

Third Forum on Work in Tibet (1994)

Material to publicize the

THIRD FORUM ON WORK IN TIBET

A Golden Bridge to stride into the new century

Translation by Tibet Information Network

[p1] The Third Forum On Work in Tibet was held in Peking from 20th till 23rd July, 1994. This forum was called by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the State Council. Its task was to consider the stabilization and development of Tibet under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping's theory and the basic lines of the Party. It was to study and solve new problems, to clarify the guiding ideology to reinforce our works in Tibet, to speed up development, and to guarantee the stabilization in a more practical way, so that there will be a new appearance [p.aspect] of work in Tibet. The Central Committee of the Communist Party considered the stabilisation and development of Tibet from the high vantage point of the Party and the whole nation.

[p2] On the basis of summing up experiences and gaining a higher understanding, the guidelines and important policies on work in Tibet for a certain period in the future were clarified and settled well. The goal to develop our region from the end of this century up to the beginning of the next century, has been pointed out. At this Forum many important tactics on work in Tibet have been decided one by one and these will be the grounds for every level of our Party's cadres' work for a certain period in the future to improve the living standards of the people in our region. The Forum indeed is a Golden Bridge to achieve this. At present the main task of our whole region is to study and understand the spirit of the Forum so that we can reach a common understanding and a higher recognition [ie., deepen one's understanding of things]. Our goals must be clear and must be achieved. We must write and work hard. We must take on a new aspect and work hard to achieve the lofty goal of the Forum.

[p3] 1. Understand well the importance of work in Tibet from the Point of View of a High Standard All-round Strategy.

The work on Tibet holds an important strategy position amongst all the works of the Party and State.

Our country as a whole has 56 different nationalities, and from this political point of view, the Tibet Autonomous Region is an important area to realise the work of our State with the nationalities in our border areas. To work well in Tibet, and to enhance the solidarity between Tibetans and Chinese and other nationalities, has great significance in the unification of the whole of China's nationalities.

> From a strategy point of view, Tibet is on the roof of the world, and the Himalayan mountain range has formed a natural wall on the south-west and north-west side of our country. Tibet is one per cent of our whole country's size [p.?] and its border line is about four thousand kilometres which formed an important door for our country to communicate with south Asia, and is also an important front line to secure our country. It certainly has a special strategy position.

> From the economical point of view, Tibet still lacks development compared to other parts of our country. If we don't speed up the development of Tibet, then it will [p4] affect the stability of the Region, and will also affect the development of our whole country. The development of Tibet's economy will not only improve the living standards of the Tibetan people, it will also affect the developme at of the western part of our country, and will especially affect the whole country's development more than ever.

> From the point of view of international political conflict, since the Opium War, capitalism and imperialism have used Tibet to separate and divide China by supporting the separatists and hatching lots of plots against our country. The 1959 Rebellion and the escape of the Dalai was also supported by them. Since the ending of the cold war, the West, led by America, are continuously bringing forth t he "Tibet issue" as their best weapon to "Westernise China" and to "separate" China. They and the Dalai clique, supported by them, are a hidden danger [ie., a problem in people's thinking] faced by all the the people of our country. To defeat them is the concern of the security of our territorial integrity, national solidarity, security of the country and the stabilisation of the whole society. It is indeed an important political task.

[p5] The stabilisation, development and security of Tibet is closely linked with the whole country in every aspect. To pay special attention and special support to work in Tibet is in reality (the same as) paying special attention and giving support to our nationwide work. To be concerned about Tibet and to support Tibet is one of the policies of our Party and State that is practised successively, and it is also a general responsibility of our country's people of different nationalities.

2. Great achievements and historical experiences.

Since the 3rd Plenary of the 11th National Congress of the Party, the Central Party Committee has held two Forums on work in Tibet one after the other [p.1980 and 1984 - ed], and had decided on many special policies and tactics to develop Tibet. By developing Tibet's industrial and agricultural products, the backwardness of being left behind a closed door was changed considerably and trade and commu nication both outside and within our country developed, and improved the living standards of the majority of peasants and herdsman.

[p6] In 1993 the Region's output value was 3,650 mln (36.5 with hundred million as a unit) and the regional income was 156 mln (1.56). (check units)

[p7] Our experience in our work in Tibet proved that we must persevere in stabilisation and secure the unification of our country. Economic construction is the fundamental thing and by speeding up economic development, we must promote a long term stability and social improvement. We must persist in the people's democratic dictatorship, and puncture separatist activities and other crimes in respect to the law with great determination. We must be firm and unshakable to enhance the Party's leadership as the force at the core leading our cause forward, and persist with the two inseparable principles [p.Chinese and Tibetan mutual interdependence - ed). We must firmly rely on the peasants, herdsmen, workers, intellectuals and the vast masses of the people, including other working people. On this basis we must let the patriotic personage of different walks of life and nationalities play their positive role to build a united, prosperous and civilized socialist new Tibet.

At present, relatively speaking, the economic development in Tibet is still falling behind, and the living standard of the people is quite poor. Certain amounts of the population even up to now couldn't solve their livelihood problems.

The main basic structure of power plants and transportation couldn't fit the needs of economic development and there's a lack of electricity and transport facilities, culture and education are a bit backward, and television and radio broadcast facilities are not enough etc., are the problems we need to solve gradually.

3. The guiding ideology of the work in Tibet (is) to be done better than ever.

4. [p8] The strategy goal of Tibet's social economic development. (trans: One of the goals is) Basically reach above the poverty line so that the majority of the people could have an appropriate life.

[p9] The goal of economic field is to double the 1993 output value at the end of this century so that it will reach 0.5 hundred million as a unit] as our region's national output value.

[p10] Prime minister Li Peng said: "To speed up the development of Tibet is not only to balance the development of different areas, is not only an economic issue but also is a political issue in connection to our whole strategy." We must understand the important meaning of speeding up Tibet's development and must have the determination to accomplish this historical task.

[p11] 5. By paying great attention we must reinforce the basic situation in the field of agriculture and husbandry.

[p12] In the year 2000 the region's grain production must reach 10 [p.trans:hundred million unit] kilograms, rape production 5000 [p.trans:ten thousand unit] kilograms, agriculture and husbandry output value must reach 31.1 [p.trans:hundred million unit] yuan and the income of individual peasant and herdsmen must reach 1,200 yuan in average per annum.

"Fields be fixed for each household. Owned and cultivated by each household without alteration for a long term [p.time/in the long term?*]t, and "Fixing husbandry animals for each household to be owned and managed without alteration for a long term [p.time/without alteration in the long term?*" These policies of the Party in the agriculture and husbandry field must be persisted (with?) and practised. [p.We?*] Must continue to abolish tax on agriculture and husbandry. On the premise of land and pasture being under public ownership, people should be encouraged to open up wasteland and barren hills. "Whoever opens up wasteland has the right to cultivate and benefit from it. This will not change for a long term [p.time/change in the long term?*] and [p.the cultivator of the land?*) is allowed to inheritit." This policy also must be implemented.

(p13) [p.Telling people how to develop the agricultural and husbandry areas]

(p14,15,16) According to the Circular of the Office of the Central Party Committee and the State Council, the Party and the government departments and cadres of our region should fix the areas needed to support people in poverty and carry out this work well.

p17) Construct and manage well our region's characteristic main and subsidiary industries.

7. (p18,19,20,21) Make great efforts to develop tertiary industry.

8. ([p22) Develop properly the power plant, transportation and communication basic framework.

9. [p23,24] We must reform more thoroughly and Open the Door more widely.

10. [p24,25] Practise a strategy of relying on science and education to develop Tibet.

[p27,28] Through schools and occupations and also by inviting intellectuals we must build up with great effort contingents of scientists and technicians. These contingents must be enlarged and their scientific research must reach high standards.

[p29,30] The Tibetan classes opened in schools in the inner part of China accept on average 1,300 students per annum. Now this number should increase up to 2,000 per annum and speed up our region's education.

11. [p31] The struggle to secure stabilisation and to oppose separatism must be carried on thoroughly.

[p32] Instability is caused by the Dalai clique's mischiefs. In recent years the Dalai clique has done lots of separatist mischief by depending on those western enemies force to create the "Tibet issue" as an international problem. On the other hand they try hard to sabotage lots of things in Tibet and in other Tibetan areas. They recognised Lama reincarnations [p.Trulkus] without limit, and by controlling the Lama reincarnations they controlled the monasteries and a part of the masses. They recruit and bribe monks and

common people, even including some of our cadres, to be trained in foreign countries, and then send them back with special tasks. They also try in every possible way to get into our contingents, and prepare to overthrow the Communists by force. They have already caused a lot of disturbances, and they are still plotting to cause disturbances in agriculture and husbandry areas on a larger scale.

We must reveal and recognize Dalai's true colour. Since Dalai and the Dalai clique have rebelled against us and escaped, they have hung on to the hope of gaining Tibet's independence, and have become a separatist political clique. They have become a tool of those who are China's international enemies and have committed a lot of counter-revolutionary activities which do not conform to religious law and doctrine at all. What the Dalai is shouting about "Tibet independence, genuine autonomy and a Greater Tibetan area" are in fact opposing the Communist Party, disproving Socialism to overthrow the people's dictatorship. Their main aim is to separate our country, sabotage the solidarity of the nationalities so that they may recover their rule in Tibet. Although sometimes Dalai speaks softly and says nice things to deceive the masses, he has never ceased his separatist activities.

[p33] Even up to today he has never changed his standpoint to gain Tibet's independence. We must always have a clear view of Dalai and reveal his double-faced true colour as much as possible. The force at the fore to fight against separatism is to fight against the Dalai clique. As we say, to kill a serpent, we (...words missing) belief and Autonomous issue, it is a matter of securing the unity of our country and to oppose separatism. It is a matter of antagonistic contradiction with the enemy, and it is concentrated on the present class struggle in Tibet. It is the continuing struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism, the struggle against the invading force of the imperialism to separate China more than a hundred years ago.

We must save the achievements of the Land Reform and Reform Open Door [p.trans: policy?*. We must carry on the campaign to oppose the Dalai clique with enthusiasm. If the Dalai clique doesn't alter their stand point to separate our country, then there will never be any conciliation between us two, and we must continue our struggle against them with determination right up to [p.when?*.] [p.trans: we gain victory] we win.

Our guiding principle for the struggle against the Dalai clique is to persevere in Tibet being a part of China which cannot be separated and which must continue to be. This point of view must be clear against any other opponents. We must prepare for a long term struggle, but at the same time we must grasp well our present work in Tibet and with efficiency we must carry on our international struggle so that we may gain more international understanding to smash the Dalai clique to pieces.

The Central Committee's policy towards the Dalai is, if he admits Tibet is an inseparable part of China, if he gives up the hope for Tibet's independence, and if he ceases all his separatist activities, then we welcome him to return back from exile as soon as possible. [p34] But (he) must abandon the issue of independence, semi-independence and covert

act of independence. Any other issues can be discussed except this principle to secure our country's unification there's nothing to mention and must be fully admitted.?

To secure Tibet's stabilisation and to oppose separatism is closely linked with every aspect of our work, so that we must wholeheartedly work hard to develop our region's economy, so that we can stand firmly on our own strong base of strength. Any separatist activities and convictions must be continuously crushed, according to the law. We must heighten our vigilance, and watch out for those few who are legally holding a reactionary standpoint, and who are launching vengeful counter attacks and harming our cadres at grassroots. They must be struck down and punished severely.

The Tibetan people have the tradition to guard the solidarity of the nationalities and the unification of our country. Tibet's vast numbers of cadres and the masses are the strength and guarantee to secure unification and stabilisation. We have the correct leadership of the Party, Old the solid unchangeable support of the People's army and the Public security plus the garrison command. Whoever sabotages the solidarity of the nationalities and wants to separate, will be completely opposed by the Tibetan people and people of the whole country, and they will definitely be smashed [p.crushed?] and will become criminals of the most heinous [p.atrocious?] crimes.

12. By holding high the banner of patriotism, implement correctly and in an all-round way the policy on nationalities and religion.

[p.this section already translated as 69?(WJ)]

[p35] The Dalai clique who howl about "Large Tibetan area" and "High standard autonomy" are actually demanding independence, semi-independence and disguised independence. It has an essential difference with our nationalities autonomy.

[p36] As the trade and economy developed, and as we have built up a socialist market economy framework, [p.for?] Tibetans, within themselves, and with other nationalities, exchange and cooperation will become more than ever [p.exchange and co-operation between Tibetans themselves, and with/between other nationalities will happen more than ever/become more apparent? *]. The Tibetans with [p.alongside?] the Chinese or with other nationalities will help and rely on each other, and will improve together. This relationship of depending on one another and cannot be [p.not being?] separated from each other, will grow stronger every day. This is the general trend of improving the social economy and nationalities [p.trans:conditions?], and has [p.which has?] happened naturally and objectively which we must develop and welcome. [p.trans: I think they are trying to find a pretext for the Chinese to pour into Tibet]

Tibetan Buddhism was founded in a certain historical period in Tibet, and it has had a widespread and long-standing effect on the people. In our region's Socialist cause we consider it as an important issue to fully understand and solve this problem. Since the 3rd Plenary of the 11th Session of the Central Communist Party, the Central Communist Party and the People's Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region has reinforced the

leadership in the religious field and has made conspicuous achievements. At present the number of monasteries, monks and nuns in our region are sufficient to fulfill the needs of the daily religious practice of the masses. About this matter [p.trans:in this aspect?*] we must work patiently but should not leave it unchecked.

[p37] In the area of religion there are some obvious problems in our region at the moment, notably:

- 1) There are too many places where monasteries have been opened without permission from the authorities, and having too much religious activity. Some districts have built monasteries without limits and without permission. The waste of manpower, materials and money was tremendous.
- 2) The burden of the devotees was too much that even the production and the living standards of the masses have been badly affected.
- 3) There are problems [p.that have?*] arisen from religion, i.e. sometimes interfering in administration, law, education, marriages, birth control planning, people's productivity and their daily life. Some are even very serious. A number of religious institutions [p.trans: including places?*] have been used at times by a few people who harbor sinister motives to plot against us and have become counter-revolutionary bases.
- 4) Some monasteries have broken the State regulations and, doing as they please [p.rang-dgar], have accepted teenagers under the age of 18 to join them.
- 5) A few Party members were quite enthusiastic about participating in religious activities.
- 6) The teaching of Party policies among the monks and nuns were not sufficient, and law, in particular, has not been taught well. A certain amount of monasteries are situated in remote places where the teaching couldn't reach them.
- 7) The influence of our enemy in foreign countries, especially the Dalai clique, was slipping into the monasteries of our region more than ever. They assume that "to get hold of a monastery is the equivalent of [p.trans: getting hold of?*] a district of the Communist Party", and they are putting great effort [p.hope?*] into achieving it.

These matters mentioned above are seriously obstructing our region from being stabilized and developed. We must practice all-round the Party's and the State's religion policy thoroughly to solve these problems, and to secure stabilisation and to speed up economic development.

To build the primary organisations of the Party it must be focused in the agricultural and husbandry areas. We must build the Party branches as the force at the core in the village organizations, and the main task is to have a well-organised leadership in every branch of the Party, and to choose well the secretary of the branch. We should select a large amount of people with a clear view to fight against separatists, and to guard the unification of our

country, with the ability to lead the masses to march forward to achieve common prosperity. These people should be chosen into the leadership of our grass-roots organisations to form more effective primary level administration. We should improve the working conditions and living standards of cadres at grass-roots. Their salaries and benefits must be well implemented. If conditions exist, those village cadres can gradually transfer to become state cadres [p.trans: According to the Chinese administration system, their village cadres are not included in the category of the state cadre.] [p....]

A few administration [p.administrators?*] at primary levels have become weak and incompetent in politics and have problems in their organisation. A few are even badly influenced by religion and have been controlled by monasteries, so we must consolidate and solve the problems of these primary administrations in due course.

[p41] To develop Tibet we must educate and bring forth a large number of Tibetans and other nationality cadres, and promote those outstanding ones to leading posts in all administration levels. They must have both ability and political integrity, a communist consciousness, a Marxist nationality point of view and Marxist religion [p.religious?*] point of view. They must be determined to guard the unification of the country and nationalities, they should have some professional skills, but most of all they must be determined revolutionaries.

Text ([p86-87]):

[p42]

"In the 1950s a large number of soldiers and cadres of Chinese and other nationalities came to Tibet to work during the past few years. They worked with high political consciousness and a self-sacrificing spirit. They implemented the Central Communist Party's policies through overcoming all sorts of difficulties. They were well-disciplined and by respecting the Tibetan people's traditional customs and habits they had a good relationship with the masses, and made their contributions to the unification of the nationalities and to the development of Tibet. Not only should we continuously select and withdraw cadres according to the plans from the interior [p.rgyal nang wal] (but) those who have worked in Tibet for a long time and who are outstanding should be selected and used [p.or: promoted boldly). By dividing the task [p.among different parts - if gyal nang wa applies here) [p.different Provinces of China?] and by [p.specifying] different periods, we should continue to import Chinese and other nationalities to work in Tibet. We should recruit specially trained [p.or designated] students, former People's Armed Police troops and demobilized soldiers to be cadres. It does not matter which national (words missing) ship with the masses.

[p43] The fourth task of the Party Branch at grass-roots levels is to become the force at the core to build village administration organisations in a complete way. The democratic law at grass-roots level should be combined with the social security methods, and practice democratic supervision to obtain a democratic network system, so that peasants and herdsmen be encouraged to run their own families [p.support their own families?*].

Those Party Branches which proved to be weak and incompetent must be consolidated by their district higher authorities through organising special working groups to solve their problems.

[p44]

14. The Central Communist Party is concerned about Tibet, and the whole nation is supporting Tibet.

> From the point of all-round national economy and social development, from the point of uniting all nationalities in China more than ever, on this 3rd Forum, the Central Communist Party was very much concerned about Tibet's stabilisation and development, and decided to combine the great concern of the Central Communist Party's support of the Nation, together with Tibet's own efforts.

[p45] To celebrate the 30th anniversary of the TAR establishment, the Central Communist Party decided on a 62 item construction plan in Tibet which is valued at around 23.9 [p.hundred million unit] yuan. The following are amongst the items on the list: agriculture, irrigation 13 items. 24.8% of the total value; productive items 15-27.3 %; transportation and communication [p.media-event] items 7-9.1 %; industrial items 6-7.3%; social and city buildings items 21-31.4%. The State will bear 3/4 of the total value and other Provinces and Cities will share the rest of it.

[p46] Epilogue

According to the Fourth enlarged meeting of the Party Committee of TAR, to study and to implement the 3rd Forum, the Propaganda Bureau of the Party of TAR has organized this translation work to help citizens, peasants and herdsmen to understand its spirit.

... We have tried our best to translate it well and clearly, to implement both the spirit of the Central Committee's 3rd Forum and the Fourth enlarged meeting of TAR Party Committee... This is not only edited by the Minister of the TAR Party Propaganda Bureau but was also edited by Gao Chin Lung [p.Guo Jinlong], the vice secretary of TAR Party Committee.

The editor [p.Translation group]

20th September 1994.