

**THE
TIBETAN STRUGGLE**

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**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA**

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The First World War saw the complete collapse of the Second International and the social democratic parties of Europe. The social democratic parties of Europe, became the defenders of the capitalist regimes of their own lands and the apologists for the colonial rule of their own imperialists. The Second International had classified the colonies according to their economic development and preached the grotesque theory of, "freedom by stages" to be awarded to these colonial countries by their slave-holding imperialist masters. Not even a shred of socialism was left in the make-up of these social democratic parties. Only in one country, socialism did not get adulterated with compromise; and the creative energy of the people burst-out into flames of revolution. And from the heart of revolution, surged the magnificent battle-cry, of the oppressed people of the colonial world, -the self-determination of nations. Lenin did not classify, the dependent countries, or the colonial countries, into categories, and thus prolong their slavery, to suit the interest of the imperialist powers, just as the social democratic parties did. He did not trumpet the filthy excuse, that to bring about progressive changes in a backward country, an imperialist power has a right to keep the people of that country, in thraldom. And here, Lenin had followed the footsteps of Marx, who decades ago, while pointing out the progressive role of the British rule in India, did not, for a minute

hesitate, to call upon the people of India, to overthrow the imperialist yoke. Thus, movement of national liberation, constituted the corner-stone of the edifice of scientific socialism, as preached by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and others.

Lenin's battle-cry, self-determination of nations, had roused the masses of all oppressed countries, and lead them, on the path of national revolution. Socialists of all lands, including those of the colonial countries, understood national revolution as an integral part of the world socialist revolution. Lenin passed away in 1924, and with the advent of Stalin to power in Russia, started the dark period, of destruction of all the life-giving ideas of socialism, one by one. Russian nationalism raised its ugly head, and dominated the political thought and action of the Bolshevik party. Ultimately, it bogged in the morass of the chauvinistic theory of "the victory of socialism in one country." Along with it, logically germinated, the crude theory of Stalinism, that made the national emancipation of the people of colonial countries from the yoke imperialism, entirely dependent on Russia, just as the socialist revolutions in the countries of Europe, were made dependent on the mercy of the Soviet state. A great russian chauvinism carefully nurtured by Stalin, cut the very roots of the socialist internationalism.

Then started the period of Stalinist expansionism. Finland was raped, and was forced to surrender, a good chunk of her territory to Russia. Stalin and Hitler divided Poland amongst themselves, on the basis of a secret treaty. And the countries of eastern and central Europe

were turned into vassal states of Stalin's totalitarian collectivist state of Russia, at the end of the Second World War. Socialism no longer remained the ideal to be achieved by the revolutionary upsurge of the people of a country but was trumpeted as a gift of Soviet Russia alone, to the oppressed people. A new type of colonialism consistent with the general structure of a totalitarian collectivist state, made its appearance in the political arena. Whereas in the past, every attempt, of an oppressed people, to overthrow alien rule of an imperialist power, was hailed, and supported, by all the forces of socialism throughout the world, now Stalinists of all lands, hailed, the subjection of the people of central and eastern Europe, by the Soviet Government, as the socialist achievement of colossal magnitude; and the attempts of the people of these subjugated countries, to free themselves from the totalitarian yoke of the Russian state, was denounced, as counter-revolution, organised by the capitalist reactionaries of these lands, supported by giant capitalist powers. It is a great pity, that, such naive but disgusting apologia for Soviet expansionism, is gulped down by many a well-intentioned gullible members of the intelligentsia, in all countries, and especially, in India. The heroic struggle of the people of Hungary, for overthrowing Khrushchev's terror-regime, did not get, to our eternal shame, that support of India, which it so rightly deserved. Even Prime Minister Nehru, avoided honest condemnation of Soviet Russia's butchery and fiddled and fumbled, till he war forced by world-opinion, to come out on the side of the Hungarian people. By that time Pandit Nehru

had managed to lower the prestige of India in the eyes of the freedom-loving people of the world.

We had hoped that, people's China would not follow this anti-socialist ways of the stalinist state of Russia. As China, is not a satellite of Soviet Russia, and has, in many ways, shown independence of thought and action, we had hoped that she would not follow the path of Soviet expansionism. Such our hope, has been belied.

In 1950 the Chinese army marched into Tibet. As the Chinese army pushed its way towards Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, the Tibetan National Assembly, sent an urgent appeal to U. N. O. for assistance, against the Chinese aggression. The U. N. O. bye-passed the appeal, expressing the platitudinous hope, that China and Tibet, should settle the matter amongst themselves. As no help was forth-coming, the government of Tibet was forced to sign an agreement with China, in May 1951. By the terms of this seventeen-point agreement, Tibet surrendered its control of foreign relations and defence to China; and China in its turn agreed, that Tibet would enjoy complete autonomy, in the conduct of its internal affairs. In the statement issued by the Dalai Lama on the 18th April '59 from Tezpur, he says "In 1951 under the pressure of the Chinese Government a seventeen-point agreement was made between China and Tibet. In that agreement the suzerainty of China was accepted, as there was no alternative left to the Tibetans. But even in this, agreement, it was stated that Tibet would enjoy full autonomy. Though the control of External events were to be in the hands of the Chinese

Government, it was agreed, that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government, in the Tibetan religion, customs, and her internal administration."

It is abundantly clear, from this excerpt, from the statement of the Dalai Lama that Tibet had entered into this agreement with China, on duress, and that, China, had vouched not to interfere with the internal administration of Tibet. But the Chinese Government broke its promise and dishonoured the terms of the agreement, to which the government of China was a party. To quote Dalai Lama again, "In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese army, the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy, even in the internal matters; and the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs." In 1956 a Preparatory committee was set up for Tibet, with the Dalai Lama as the Chairman, the Panchan Lama as Vice Chairman, and general Chang-Kuo-Hua as the representative of the Chinese Government. In practice, even this body had little powers, and decisions in all important matters, were taken by the Chinese authorities.

This constant interference in the internal affairs, the violation of the pledge of autonomy, and the complete denial of the wishes of the people of Tibet, led ultimately, to the Tibetan rebellion against the Chinese authorities, on the 10th March '59. This rebellion has, from the very beginning, assumed a national character. The people of Tibet, have risen in revolt, against the foreign power which rules with the aid of the military.

There is hardly any doubt that without assistance from other countries, the people of Tibet will not be able

to hold out for long, against the armed strength of the Chinese Government. So, the fate of the present struggle of the people of Tibet, can easily be visualised. But it has raised certain fundamental issues, which need clarification. Claims have been advanced by the Chinese government, as well as, by those who defend its actions, that Tibet is and has been through, history a part of China. The press reports, that in the Second National people's Congress held in Peking, the delegates declared on the 25th April '59, that "Tibet would always be China's Tibet." Let us now make a historical appraisal of the Chinese claim.

The Tibetans were a very powerful people in the 7th century A. D. and their king Song-Tsan Gampo had invaded India and China. This dynasty came to an end in the 9th century. And Tibet became divided into small feudal estates. The institution of Lamaism made its appearance by the end of the 11th century A. D., and in the 13th century A. D. we find, that Kublai Khan who became a convert to Lamaism, had acknowledged the sovereignty of Tibet. During the Chinese mongol Yuan dynasty, Tibet was nominally included in the Chinese Empire, but it retained in practice, its independence. It was only in the 17th century, that the mongol Gusri, conquered Tibet and had organised a Lamaist state. As Gusri had acknowledged the sovereignty of the Manchu Kings of China, Tibet became a part of the Chinese Empire. At least, the Chinese Kings had argued thus. But the Tibetans had never accepted the suzerainty of China, over their country. Revolts followed one after the other, throughout the 18th century.

Revolts took place in 1719, 1723, 1728, 1730, 1745, 1776, 1778, and 1791. The superiority of the Chinese Imperial power of course managed to crush these rebellions. A Chinese military expedition, was sent to Tibet in 1910, soon after the revolution in China. But the Chinese occupationary forces were expelled in 1912. This, in short, is the history of Tibeto-Chinese relationship upto the 18th century, when China for the first time, conquered and occupied Tibet. It is therefore, totally false, to claim, that Tibet has been, always a part of China. Moreover the Dalai Lama in his statement pointed out very correctly that, "the Tibetan people are different from the Han people of China." Let us hope, that this resumé of the true history of Tibet, will, once and for all, scotch the falsification of history by the Stalinists throughout the world. If, the mere fact, of the military occupation of one country by another, for even a couple of centuries, gives the moral right to the maurading power, to claim the conquered country as a natural part of its own territory, then many a country in the world, including India, would have no claim to independent existence.

Another argument, which has been advanced by the defenders of the actions of the Chinese Government in Tibet, is that China is playing a progressive role, of great historical importance in Tibet, and those who are supporting the cause of the rebellious Tibetan people, are in fact defending the forces of Tibetan mediaevalism. This argument, which has the pretension, of appearing before us as champions of progress, is, in reality, a sly stalking-horse, to cover up the totalitarian

expansionism of the present Chinese government. It is known to every serious student of history, that the occupation of a backward country by the government of an advanced country, is bound to unleash the forces of social change, in the conquered country. But this is not the purposeful result of the conquest. It is but, the historical bye-product of the conquest. When England conquered India, it also had fulfilled a progressive role, historically speaking. When capitalistically advanced Japan, had conquered the backward feudal China, it also, had unleashed the forces of social revolution. But let me repeat again, that the imperialist powers do not conquer other countries with the intention of bringing about a social revolution. The social and economic transformation, is only a historical bye-product of their conscious plan of exploiting the economic resources of the subjugated countries. And be it noted, that even though, to serve its own interest, certain social and economic reformations are undertaken by the imperialist powers, yet after a certain level of economic development has been achieved, the foreign power is bound to put hindrance, to the normal growth of the economic forces brought into being by its own action. Moreover, the people of no country, should be asked to barter away its political freedom, for economic and social betterment. No country, even under the pretext of being the most progressive in the world, has a right to conquer another country and to keep its people in slavery. If superiority in social and economic sphere, justifies the political domination of one country by another, then India had no right to demand independence from British occupation,

Abysinia had no right to claim freedom from Italian fascist yoke, Algeria has no right to claim independence from French imperialist rule, and the people of Africa, have no right to demand self-government and independence from the various imperialist powers that have been plundering through centuries this great continent. Slavery can never be the price, that will be demanded of a nation, for its social and economic progress. Progress can not and should not be thrust on the people of a country, even if they are most backward, on the point of bayonet. Progress should be the result of co-operation, intelligent give and take between all the nations of the world, which have truly realised the inescapable interdependence, that links up all the nations.

We the people of India unreservedly support the people of Tibet, in their struggle against the forcible occupation of their country by the present Chinese regime. We condemn the Pancha-shila agreement on Tibet arrived at between Mr. Chou-En-Lai and Pandit Nehru. No body except the people of Tibet, has the right to decide the destiny, of their own country. Overpowered by the military strenght of the Chinese Government, the people of Tibet had no other alternative left, but of acquiescing to Chinese suzerainty. The whole world knows that Tibet is a victim of the military domination of the present Chinese government. Pandit Nehru knew all this and yet, in the name of Pancha-shila he allowed himself to be out manoeuvred by Chou En-Lai and to put his seal of approval, on the forcible occupation of Tibet by China. India could not have

possibly saved Tibet from the expansionist clutches of China, nor do we ever suggest any armed intervention in Tibet, directed against China. But surely the moral protest of the people of India and their government should have been lodged against China, before the public opinion of the world. But the Pancha-shila had made a very bad start. Its first appearance on the world stage, as a messenger of peace, was tragically marred by India's moral seal on China's aggression in Tibet.

We are whole-heartedly on the side of the Tibetan people and we unreservedly condemn China's aggression, and the sinister planned settlement, of the Chinese people in Western Tibet. Angry and histeric screams are being heard from China, screams that are raised to hide their own misdeeds. India can very well afford to ignore the angry vituperations of the guilty. The people of India and their Government have not the slightest intention for territorial expansion. Let the Government of China know that the falsification of history and their claim to represent progressivism in Tibet will fail miserably to cover up their aggression.