east Tibet, except for isolated Chinese encampments. One of their major victories in recent weeks was the capture of Tsetang, near the Tsonga region, across the Bhutan border. This was one of the best fortified positions and after the Khampa attack the Chinese hid in the numerous underground tunnels. Undaunted, the Khampas sent a purchasing mission to a market near the Bhutan border and bought chillies or red pepper by the ton. With the help of burning chillies they literally smoked out the Chinese from the cellars and tunnels.

Thereafter, they made successful swoops north-east and south and the latest reports show that they are in control at Kongpo, Thakpo, Poyvel and Chodzong.

Of the 18 "traitors" mentioned in the Peking announcement, the movements of only six can at present be accounted for. Three of them are Cabinet Ministers while one is the Lord Chamberlain. They are in attendance on the Dalai Lama. One is in India and another is abroad.

One important Tibetan is now believed to be prisoner of the Chinese. He is the abbot of the

Kundling monastery and, incidentally, the landlord of the Indian Consulate-General in Lhasa.

—Statesman, Calcutta, March 29

Delhi's Part in the Escape Plan

London

THE Daily Telegraph's correspondent reporting from Tezpur today said that, according to reports he had received there, "the Indian Government had helped to plot the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet."

According to Tezpur reports, he said, "the essentials of the plot seem to have been planned by Mr. Apa B. Pant, the Indian Political Agent in Gangtok," who is said to have visited Lhasa last summer "and apparently made private contact with the Dalai Lama, despite intensive efforts by the Chinese always to be present when they conversed."

The correspondent explained that "from Gangtok the Indians maintained a radio connection with their Consul-General in Lhasa. Somehow or the other, they are said to have planted an additional Indian with wireless in the Dalai Lama's household. When the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa on March 17, the Indian operator was with the fugitive party. He sent daily coded messages which were transmitted direct from Gangtok to Mr. Nehru." The operator could use only one code and by the time the Dalai Lama's party had reached the North-East Frontier Agency's border, the Chinese had broken the code.

—Free Press Journal, Bombay, April 17

Delhi Denies Plot Story

New Delhi

AN official spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry emphatically denied today the report published in The Daily Telegraph, London, that the Government of India had plotted the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet.

India had nothing whatsoever to do with the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa or his subsequent journey to Tibet, he declared.

The spokesman said that there was no contact between the Dalai Lama and any official of the Government of India with regard to this matter. The Government was not even aware that the Dalai Lama was intending to leave Lhasa.

—Sunday Standard, Bombay, April 15

Battle in Lhasa

New Delhi

LARGE scale fighting has broken out in Lhasa and scenes of the utmost confusion prevail in the Tibetan capital. The Indian Consulate-General is in the thick of the fighting which started three days ago. The scene of the fighting is the area between the

Potala and the Dalai Lama's summer palace, the Norbulingka. The distance between the two is two miles.

Almost the entire population of Lhasa, together with the Khampa rebels who had been concentrating in the environs for the past several weeks are now engaged in the battle, in which both sides are using firearms.

It is believed that the people of Lhasa rose as soon as news went out that the Chinese authorities were trying to place the Dalai Lama in custody.

A few days ago the chief Chinese authority in Lhasa sent word to the Dalai Lama asking him to repair to his headquarters. In view of the prevailing situation this caused the liveliest apprehensions. Soon after another messenger came to the Potala saying that the Dalai Lama was to go alone, unaccompanied even by his abbots-in-waiting.

People in the Potala, the Dalai Lama's winter residence, prepared for the worst. Word reached the Dalai Lama's mother and there was weeping and wailing. The news spread outside the Palace and soon thousands of Tibetans, gesticulating and shouting, surrounded the Potala. Thousands of weeping women also moved towards the Indian Consulate-General appealing for help.

No clear picture is available of what happened in the subsequent days. The armed Khampas must have swung into action and the Chinese too must have taken a decision to suppress the revolt with all the forces at their command.

It is not even known, whether the Dalai Lama is still in the Potala or has been spirited away, either by his friends or his enemies.

—Statesman, Calcutta March 20

Conflicting Views

New Delhi

THE debate on the External Affairs Ministry's grants in the Lok Sabha today was marked by the sharply contrasting points of view advanced by leading spokesmen of the Communist Party and the Praja-Socialist Party on Tibet and the U.S.-Pakistan military pact.

Mr. Asoka Mehta (P.-S.P.) referred to reports of Chinese colonisation and armed conflict in Tibet and declared that a policy of friendliness towards China could not be "purchased by sacrificing the legitimate and rightful claim of the Tibetan people to domestic autonomy and cultural freedom."

On the other hand, Mrs. Renu Chakravarty (Communist) spoke of "exaggerated reports of

unrest" in Tibet spread by foreign journalists and criticised the Indian Political Officer in Sikkim for privately giving vent to his "pronounced and well-known anti-Chinese views."

—Times of India, Bombay, March 16

Chinese Migration to Tsinghai Province

Hong Kong

PEKING'S policy of encouraging the migration of Han (Chinese) people to the frontier regions has reduced the local population of Tsinghai comprising mostly Tibetans, Mongols, Kazaks, Salars and Torguts to the status of a minority within their own province.

The Governor of Tsinghai, Mr. Yuan Jen-Yuan, said that in 1949, the population of Tsinghai province was only 1.4 million. It has now exceeded 2.3 million. Of these, Han (Chinese) people number well over 1.6 million.

Muslims Revolt

Reports indicating unrest in Tsinghai have appeared in Chinese journals. In October last, Sining Tsinghai Jih Pao had reported that a "counter-revolutionary plot" had been uncovered in the province and 14 "counter-revolutionaries" were either executed or sentenced. The persons were Muslims, who were charged with using religion as a "cloak for their counter-revolutionary activity."

The current unrest in Tibet is the result of Peking's policy of settling large numbers of Han people in Tibet. As early as in 1956, the Chinese Governor of Tibet, General Chang Kuohua, had declared: "Tibet is a huge area, but is too thinly populated. Efforts must be made to raise its population from its present level of two million to more than ten million."

Since then, Han people have begun to settle down in large numbers in Tibet. They control all the key positions in the political life and economy of the region.

—Sudhakar Bhat in Times of India, March 17

Rebellion Spreads to Outer Tibet

Srinagar

KHAMPA rebels have recently extended their sphere of revolt to south-western Tibet, according to reports reaching Ladakh in Kashmir.

These rebels, supported by over 80,000 monks in various monasteries in southern Tibet, have launched wholesale guerilla warfare against the local Chinese

troops. Wherever these Khampas have extended their activities they have received native support. Chinese regular troops are being sent to rebel-ridden southern districts. Nearly 5,000 Chinese troops have reached Lhasa.

Reports state that initially trouble arose about six months back when the Chinese authorities thought that the monasteries in Tibet were wealthy in the territory ruled over by communists. They wanted to introduce some sort of reforms in some of these monasteries, depriving the monks of their wealth.

This action was resented by the monks, who left their prayer wheels and took to arms. These lamas and monks found the Khampas readily available, and this led to a number of battles in Derge and Tanyak between Chinese troops on the one hand and the monks and Khampas on the other.

—Indian Express, Bombay, March 17

"A Clash of Wills Than A Clash of Arms"

New Delhi

SPEAKING in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Nehru said that the Chinese sovereignty over Tibet had always been recognised and there was an agreement between the two for maintaining the autonomy of Tibet. It was another matter if the agreement was possibly made by the Tibetan leaders under "the stress of circumstances."

He added that he did not wish to express any view on the situation since, apart from being embarrassing, it might make "a difficult position more difficult."

"I do not say," he added, "that there has been any large-scale violence." However, conflicts, here and there, were continuing. The situation there at present was "more a clash of wills than a clash of arms or physical bodies."

—Times of India, March 17

Arrest By Invitation

The tactic of "arrest by invitation to negotiation" is a standard Communist tool. In the aftermath of the revolution (on December 11, 1956) the chairman of the Budapest Central Workers Council, Sandor Racz, and his deputy were arrested after accepting an invitation to confer with Kadar in the Parliament building. A similar and notorious instance for the postwar era took place in March 1945 when the 16 leaders of the Polish Underground Army were arrested and taken to the Lubianka Prison in Moscow after responding to an invitation in Marshal Shukow's name to enter talks "in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence." (See Z. Stypulkowski, Invitation to Moscow, Thames and Hudson, London, 1951, p. 211).....

—R. L. Garthoff, Problem of Communism (Washington, D. C.) Jan-Feb 1957.