

1953

Speeches/Documents

**Title:** Telegram to Tibet Work Committee

**Author:** Mao Zedong

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**Source:** A History of Modern Tibet, Volume 2: The Calm Before the Storm: 1951-1955, Volume 2 Melvyn C. Goldstein pg.433-434

**Description:** Mao and the Central Committee stepped in and decided in favor of the supremacy of the Dalai lama , they sent the following telegram to Lhasa

We agree with the Tibet Work Committee that Tibet should be united.

We received the telegram from the Tibet Work Committee on 8 October and the transmitted telegram from the Shigatse Branch on 15 September. The Central Committee thinks that the position of the Tibet Work Committee is correct. We hope you will work according to this principle.

The unity of the entire area under the united leadership of the Central People's Government (this refers to Front Tibet, Back Tibet, and the Ali area, and even includes the Chamdo area when conditions are ready), will help the development of Tibet. It will also be of benefit for the harmony of the entire Tibetan nationality. There will be difficulties in getting unified, so consequently we should advance stably and cautiously to realize this. You should not do things impetuously. It is good that the Shigatse Branch noticed this point [that there will be difficulties], but you should never take the step of first divide and later unify (ch. xian fen zhi, hou tong yi). If such a step is taken, it will do harm in the present and future. Consequently, the position of a unified Tibet autonomous region will be the unshakable policy

The unity of Tibetans within Tibet will depend on the unity of the Dalai lama and the Panchen lama. This is not only a point of view but is proved by the actual experiences of the past two years. However, when we unify the Dalai and the Panchen we mean that we are trying to create unity inside Tibet peacefully. On the one hand, to some extent we have to consider the progressiveness of the Panchen's side and take advantage of this progressiveness, but on the other hand, we must fully understand and consider the fact that the Dalai's status and influence is higher than the Panchen's not only in the region of Tibet but also among all ethnic Tibetans.

So for all policies concerning peacefully liberating Tibet and peacefully unifying Tibet and for all kinds of work after peacefully liberating Tibet, the chief task above all must be to win over the Dalai's group. We have to do absolutely everything that helps to accomplish that task (in this there are two sides, unifying and struggling, in which the struggling is for unifying, taking the principle of you li you li you jie [reasonable, beneficial, and stable], for example, the struggle against the People's Association). Anything that is not beneficial to realizing this task should be delayed or avoided (for example, temporarily not starting the Military-Administrative Committee and reorganizing the Tibetan army). Our work on the Panchen's side also must be concerned with and obey this main task. So on the Panchen's side, we shouldn't only do the unifying thing and not do the necessary criticism and struggle.

Winning over the Dalai's group is a long-term and complicated job. However, after winning over and educating and doing the necessary struggling and dividing internally, we must be certain to accomplish that goal [winning over the Dalai Lama]. Therefore, the principle of winning over the Dalai's group will be the unchangeable main task.

According to all kinds of specific issues such as the argument between the Panchen and the Dalai, et cetera, you may report to the Central Committee any time and ask for instructions on dealing with them.