

Dates of Meeting:

End October after 27-10-1953 They met fifty-nine times over a period of more than three months

Type of Meeting:

Tibet

Place of Meeting:

Beijing

Attendance:

Li Weihan chairs, Zhang Guohua and Wang Qimei from the Southwest Bureau and Fan Ming and Ya Hanzhang from the Northwest Bureau

Major Agenda Items:

Position of the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama [Telegram to Tibet Work Committee](#)

Speeches/Reports:**Other Decisions and/or Actions:**

- After several months of heated debate and argument Mao Zedong himself settled the issue by deciding that in Tibet the Dalai Lama was the superior and the Panchen Lama the subordinate. Mao demonstrated this visually by holding his forefinger and middle finger extended horizontally (with the remaining fingers in a fist) and saying the Dalai and Panchen are not like higher than the other). In other words, the Dalai Lama is on top of the Panchen Lama. So Chairman Mao settled that there would be a unified Tibet, with the Dalai Lama at the head.

Remarks:

1. From the beginning, the discussions were vitriolic, both sides expressing wildly divergent views about the problem of the relationship between the Dalai and Panchen lamas and how to treat their respective positions.
2. An important factor at the work conference was the view of Ya Hanzhang. He had been instructed by Li Weihan to investigate thoroughly the historical basis of the Panchen and Dalai lamas in Tibet, especially the relative authority of the Dalai Lama vis-a-vis the Panchen Lama. Although from the Northwest, Ya ended up supporting the contention of the Dalai Lama's government and the south west bureau.