

Political Aspects of China's Economic Policy in Tibet (1978-1991)

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PREFACE

Tibet is an autonomous region of People's Republic of China (PRC). Most of the people depend on agriculture and herding, but it was not improved manner. After, Democratic reforms in Tibet, PRC, took necessary steps for development of that region. PRC constructed roadway, railway and airway and made life easiest and convenient. Also it was helpful for development of industrial units. However, there is not any heavy industry as such, but there has been a mushrooming of small-scale industries, all of which are essential and favorable for development of tourism and other income sources.

Transport and communication are also the leading infrastructural facilities to development of trades and industries. PRC reformed educational system and the adoption of professional technical education of this region. So far the performance of TAR in most of the field have been considerably better than previous periods. So looking into the political aspect of China's economic policy in Tibet it may be concluded that China's economic policy in Tibet has been helpful for the development of the Tibetan people.

ABBREVIATION

P.R.C.- People's Republic of China

T.A.R.- Tibet Autonomous Region

P.L.A.- People's Liberation Army

C.P.C.- Chinese Parliamentary Congress

T.I.N.- Tibet Information Network

C.C.P.- Chinese Communist Party

T.V.- Television

U.N.D.P.- United Nations Development Programme

H.D.I.- Human Development Index

G.D.P.- Gross Domestic Product

G.N.P.- Gross Domestic Product

U.N.W.F.P.- United Nations World Development Programme.

INTRODUCTION

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is divided into 23 provinces, five autonomous regions, four municipalities directly under the central government, and two special administrative regions, featuring autonomy mainly by the Tibetan race.

1.1. Land Location and area

The Tibet Autonomous Region in South-West China forms the southwestern portion of the Qinghai-tibet plateau. It adjoins the Xinjiang-Uygur autonomous region and the provinces of Qinghai to the north, Sichuan to the east and Yunnan to the southeast, and the nations of Myanmar, India, Bhutan, and Nepal to the south and west along an international border of nearly 4,000 kilometers. The 1.22 million-square kilometer autonomous region accounts for 12.8 percent of China's total land areas.

1.2. Topography and Mountain Ranges

Averaging more than 4,000 meters in elevation. Tibet forms the main part of the Qinghi-Tibet plateau and is known as the "roof of the world". The area is divided into three distinct natural zones.

- The north Tibet plateau, which accounting for two thirds of the region in area, is surrounded by the Kunlun, Tangula, Kangdese, and Nyainqentangltha-mountains;
- The Tibet valley in the south, where the Yarlung Zangbo river and its tributaries flow;
- High mountains and deep valleys in the east, including part of the Hengduan Mountains which run east-west and then north-south.

The Himalayas are a group of mountain ranges running roughly parallel to one another in an east-west direction on the southern edge of the Tibet plateau along China's border with India and Nepal. The mountains run for 2,400 kilometers at a width of 200 to 300 kilometers and altitude averaging over 6,000 meters, Mount Qomolangma, the world's highest peak with an elevation of 8, 848.13 meters, rising abruptly on the Sino-Nepalese border mid way through the range. Four peaks each with an elevation of over 8,000

meters, and 38 peaks each over 7, 000 meters, can be found in more than 500 square kilometers surrounding Qomolangma.

1.3. Rivers and Lakes

More than 20 rivers with drainage area in excess of 10, 000 square kilometers and more than 2,000 square kilometers are found in Tibet. Best known are the Jinshajiang, Nujiang, Lancangjiang, and Yarlung, Zangbo rivers. Tibet has more rivers flowing into foreign countries than any other Chinese provinces, municipalities directly under the central government and autonomous regions. Great river of Asia that find their origin in Tibet includes the Ganges, Indus, Brahmaputra, Mekong, Salween, and Irrawaddy. These rivers for the most part arise from rains, melted ice and snow and underground water; hence their water is of excellent quality. The vast Tibet plateau is bejeweled with more than 1,500 large and small lakes. Most of these lakes are saline.

1.4. Administrative Division

The Tibet autonomous region is composed of one city and six prefectures, including one city directly under the regional government, 71 counties and county level city. Lhasa the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), is the political, economic, cultural and communication and transportation center for the entire region. It has a recorded history of more than 1,300 years, located on the northern bank in the middle reaches of Lhasa River.

Great changes have taken place to the city of Lhasa since Tibet's peaceful Liberation in 1951, and even more since China's implementation of the reform and opening policy in 1979. The urban areas has seen the construction of many new buildings combining traditional Tibetan and modern styles, such as the Lhasa hotel, the Tibet's people hall, the Tibet University, the Tibet Gymnasium, the regional people's hospital, the Lhasa cinema, the Potala palace square, the Tibet Library, the Tibet Museum and the Lhasa Children's center.

Infrastructure including transportation, telecommunication ground station have already been setup. A region wide highway network centering around Lhasa has been formed. In the urban area the roads are of asphalt and there is running water and a sewage system.

Lhasa has more than 200 sites known for their cultural relic. More than 20 of these have already been opened to tourism.

Nations and states are historical constructs and are always in the dynamic process of becoming and unbecoming.¹ When articulation of genuine demands and aspirations of a distinct socio-cultural group gets throttled in a country, socio friction is sure to flare up, ultimately ending up in the creation of a new nation. As long as the uniqueness of various ethnic societies is respected the imperative of a nation to stand united will get strengthened. The 20th century history is depleted with decolonialisation, socialist revolutions and people democratic movements. The targets of these movements, such as securing equality, justice and self-governance have rekindled hope and aspirations of the toiling masses spread across the third world countries. While a section of the bourgeoisie around the world chants the mantra of “globalization”. The semi feudal and semi-imperialistic nature of various countries has thrown multi cultural societies into virtual polarization.

Nationality struggle, therefore, essentially should have its care principle of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism. The emergence of nationality in the western European could be traced to the rise of bourgeoisie and the coming of capitalism by breaking the shackles of feudalism. In its greed to expand market, capitalism tended to over stretch its territory by grabbing third world markets and colluding with the semi feudal institutions in those economies. Hence the need for centrality of role to be provided to anti-imperialism and anti-feudal struggles in any nationality questions. China had demonstrated this consistently in its endeavour to establish democratic socialism. In fact, Mao-se-Tung put class struggle in the forefront of proletarian national movement.

1.5. Contextualizing the Political Economic Development of Tibet

Contextualizing the development of the political economy in Tibet drawing on the experiences from world over is dangerously fraught with difficulties in view of its complex nature. Peculiar economic characteristics and distinct socio-cultural patterns produce ruptures in the form of ethnic conflict. The origin of Tibet’s ethnic conflict vis-à-vis the Chinese Han could be traced back to the distinct nature of type of economic systems each operated. Traditionally Tibetans were engaged in herding and the Han population was involved in farming. This triggered a violent clash of completion for

¹ Mohanty, M. *Resounding symphony of freedom, in symphony of freedom*, Hyderabad, 1996, p.iv

land in the contemporary China. While the former still has a segment of pastoral population the latter has quite drastically transformed from being an agrarian economy to an industrializing one. Competition for land, essentially, is now could be seen in garb of ethnic conflict since the area of conflict has transgressed to socio-cultural arena.

1.6. Historical Models on Nationality Issue

Hence to provide a framework of political economy of development in Tibet, one needs to look into the historical theoretical literature on the models of national development. There are predominantly two accepted theoretical positions-the “diffusion model of National development” against the alternative model of “Internal Colonialism”. It must be emphasized here that both models of National development were evolved in the wake of “industrialization”.

1.6.1. Diffusion Model of National Development

According to the diffusion model, the integration of the core and periphery takes place in three stages. In stage one, which typically is a pre-industrial age, core and periphery lie in virtual isolation from one another. This is marked by sharp differences in their economic, cultural and political institutions. In stage two, the socio-cultural integration of the core periphery gets strengthened with the onset of industrialization. In the third stage, socio-cultural differences cease to exist and political process occurs within a framework of national parties, ensuring a fair representation to all ethnic groups. This model therefore, assumes that sustained and intensified mutual contact, say by rapid industrialization, could bring in harmony among the warring factions, “but interaction per se is seen to be insufficient condition for the realization of national development. Much emphasis is placed on the power of the central government to coax or coerce the recalcitrant collectivity into acceptance of the core culture. This is best done by the manipulation of cultural symbols and values, especially through the use of communications media.”²

Defining the essential features, the structural diffusion theory lists the ‘modern’ social organization of the core as follows: (i) wide division of labour, (ii) capital intensive production, (iii) high per capita income, (iv) rapid and high urbanization, (v) traditional values and norms etc. By virtue of being modern and progressive, the core attempts to

² Michael, Hechter, *International Colonialism*, London, 1975, p. 23.

fuse cultural integration and national integration ultimately, preceded by economic integration of the periphery. But the periphery persists with relative economic backwardness, despite the core's efforts. The peripheral's oppressive socio-cultural institutions are blamed for its persistent economic backwardness. But the theory is optimistic that acculturation takes place leading to national integration subsequently.

1.6.2. Model of Internal Colonialism

The model of internal colonialism posits a diametrically opposite relationship between the core and periphery. Accordingly, latter is exploited economically and dominated politically by the former. The uneven industrialization triggers off relatively an affluently and a back ward society and region. This process brings with it an unequal distribution of resources and power between these sections. All major economic policies are formulated in the core and imposed on the periphery. Therefore the core marches ahead with a relatively superior accumulation of wealth than the periphery. However the, core's penetration of cultural institution erodes it. The intensification of the penetration is profound in the 20th century due to the emergence of institutions such as media-news paper and television, mass literacy, establishment of National School System, etc. In spite of such a profound influence by the institution of the core, the persistence of peripheral culture suggests a pattern of resistance to assimilation, a resistance to virile that powerful behavioral management techniques cannot overcome it.³

Internal colonialism seems to be exhibit the following characteristics:

- (i) The core retains the monopoly of commerce trade and credit over its periphery.
- (ii) Bankers, Managers, and entrepreneurs receive the plump postings from the core.
- (iii) The periphery thus compliments the core in the development efforts and finally pushed being dependent on external markets.

A comparison of both the model suggests that while regional economic disparities tend to narrow down in the case of diffusion model, but for the internal colonial model it tends to persist or widen in the process of development. Secondly, the former predicts acculturation of periphery and in the case of latter the periphery asserts its cultural,

³ Ibid, p.28

supremacy over the core. Finally the diffusion model predicts that political behaviour in all regions of the country is characterized by political cleavages whereas the internal colonial model states that cultural heterogeneity will largely influence political cleavages. Against this background, what actually force the latter to seek a separate nation from the core are the socio-cultural differences. By asserting its cultural identity as equal or superior, the periphery declares secession from the core theory by arresting the process of 'civilization' of the Tibet periphery.

1.6.3. Assimilation or Integration?

In this regard, perceptions similar to the one above with a different name are the concepts of integration and assimilation. Assimilation, in the Chinese context, would denote to the process of minority nationalities coming under the profound socio-cultural influence of the Han majority. Integration on the other hand would not witness cessation of distinctiveness of minority nationalities, as Tibetans continuously attempt to maintain their uniqueness of their socio-cultural institution. Dreyer states that (1976) assimilation would happen when minority nationalities acquire Han Characteristics "to the exclusion of their own and become indistinguishable' from the majority Han community. While integration according to Dreyer would mean' the process where by ethnic groups come to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new center.⁴

Tibetan perceive that they are made to be dependent on the Chinese as all policies relating to their development are being made in the latter. Chinese are blamed for their dominating influence on Tibet's socio-cultural and economic institutions as traditional and backward. For instance enforcement of collective forms of economic and social organization on other nationalities during the Cultural Revolution is cited as being dominant form of influence.

An Introduction to the Socio-Economic Condition of Tibet

The economic development of a country mostly depends on its infrastructural facilities and its internal and external political conditions. Without proper infrastructure and political stability the economic development is nearly impossible. Country, which is *availed* good infrastructural facilities, that country has developed. So creating infrastructural facilities is very important. Infastructural facilities includes, transport, communication. Education, marketing, security, etc.

⁴ Dreyer, J.T, *China's Forty Millions*, Cambridge 1976, p.1.

Researcher proposes to study “political aspects of China’s economic policy in Tibet –1978-1991. In this topic study on role of PRC for the development of Tibet’s economy. Tibet is an autonomous region of PRC. Before the Chinese occupation of 1951, Tibet was theocratic state. The people of Tibet were fully devoted in Buddhism. So that is also one of the causes of backwardness of that region because they did not believe on material world.

Earlier that area was very backward; after peaceful liberation in 1951, that area was PRC’s autonomous region in 1959. So, though that area was full of natural resources, still that area was economically backward.

In the on going research work, the researcher proposed to study the steps taken by the People’s Republic of China (PRC) for the development of Tibet. What is the role of PRC in the infrastructural and the economy development. The study also suggested the best possible way to overcome the obstacle of economic development at the end of the work.

The study also highlighted the contribution of PRC and international community for all the development of Tibet. The role of international organizations, especially of media and its impact on the political-economic development. The researcher also will look at the other aspects of development like trade and commerce, education, health, transport and communication etc.

In old Tibet there was no transportation in its true sense, forcing Tibetan to rely on human and animal power in transport. Under the discouraging situation entering or leaving Tibet was likened to climbing up a ladder leading up to the skies, and it took 6 to 12 months to take a return trip from Xining in Qinghai or Yunnan in Sichun to Lhasa. In the 1950s the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) men and local people surmounted great difficulties to build the Qinghai Tibet and Sichuan Tibet high way. Most of the road in Tibet are built in 1951 to 1970. From 1978 to 1991, People Republic of China constructed some roads but less than earlier period.

The TAR is still not accessible by rail in the 1950s state department concerned began making preparations for construction of railway into the region. In the early 1980s a railway was built from Xining capital of Qinghai province in the east, to Nanshan in Golmud in the west as the first part of an intended Qinghai-Tibet Railway.

Aviation developed apace in the Tibet Autonomous Region. In 1956, the PLA Air force defied the “forbidden zone in the air” to open the air route from Lhasa to

Beijing, Chengdu, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chongqing and Xi'an as well as an international air route from Lhasa to Kathmandu.

Modern postal service did not appear in Tibet until the early 20th century. In 1910, the Lhasa office of the Qing postal Bureau was set up. In 1925 the local government of Tibet set up post office. In the meantime, cable and wire phone services were opened from Lhasa to Gyangze, mail was delivered mainly on horseback. Now a days the TAR has formed it trunk transmission network composed of optical fiber cables and satellite ground reception station that cover the whole region and telecommunication network composed of program controlled exchanges, communication satellites, digital communications, mobile phone communications and other advanced means.

As China deepens the reform of its foreign trade system, Tibet has also step by step established an operating mechanism for foreign trade that is compatible with current international norms. State owned enter prizes engaged in foreign trade are being reformed to meet the demands of the modern business system. They are being transformed from the implementers of state plan to the managers of commodity export/import. Producer and distributors meeting appropriate conditions have been given the power to do business with other countries.

For the development of business, the government of the Tibet autonomous region welcomes foreign investment in energy, transportation, electro-mechanics, commerce, foodstuffs and aquaculture processing, tourism, and in the development of agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. Foreign investor may establish wholly-foreign owned enterprises and joint ventures or join in economic and technological cooperation. The regional government also encourages individual entrepreneurs and private enterprises to start-foreign joint ventures and Sino-Foreign joint ventures and Sino-foreign cooperative enterprises and joins in reciprocal border trade and compensation trade where in the foreign partner supplies materials for processing, supplies, a sample to be copied in processing, or supplies parts for assembly.

When the reform and opening policy was introduced throughout China in 1978, the regional government determined a guiding principles of promoting the development of all sectors by boosting the four mainstay industries of electric, power, mining, light industry and textiles, and ethnic handicrafts.

Agriculture has dominated the Tibetan economy for a long period and has and produced a variety of crops. Before Tibet's peaceful liberation in 1951, the long-

standing serf system severely impeded Tibetan productivity and the production mode remained quite backward. After Tibet's democratic reform in 1959, it launched a large scale campaign in capital construction on farmland, building irrigation works, improving soil conditions, spreading new farm tools and breeding new varieties of crops, improved the farming system and promoted the result of science and technology, the result was rapid development of agriculture.

Tibet's livestock husbandry enjoys a history of several thousands years. But its primitive, rough and simple operating style featuring herds men moving about in search of pasture land had not changed until the end of the 1950s. In the past 30years, local herdsmen led by governments at all levels in Tibet have launched large scale campaign to protect pasture, improve livestock breeds, and prevent and cure epidemic diseases of live stock. In the mean time, efforts have also been made to enclose pastureland, divert water to irrigate grassland, and herd livestock in rotation in different seasons. The result has been the rapid development of animal husbandry.

In 1984, the central Government held the National Conference on work in Tibet, with a special focus on educational matters in the region. It was decided during the conference that teaching in schools in the region should be based on Tibetan language and teaching content should be adapted to Tibetan economic and cultural developments. It also decided that three Tibetan middle schools and 16 Tibetan classes would be established in 19 others provinces and municipalities directly under the central government. Tibetan culture is part of the treasure of the Chinese culture. Merged with the religious culture, it boasts numerous folk stories probing the mysteries of the great nature or lauding things good and beautiful or repudiating evil things.

There were only two small scales, simply-equipped government operated medical institution in old Tibet, and they were both located in Lhasa. Today a medical care network is beginning to take shape throughout the length and breadth of Tibet.

The Tibet autonomous region has formed a modern financial system; in which, the people's Bank of China, is the leader the agricultural Bank of China and the Construction Bank of China are the mainstays and other financial institution play their own specialized role. In the whole region, there are about 700 financial institutions at various levels, and four insurance companies. It provides 46 types of insurance services.

In society, media plays an important role in promoting awareness and social change; which was absent in Tibet for quite longtime. In 1953, the PLA set up Tibet's first wired broadcast station in Lhasa. But in 1978 central government succeeded in

showing black and white Television (TV) programmes on trials in Tibet. Media includes, T.V, Radio, Newspapers, Magazines, Websites etc.

Protecting the eco-environment for sustainable development Tibet autonomous region had taken proper step. In the Tibet autonomous region, the air is fresh and transparent, and the environment as a whole remains high in quality. Water resources in the Tibet plateau account for 16.53 percent of the national total, providing sources for several major rivers in Asia-Environment protection department monitor these resources annually.⁵

1.7. Tibet Modernization

The democratic reform in 1959 in Tibet paved the way for its modernization drive. In consideration of the region's special conditions the 17-Article agreement drawn up after Tibet's peaceful liberation in 1951 affirmed the necessity for reforms to its social system, but adopted a cautious attitude towards their implementation. It stipulates, "The local government of Tibet should carryout reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled through consultation with the leading personnel in Tibet."⁶ But Tibet's ruling upper class clique opposed reforms for a long time and neither shall their be reforms", its aim being to maintain feudal serfdom in perpetuity. When confronted with the people's demands for democratic reform, they were unmoved, and colluded with anti-China forces abroad. To safeguard the unity of the country and the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people, the central government, together with the Tibetan people, took decisive measures to suppress the rebellion and conducted democratic reform.

Reform and opening up have added vitality to Tibet's modernization drive. In the 1980's Tibet, like other parts of the country, launched an upsurge in reform, opening up and modernization. In order to promote Tibet's development the central government worked out a series of preferential policies to help Tibet's economic development. These included "allocation of land to households, their independent operation, and maintenance of the statues quo for an extended period".⁷ These policies helped to promote Tibet's economic restructuring and opening-up to the outside world. Starting in 1984, the central government and nine provinces invested in 43 aid-Tibet projects.

⁵ Zengwen Zhong, *China's Tibet*, China International Continental Press, 2001, p.35.

⁶ *New Aid-Tibet Project*, New star publishers, Beijing, 2002, p.18.

⁷ *PRC's Report, New Aid-Tibet Procect*, New Star Publishers, Beijing, 2002, p.21.

Implementation of the policy of reform and opening-up and support from the central government enhanced Tibet's, industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and its tertiary industry, which mainly consists of commerce, catering and tourism. This raised the over all level of Tibet's industry, and the commercialization of its economic activities. Tibet's economic and social development has subsequently scaled new heights.

1.8. Tibet Work Forums

Deep concern for Tibet and its people has been a consistent aspect of three generations of the central collective leadership. In the early days of the People's Republic Chairman Mao Zedong gave the order, "Tibet must be liberated as soon as possible", and that the work of Tibet should be advanced continuously and steadily".⁸ Through out the period covering Tibet's peaceful liberation, suppression of the revolt by the upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet, Tibet's democratic reform, and socialist revolution, Mao made many other wise and constructive decisions.

During a meeting with the then American president Jimmy Carter in 1987, Deng Xiaoping made the famous observation: "the criteria for assessing the ethnic policy in Tibet is to see if its people benefit, and if Tibet can grow rapidly and join the fore rank in China's for modernization construction."⁹ He continued by saying that as Tibet is a vast, thinly populated region it is difficult for the Tibetan people to carryout this construction alone. He pointed out that the Tibetan people had nothing to lose by accepting help from the Han people. When referring to China's ethnic policy, Deng said that the number of Han people living in an ethnic minority areas was not an important fact that whether their presence would benefit the development of the local society and improvement of the local people's living standards. In accordance with Mr. Deng Xiaopang's instructions on Tibet's opening up and reform, and the speeding up of Tibet's development, the CPC central committee held two forums on the work in Tibet in 1980 and 1984. In these the basic policies on the development of Tibet's agriculture and animal husbandry were adopted, and 43 aid-Tibet projects were agreed.

The third generation of the central leadership with president Jiang Zemin at advancing the work in Tibet. Soon after president Jiang Zemin took office in October

⁸ Ibid p.97.

⁹ Ibid p.98.

1989 he presided over a meeting of the standing committee of the political bureau of the CPC central committee that discussed the work to be done in Tibet. The meeting's summary was later distributed throughout China. In July 1990 president Jiang Zemin made an inspection tour of Tibet, and formulated a series of key instructions that served as guide lines for the work in the region.

1.8.1. The First Forum on the Work in Tibet

On March 14th and 15th, 1980, the CPC Central Committee held the first forum on the work in Tibet, and on April, 7th, issued its notice regarding transmission of the summary of the first forum on the work in Tibet.

According to the notice, the central task and target of TAR is to develop the local economy, improve local people's living standards and cultural and scientific level, develop the frontier, solidify national defense, and realize prosperity in the region, step by step in a planned way. These goals should be achieved through the efforts of the Tibetan people and cadres, and by strengthening the solidarity of various ethnic groups, bringing ever-positive factor into play while maintaining a realistic attitude. The notice also raised for the first time the CPC Central Committees' strategic goal of building a united, affluent, civilized and socialist Tibet, which aroused the enthusiasm of cadres and masses committed to the recovery and growth of Tibet's economy.

The meeting decided to apply a special policy to Tibet in the light of its particular circumstances. So as to allow local farmers and herdsmen the chance to recuperate. After the meeting the CPC central committee increased aid to Tibet in accordance with the region's specific conditions and the national economic situation. The state annual average subsidy to Tibet subsequently rose to 496 million Yuan.¹⁰ Various special allocations amounted to 90 million Yuan,¹¹ and special construction investment reached 262.2 million Yuan. The state practices various preferential policies in Tibet; farmland is contracted out to farmers for extended periods, and they have full say as to their production and management; livestock are distributed to herdsmen, who own and raise the animals, making their own management decisions; and no tax is levied on the productive and managerial activities of farmers and herdsmen in Tibet. Tibet's opening-up policies is more preferential than in other parts of China, in so far as the region retains all foreign exchange income generated from exports, and can self imported general commodities inland.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 100.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 100.

Aid and preferential policies on the part of the central government have resulted in Tibet establishing a batch of unprecedented modern industries and infrastructures laying sound foundations for its modernization construction.

1.8.2. The Second Forum on the Work in Tibet

In February 1984, the second forum on the work in Tibet convened, marking commencement of a nationwide aid-Tibet campaign.

The meeting summed up the experience of work in Tibet, reviewed policies and guidelines current in Tibet, and discussed matter such as further relaxing of policies. Spurring of Tibet's' economy, and how to enrich the lives of the Tibetan people as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the central government required of the Nine Provinces and municipalities: Beijing, Shandong, Sichuan Guangdong, Tianjan, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian and Shandong, and the relevant departments: the ministry of water and electricity, the ministry of agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishery, and the state building materials bureau that they help Tibet build 43 urgently needed medium and small-sized projects. These included power stations, hotels, schools, hospitals, cultural centers and industrial enterprises. A total of 19,000 people from the nine provinces and municipalities worked on these projects, and completed them in just over one year.

A total investment of 480 million Yuan¹², these projects involved ten sectors, and a floorage of 236,000square meters. The aiding parties took on the whole range of work, including design, construction equipment installation and training of managerial personnel. The 43 projects were ready to go into operation immediately upon transference to Tibet, and basically met the region's economic and social demands in the 1980s, particularly of its tourism sector. They were helped as the 43 pearls of plateau. Among them were the Lhasa Hotel, The People Hall of Tibet, and the Tibet Gymnasium.

With the help and assistance of so many inland provinces and municipalities, Tibet now has tangible development opportunities. New problem relating to the unique history, geography and environment of Tibet, have however, emerged and are restricting its progress. The fourth forum on the work in Tibet sought solutions to these problems.

Funding

¹² Ibid, p.101.

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet over 50 years ago, the central government has paid out 20 billion Yuan or so in subsidies towards Tibet's development. From 1979 to 1986, the central government provided 5.9 billion Yuan special subsidies to Tibet. At present, it gives Tibet 1 billion Yuan in financial subsidy each year, the highest in the country.¹³

1.9. Regional National Autonomy

In accordance with the Chinese constitution, Tibet follows the system of regional national autonomy. This is a system under which certain ethnic minority areas, under the unified leadership of the central government, set up organs of the Tibet Autonomous Regions are the people's congress and the people government of the Tibet Autonomous Region, their chief leaders being Tibetan. Acting in accordance with the local political, economic and cultural situation, the Tibet Autonomous region has the power to formulate its own rules and regulations, make independent arrangement for the development of local natural resources independently arrange and use local financial revenues and financial allocations from the central government, and independently decide on the development of ethnic education, and literary endeavors, art, press, publications, radio broadcasting, T.V. and other cultural undertakings with salient ethnic characteristics.

The Chinese constitution promulgated in 1982 reaffirms some of the major principles on the enforcement of regional national autonomy laid down in the 1954 constitution, and stipulates in explicit terms; "Among the chairman and vice-chairman of the standing committee of the people's congress of an autonomous region prefecture or county there shall be one or more citizens of the ethnic minority or minorities exercising regional autonomy in the area concerned".¹⁴

According to the Chinese constitution, among the deputies to the people's congress of an autonomous region, prefecture or county, in addition to those of the ethnic minority/minorities exercising regional autonomy, there should also be a certain number of deputies of other ethnic groups who live in the area concerned. The Chinese Constitution also stipulates that the state will assist, financially, materially, and technologically various ethnic minorities in developing economic and cultural undertaking, and energetically cultivate cadres, especially various kinds of professionals

¹³ Ibid, p.39.

¹⁴ Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet facts & figure*, new star publishers, 2002, p.34.

and technical workers. The law of the peoples Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy promulgated in 1984 is a national law next only to the constitution in terms of importance in the exercise of regional national autonomy.

On April 18, 1981, the fifth session of the standing committee of the third people's congress of the Tibet Autonomous region adopted the Modified Regulation of the Tibet Autonomous Region for the implementation of the marriage law of the People's Republic of China. Taking into consideration the fact that the Tibetans had developed the polyandry and polygamy is abolished. At the same time upheld the basic principles of free marriage and monogamy.

In order that the broad masses of the Tibetan women enjoy equal rights and interest with men. The Tibet autonomous region have worked out more than 10 kinds of rules and regulations gear to protecting the legal rights and interests of women according to the law.

1.10. Political Priorities

The two main strands of Beijing's Tibet policy continued to be economic development and social stability, aimed at increasing central control by pursuing a policy of greater assimilation of Tibet into a unified Chinese state. The planned economic development and modernization will further integrate Tibet into the Chinese economy, which also providing greater cultural assimilation as a result of increasing migration and the importation of the people, ideals and models from China. According to a former TAR party official, now in exile, the authorities are also attempting to offer a 'carrot' to Tibetans. "The back ground of the economic policy is new stage in the fight against the Dalia Lama and hostile Western forces."¹⁵ The former official said "The authorities aim to improve living standards to win the hearts of Tibetan people, so that they would not depend on the spiritual influence of the Dalia Lama."

1.10.1. Design of the Amendments:

China has made significant revision to its law on "national minorities" in order to bring it into line with new policies to accelerate economic development in the western regions of China. Including the Tibet Autonomous Region and Tibetan areas in the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunan, and Gonsu. Chinese president Jiang

¹⁵ *PRC's Report Policies and Development*-Tin News update, July-2001, p.11.

Zemin sign an order to amend the 1984 regional national autonomy law (here after Autonomy law) at China's National Peoples Congress on 28 February according to a Zinhua report.¹⁶ The revised Autonomy Law has 74 articles, while the original law had 67 articles, much remains unchanged, and some amendments are for the purpose of updating or consistency with other laws. However there are extensive amendments that focus on the development of autonomous regions according to the party's political and economic priorities, and the further integration of these areas into the rest of China.

In 1984 Autonomy Law focused on the structure, administration and exercise of nationality autonomy, with at least the superficial purpose of taking into account the right of minority nationality populations to retain some control over their local affairs and protect local economic interest. Xin Hua, the official Chinese news agency, state that, the 1984 Autonomy Law focuses on education (previously, the law referred to compulsory primary education). The cost is to be met by the local administration- however it is unlikely that local government in poor areas will be able to afford this, and increasing taxation to pay for it would be very unpopular. The law does provide that where the local administration is "experiencing difficulties", the upper level administration should provide subsidies. In addition, according to new article 71, the state shall increase investment in education in national autonomous areas. A further addition to article 37 requires local governments to "train specialized personnel from among the national minority areas", if implemented, this is likely to enhance the employment prospects of local people, whether with state-controlled projects or otherwise. New obligations are placed on peoples government and school to assist minority students from households in economic difficulties to complete their education. This state is also now obliged by Article 71 to assist national autonomous areas in teacher training. It is also to organize and encourage teachers, evidently from eastern China, "to go to national autonomous areas and engage in educational work, and to give them appropriate preferential remuneration." "The economic system and the support and help that state organs at higher levels offer to localities under ethnic autonomy." Their aim is to solve "Some practical problems in the economic and social development in localities under ethnic autonomy, so as to accelerate the economic and social development in ethnic regions and promote national solidarity." Article 62 of the amendment law itself refers to the purpose of increased investment as "to speed up economic development

¹⁶ Ibid, p.17

and social progress in national autonomous areas, so as to gradually reduce the gap with developed areas.”¹⁷

1.10.2. Amendment of Education Policy

Changes have been made to the provisions on the education system and its funding in national minority areas. Article 37 now states that local governments of autonomous areas are to set up “public primary schools and secondary schools, mainly boarding schools and school providing subsidies, in pastoral areas, underdeveloped areas, and sparsely populated mountainous areas inhabited by minority nationalities, to guarantee that students can complete the compulsory stage of their education”.¹⁸ The proceeding clause now requires autonomous area governments to spread nine year compulsory. Further amendment to article 37 bring forward the introduction of classes for the teaching of Chinese to the first year senior grade primary school. The classes are to popularize Putonghua, the common national speech, and to popularize standard Han Characters. An obligation has been added for governments at all level to give financial support for minority language teaching materials and translating and editing publications.

1.10.3. Amendment of Family Planning

Article 44 previously specified that local governments, “shall, in the light of local conditions, work out measures for family planning”. The amendment laws adds a stipulation that “National autonomous areas shall implement family planning and raise high quality offspring, in order to raise the quality of the population of all nationalities.” Expression of these type of concerns here is indicative of a tightening up of the less stringent birth control policies.

The law on regional national autonomy is, as is all Chinese legislation, subject to the Chinese constitution, and it could not grant any rights or freedoms to national autonomous areas that would be inconsistent with constitution. In addition, there may be practical impediments to the exercise of autonomy. One Tibetan former official now living in exile told TIN, “The law bestows upon nationalities various regional autonomy rights and lays down principles by which to govern, but autonomous government have often been held back by senior administrative departments with their own administrative

¹⁷ Ibid. p.18

¹⁸ Ibid. p.18

laws and regulations. So that in practice there has been no guarantee for autonomous rights”.¹⁹

Nonetheless, the main focus of the 1984 law was positive in defining structure and administration, that is the means through which regional nationality autonomy would be exercised. The changes that have now been made to the law on Regional National Autonomy do not relate to the means of exercising of autonomy. Rather, the amendments serve largely to extend the scope for involvement and control. Through economic means by central authorities. It appears that the system Regional National Autonomy is viewed not as a means of defining the extent of delegation of powers and the protection of minority rights. But as a means of exercising central control and implementing centrally defined policies in the outlying regions. At the forum on the study, propaganda and implementation of the Regional Autonomy Law, Li Peng said the revised law “ensures the right of all minority ethnic groups to be the master of their own fate independently develop their economic and social causes”.²⁰ The extent to which these amendments enshrine in law increased central involvement and control in autonomous areas is in flat contradiction to his statement.

1.11. Economic Development.

The economy and transportation in old Tibet were very backward. There was no modern industry, only animal husbandry and a little agriculture and handicrafts. After the democratic reform in 1959, economic construction quickened, particularly after the implementation of the reform and opening policy in 1979, not only the modern industries and transportation and telecommunication facilities established; but also agriculture, animal husbandry and commerce already in place developed rapidly. “The gross domestic product of per capita hit 471 Yuan in 1980 and 1358 Yuan in 1991. With both agriculture and industry, increased production. Total revenue in 1980 was 541.31 million Yuan and 1396.94 million Yuan in 1991. Total revenue in this period has increased 158.06 percent. But investment also increased 221.9 percent. In this period Government invested heavy amount for reform of industries and agriculture sector. In 1980, industrial and agricultural sector make 16.15 percent profit but in 1991 expenditure was more than income, because of modernization, they invested lots of amount. Farmers and herders netted an average income 274 Yuan in 1980 and 617 in

¹⁹ *Report from Tibet*, TIN News Review, No.30, , 2001, p.20.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p.21.

1991.”²¹ Grain production hit 504.97 thousand ton in 1980 and 608.28 thousands ton in 1991. In this period agriculture production (grain) increased 20.45 percent.

1.11.1. Economic Policies

Since the early 1950s the state has been giving special support to Tibetan economic development. It has allocated large amount of financial subsidies, subsidized special projects and invested in key construction projects. It has also sent a large amount of material aid to Tibet.

Since the beginning of the 1980s such a special aid has been increasing every year. The central government has allocated 1 billion Yuan financial subsidies to Tibet every year.²² It has also arranged for state departments and other provinces, municipalities directly under the central government, and autonomous region to give Tibet manpower, material, financial and technological aid, in an attempt to bolster the Tibetan economy and improve the people’s livelihood.

Since 1980s, the state has directed a looser policy towards farmers and herdsmen in Tibet allowing them to cultivate their own economic growth. Land was distributed to the households for independent management, a policy that would remain unchanged for the extended future. Livestock were also raised by the household as private ownership, and this is a long-term policy. Farmers and herdsmen are exempted from taxes on farming and animal husbandry. Collective enterprises and individually run industrial and commercial enterprises producing daily necessities for Tibetans are exempt from industrial and commercial consolidated taxes. Farmers and herdsmen and collective enterprises that sell or swap, agricultural, animal husbandry, and side life products or animal husbandry, and sideline products or handicraft are all exempted from taxes.

In the future the state will continue to implement preferential policies in Tibet regards finance, taxes, investment, price subsidies, foreign trade, enterprises reform, agriculture and rural programs. The central government’s policy for the fiscal subsidization of Tibet takes two forms.

First, starting from a decided base quantity subsidies will increase progressively by set amounts. Additional aid will be allocated for special projects.

²¹ Guozhen, Wang., *Chinas Tibet, facts and figures*, Newstar Publishers, Beijing; 2002, p.47.

²² Zangwen, Zhong, *China’s Tibet*, China International Press, 2001, p.36.

Second, taxation will be consistent, changing as appropriate to adopt the circumstances, but remaining light and simple in form. The state in particular supports large and medium scale projects involving energy, transportation and communications and social development projects. If the central government makes a major move to regulate prices with the result that prices rise substantially in Tibet; the government will supply Tibet with offsetting subsidies. The state has a relaxed policy towards foreign trade in Tibet, opening wide so as to speed development. Individuals are encouraged to make use of hitherto uncultivated land and wasted land for use as croplands, pasture or by planting trees. Maintaining the premises that all land, whosoever develops and manages land shall enjoy the benefits thereby produced.

1.12 Economic Development Target

Tibet is working hard to implement the state policy regarding the development of west China. It has worked out its 10th five-year plan for economic development. Efforts will be made to effect over 12 percent annual increases in the region's total output value. The following fields have been prioritized in order to realize these goals.

1.12.1 Development energy production, Transportation, and Telecommunication and other Infrastructure:

Construction already begun on large and medium sized power stations and small rural hydro power stations is full swing. Every effort will be made to build several additional key power stations. Rural highway construction is being focused on so as to form a through going transportation network as soon as possible. Railways and civil aviations are being developed. In the field of Tele Communication, a long distance transmission network with transmission based on satellite and optical cable and a mostly program controlled telephone network are being set up.

1.12.2 Active Development of Industry

Industry is being restructured. Work is being directed towards developing the exploitation of the three great resources minerals, forestry and livestock, increasing value added processing to make them mainstay industries. The technological transformation of industrial enterprise is being accelerated to increase their share in total out put value.

1.12.3 Great efforts towards Developing the economy in Areas specialized in practicing Agriculture and Animal husbandry

In the agricultural area of central Tibet, grain production is being stressed, while at the same time forestry and cultivation of fruit and vegetables are also developed. In areas with both agriculture and animal husbandry is being expanded as appropriate. The integration of agriculture and animal husbandry will be pursued with the goal of producing more than enough grain meat and milk for self-sufficiency. In animal husbandry areas production and processing of animal by products is being given priority. In forestland border areas attention is being focused on intensive processing and comprehensive utilization of forestry products, more flexible measures are being taken to invigorate border trade and diversified operations. Irrigation based cultivation is being strengthened, as is basic construction in the pasturelands. The acreage of land with reliable irrigation will be expanded. Medium and low yield fields will be transformed and soil improved. Science will continue to be used to better agriculture with the broader dissemination of technology and high quality seed varieties. At the same time, assistance will be given to a number of large scale, top grade, productive township enterprises.

1.12.4 Quicken the pace of the Economic Structuring

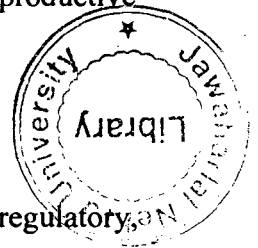
The Tibet autonomous region will accelerate the reform of the macro regulatory, goods circulation and social security systems, as it works to establish a socialist market economy system. Reorganizing existing state-owned enterprises into solely state invested companies and limited liability companies is being explored. Price reform will continue to be promoted within the goods circulation system so as to establish the market as the mechanism by which prices are determined. A new tax model centered on a system of tax distribution will be established. Value added tax will be the major transfer taxes. Taxes on earnings by domestically invested enterprises and individuals will be made the same and every effort will be made to put the tax system in Tibet on the same track with the rest of the nation.

Since 1951, PRC have been spending lots of money for the development of Tibet. The whole financial activities have been controlled by PRC. Every year PRC, have been preparing budget of Tibet. In the study period (1975-1991) details statement of expenditure in different sector has given below; the table no. 1, 2 and 3.

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The following table shows detail descriptions of the expenditure, China had made for the infrastructural and capital construction in TAR.

Table no.1. Financial Expenditure (I)

Unit:10000 Yuan

Year	Total financial Expenditure	Expenditure for capital Construction	Expenditure for Renovation of enterprises	Expenditure for Sci. & Tec. promotion	Expenditure for Rural Production
1975	24026	8143	-	71	2805
1980	46602	15716	753	189	6130
1985	102941	34241	1071	698	10903
1990	129242	14651	1054	575	7236
1991	150018	19920	1181	664	8786

Table no.2. Financial Expenditure (II)

Unit:10000 Yuan.

Year	Operating Expenses of Industrial Communication and commercial business dept.	Operating Expenses for Culture, Education & Healthcare.	Expenditure for City Maintenance	Expenditure for Govt. Administration	Others
1975	1785	3430	50	3360	3869
1980	1446	7692	203	7600	6873
1985	6077	16525	1618	13249	18559
1990	5829	28076	1483	19647	50691
1991	5640	30002	1246	2269	82579

Table no.3. Investment in Capital Construction

Unit:10000 Yuan.

Year	Total Investment Completed	State Budgetary, Appropriation	Fund Raised	Increased Fixed Assets	Rate of Fixed Assets put into Use.
1975	10860	10350	510	6409	59%
1980	17115	15051	2065	14070	82.2%
1985	58408	20473	33924	67069	114.8%
1990	65209	40358	21085	51032	78.3%
1991	86326	43324	39308	87107	100.9%

Source: Guozhen, Wang., China's Tibet Facts and Figures, New Star Publishers 2001, pp.45-48.

In 1980, its total investment on capital construction was 171.15 million Yuan. The above table shows that investment on capital construction has been increasing satisfactorily. In 1991 it was 863.26 million Yuan.

INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT: TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

2.1. Introduction

Infrastructure plays an important role in the socio-economic development of a nation. Transports and communications are the most important infrastructure, which facilitates the most in economic development. This makes convenient to human life by shortening the distance time and make easy in producing quick result. This is the mode, which can set the economic development in motion and lead to a better economic prospect. Transport and communication helps to move goods, services etc. from one place to another and ease the socio-economic development. Today there exist many modes of transport and communication; chief among them are road, rail, air, telephone, telegraph, postal communication etc. Road transport is the important mode of transport, which is cheap and convenient. It provides facilities for direct connect to home, where one can easily transport many goods and services from one place to another. It plays an important role in economic development by providing service in scattered areas. A railway is another important mode of transport, which helps in moving heavy goods in stretched areas in convenient time and price. Airway is another important means of transport, although it is specially used by high-class people.

Communication is a mode of conveys the words or message from one place to other place. Earlier people had gone to other people, whom they have to contact, but this facilities, help that one no need to present physically and give message. One can talk to any place and any distance. These facilities make men convenient and timesaving.

Before 1951, there were not any transport and communication facilities. After peaceful liberation in 1951 and adopting reform policy in 1959, China, developed transport and communication facilities in Tibet.

Old Tibet's communications were extremely backward, one million serfs suffered from communication frustration; the regional economy languished, and people lived an impoverished life. Following the party's central committee's call and chairmen Moa Zedongs instruction of marching forward and building roads, carried forward the revolutionary heroism spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, conquered thousands

of hardships and dangers, spent five years in building the Sichan-Tibet Highways with a total length of over 4,360 kilometers on the world Ridge, built the Golden bridges leading to happiness for the Tibet people and created Tibet modern communication cause. Modern communications and transport replaced the protracted communications, and transport means of plank roads, sliding ropes and goods carrying on human and animals back, signaling has entered a new era. Since the Qinghai Tibet and Sichuan-Tibet highways opened to traffic, under the kind attention of the party central committee and the state council. Vigorous support of the state planning commission the ministry of communications and other relevant ministries and commissions, selfless assistance of other provinces and regions and direct leadership of the Autonomous region party committee and government, workers of various ethnic groups in the Tibet communication system have made concerted efforts, work hard, display the old Tibet spirit of particular being able to endure, fight and devote, successively built trunk highways including Yunnan-Tibet, Xinjian-Tibet and Sino-Nepal Highways, and built several intra regional Highways and county township highways.

Since the late 1980's the Chinese government has boosted investment in Tibet communication construction year-on-year, and Tibet communications has met new historical development opportunity. Some 100 highway construction projects have been implemented, including reconstruction of Qinghai-Tibet highway, Golmund-Lhasa section, Sino-Nepal Highway, Chuse-Shightse section, Lhasa-Gongigar highway and Gonggar-Zedang highway, rectification and reconstruction of Sichuan-Tibet highways, nearly 2000 km, bitumen pavement has been laid in the region, highway grade has been raised year by year. An initial highway network has shaped up with Lhasa as the center and radiating the whole region, and open mileage reaches 24,808 kilometers. The region has 33,000 domestic cars including 13,000 business lorries and over 3000 business passenger cars, basically solving the travel problem for most people.

The Tibet Autonomous Region has still not availed adequate railway services by rail. In the early 1980's a railway was built from Xining capital of Qinghai province in the east to Nanshankou in Golmund in the west as the first part of an intended Qinghai Tibet railway. Extending 8469 km, the Xining Golmund Railway is entirely above 3000 meters, reaching its highest elevation at 3700 meters. The wire-off limits were broken in 1956, and air flight was available in Lhasa. The Gonggar airport and Bamda airport have been reconstructed and repaired. The communications and transport as the

mainstay and common development of aviation and pipeline transport has formed providing powerful guarantee for Tibet economic development.

The reality of Chinese communist rule in Tibet could not be fully comprehended without documenting the solid strategic developments and defense infrastructure, which has made the Communist “Liberation” a reality. These are the projects the Communists have constructed up on for the past 25 years (1951-76) not on economic development.¹ To be sure some of them, such as highways, can have dual uses and there has been, since the early 1980’s some evidence of economic benefits to the local population. Such benefits are, however, side effects of the main purpose, which is military, and strategic oriented. This is suggested by the strategic routes that the highways take and by the order in which the highways were built in the 1950s as well as by continuing high defense expenditures in Tibet.² For centuries all transportation in Tibet was by porters and pack animals. In 1950 there was no other independent country of such a size in the world where no wheeled vehicles were used.³ Narrow, rough tracks linked the populated areas of the country and principal rivers were unabridged. Yet, most of the tracks in southern and central Tibet were crowded with traffic during the summer, and most commodities were transported along these tracks by mules, sheep or yaks.

Chinese control brought a transformation to vehicular highways, built primarily with military and political goals rather than commercial intentions. The impact of the intensive development of modern transport and communications has been far reaching not only for the visible landscape but also on the implementation of Communist social and economic program. The new roads not only have altered the pattern of trade. They have also changed the general pattern of economic development of Tibet. The expansion of Tibet’s road and air network has enabled China to move impressive numbers of Hans personnel and large amount of military equipment into areas hitherto accessible only by yak or foot thereby increasing their political control and strengthening the military supply lines and relations with China proper. Recognizing the importance of a transportation network in securing Tibet, both politically and militarily China embarked upon a building program in 1952.⁴ Receiving top priority was the 1000-mile – Tsenghai- Lhasa railroad, which the Chinese hoped to complete in one

¹ Norbu, Dawa, T., *China's Tibet Policy*, Curzon Press, Richmond Surrey, 2001, p.228.

² *ibid.* p.228.

³ Karan, Pradyumna,P., *The Changing face of Tibet*, The University Press of Kentucky, 1976, p.46.

⁴ *People of Republic of China: An Economic Assessment*, Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United State, Washiton DC, 1972, p.162.

year. The construction of this railroad was interrupted and postponed indefinitely by the Khampa Insurgency.

2.2. Roadways

A 300 mile military road in Southern Tibet from Tingree airfield, north of Mount Everest to Gartok, running parallel to the Nepalese border, was completed in 1960. Another 120-mile military road in southern Tibet linking Tse-Tang with the border adjoining Towang in the northeast frontier agency of India was completed in 1960.⁵ The network of new road made it possible to stock pile huge amount of military supplies at strategic points in Tibet mostly fringing the Southern borders. These supplies include, arms food, and weapons, all stored in giant artificial caverns.⁶ Hundreds of corrugated-roofed barracks of the People Liberation Army have been constructed at various points along these new roads. By 1960 major progress had been made in linking Lhasa with China. A motorable road connecting Yaan in Szechwan with Lhasa by way of Chamdo was completed in late 1954. The urban area of Chamdo is reported to have expanded six times since the completion of this highway.⁷ Regular motor traffic began to operate in 1954 on the Tsinghi-Tibet road joining Sining (His-ning) with Lhasa and in 1955 this road was extended to Shigatse.⁸ A new motor road from Shigatse southeast to Gyantse was completed during the same year and was extended further south to Yatung in the Chumbi valley in 1956. A number of feeder roads of widely varying types and degrees of service ability were built to link the strategic areas in the south with the principal highways.

Prior to 1950 the lack of communications frustration repeated Chinese attempts, both Imperial and Republican, to gain effective control over Tibet. The Manchu regime tried, at the turn of this century, to build roads in Kham (Eastern Tibet) but with little success. The communists realized that without modern communications and in particular motorable roads, the enormous physical barriers would make any attempt at the "liberation" of Tibet meaningless.⁹ Thus almost immediately after the conquest of Tibet in 1951, Chinese began constructing highways that would link Tibet with China for the first time in their history. However, it was not until the Sino-Tibetan agreement

⁵ Thmas, Jr. Lowell, *The Silent War in Tibet*, Newyork, Doubledday, 1959, p.207.

⁶ Karan, Pradyumna,P., *The Changing face of Tibet*, The University Press of Kentucky, 1976, p.47.

⁷ Prybyla, J.S., "Transportation in Communist China," *Land Economics* vol-42, no.3, 1966, p.274.

⁸ Chun, Changpo, "First Highway to Tibet", *China Reconstruct-4*, no.5, May.1955, pp.2-5.

⁹ *Ibid*, p.231.

of 1951, and the Sino-Indian treaty on Tibet of 1954, that the Chinese were able to launch their massive road construction programme using a Tibet labour force. By 1965 two highways effectively linked Lhasa with Interior China. And by 1975 China had completed 91 highways totaling 15,800km; in 300 permanent bridge in outer Tibet alone, effectively connecting 97 percent of the region's counties by road.¹⁰

The Sichun-Tibet highway (South military Road) is 2413 km long and is probably the highest highway in the world, with an average height of 390 meter, the highway crosses fourteen high mountain ranges and twelve major rivers. Starting from Sichuan capital Chengdu it passes through most of the important places in Eastern Tibet, and finally reaches Lhasa. The Xinjing-Tibet highway-continues to Xinjing, passing through most of the important places in Western Tibet such as Shigatse, Lhasa, Gartok and Rutok on the way. The Xinjiang-Tibet highway extends from Yechung in Xinjing to Ngari in Western Tibet. It is 1, 179 km long and the highest of its kind. The second trunk road, the Qinghai-Tibet Highway (the Northern Military Road) was completed in 1955; starting from Xining the highway passes through Amdo (Kok-Nor area), Golmund (Horak), Nagchukha, and finally reaches Lhasa. China said, its investment in highway construction in occupied Tibet and reached an all time high, with 3400 million Yuan invested in the last two year alone.¹¹ A network of highway communication with Lhasa as the hub, had been taking shape in the TAR. It said that in the capital Lhasa the repair of every road would be completed before the end of 1993, while the network of road communication lines had already begun to take shape. It said Lhasa was growing rapidly with the constantly extending road.

There is motorable road, which branches off from the highway at Nagchukha and then joints the Drodam highway in the extreme west via Taktong Naina, and Dangra Tso. All the information suggested that, the Chinese have overcome this difficulty by completing fourth trunk road that also links Tibet with four neighboring provinces in China, there are even more complex, more useful networks of roads connecting all the strategic and sensitive points on the international borders along the Himalayas. Another roads from the Thingri leads to Dokmar (in Kyedrak) opposite solo Khumbu in Nepal Refugee reports in 1972-73 indicated that the Chinese were still improving the communications network in this strategic area which is close to Mustang in Nepal from where Khampa Guerrillas once launched periodic raids into western Tibet

¹⁰ Ibid, p.231.

¹¹ Thinley Prem, *Tibetan Review*, Lhasa Publication, Jan.04, vol.xxxix, p.8.

where Chinese forces were based or passing through, and also not too far from Ladakh, which was the second Chinese target in the 1962 Sino-Indian war. All most all these roads were built by Tibetan labour under Chinese technical supervision and most of them are wide enough for two-way vehicular traffic and capable of taking seven-ton loads. Groups of ten to twenty Tibetan labourers along the important military roads at intervals of every 24 km to do repair work throughout the year.¹²

The following table No.1, shows the length and other details of the roads, and bridges.

Highway, Bridge and Ferry

Table -1.

Year	Highways in service (km)	Length of highways in all weathers	Maintained highways (km.)	Bridge unit/metre	Ferry (Unit.)
1975	15852	7247	6342	658/15420	7
1980	21551	20663	7944	712/18358	10
1985	21660	20733	17863	730/19845	10
1990	21842	20978	17981	777/2169	10

Source: Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet facts and figures*, New star Publishers

Beijing, 2002, p.8.

In 1980, total highway in service is 21551 km, every year, the high way service of roads has been increasing. In 1990 it was 21842 km. out of 21551 km Highway in 1980, 20663 km. is all weather highway. In 1975 length of all weather highway was 7247 kms; but in 1980 it was 20663 km. Maintenance of road in 1980 succeed year it has been increasing.

2.3. Railway

Road has continued to be the most important line of communications for the Chinese in Tibet, as there seem to be immediate alternative in sight. The Chinese official in Lhasa announced China's plan to construct a railway line linking outer Tibet with China proper. The project requires a total investment of over 20 billion Yuan.¹³

The 208 km project was first conceived and announced in the 1950s. In November 1977 the project was revived and a railway construction preparation office in

¹² Ibid, p.234.

¹³ Norbu, Dawa, T., *Tibet Policy*, Curzon Press, Richmond Surry, 2001, p.234.

Lhasa was set up. However, in 1980, after the then party secretary Hu Yaobang's inspection tour of Tibet, the railway project was dropped or postponed, as 'Hu' rightly felt more people oriented economic programmes were what Tibet needed.¹⁴ There had been a debate as to whether the railroad should be built from Chengdu or Golmud. In the 1970 the eastern route from Chengdu was favoured a direct link with their home province. However, since the railway to Golmud was completed in the early 1980s, the Golmud route appears to be the obvious choice, because it is closer to Lhasa. Beside this route have the mildest gradient and fewest mountains on its way.

The construction cost of the railway, estimated at 20 billion Yuan. The projected 20 billion Yuan might equal the total amount of financial subsidies and basic construction investment that the PRC has provided for the last 40 years to the TAR. Chinese governments' report mentioned that, the construction plan called for a total investment of 16 billion Yuan (1.9 billion dollar) for the 544 km. Permafrost section alone of the 1956 km. Qinghai-Tibet railway. The railway section from Xinzang to Golmud city in Qinghai was completed in 1984.¹⁵

The railway might have dual use in the long run but its immediate purpose is transfer and total integration of Tibet with China. After having firmly established their grip over Tibet through a highly strategic network of highways. Since the early 1980s China have at least started to consider the economic envisages a special south west economic zone that links Tibet with Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan. A report state that the western region is rich in non-ferrous metal petroleum, natural gas etc. and urges the strengthening the communications links with the east by opening up its trunk lines to the western region. So as to form a regional network. It has recommended the development of railways, roadways, waterways and airways, to speed up economic development of the southern region.¹⁶ The Lhasa-Lhoka highway is probably the only road built purely with economic intentions.

2.4. Airways

Along with the intensive development of road and rail transport the Chinese have made significant progress in establishing air service, linking Tibet with major centers in China. In May 1956, regular air service was begun between Lhasa and Peking. New landing field of Khampa Xzong, forty miles north of Sikkim, and at Tingri

¹⁴ Ibid, p.234

¹⁵ Thinley, Premia, *Tibet Review*, Lhasa Publication, Jan.04, Vol.xxxix, p.4.

¹⁶ Ibid, p.236.

north of Mount Everest was completed in 1959. additional landing strips near the Ladakh border were built for military aircraft.¹⁷ During 1968-69 major jet airports were completed near Gyantse and Rudok. By 1970 air transport linked most major center of Tibet and Lhasa was serviced by regular flights from Peking, Chunking and Chamdo. In 1969 about 20,000 Tibetan and Chinese workers were reported to be completing a major Jet airfield south of Shigatse. Tibetan refugee sources indicated that the workers completing the airfield were prison labourers, many of whom died because of harsh climatic conditions at the high altitude and a meager diet of barely powder and black tea. By 1963 twelve airfields were completed, mostly near the frontier of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim (India). There are now 23¹⁸ airfield, the most important of them located near important military and administrative headquarters. Airport was listed in the state's key construction projects during the period of 1986-90. The expanded airport is able to accommodate over 290 passengers plane, over 200 Boeing planes can touch the ground. The new airfield near Lhasa has been in operation since 1967 and is one of the two airfields open for regular weekly civilian flights between Lhasa and Chendu. Next to Lhasa, Shigatse is the most important PLA headquarters commanding practically all the forward bases near the southwest Himalayas bordering Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal and Ladakh. The airfield near Shigatse was built by the PLA in great secrecy and was completed sometime in 1970. Phari airfield provides a vital air link with a strategic point bordering both Sikkim and Bhutan and the entire important forward bases in the area. A 1997 Chinese booklet on transport reveals that their aviation history in Tibet dates from before the early 1970s¹⁹ during which, to be sure, most of the airfields and helipads were built due to the situation in south Asia at that time. From 1956 to 1965 repeated trial flights were conducted which suggested that 11-18 aircraft could adapt to highland flight conditions. We can observe similar strategic pattern in the development of aviation on the Tibetan plateau as we saw in road construction. The feverish road building activities of the early 1950s were dictated by the military-political need to strengthen the communists grip on the Tibetan plateau and to consolidate their power in central Tibet. Even now the Chinese communist do not deny the strategic or military

¹⁷ Karan, Pradyumna. P., *The Changing face of Tibet*, The University Press of Kentucky, 1976, p.48.

¹⁸ Norbu, Dawa, T., *Tibet Policy*, Curzon Press, Richmund Surry, 2001, p.236.

¹⁹ Qui, no.2, pp.26-31.

aspect of aviation in Tibet. That of course reverse the order: "the flight route plays an important part in Tibet's socio-economic development and China's national defense."²⁰

Between 1975 to 1985 the Lanzhou Golmud-Lhasa flight route operated. The Lhasa aviation station was in charge of 39 safety flights. In 1985, the CAAC Tibet autonomous administration was founded on the basis of the Lhasa aviation station.

Over the past 30 years, aircraft changed from the turboprop 11-18s used at first to Boeing 707s in December 1983. The number of flight routes increased from one to five, with a new route leading to Beijing, Chengdu, Chongqing, Chamdo, and Katmandu (Nepal). Flight increased from once a week at the outset to 20 a week. From 1956-83 aviation was essentially used for military purpose to back up the PLA stationed in Tibet to transport military and political personnel. It was only in the early 1980's with increased tourist traffic, that Boeing Jet services began. In 1987 China had deployed a squadron of J-7 fighters, the Chinese version of the Soviet Mikoyan Mig-21, to the Gonggar airfield. Since 1985, American made Sikorsky 570c Black Hawk helicopter have used the airfield to support military operation in the area.

Important achievements have been made in the development of regular navigation for vessels up to 2,000 tones along the Kyi Chu and Tsangpo rivers between Lhasa and Tse-tang, substantial improvements have also been made in radio and telephone communications. Lhasa already linked by telephone with Chunking in 1952, was connected with Peking in 1953, and in 1956 the establishment of direct radiophone services supplemented the service. A modern communication and postal network connecting Lhasa with Peking Chunking, Lanchow, Chengtu, Chanmo, Shiagtse and other points has been completed. The Chinese occupation of Tibet depends to a large degree on the maintenance of the modern system of communications and transport. However there are still large area in north and northwest Tibet untouched by modern communications and without firm Chinese control. The Chinese are expected to continue to expand the present network of transport and communications into remote areas in order to gain complete territorial integration of Tibet with the People Republic's of China. One of the major effects of the transportation development has been the re-orientation of the flow of Tibetan trade towards China in contravention of spirits of China's trade agreement with India and Nepal. Unfortunately agricultural production in Tibet is barely sufficient for the local population. There is an acute

²⁰ Norbu, Dawa, T., *Tibet Policy*, Curzon Press, Richmond Surry, 2001, p.238.

shortage of food grains throughout the country and food is rationed in most towns. The only alternative supply source for the Chinese in Tibet is India but in view of present Sino-India relations that means smuggling. According to unofficial estimate about 5,00,000²¹ tones of Indian food grains, as well as flashlight batteries, kerosene and road building equipments, now find their way into Tibet through Nepal.

2.5. Oil Pipelines

In the 1960s the automobiles were used to transport oil into the Tibet Autonomous region. In 1977, an oil pipe line was built from Golmud in Qinghai province to Lhasa, extending 1,080 km. China's longest and world's highest, the pipeline has 11 pumping stations and one diversion station along the route. A refined oil depot has been built in Lhasa.

2.6. Post and Telecommunication

Modern postal service didn't appear in Tibet until the early 20th century. Out of their need when invading Tibet, the British colonialists opened a postal service from Yadong to Gyangze in 1904 without the authorization of the Chinese authorities. In 1909, the Lhasa office of the Qing court sent Deng Weiping, an official in charge of postal services, to Lhasa to make preparation for the establishment of modern postal station. Mail was delivered only on horse back, and it took at least 29 days to deliver a letter from Chengde in Sichuan province to Lhasa. Such a situation lasted until the opening to traffic of the Sichuan-Tibet highway in Dec-1954.

Post and telecommunications developed apace after 1978, the year the central government introduced reform and opening program. From 1980 to 1990, PRC, invested 189.92 million Yuan on industrial, communication and commercial business. They invested every year at proportional increasing rate; and tried to make favorable environment of Post and Tele communication. In this period government promoted for post and telecommunication business. That was 29.82 million Yuan business in post and telecommunication, and total telephone subscriber were 18960 local telephone, and 1423 from rural area.²²

²¹ Karan, Pradyumna, K., *The Changing Face of Tibet*, The University Press of Kentucky, 1976, p.48.

²² Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet-Facts and Figures*, Newstare Publishers, Beijing, 2002, p.91.

Postal dealing was also improved adequately in this period, and total 2,30,000 pieces of letter 7,80 000 copies of newspaper and magazines, and 20.25 million pieces of letters.

Mobile telecom business developed further. The project began in 1989. There were 75,200 mobile telephone subscribers in whole Tibet. However 70 percent of the townships in Tibet still have no access to telephone service. Tibetans have access to internet service in hotels and cafes, from 10am in the morning to 10pm in the evening. Following Table.No-2 account detail information of post and telecommunication in Tibet.

Table-2.

Year	Business vol. P & T (10000Y.)	No. of letters (1000, pcs)	No. of parcel copies	No. of N.paper & M'zines (10000 copies)	Local T'phone subscribers	Rural T'phone subscribers
1975	176	534	2	9	8151	66
1980	457	576	6	23	3923	529
1985	813	657	5	30	5981	280
1990	1713	792	12	25	9056	307

Source: Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet facts & figure*, New Star publishers, Beijing, 2002, P.91.

In 1980 it was 4.57 million Yuan, but in 1985 it has increased 77.89 percent and from 1985 to 1990 it has increased 110.7 percent. It means that every year government of People Republic of China, additional investment created for promoting business of volume of post and telecommunication.

Total local telephone subscriber in 1980 was 3923; out of this rural subscriber were 529. Out of total rural area was 13.48 percent. Total subscriber of telephone has been increasing every year, but rural subscriber has been fluctuating.

2.7. Transport and Communication Research Centre

Tibet passenger transport corporation was established in 1985, is the largest state-owned passenger transport enterprises in Tibet; owns 120 business passenger cars with 5,556 seats. It mainly engaged in regional long distance and inter-provincial passenger transport line business communications research and transportation.

A long term strategic decision in promoting and accelerating the development of the communication causes in an all-round way is to upgrade communication production scientific and technical content on human basis. Tibet communications department has at store by scientific research education, stepped up in put, adopted effective measures and attained tangible results. Starting from the Tibet autonomous region reparatory committee communications division chief engineer's test office in 1963, communication research institution, through dozen of years hard pioneering and constant input, have now developed into a communications special research institutions with 50 professionals and management staff, over 200 large instruments and facilities.²³

Over 3000sq, km test and inspection buildings, and sound software conditions. The communication research institution has closely combined with production reality, been bold enough to explore, creatively carried out activities, obtained many research result, and won one national Sci-tech progress first prize and six regional research result prizes, combining with industrial characteristics, attention has been paid to education for persisting in running schools in various historical development periods. In early 1990s the communication system has set up staff training school and communications children middle schools and primary schools with considerable scale and quantity, playing a major role in improving communications staff cultural quality and special skills and training communication staff children. The system owns medium-level professional schools with preliminary scale and integrating staff cultural training and job training. The regional communication system owns 845 technical personnel including 41 senior professionals.²⁴ In order to further improve communications staff comprehensive quality, strengthen staff scientific and cultural knowledge and special skills, constantly update knowledge, and meet the requirement of knowledge economy era. Tibet communications have implemented the communications rejuvenation through science and education strategy and the communication talent project, mapped out the program for cadres, Education and Training of the Tibet communications system, and the methods on reward and penalty of Tibet communications cadres and staff training. Tibet communication department raised fund and setup special fund for the communications talent project with strategic eyesight. They prepared planning, formulated system and measures, raised fund; encouraged and energetically advocated in job, study, participating in raising academic education. Short term training for

²³ WWW.tibetinfo.com, p.13

²⁴ Ibid, p.14.

communications staff, encouraged hard students, waged study campaign and firmly took step towards the strategy of rejuvenating communications through science and education.

2.8. Legal Administration

In order to strengthen road transport market management, protect high way property and rights on the plateau and collect highway maintenance fees, administrative enforcement agencies like transport administration, road administration and road maintenance fee collection and check management were founded successively. The deepening reform and open-up and establishment and development of the socialist market economy; communications, administrative enforcement agencies have enhanced self construction, worked hard to raise management level, offered civilized service, exercised management in accordance with laws and setup good image. The regional communications administrative enforcement personnel hit 619, communication administrative enforcement agencies have been set up in seven prefectures and cities, 70 communication transport administration, road administration, and collection and check offices and stations have been set up, and a vertical management system is practiced.

Road transport management focuses on the over all goal of the road transport market marked with unity, openness competition and order, actively displays the function of planning, coordinating, supervision inspection and service. Legal administration and economic means are comprehensively allied, illegal actions on the transport market are efficiently dealt with the passenger, goods and repair market as priority; legal managers rights are protected, the road transport market is actively nurtured and developed, 78-passenger transport lines are opened.

On the basis of communications pivot and natural resources, 15 physical goods transport markets and three outside region goods transit bases have been established five prefectures and cities. An LTTL goods transport network with Lhasa as the center radiating the whole region has basically formed, effectively controlling transport capacity mix and correctively guiding road transport market healthy and orderly development. In line with the highway law of the People's Republic of China, road administration has gradually established and improved organizations, and set up respective agencies in prefecture and city communications administrations departments, and highway maintenance departments. There are 187 road administration personnel in

the region. Such personnel quality has been improved through training. They energetically publicize regulations; timely handle road administrative cases and effectively protect road assets and rights. As Tibet has a wide span of land and a scarce population, fragmented vehicles and difficult collection they overcame difficulties, stepped up road inspection and check, went to households and townships to collect fees, over fulfilled collection tasks every year, collected 629 million Yuan.²⁵ Communications set fees in seven years, and provided capital guarantee for highway maintenance.

2.9. Communication Prospect of Tibet

In retrospective Tibet communication has obtained glorious and encouraging achievements. In perspective, Tibet communication future is promising. Tibet communication has closely grasped the development opportunity, substantially improve highway through ability, improve transport efficiency and benefits, enables Tibet Communications cause to gradually step into the track on the basis of sound infrastructure and technical equipment and advanced management means. It will actively develop aviation, railway, pipeline and water transport, enable Tibet to basically meet the needs of the national economy and social development and national defense and display the pioneering role.

On the highway construction highlight rectification, maintenance and management of the existing highways, under the condition of ensuring open traffic, upgrade highways, take the regional five national trunk highways as the skeleton, connect the national trunk highway Duantou section, improve six joint lines between passages and trunk lines. It basically finished the rectification, reconstruction, new construction and improvement tasks of the “three north south highways, two east west highways, and six thoroughfares.” Strengthen national defense and border defense construction; improve provincial trunk highways and county township highways. It will accomplish highway construction within the “Three rivers” central reaches plan, gradually form highway network with Lhasa as the center and prefectures as transits and connecting countries and townships outlets. By 2010, Tibet’s highway mileage will amount to 26,000 kilometers; the paving rate will reach 100 percent including over 4,000 kilometers bituminous highways. Most of the township will be accessible to highways

²⁵ WWW.tibetinfo.com, p.16

county-level highway will be opened to traffic at all weathers. The maintenance mileage will account for 80 percent of the total traffic mileage. Over 3000 kilometers standard highways will be constructed. The passengers and goods volume will total 5 million people and 5.5 million tones respectively, with an average growth rate of 5.1 percent. The region auction with economic and social development, business management with production management; actively create conditions, resume Tibet regional airline, follow economic rules, take into full account economic benefits and social benefit. It will actively open outlaying air passages and let them display major role in transport disaster relief materials and emergency.

It will strive to create conditions, expand foreign related air business, and actively open lines with all friendly neighboring countries. It will take active attitude, seriously, prepare front –end work for Tibet bound railway construction, accelerate progress, strive to start construction in early this century, construct Tibet in bound railway by 2010, and end the history when Tibet has no railway. Expand Golmud-Lhasa act pipelines in accordance with condition. Based on the detailed circumstances of north Tibet petroleum resources perspecting and tapping, construct support act pipeline. On inland waterway transport, combine the comprehensive development. Follow the river comprehensive harnessing policy, make feasibility study of Lhasa river middle reaches Yanrlung Zanbo Rive middle reaches and Nianchu river partial section, and conduct development and construction when conditions are mature, Tibet Communications will in the form of pioneer take firm steps and lay solid foundation for Tibet economics take off.

2.10. Conclusion

Till 1950, the transport and communication facilities of Tibet was meager, that was a major obstacle for the development. Whatever means available was expensive and was used by the Lama (religious leader) and the higher strata of society. Serfdom was institutionalized and accepted way of service. High-class people and Lamas were living luxurious life by putting much burden to the poor. They are the most respectable people in the society. Although agriculture and herding is the mainstay of the Tibetan society, but it has never been a good choice for the farmers. The barren land and hilly area not only consume much time and energy in cultivating but also did not produce much to lead a comfortable life. As the people unable to effort for the modern scientific agricultural technology, so the out come of the production also remains low, just up to

the level of subsistence. This situation also forced many people to take political asylum in the neighbouring country or to be the bonded labour in their own land.

After peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950 People Republic of China, had thought Tibet's' development, might not be with well intention. In 1959 China formulated reform policy in Tibet and introduced some development model. For the development of the region promotion of transport and communication has very important, that was half-heartedly contributed by the PRC. In the light of this situation the People's Republic of China implemented road as an important mode of transport, which is enjoying lower class of people mostly. So, though, that is the hilly area, still, than government of PRC had started road construction project. PRC spends a large amount of money for the development of the transport and communication especially of road in Tibet. Researcher personally feels that the transport and communication brought a sea change in the socio-cultural life of the people of Tibet. It not only facilitates people's movement but also promote rational and scientific values by sharing and exchanging view with people other than their own group. This also brought many modern products and thought to their door step and brought an end to their long isolation to the outer world. PRC, has stated construction of Qinghai-Tibet railway project in 1984. It added a new dimension in Tibet's transport and communication facilities. Tibet is one of the pollution free areas and one of the hub of tourist centre in the world. Tourism generates employment for many people and contributes for the socio-economic growth of Tibet. It also promotes socio-cultural interaction with the outer world.

On the business point of view, transport and communications very essential elements. Agriculture husbandry and herding is the main occupation of the people. Whatever they like to sell for purchase can easily taken it to home from market place. They were taken their product to market and selling it at reasonable price. Earlier they were facing different type of problems. Goods or material which are available in town also easily available in rural areas, because of transportation facilities. Tibet has been breeding ship, yak and horse etc. and they have been producing, silk, wool, etc. they have been easily selling their product at market at reasonable price. Earlier they were sold it to land lord and moneylenders at low price, landlord and moneylenders were exploited to them.

From that period precipitate income has been increasing year by year. Tibetan get employment opportunity to construct roadway, railway and airway. Some of them got job for maintenance of railway roadways and airways.

In this period industrial development has reached peak point. Many small-scale medium scale industries were established, and large-scale industries established specially in urban areas.

Transport and communication's role, in development of industries is very important without proper transport system industrial undertaking can not survive supplying raw materials and machines and transporting foods from industries to market and consumers or whole sellers, is very important. If transport system is convenient, then industries will grow rapidly and make profit. So when PRC, provided all these facilities, then industrial unit flourished in Tibet. Tibet has lot of mineral resources, People Republic of China, exploiting the raw materials and transported to China. Because TAR has not any heavy industries to extract all these minerals, whatever revenue they earned from that sources has been utilizing the development of Tibet. On the all over study point of view, role of transport and communication is very important for economic development of Tibet. But contrary to this statement, there are also scholars who support the view that, whatever transport and communication has developed in TAR is only for defense purposes. The PRC exploiting Tibet's natural resources, such as forest product and minerals and extracting it to china and used in their home industry and factory.

In the light of above discussion, we can conclude that the PRC substantially contributed in the development of infrastructure transport and communication in Tibet. The PRC might have it own interests but the fact remain the same in the development process. In fact, the PRC intended to have control over the strategic location and for the defense purpose but ultimately it helped Tibet in the Transport and Communication. The infrastructure development facilitates the people to have contact and cultural interaction with outer world . Modern means of transport and communication is an insensitive to the social change in the Tibetan society.

CHAPTER-III.

TRADE, INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Since liberation, state owned trade companies have been set up in each major city and town. In particular, since the democratic reform, grass root supply and marketing co-operatives have been universally established in all parts of the region. They often provide masses with a great amount of quality daily necessities and the means of production at low prices, and purchase at reasonable prices agricultural, animal husbandry and native products, bringing great convenience to the daily lives of the Tibetans. Great amount of inland household electrical appliance, daily foodstuffs, clothing, fruit, vegetables and grain are sold in Tibet. While Tibetan wool yarn, woolen blankets, and leather products are often sold to the inland and to foreign countries.

By 1965, the region had set up many industrial enterprises that are indispensable to people's livelihood. They include power forestry, leather tanning, and borax production. The central government has paid more attention to basic energy construction and made the best use of the local geothermal resources. Tremendous progress has been made in traditional handicraft industries. Postal and telecommunications have made astonishing progress. Tibetan can make telephone calls to any country or region around the world.

After 1980, in order to ensure the further rehabilitation of farmers and herders, people's government carried out a series of special economic policies in Tibet that were much more preferential than those applied in the inland areas. Local farmers and herders were allowed to use the land distributed to them and to own the live stock they raised, which shall remain unchanged. The planned state purchase or disguised planned purchase of grain, buttered oil, and meat were cancelled, with no unit or individual allowed to demand or ask for any goods from the masses. At the same time, the central government continued to provide interest free loans to agriculture and animal husbandry. The collective loan made for water conservation projects and for the purchase of machinery prior to 1980 were exempted. Farmers and herders were exempt from taxation, and not tax was collected from individual farmers and herders. These policies have laid a good foundation for development in Tibet.

For centuries, mountainous terrain and the dependence on tracks and pack

animals for transport imposed on Tibet a pattern of local and regional isolation. At the opening of the twentieth century the British were able to establish commercial relations with Tibet, while a trade agency at Gyantse, according to the 1904 agreement, began to open Tibet to the modern world. Tibet's traditional trade with India, Nepal, Mongolia and China moved over difficult paths and mule tracks, most of which were generally impossible during seasons of heavy snow. Yaks the sturdy long hired animals, which can with stand the severe climate and travel ten to twelve hours a day with load, served as beasts of burden. Historically the most important Tibetan trade route ran from Siliguri, an Indian railhead in north Bengal, to Kalimpong and across the frontier state of Sikkim to Gyantse and Yatung, the leading trade marts in Tibet. Other principal trade routes into Tibet were from Almora in the northern part of Utter Pradesh and from Simla over the India-Tibet road to Gartok in Western Tibet. From Almora to Gartok the route run almost due north and from Simla to Gurtok it is nearly due east. On the Indian-Tibet road, which follows the valley of the Sutlej River, there are no steep gradients. Yaks used for transport on this route carried about 240 pound each and subsisted by grazing on the way. Nearly half of Tibet's trade with India was carried on the way. Siliguri-Kalimpong road, some what less than one fourth passed through Almora and Simla, and the remainder through several other routes across the Himalayas. The central position of Gyantse at the Junction of trade routes from India and Bhutan with those from Ladakh in Kashmir and from central Asia made it an important distributing center. Its location, 140 miles from Lhasa and 213 from Siliguri, offered it considerable advantage as a trade mart profitable Indian commerce during the twentieth century resulted in the development of a wealthy Tibetan trading class in Lhasa and Shigates, ¹ the two principal commercial centers. Throughout this period the bulk of the Tibetan trade moved in and out on the Siliguri-Kalimpong, the largest enter pot of Tibetan trade, and Almora, the next largest, remained major focal points for the Tibetan trade until the mid-1950s. In additions, Gartok acquired a share of the trade. In Tibet import arrived mostly in December and the caravans left in march before the rivers were flooded. Tibet exported mainly wool to India and rock salt to Nepal, and imported a wide variety of merchandise from India, such as piece goods, rice, dyeing materials, ironware, sugar, tea etc. In 1960 the main items of Tibetan import included colon, textiles, sugar, tobacco, food, kerosene, gasoline, cement, steel, and finished

¹ Snellgrove, David, and Richardson, H.E., *A Cultural History of Tibet*, New York; Praeger, 1968, p.235.

wool product. Besides the customary items like yak tails and musk, raw wool, potatoes, and carpets accounted for most of the exports to India. During the eleven months beginning January 1959 the total value of goods imported from India was Rs.6,040,000 compared with exports worth about Rs.7,110,000. Both imports and exports during the first three months of 1959 were relatively high. But from April 1959, following the Tibetan uprising and the establishment of firm Chinese control over Tibetan trade, both imports and export dwindled.² Now there is not even a smuggler trail on the traditional trade routes across the Indo-Tibetan frontier, which once bustled with activity during the trading season. Between 1911 and 1951, besides producing a wealthy Tibetan trading class the traditional commerce between India and Tibet led many Tibetans to travel throughout India in quest of commercial products.³

An interest in the outside tobacco. Other interesting imports included mirrors, spectacles, umbrellas, soap, towels, and imitation gold foil. The Indian spectacles, largely of smoked or coloured glass, were much desired by Tibetans because of the great glare of the sun and the dazzling reflections of the snow. The trade in Indian cotton piece goods includes blue, printed and fancy cloths. There was also considerable importance of Indian woolen and broad cloth. Chinese silk and damask for the robes of dignitaries and monks entered Tibet through the Siliguri-Kalimpon-Lhasa trade route rather than the difficult overland route from China to Lhasa.

In the 1950s Chinese supplies to Tibet began to flow through the port of Calcutta to Siliguri by rail and onwards to Kalimpong and Lhasa. This trade between India and Tibet confirmed under the Sino-Indian treaty of 1954, continued until early 1960s. In January 1960 about 95 percent of imports and exports were carried through Nathu La (pass) in Sikkim. After successful invading of Tibet, the people Republic of China signed a treaty with Nepal, which permitted the nationals of both countries to trade with travel in and make pilgrimage to places in each country as agreed upon by the two governments. Provision also was made for the establishment of an equal number of trade agencies of one government within the territory of the other specified locations.⁴

In early 1960 most traders in Lahaul, Spiti and Chini were agreed that, it would be best for the economy of border areas to normalize trade with Tibet if the Chinese authorities would be more consistent and co-operative. In 1960 most of the Tibetan

² Karan, Pradyumna, P., *The Changing Face of Tibet*, The University press of Kuntucy, 1976, p.44.

³ Beba, K., *Tibet Revisited, China Reconstructs*, Peking, 6, June 1957, pp.9-12.

⁴ Mihaly, Eugene, B., *Foreign Aid and Politics in Nepal: A case study*, Newyork; Oxford University Press, 1965, p.57.

traders were either helped up at the border by the Chinese or allowed to come down only for a days. In the Lahaul and Spiti region the bulk of the border trade used to be in the hands of petty traders, finding an alternative means of livelihood for those who lived by commerce became imperative as a result of the complete cessation of trade between India and Tibet in 1962-6.⁵ Until the 1951 Chinese occupation, the bulk of the Tibet's trade with China was transacted at Kangting in Szechwan.⁶ Its location close to the geographical and ethnological boundary between China and Tibet made it a convenient trade emporium. Most of the trade was transacted between the large Chinese firms in Kangting and the merchants who came in annually from Tibet. The majority of the Tibetan merchants brought with them native products to pay for the Chinese goods they bought. Some, however, were buyers only and brought gold dust or Chinese currency. Others were seller only and took back with them Chinese silver currency. A few Tibetan merchants whose dealings were extensive were allowed from six to twelve months credit and eventually settled their accounts with the Chinese firms by remitting the money to Shanghai via India.

The record of China's commercial policy during the first two decades of its rule in Tibet demonstrates its main concern to secure effective control over Tibet's trade and economy, to reorient Tibetan trade towards China, and to eliminate Tibet's traditional commercial links with India in particular and other countries in general. In the 1950s this new policy led to friction with merchants in both Tibet and India. Chinese commercial encroachments impinged on the interest of a large number of monks and noble men. The policy of gradual diversion of Tibetan trade was abandoned after the uprising of 1959, when Chinese assumed complete control. The diversion was facilitated by the development of highway transportation over the plateau. Increased amount of Chinese goods, including daily necessities, medicine, tea, and manufactured articles, began to arrive in Tibet during the 1960s by way of newly built highways. The Chinese control altered not only the direction of trade but also its volume and composition.

The situation as it exists up to 1959 has radically changed as a result of the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the consequent disruption of traditional trade relations. In 1971 they completed reorientation of the economy. The trade with Tibet, though not completely paralyzed, had lost its role as a one of the main pillars of the economic life,

⁵ Chopra, Pran, *On an Indian Border*, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1964, p.2.

⁶ Lattimore, Owen, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1962, p.213.

and new activities, largely connected with growing tourist traffic, had taken its place. Subsequent to the flight of the Dalai Lama and the exodus of large numbers of Tibetan refugees in 1959, the Nepal-Tibet frontier was for a time completely closed, but later the Chinese authorities allowed a limited trade in a few basic commodities such as salt, grain and wool.⁷ Nepalese traders can obtain visas for entry into Tibet from the Chinese embassy in Katmandu but such visas are valid only for the official trade route through Kodari-Kuti and not for the route across the Nangpa La, and the Sherpas say that the machinery for obtaining such visa is in any case too cumbersome for their purpose. However, the Chinese permit Sherpas to cross the frontier and go as far as Tingri without visas.⁸ The frontier settlement of Kyabrak where previously much of the barter trade occurred does not exist anymore, but in Tingri there is one house in which Sherpas traders can stay. The Sherpas may deal only with Chinese officials, who have to employ Tibetan interpreters, and they are not allowed to trade with Tibetans. There are also some restrictions on trade imposed by the Nepalese authorities. Sherpas exporting grains and ghi to Tibet are supposed to obtain permits from the office of the assistant commissioner at Namche Bazar, but in 1971 very few such permits were issued and it seems that much of the small scale border trade eluded the control of the local authorities.⁹ Sherpas complained that the Chinese in charge of the trade depot in Tingri were unpredictable and varied at will the rate at which salt is being bartered for rice and other grain. Sometimes they give the Sherpas 4measures of salt for one measures of rice, but at other times the rate of exchange is much less favourable. Normally, only small quantities of wool are sold to Sherpas in exchange of grains, but occasionally the Chinese are prepared to accept cross breeds in payment of wool. One load of wool being exchanged for one male cross-breed, Sherpas says that the prospects of being able to dispose of animals taken to Tingri are so uncertain that now a days very few cross breeds are exported to Tibet. As the Chinese do not permit the export of female Yak, the trader in cattle, which previously played so great a role in the Shepras trade with the Tibetans has been greatly reduced. Apart from salt and wool Sherpas now obtained in Tingri some animal fat, mainly of yak and sheep, some textiles, including Chinese silk, made up clothes and boots. In exchange they give rice, other grain, butter, hides and

⁷ Murry John, *Himalayan Tador*, John Murrey Publishers Ltd, London, 1975, p.73.

⁸ Ibid. p.73.

⁹ Ibid. p.74

dyes paper, which used to constitute an important item of export, is no longer sold in Tibet.

The volume of this trade is so small that most of the commodities exported from Tibet are required to meet the needs of the people of Khumbu and only small quantities are available for resale to Rais and other people of the middle ranges. Occasionally sherpas of thami, Khumjung, and Namche Bazar carry still some Tibetan salt to such Rai villages as Kharikhola and Jubing, some three days' journey south of Khumbu and exchange it for maize or millet at a rate of 4 measures of grain for one measure of salt. But most Rais use now Indian salt, which they can obtain easily, and much lower price. At the same time when the trade with Tibet was completely interrupted Sherpas too tried to use Indian salt, but they did not like it, and they believe that if Indian salt is given to yak and other cattle the fertility of animals will be diminished.

3.2 Government's Policy

Since the early 1950s the state has been giving special support to Tibet's economic development. It has allocated large amount of financial subsidies, subsidized special projects and invested in key construction projects. It has also amassed dispatched large amount of materials to the Tibet Autonomous Regions. Since the beginning of the 1980's the state has arranged for government departments and other provinces municipalities and autonomous region to give Tibet manpower, material, financial and technological aid, with an aim of boosting the Tibet economy and improving the people's livelihood.

Since 1980s the state has adopted a looser policy towards farmers and herdsmen in the Tibet Autonomous Region for them to build up their own economic strength. It stipulated that this is a long-term policy that "the farm land is distributed among farming households, and independently owned, bred and managed by them". Farmers and herdsmen are exempted from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes. Collective enterprises and individual and commercial business that produce and sell daily necessities are exempted from industrial and commercial consolidate taxes. Individual farmers and herdsmen and collective enterprises that sell or swap agricultural, animal husbandry and sideline products or handicrafts on market are also exempted from taxes. In 1985, construction began on 43 projects, involving investment by the state and assistance by nine provinces and municipalities. This symbolizing the second construction upsurge, ushered in Tibet's modernization drive. The third construction

upsurge begun at the turn of the 1990s. The state invested 3.2 billion¹⁰ Yuan in number of large infrastructure facilities and the comprehensive development of the area around the middle reaches of the “three rivers” the construction focusing an energy and transport projects, greatly improved the region’s infrastructure.

Through 10 years of development, the areas total industrial and agricultural output value increased from 840 million Yuan in 1990 of this, agriculture output value 653 million Yuan in 1990 and 602.24 Yuan in 1991.¹¹

3.3 Trade

The TAR has exploited the preferential treatment given by the ventral government to expand exports of industrial products mainly handicrafts and live stock products. The regions import and export value reached US\$ 16.50 million in 1980. with the state foreign trade companies gain ground in increased imports and exports there is also development of border trade. In 1980, the volume of the regions border trade US\$ 5.0 million and US\$9.02 million in 1990.¹² Since 1980 to 1990 border trade increased 80 percent. Export items expanded from live stock products in the past to cover cattle, sheep wool, raw silk, household electrical appliances and electric machinery. The autonomous region has opened 28 ports for border trade, with those on the Sino-Nepalese border enjoying the largest transaction value.

The government of Tibet autonomous region welcomes foreign business to invest in such field as energy, communications, architecture, light industry, electrical machinery, commerce, food processing, aquatic breeding, processing agriculture and husbandry. They are allowed to set up Sino-foreign joint ventures or solely owned enterprises or to conduct economic and technological cooperation. Foreign business is especially welcome to invest in long or medium range projects, and also in comprehensive development projects with good potential.

Some international organizations have started economic cooperation with the Tibet Autonomous Region, and under taken projects with international aid. For example, the UN Development Programme(UNDP) has, since 1981, provided US\$ 4 million¹³aid to boost construction of the Yangbajain Geo-thermal power station. The UN world food program (UNWFP) aided drought relief and irrigation projects for the

¹⁰ Guozhen, wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures*, New Star Publishers, 2002, p.42.

¹¹ Ibid. p.43.

¹² Ibid. p.79.

¹³ Ibid. p.77.

comprehensive development of the agriculture in the four countries in the Lhasa river valley in 1989.

PRC's role in development of Tibet's trade is very important. PRC liberalized its policies for the development of Tibetan trade. The Lhasa is a local organ of the General Administration of Customs of the People's Republic of China and has under it the custom set up in Xigaze, Nyalam, Shiquanhe towns and Gyirong plus a representative office set up in the Lhasa postal administration. With the approval of the PRC General Custom Administration, the Lhasa custom has setup custom supervision stations in Chendu of Sichuan province and Golmund of Qinghai province to examine goods imported for the autonomous region. The Lhasa custom follows two kinds of tariff. The import and export tariff of customs of the People's Republic of China, and the methods of the Tibet customs of the People's Republic of China on the collection of import duties and its role for implementation. With regards to imports for sale within the TAR, the Lhasa customs collect taxes, according to a list of 21 tax items and at a low tariff rate especially for the autonomous regions. Goods approved for sale to other parts of China are taxed according to the national customs' tariff rate.

Old Tibet was basically a self-sufficient natural economy. The regions commodity economy was by no means developed. Farmers and herders brought daily necessities of industrial articles and sold their agricultural and livestock products. For the most part this was done through barter trade. At that time, the gap between the prices of agricultural and livestock products and manufactured goods was surprisingly wide. In the small scale border trade Tibetans could frequently be seen trading a sheep for something small but necessary as a box of matches or a piece of butter for several sewing needles. Farmers and herders were suffering from commercial exploitation.

Since liberation, state owned trade companies have been set up in each major city and town. In particular, since the democratic reform, grass root supply and marketing cooperatives have been universally established in all parts of the region. They often provide masses with a great amount of quality daily necessities and the means of production at low prices, and purchase at reasonable prices, agricultural animal husbandry and native products, bringing great convenience to the daily lives of the Tibetans.

Great amount of inland household electrical appliances, daily food stuffs clothing, fruit, vegetables and grain are sold in the Tibet, while Tibetan wool yarn,

woolen blankets, and leather products are often sold to the inland and to foreign countries. Bicycles, radio, and watches are common in ordinary Tibetan homes, and the numbers of T.V. sets, motorcycles and automobiles have increased year by year. These modern conveniences were unimaginable to the serfs living in old Tibet.

Trade has flourished in the period, government implemented trade in the region. In 1975, government spent 17.85 million Yuan for development of trade and industry; since 1980 onwards government's expenditure of trade and industry has been increasing. In 1991, it was 56.40 million Yuan, and total business dealing has also been increasing every year since 1978. Details depicts of Tibet's trade has given below in table no-1.

Table no-1.

Unit-10,000Yuan

Year	PRC' Operating expenses in Tibet trade and industry.	Total Import	Total Export	Border Trade Export
1975	1785	1616	144	144
1980	1446	2082	381	381
1985	6077	3928	1494	819
1990	5829	7686	6581	2475
1991	5640	9879	8581	-

3.4 Industry

Prior to the peaceful liberation in 1951, modern industry did not exist in Tibet. The Lhasa carpet factory, the first modern plant of Tibet was built in 1953. In 1955, the Tagde hydropower station was built with an installed capacity of 660kw.¹⁴ Meanwhile the central government implemented a policy of low-interest loans and assistance for the local handicraft industry to encourage its steady development.

When the reform and opening policy was introduced throughout China in 1978, the regional government determined a guiding principles of promoting the development of all sectors by boosting the four mainstay industries of electric, power, mining, light industry and textiles, and ethnic handicrafts. Since then various basic industrial facilities have been constructed or expanded, including the Dongqu power plant in Zigaze, the

¹⁴ Guozhen, wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures*, New Star Publishers, Beijing, 2002, p. 55.

Oiga power plant in Shannan, the Xiando power station, the Yangbajain thermal power station, the Poncog power Plant, the Famo Gully power plant at Bayim the Lhasa hydro power plant the Lhasa Brewery, and Shannan and Norbusa Chromite mines. These facilities have played an important role in promoting the Tibet economic development and social progress.

3.4.1 Light Industry

With the development of animal husbandry the textile and other light industries have been built up in the TAR. Leather production in the region is a sector of unique Tibetan features. Tanneries in Nagqu, Xigaze, Qamdo Ngari and Lhasa produce more than 50 varieties of products, including heavy leather, lighter leather, fur and leather clothing, leather shoes and horse gear. With the aid from the federal Republic of Germany, the Lhasa Tannery invested 13 million marks in imported equipment, technological upgrading and expansion in 1988 to build an annual capacity of processing 60,000 pieces of hide and producing 40,000 pairs of leather shoes and 10,000 other leather articles.¹⁵ Since the reform centering on the establishment of modern corporate system, the Lhasa Brewery has steadily improved the quality of its product.

The central government has paid more attention to basic energy construction and made the best use of the local geothermal resources. In 1977, the first state fund-generating unit went into operation in Yangbaijin. By the end of the 1980's, its total installed generating capacity had reached 25,000 K.W. become the largest Geothermal power station in the country.

3.4.2 Handicraft

From 1981 to 1989, the state allocated more than 23.4 million Yuan to Tibet for the factory building expansion, technological upgrading and personnel training in the local ethnic handicraft sector, enabling it to witness fast growth. In 1983 the variety of ethnic handicraft products increased from 800 in 1978 to more than 1,300. "Output value exceeded 20 million Yuan, profits approached 7,000,000 Yuan and collective

¹⁵ Ibid, p.56.

wealth accumulation surpassed 2.7 million Yuan, a seven fold increases over 1980, and the variety of products totaled more than 1,600.¹⁶

3.4.3 Building Industry

After the peaceful liberation in 1951, the Tibet still failed to launch urban construction on a large scale due to the difficulties left over by history, including an underdeveloped economy, backward communication and transportation facilities and shortage of materials and technologies. In the eight years from the peaceful liberation in 1951, to democratic reform in 1959, only some badly needed public facilities for electric supply, medicine, culture, education and sanitation were built.

Since 1959, however, the central government has sent a large group of workers, cadres, intellectuals and engineers selected from the whole country to Tibet to help improve the poor and backward local situations. As a result, a great improvement was seen in the urban construction in the cities of Lhasa and Xigaze, which elevated the region's building industry to new stage.

After the mid 1980s along with the deepening of reform and opening-up many building workers flowed into Tibet from the inland areas, injecting new vigor to the local building sector. In Lhasa, Xigaze and some other important area, many buildings are of opposite structure normally found in inland areas. While others are of wood and stone structures geared for the renovation of old buildings. The adroit design combining modern art with local tradition reflects a strong national flavour. The building sector has made great contributions to protecting the old Tibetan culture and art, and to keeping abreast of the world's advanced trends in the building sector.

3.4.4 Tibet Tianlu Communication Holding Ltd.

Tibet Tianlu Communications Holding Ltd. is Tibet's first joint stock enterprise co-established by four state owned communications enterprises. The registered capital and total assets reach 60 million Yuan and 174.03 million Yuan respectively. The number of employees total 1500, including about 200 senior managers and technicians. The company is involved in construction of highways and bridges, production and sales of relative construction materials, automobiles trading and transport of goods and passengers. Its subsidiary highway Engineering branch company is the regions largest construction contingent specialized in highway and bridge construction. Being the

¹⁶ Ibid, p.58.

state's class A construction enterprise its own advanced road and bridge construction especially machinery and equipments; strong technical forces and high reputation. It undertook the construction of, Qinghi-Tibet, Sichuan-Tibet, and Sino-Nepal National trunk highways. It built 30 bridges including Chusu, Gamga, and Nuoxia bridges on the Yarlung Zangbo River. It created good score of over 85 percent good projects.

3.4.5 Armed Police Communications No.1, General Team

It is category one enterprises for high engineering construction and a powerful force in communications construction. The team has worked in a dozen of provinces and autonomous region. On the Qinghai-Tibet plateau, they have finished hard projects one after another and built good highways one section after another.

3.4.6 Tibet Highway survey Planning and Design Institute

This institute was founded in 1963, through over 30 year's development; it has now become a states class. A survey and design institute integrating highway, bridge, tunnel and construction supervision. With advanced technology, good design, reputation stressing, and considerable service, the institute enjoys high reputation in the region. So far it has prospected and designed 6,030 kilometers classified highways and 131 bridges with 13,911 meters, and accumulation of over 10,000 meters has been drilled for engineering geology and highway construction project feasibility study reports cover 5,449 km.

3.4.7 Communication Industrial Enterprises

This industrial enterprise used to engage in merely car repair business. Since the reform and upon-up, communications industrial enterprises are geared towards the market, have actively adjusted industrial make up, implemented diversifications. A new communication industry pattern integrating car repair, minerals, building materials, metallurgy, chemical and transport. Its total assets 180 million Yuan, and there are over 800 employees.

After democratic reform in 1959, PRC government reform industrial policy of Tibet. The government implemented modern industrial policy in Tibet, for the development of industry in that region. Though government formulated its industrial policy, still 1978, it was not implemented properly. In 1978 government strictly implemented the policy. Since 1978 industrial output has been increasing year by year.

In 1975 gross out put of industrial output was 113.06 million Yuan and in 1980 it was 148.94 million Yuan. From 1975 to 1991, industrial output has 3 fold increased.

Given below table no.2, 3 and 4 has detail depicts about industrial production of Tibet.

Output of Main Products

Table-2.¹⁷

Year	Chromiumore (ton)	Electricity (10000kwh)	Cement (ton)	Timber (10000 cu.m)	Traditional Chinese medicine	Borax Ore (ton)	Germents (Unit)
1975	200	10488	34000	17			
1980	50300	17459	52200	21	101		
1985	14101	24668	46668	21	82	-	154261
1990	93120	31582	132345	21	55	2225	25576

Table-3¹⁸. Gross output value of Industry

Unit:10000 Yuan.

Year	Total	State Owned	Collective Owned	Others	Light Industry	Heavy Industry
1975	11306	8649	2657	-	4296	7010
1980	14894	13818	1076	-	4600	10294
1985	21247	13950	1958	5339	10765	10482
1990	37200	25395	4230	7575	14518	22682
1991	44214	28709	3805	11700	20307	23907

¹⁷ Ibid, p.58.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.59.

Table-4. Gross Domestic Product. Unit:100 million Yuan.

Year	Gross Domestic Product	Primary Industry	Secondary Industry	Industry	Building Industry	Tertiary Industry	Per Capita, GDP (Yuan)
1978	6.65	3.37	1.84	0.61	1.23	1.44	375
1979	7.30	3.50	2.02	0.67	1.35	1.78	404
1980	8.67	4.64	2.18	0.80	1.38	1.85	471
1985	17.76	8.87	3.08	1.23	1.85	5.81	894
1990	27.70	14.10	3.57	1.92	1.65	10.03	1276
1991	30.53	15.50	4.17	2.27	1.90	10.86	1358

Source: Guozhen, Wang, *Tibet's Facts and Figures*, 2002, New Star Publishers, p.42.

3.5 Agricultural & Animal Husbandry

Agriculture is the backbone of the Tibet's economy, most of the people depends on agriculture. There are not any alternative sources of livelihood. Agriculture sector also not develop, because of low fertile land and hilly area. Tibet currently has 232000 hectares of cultivated land. Important farm produce includes winter highland barely winter wheat, spring wheat, spring highland barely, peas, broad beans, potatoes, rope and beets. In some areas rice, corn, soyabean, mung beans, peanuts, tobacco, cabbage, spinach turnips, brassica, buckwheat, and lambs-quarters are also grown. Major farming area of Tibet are found along the Yarlung Zampo river and its tributaries, and the plain lining the Jinshajing, Lancongiang, and Nujian rivers. These areas are known as "high land granaries". Under the restraints of the old feudal serf system, the development of the productive forces was extremely slow. Production methods were backward, tools rudimentary and farming methods crude. Seeking to overcome this backward state, Tibetan farmers energetically pursued farmland capital construction beginning in 1960s. irrigation works were built soil improved, new style farming tools popularized and high quality seed types cultivated. The old system of cultivation was improved with development of scientific farming. As a result agricultural production claimed rapidly.

3.5.1 Policy on Land Use

For the development of agricultural sector; People's Republic of China, implemented following "land use policy" in Tibet

- proper arrangement will be made for an invested enterprise when it needs land for expansion on the pre requisite that the land use conforms to state law and regulation.
- When an invested enterprise setup in the region buys commercial insurance, it shall enjoy preferential treatment with regard to low insurance fees in the region.
- The duration of the transfer shall vary with different projects. Fees to be collected for transfer of land shall be reduced or exempt from local land. Those with difficulty paying the land use fee at a lump sum may pay it in installments. Land may be as invest. During the use period, those who have made 20 percent of the investment shall enjoy the right to use land for mortgage or transfer. Upon expiration of the use period, those using the land shall have the priority in continuing the use of land.
- Owner of state land may lease the land to an invested enterprises for compensatory use. A people's government enjoying the power to approve the use of land may recover the land use right and lease it to the investors at a preferential rate.
- When an invested enterprise engages in construction of efficient housing, 40 percent of the construction area of housing built on the allocated land shall have to be used as commodity housing.
- When rural collective uses land as investment in establishment of a joint venture or uses land to engage in development of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery together with investors. The collective nature of the land shall not change within the contractual period. The plot of land shall be used by the co-operative partner and it shall not be allowed to be transferred.¹⁹

After Tibet's democratic reform in 1959, it launched a large-scale campaign in capital construction on firm land, building irrigation works, improving soil conditions, spreading new farm tools and breeding new varieties of crops. Improving the farming system and promoting the use of science and technology. The result was the rapid development of agriculture.

In 1980 production food grains was 50,4970 tons, of 3.6 fold increased from 1952. In 1990 it was 608280 tons and 1.2 folds, increased from 1980. Per capita production of grain in 1980 was 274.45 kg and oil bearing crops 5.85 kg. In 1990 it was

¹⁹ West China Tibet, *Information Office of The People's Government*, China International Press, Beijing, 2002, pp.131-132.

280.34 kg and 7.90 kg. From 1980 to 1990 per capita grain increases 5.89 kg per head of grain, oil bearing crops increases 2.05kg per head. From 1980 to 1990 grain increases in the rate of 2.87 per cent grain and oil bearing fruits 35 percent. The table no. 5, 6, and 7 has shown detail depicts of agricultural production of different years and different crops have been given below.

Table no. 5 Yields of Major Crops Unit: ton

Year	Total	Rice	Wheat	Winter wheat	Qingke barley
1975	445827	2278	127284	96820	236357
1980	504970	2210	181085	143830	237230
1985	530669	2488	118519	72621	333736
1990	608280	3246	164271	115911	369294

Table no.6. Orchard Output of 1990:

Items	Area hector	Production in Ton
Tea	149	66
Orchard	629	5445
Apple Orchard	508	3696
Pears Orchard	41	319

Table no. 7. Gross Output Values Unit: 10000 Yuan

Year	Gross output value	Agriculture	Forestry	Animal husbandry	Fishery
1975	34030	13921	106	19993	10
1980	53215	26749	765	25694	07
1985	108875	56837	2274	49724	40
1990	195023	98138	3250	93573	62
1991	210063	95755	2949	111278	81

Source: Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures 2002*, pp.66-70.

3.6 Animal Husbandry

Tibet's vast land area is conducive for the animal husbandry. It is one of China's five great pasturelands. 56 percent of all of its grass land 46 million hectares, are used only animal husbandry. Another 21.6 million hectors, 26 percent of total grassland are used for farming and animal husbandry, with the remaining 14.8 million hectares, or 18 percent being used only for farming.

Important domesticated animals include Yaks, cattle, *pian niu* (offspring of a bull and a female yak), horse, donkeys, sheep and pigs. Most of these are rest under extensive conditions and are indigenous, primitive species. As such they are well adopted to local conditions and are indigenous, primitive species. Genetically prepared for the cold, low air pressure and thin oxygen of the high plateau. These animals provide the material base for the subsistence of the Tibetan people and also valuable resource for the generation of foreign exchange. In addition they provide important raw materials for local traditional handicrafts, textiles, processing, and other light industry. They hold an important position in the nation's economy.

Animal husbandry has been practiced for several thousand years in Tibet using the primitive extensive grazing method, the herdsmen moving from place to place to find water and grass, a situation that continued until late 1950s. Over the past 40 years the Tibetan's governments at various levels have organized herdsmen in a large-scale move to protect the grasslands. Livestock breeds have been improved and prevention and treatment of live stock diseases emphasized. Other measure such as enclosing or irrigating pastureland and rotating grazing have further benefited animal husbandry. In this period government provided proper facilities for development of herding. So animal husbandry has been bumper increasing in this period. The given below table no.10 shows the number of livestock production in the respective years.

Table no.10. Number of Livestock in Year End

Unit: 10000 head

Year	No. of animals	Large Animals	Cattle	Ship and Goat	Sheep	Hog
1959	956	243	222	707	474	6
1980	2351	502	465	1825	-	24
1985	2176	539	499	1627	1086	13
1990	2251	554	506	1681	1113	16

Source: Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures 2002*, p.64.

The above table shows that, in 1959 total number of animals was 956 and in 1990 it was 2251. It was 2.4 fold increases from 1959 to 1990, every types of animals has been increasing more than double fold. So the data, that animal husbandry has increase, and government promoted for development of animals husbandry.

3.7 Tourism

Tibet, mysterious in the eye of the world for a prolonged period of time finally opened its doors to the outside world in the early 1980s, when the People's Republic of China introduced the reform and opening program. This was followed by huge influx of foreign mountaineers and those who come for sightseeing visits or scientific exploration.

After that tourism in Tibet has become comparatively fully fledged with good hotels, and other tourist facilities. Satisfactory road conditions and high quality of tour guides and managers. At present there are 60 sites open to tourists. They center on the city Lhasa, and core Xigaze, Shannan, Nagqu, Ngari, and Nyingchi. Tourist programs in the Tibet Autonomous Region feature cultural visits and sightseeing. But special tour related mountaineering, hiking, scientific survey, and enjoyment of folk fare and religious activities are gaining momentum.

Beginning in 1980, China opened 21 high Peaks including the Qumolangmo and Xixabangma. In the TAR Mani stone mounds and colourful sutra streamers are found at mountain mouths, lakesides, and villages, and even in the wilderness. Walking in the urban and rural areas easily.

In this period tourism sector has markedly increased the detail information has given below the table no.8.

Table No.8.

Year	Total number of tourists (persons)	Foreigners	Oversees Chinese	Compatriots from Hong Kong/ Macao	Business Volume (10000Yuan)	Profit (10000 Yuan)	Foreign Exchange Earning from Tourism (US\$ 10000)
1980	1059	1004	1	54	130	81	80
1985	15402	15041	140	241	403	244	120
1986	30000	29553	153	294	1740	870	620
1987	43500	42889	257	354	3135	1300	800
1988	22736	21835	515	386	2662	849	700
1989	3602	3341	15	247	1010	705	222
1990	11041	9842	40	1151	6031	682	601
1991	16755	14768	85	1902	7848	1507	924

Source: Guozhen, wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures*, New Star Publishers, 2002, p.95.

In 1980s business volume of tourism sector was 1.3 million Yuan, it has been increasing every year since 1980 and reached 78.48 million Yuan in 1991. Foreign exchange earned in the sector in 1980 was 0.80 million Yuan US dollar, it has been increasing and reached \$9.24 million US dollars in 1991. Profit from this sector in 1980 was 0.81 million Yuan, it had been increasing year by year, and reached \$15.07 million US dollar in 1991.

3.8. Conclusion

Since 1980 the state has adopted a looser policy towards collective enterprises, and individual industrial and commercial business, that produce and sell daily necessities are exempted from industrial commercial and consolidated taxes. Individual farmers and herdsmen and collective enterprises that sell or swap agricultural, animal husbandry and side lines products or handicraft on market are also exempt from taxes. In this period People's Republic of China provides conducive business environment to flourish business. In 1980, total volume of export and import was \$16.5 million and in 1991 it was \$34.70 million. Business dealing from 1980 to 1991 was 2 fold increased. In 1965 import was 5.2 fold to export, but in 1990 it was 1.16 fold. The above mention data clearly indicates that the volume of trade has increased satisfactorily.

Modern industry first begun in Tibet in the late 1950s, with the appearance of more than 10 new fields of production, including electric power, mining, wool spinning, food processing, printing, building materials and machine industry. After democratic reform in 1959, industrial establishment flourished in the region. In this period, People's Republic of China, reform its industrial policy. In this policy government provided, some financial subsidies tax exemption, and other essential facilities to small and medium scale, industrial units. This policy was adopted in 1980, from that year industrial production has 3 fold increased from 1980 to 1991. Gross output value of industrial unit in 1980 was 148.44 million Yuan. From that year industrial production has increased every year. In 1991, Gross production of industrial unit was 442.4 million Yuan. In 1980, Gross output of state owned industrial unit was 138.18 million Yuan. It had been increasing every year since 1980.

In this period output of every type of industrial unit has increased. Establishment of number of industrial unit has also increased, because of People's Republic China's liberalize industrial policy, in 1980. In this period industrial performance was satisfactory.

After 1962, People's Republic of China has reformed agricultural policy. Sefs and slaves won emancipation and were given land to till. Irrigation facilities, soil improvement, and fine variety of seeds were adopted. The result was progress in farming and livestock breeding. In 1980, government implemented a new policy the "farm land is distributed among farming house holds, and independently owned, bred and managed by them." farmers and herdsmen are exempted from agricultural and animal husbandry taxes.

Total output of grain in 1980 was 504970 tones, production of grain had been increasing every year since 1959. In 1990 it was 608280. From 1980 to 1990, grain production has 1.2 fold increased. Per capita share of grain in 1980 was 274.45kg., and 293.64 kg. in 1991, per capita share of meat, and milk also increased every year. Performance of agriculture and animal husbandry was increased satisfactory.

CHAPTER – IV.

THE SERVICE SECTOR.

INTRODUCTION

In Old Tibet, with the exception of schools within the monasteries and government run schools for children of aristocrats and monks officials, there were no schools in modern sense.¹ After the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, educational undertakings in Tibet begun to see first development. The new education system comprising pre-school, primary, secondary and specialized secondary educational as well as polytechnic, vocational and adult education and TV classes is basically in place. Special attention was paid to study and use of Tibetan language. Most of the school classes are taught in Tibetan language. Tibetan is the compulsory course and Chinese and foreign languages are open for choice.

Tibetan culture, thoroughly permeated with religion, is the product of particular historical epoch. This culture of the Tibetan people finds expression in traditional folk art forms.

The Central Government has always paid attention to the protection and development of Tibetan folk culture. Since the 1980s the regional government has emphasized the scientific transmission and development of ethnic Tibetan folk-art traditions. In cultural work efforts are made to preserve the integrity of the culture. Tibetan song and dance, Tibetan opera, cultural relics, fine arts, and photographic works are frequently shown in China and elsewhere in the world.

In the first half of 20th century, only a few towns in Tibet had western medical clinics that were opened by foreigners or the Tibet office of the Government of the Republic of China. While the vast agricultural and pastoral areas were neglected. There were only three Government run hospital in Tibet, in addition a small number of private clinics, individual medical practitioners and Tibetan folk doctors. The medical doctors served only ruling class, leaving the majority of serfs and slaves with little medical

¹ *PRC's Report, West China Tibet*, China International Press, p.78.

services and supplies. Acute infectious diseases, such as small pox and plague, often occurred.

Since the peaceful liberation in 1951, public health undertakings in Tibet have witnessed remarkable progress. The Tibetan pharmaceutical plant has been expanded. Tibet's first newspaper, The Lithographed Vernacular, Tibetan News began publication in Lhasa in 1907. Important news paper and periodicals are published in both Tibetan and Chinese editions. Financial Institution is the most important infrastructural unit of service sector. There are 700 financial institutions and four insurance companies working in Tibet.² It provides 46 types of insurance services. As the autonomous region features high mountain, dangerous roads and backward transport facilities, transport means and liability insurance are the most salient features of the insurance business in the region.

The government of TAR has consistently stressed the implementation of the nation's fundamental policy that natural resources be rationally utilized so as to protect the environment, conscientiously realizing the co-ordinated planning and earning out economic, urban and rural and environmental construction. The standing committee of Tibetan People's Congress and the regional government have issued a series of regional rules and regulations geared to environmental protection, including regulations of the TAR concerning environmental protection. The Government of TAR established an environment protection agency in 1975 and an environment protection committee in 1990.

Nature reserves reflect natural ecology. They guarantee the continued existence of wild species and their genes and provide ideal conditions for biological, ecological, geological and paleontological research. Nature reserves are also environmental monitoring and positioning bases. They play an important role in improving the ecological environment, increasing the output of agricultural crops and reducing the natural disasters. Protection of wild life and plant resources is achieved mainly through nature reserves.

People liberation Army (PLA) is a military organisation of China. That organisation established in Tibet for betterment of Tibetan. The Commander of PLA in the Tibetan military district early 1979 was Mr. Reng Rong. Their main aim is to

² Ibid, p.72.

awarded Tibetan and integrated Tibet with China. PLA's contribution in constructing roadways in Tibet, was very important. That organisation first started road construction with co-operation of local people. PLA recruited Tibetan people, of proletarian background and political loyalty. The number of Tibetan recently increased by the organisation because of better payment of salary.

4.2 EDUCATION

Before the peaceful liberation in 1951, school enrollment in Tibet was no more than 3000 at its highest. Serfs and slaves, who formed more than 95³ percent of Tibetan population were deprived of the right to receive education. The attendance rate of school-age children was less than 2 percent.⁴

Educational practice was based on monastic, official and private education. With the monastic education being the dominant form. Lamas were teachers, Buddhist scripture text books and students were trained to be monks. Official education was based on two schools run by the Gaxag Government, one (Zelhezha) for training monk officials and the other (Zekanglhazha) for training lay officials. There was a medical and astrological school (Moinzekanglhazha), which was also official run. The lay official school was not a pure school, but an organ in the Gaxag Government in charge of auditing and management of lay officials that also oversaw their training. Its purpose was to teach the Tibetan language, mathematics and accounting knowledge. It normally had some 20 students, who had come from noble families.

4.2.1 MODERN EDUCATION

In 1952, Tibet saw the establishment of the first school in modern sense, the Lhasa Primary school. Thereafter, primary schools were setup one after another in Qamdo, Xigaze and some other places. At the end of 1958, Tibet had 13 government run primary schools, enrolling more than 2,600 pupils.⁵ Then, every year, number of government school in Tibet has been increasing and enrollment of student also increasing year by year.

³ Guozhen, Wang. *China's Tibet facts and figures*, New Star Publishers, 2002. p. 103.

⁴ Ibid. P.103.

⁵ *Tibet Education*, Summary of world Broadcasting FE/2158/S1/1-10, 21st Nov. 1994. p.8.

In 1984, the Central Government held the second National Conference on work in Tibet, with a special focus on educational matters in the region. It was decided during the conference that teaching in schools in the region should be based on the Tibetan language and teaching contents should be adopted to Tibetan economic and cultural developments. It also decided that three Tibetan middle schools and 16 Tibetan classes would be established in 19 other provinces and municipalities directly under the central government.

In the same year Tibet University was founded, with the establishment of the Tibetan Medical College in September 1989, the region had four institutions of higher studies. The Education Commission of Tibet Autonomous Region explicitly stipulates that the four schools of higher studies must admit Tibetan students.

4.2.2 SUPPORT FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Since the 1980s, the central government has substantially increased investment in the modern education in Tibet and granted many special preferential policies. These include:-

- Free Education, under which the Government pays the tuition fees of ethnic Tibetan student from primary school through college.
- Supplying food, clothing, and accommodation free of charge to some ethnic Tibetan primary and secondary students and establishing boarding schools in rural areas.
- Gradually introducing student grant and scholarship system in primary and secondary schools at and above the township level.
- Local ethnic groups constituting the chief proportion of enrollment in schools of various types and at all levels; and
- Provinces and municipalities directly under the central government with good conditions running Tibetan middle schools and Tibetan classes and offering special treatment to Tibetan students in their studies and livelihood.⁶

⁶ Jun'e Shāng, *Tibetan Education Yesterday and Today*, China Inter Continental Press, Beijing, 1997. p.40.

For the development of education, government implemented different project in Tibet. Following table No. 1, is the details, depicts of educational standard in this period.

Table No. 1

Year	Operating expenses for education culture & health care in 10000 Yuan	Total No. of Teachers	Total No. of Students	Total No. of enrolled students	Total No. of Graduate from various type of school
1975	1785	986	224357	—	—
1980	1446	14544	268082	70075	23105
1985	6077	10476	145279	33365	16366
1990	5829	12390	187162	46670	16674
1991	5640	—	—	—	—

Source: Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures*, New Star Publishers, 2002, P.109.

The Government of PRC spent large amount, for development of education in Tibet. From 1980 to 1991, they spent 189.92 million Yuan. In 1975 PRC spent 17.85 million Yuan, at that time the number of teachers were 986 and student enrolled in different school were 224357. In 1980, the PRC spent 14.46 million Yuan, and number of teacher in different schools were 14544 and number of student enrolled in different school were 70075. In 1985 expenditure on education was 60.77 million Yuan, number of teachers were 10476 and student enrolled were 33367. From 1980 to 1991, expenditure on education has increased every year but number of teachers and number of students enrolled has decreases.

4.2.3 CULTURAL UNDERTAKING

Tibetan culture is part of the treasure of Chinese Culture. Merged with the religious culture, it boasts numerous folk stories probing the mysteries of the great nature or lauding things good and beautiful or repudiating evil things. It was originated during the Tubo Kingdom and Zhang Zhung period some 1,000 years earlier. During this prolong period of time, many men of letter emerged and they left behind many works still studies today. 'King Gaser' is the longest epic in the world. The central

government attaches great importance to carrying forward and developing the folk culture.

Since the 1980s the Tibet Autonomous Region has managed to increase its contacts with the outside world through exchanges of visits, books and data, and by conducting academic seminars, and giving act performances. It has strengthened cooperation with overseas cultural circles, scientific research institutions, and international organizations.

In 1987, when international seminar on Tibetan studies was held in Hungary, the Tibet autonomous region sent six of its scholars to attend.⁷ In an effort to preserve precious cultural relies, the Chinese government in 1961, 1982 and 1988 declared a total of 18 sites at state level key cultural relics preservation units.

4.2.4 SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Tibet's singular physical geography determines the distinctive highland character of the scientific study of the local geology, biology and metrological phenomena, medicine, agriculture, and animal husbandry. From 1950 to 1980 China organized several large scale multi-disciplinary comprehensive scientific survey teams and several team in individual scientific fields to do on the spot-research on the Tibetan plateau.

In the period from 1980 to 1986, the Chinese Academy of sciences conducted comprehensive and specific surveys of the Qinghai-Tibet plateau, the Tibet plateau in particular studying its geological structure, its characteristics and evolution and deposit of mineral ores. These surveys resulted in lifting the veil on some of the mysteries of the plateau, the establishment of Qinghai-Tibet plateau, and revelation of the enormous potential and prospects or development of natural resources.

4.2.5 TIBETOLOGY

In 1985 the TAR Academy of Social sciences set up the Tibetan Classics Publishing house and the Tibetology and Han Chinese Documents compilation office to handle the task. The China's National centre for Tibetan studies was set up in Beijing in

⁷ Bell, Charis, *The people of Tibet*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1992. p.30

1986. These institutions have undertaken many research projects on a wide variety of topics including regional economic and social development strategies.

Tibet's traditional culture destroyed by the red guards, and new cultural policy carried out by the people's government during the great part of the post liberation period. Chinese government adopted policy for respecting and protecting the culture of all minorities of Tibet. By 1987, more than 43 million copies of 600 books written in Tibetan had been published in China.⁸ Since 1980, the central government has allotted a huge sum of money for the maintenance of Tibet's temples, monasteries and other historical sites. Since 1981, state expenditure on the maintenance of Tibet's Potala Palace has exceed 4 million Yuan.⁹ The central government has allocated more than 36 million Yuan for the restoration and repair of Tibet's most famous monasteries alone. At present 13 of Tibet's most famous monasteries and palaces have been listed as key cultural treasuries under the state protection and 11 have been put under the protection of the TAR.

4.3. SPORTS

Tibet's traditional sports are the product of region's particular natural environments, some competitions, some performances were connected with the seasons and festivals of the Tibetan calendar. Today some of the traditional sports have been standardized and included in modern competitive sports.

Today there are more than 1000 sports facilities of various types in Tibet. The modern multipurpose gymnasium in Lhasa's northern suburbs can hold 4,000 spectators for basket ball, volley ball, table-tennis, badminton, gymnastics, wushu martial arts, weight lifting, wrestling and mountaineering.

4.4 MEDICAL CARE

There were only two small scale, simply equipped government operated medical institutions in old Tibet, and they were both located in Lhasa. Today a medical care network is beginning to take shape throughout the length and breadth of Tibet.

Since 1986, scheduled immunization was introduced to Tibetan children, with the immunization rate brought upto 85 percent, and the infectious disease morbidity and

⁸ Ibid. P.31.

⁹ Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures*, New Star Publishers, Beijing, 2002. p. 110.

mortality rates have dropped by a considerable margin. Over all, free government supplied medical services are available for Tibetan and other ethnic minorities. The government assumes the cost of all serious diseases that require hospitalization and cost of operations. Farmers and herdsman are responsible for a portion of their medical expenses varying with their financial capacity.

The long and distinguished history of traditional Tibetan Medical science make it an important part of Chinese Medical science. The Chinese government has paid great attention to developing traditional Tibetan Medical science and medicine, and has adopted a policy of inheriting encouraging, systematizing and improving it. Tibetan Medical prescription, have been edited and published. Many specialist in this field have graduated from the Tibetan Medical Science department of Tibet University. In 1980, total number of doctors appointed in Tibetan Hospital, were 3564 and total number of medical employee was 15,045. In 1990 total number of doctor was 9513 and total number of employee in hospital was 17,011.¹⁰

4.5. MEDIA

In July 1953, the PLA setup Tibet's first wired broadcast station in Lhasa. It was equipped with one 75 watt amplifier, one 1,000 watt gasoline generator, and six megaphone placed on the roofs of civilian houses flanking Barkor street.¹¹ The year 1978 saw TAR succeed in showing black and white TV programme on trial basis. And in the following year, the autonomous region successfully broadcast colour TV programs. In 1985, the Tibet TV station the first of its kind, was officially launched, broadcasting programs in both Tibetan and Han Chinese. Ten years later, the Tibet Broadcast and TV programs translation and production counter went into operation. From then, on the quality of radio broadcasting and TV programs has improved with each passing day.

The Tibet, Tibetan language ancient books publishing house was set up in the late 1980's specifically to edit old Tibetan language hand-written and wood block printed books, checking them against authoritative texts and preparation for publications. This publishers has already compiled a large scale collection of ancient Tibet-language texts entitled snow land library, with more than 20, copies of over 40 titles already issued. For development of awareness of people of TAR, PRC published

¹⁰ Ibid. p.118

¹¹ Prem Thinley, *Tibetan Review*, Lhasa Publication, Tibet, March 2004. Vol. XXXXXIV, p.34.

13 types of newspaper in 1985, that was six in Tibetan language and 7 in Chinese has been continuing as usual.

4.6 FINANCIAL INSTITUTION

The Tibetan Autonomous region has formed a modern financial system, in which the people's Bank of China is the leader, the Agricultural Bank of China, and the construction Bank of china are the main stays, the other financial institutions play their own specialized role. In the whole region, there are about 700 financial institutions at various levels, and four insurance companies.

On July 2, 1987 the Tibet branch of the people's insurance company of China was Inaugurated. It provides 46 types of insurance services. As the autonomous regions features high maintenance, dangerous roads and backward transport facilities, transport means and liability insurance are the most salient feature of the insurance business in the region. In addition, there are the enterprise property, goods transport, live stock breeding and mountaineering insurance, and safety insurance for middle and primary school students.

The business of the Lhasa stock exchange centre is installed with a large screen, computerised equipment for transactions and other modern equipment, which are valued at more than US \$ 2,00,000.¹²

In 1980, the financial institution provided 232.23 million Yuan, out of this, 49.87 million Yuan for industrial and 171.72 million Yuan for commercial business purposes. From 1980 to 1990, the institutions are provided 2737.92 million Yuan, out of this, 316.78 million Yuan for industrial and 2028.31 million Yuan for commercial business and rest 392.83 million Yuan for township, farmers and herdsmen.¹³ From 1980 to 1990, loans from financial institution has increased seven times.

The financial institutions are received saving deposits also. In 1980 saving deposit was 872.34 million Yuan and every year saving deposits has increased. From 1980 to 1990, it was increased 2.4 times.¹⁴

¹² Guozhen, Wang, *China's Tibet Facts and Figures*. 2002, New Star Publishers, Beijing, 2002. p.82.

¹³ Ibid. p.84.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.85.

4.7 ENVIRONMENT

In the Tibet Autonomous Region, the air is fresh and transparent, and the environment as a whole remains high in quality, upwards of 90¹⁵ percent of industrial waste gases, waste water and other kinds of waste in the region are concentrated in Lhasa, but the regional capacity remains one of the cleanest cities in China in terms of air quality.

The government of TAR has consistently, stressed the implementation of the nations fundamental policy, that natural resources be rationally utilized, so as to protect the environment, conscientiously realizing the coordinated planning and carrying out economic, urban and rural and environmental construction. The government of TAR setup a special organs for environmental protection in 1975, and committee for environmental protection in 1990. In response to central government requirement, the autonomous region in the 1990s promulgated a number of rules and regulations, including the regulation of the TAR concerning Environmental Protection, the regulation of the TAR concerning protection of forests, the provisional regulation of the Tibet Autonomous Region concerning management over grasslands, the notice of the people's government to the TAR for the protection of aquatic resources, and the methods of Tibet Autonomous Region for management over the protection of construction projects. More than 20 of these are protection of wild life.

For the protection of the environment, the Tibet Autonomous Region follows the system of evaluating environmental impact of all construction projects that may cause pollution and the system for the projects to be designed, constructed and put into production alongside with contaminants treatment facilities. No factories are allowed to carry on production with indigenous methods, and hence cause serious contamination. Efforts have been made, and are still being made for technological renovation of existing enterprises that contaminate the environment. They must all meet national standards set for industrial discharges within a given period of time.

4.8 NATURAL RESERVES

The population of Tibet Autonomous Region, small though, is relatively concentrated in certain areas with the result that the region have large areas without

¹⁵ Abeygunawardena, P. (et.al), *Environment and Economic Project Preparation 1999*, Tibet Publication, Lhasa. p.40.

human habitation that cover an area of hundreds of thousands of square km, along with pristine forests. With central government support, the Tibet Autonomous Region has since the 1970s increased financial input in the protection of wild plants and animals. No hunting areas have been setup in areas that are home to rare animals. From 1982 to 1985, the government of TAR approved the establishment of seven nature reserves in Medog, Zayu, Gongxiang, in Bome Pagyi in Nuingchi, Zammo Gully in Nyilam, Jangchun in Gyirong, and Qomolangmo peak. In 1993, the government of TAR approved for establishment of six Natural Reserves for wild life.

The regional government has decided to invest 130 million¹⁶ Yuan to setup three natural reserves for the clay forests in Zanda, pillow shaped, geysers in Ngamring.

CONCLUSION

The people's government pays great attention to the development of the written language and school education. Primary school have been setup one after another in Qamdo, Lhasa, Gyangze, Xigaza and other places. In September 1956, the first modern middle school was bounded in Lhasa, and various kinds of training courses, teacher's training and middle school courses were opened in the region and began to switch into the orbit of modern education.

In order to develop local educational undertakings, the state has invested a total of over 1.1 billion Yuan over the past 40 years and has implemented a series of preferential policies. For example, all the expenses of the poor students from primary school to college graduates or paid by the government. Preferential policies includes free meals, free room and free clothing have been offered to some primary and middle school students. Boarding has also been practiced in most schools in agriculture and herding areas. Related departments have implemented the principle of "favouring the local ethnic groups in terms of enrollment" priority is given to ethnic Tibetans in university or secondary technical school enrollment. Due attention has been paid to the Tibetan language, medical sciences, art and history and other subjects. The vast majority of the ethnic masses obtained the right to an education, which could not be imagined in old Tibet.

¹⁶ Robutsering, Namgyi. *Tibet's material wealth, greath changes in possession*, China Intercontinental Press, Beijing, 1994. P.54.

The people government has always paid attention to and respect traditional Tibetan culture. Tangible results have been achieved in protecting and developing the traditional culture. Tibet is implementing the principle of “attaching equal importance to the use of the Tibetan and Chinese languages, with priority being given to the former.” There are about 2000 Tibetan study personal, constituting a strong contingent composed of Tibetan and Han scholars. While cultural activities are unprecedentedly popular and energetically spreading, modern cultural facilities have taken hold in Tibet, thus filling the gaps on this aspect.

Financial Institutions are provided loans to farmers and herdsmen. Monetary problem was the main cause of their backwardness. Minority class people got subsidies & loan facilities. Most of the people got fruitful result form the loans provided by the financial institutions.

Government of Peoples Republic of China has provided free Government supplied medical services are available for Tibetans and other ethnic minorities. The government assumes the cost of all serious diseases that requires hospitalization and cost of operations. Farmers and herdsmen are responsible for a portion of their medical expenses varying with their financial capacity. Since 1980, all peoples of Tibet have been availing health care facilities.

One line from a Tibetan folk song goes, “The sky is a beautiful blue jewel case, and the bright sunshine its golden filigree”. There are countless ancient poems and folk songs celebrating the beauty of the “roof of the world”,¹⁷ its sunshine, mountains and rivers. For thousand of years, the Tibetan people have lived on this mystic plateau, blending with their harsh natural environment while establishing vital contacts.

Tibet is one of the few regions to have preserved its natural ecology, by harmonizing economic development and environmental protection. The strategy of western development has begun, and nothing can stand on the way of Tibet’s development. This is all the more reason why Tibet must abide by its environmental priorities, and reject the policy of polluting first and making reparation later. Environmental damage already inflicted is obvious from the spring windstorms that carry dust from the loess plateau to the inland area and east coast, where it blast through Shanghai.

¹⁷ PRC’s Report, *West China Tibet*, China International Press, 2002, p.21.

This is nature's warning, neglecting the ecology does not bring development, but destruction. Tibet's development must not be at the cost of the environment. Without a healthy ecology its development is not sustainable and the region will eventually be unfit for human habitation.

Sustainable development is the key to progress in Tibet. There must be no "development fever" that violates natural laws and cycles. Development in Tibet can be achieved by co-ordinating the economy and the environment, and by learning from the mistakes of the inland eastern area "protecting while developing" is the solution to Tibet's dual need for advancement and conservation.

Following scientific breakthrough advances in productive forces, and improvement in living standards, exploitation of natural resources is ever more relentless, and environmental damage evermore irreparable from this point of view, co-ordinating development, protection, and reconciling the relationship between human kind and nature is vital to the world and all that live in it.

CONCLUSION

Economic development in Tibet began on an exceedingly primitive and backward foundation. Its natural environment is unfavourable for economic development, because of its 4,000, odd meter, altitude, service cold weather and thin air. In addition, under the rule of feudal serfdom in old Tibet the economy in the region was extremely backward and the living standards of the people, were low. In view of all this, the central government has always attached special importance to the development of Tibet by providing generous assistance in manpower, materials, financial resources, and technologies. In addition, preferential policies have been adopted in line with the Regions actual conditions. No levies have been imposed on the peasants and herdsmen earn is entirely their own. In recent years the central government has allocated upwards of 1.2 billion Yuan each year to Tibet as a financial subsidy, and other favourable measures have been adopted, such as lightening its financial burdens, preferential investment. Investment in skill training and an aid the poor program. From 1979 to 1986, the central government provided 5.9 billion Yuan special subsidy to Tibet.

The state has given large scale additional assistance to key and special projects on Tibet in different economic and social development periods. In 1984 some 43 projects were built for Tibet by nine provinces and municipalities and mobilized and directed by the central government.

After peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950, people's Republic of China, had given importance for development of Tibet. It was essential to construct transport and communication facilities for the development of that region. So people's Republic of China implemented different scheme for road construction in Tibet. This is the most important mode of transport which substantially contributed for the development of Tibet. Government spent lots of currency for the development of Transport and Communication construction especially of road. In this period, a 22000 kilometer highway network radiating from Lhasa consisting of 15 trunk highways and 315 feeders roads has been formed. Most important are the Sichuan-Tibet, Qinghai-Tibet, Xingjiang-Tibet, Yunnan-Tibet and Sino-Nepalese Highways. The Qinghai-Tibet Highwasy runs 2122 km form Xining to Lhasa. About 80 percent of the goods entering

Tibet every year, nearly 5,00,000 tons are carried on this road. The Sichian-Tibet highway covers the 2,413 km from Chengdu to Lhasa that plays an important role to transfer goods and services.

The region has Highway/Railway joint transport company which handles every kind of business regarding passenger or goods transport on or out of Tibet. It has the capacity to handle containerized goods and less than freight traffic in quantities exceeding one million tons. The first phase of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway was completed in the early 1980's and is now carrying both cargo and passengers.

Transport and communication make people convenient in their physical movement and the transfer of goods and services. The utilization of this services facilities trade and commerce and help the region to exploit resources and flourished socio-economically. In 1978 Tibet exported 20724 tons of goods and materials, in 1991 it was 83976 tons. Export has been increasing since 1978, because of availing road and transport facilities. Earlier they were produces goods and materials, but they had not facilities to sell it to national or international market at reasonable price. In 1978, Tibet imported 225634 tons, and it has been increasing every year. Business of Tibet was enhanced after the introduction of new infrastructure, inhabitants can easily exchange their goods and services with reasonable price and in right time.

The study of the political economy of Chinese rule in Tibet acquires much significance specially after 20 year market socialism initiated in China. Making a clear departure from the Maoist Policies of economic and social integration of the under developed regions. Particularly Tibet. The new policies initiated since 1978 from an important area of investigations at this crucial juncture of history, when globalization has acquired worldwide currency and is portrayed as a panacea for all economic and social ills.

The transformation of Tibet in the past fifty years from a feudal agrarian base economy to a modern industrialized market economy has not been fully completed raising question of nationalities which was regulated to the background when the theme of industrial development got primary not only among the state and the planners but also amongst the section of the masses who thought it would promise them deliverance.

Approaching this problem from the development of world capitalism, we find that the practice of building socialism in China and Chinese characteristics as

enunciated by late Mao have been given the go by and in this age of liberalization the pace of industrialization as advocated by China in Tibet is not fully in keeping with socialistic characteristics but has significantly led to progress and development that have also roused questions in their wake. Primary among them are the inter ethnic tensions, regional disparities and a rethinking on the balanced development strategy practiced by China.

Any debate on Tibet needs to take into account the historical factors that have conditioned the form of production in Tibet viz. agriculture and nomadism that form the mainstay of economy even today. The portrayal of the pre-liberation. Tibetan economy is being continuously revised with new schools of thoughts presenting a picture of the Tibet very different from the peaceful Shangri-La that was a land of plenty and dominant theme for well over a country, whose influences are discernible even today in writings but have been side tracked. It is from this point of history that the contestation of views get sharper.

Pre-liberation Tibet economy have two forms of production i.e. agriculture and nomadism whose production techniques have not seen much change even in the past 40 years owing to the harsh climatic, and socio-religious reasons. The pre-liberation economy has been controlled by the three main actors, the central government at Lhasa, the nobility and monasteries, all of which became intertwined very deeply in the socio-cultural framework and dictated the societal process on account of their super ordinate position in social and economic spheres. Like today, the vast majority of Tibetans were peasants who belonged to the food producing class in opposition to the aristocracy and monks, who were non-food producing and surplus appropriating authorities. The position of average peasants was restricted by his lack of choices that were reinforced by the economic institutions and serve to maintain the status quo. The average peasants that were after paying the required taxes to the respecting taxing authorities contributed more than 50% of his post tax revenue to the gompa on his world view dictated him to accumulate more and more good karma so as to assure him a favourable rebirth.

The continued prevalence of this practice over the centuries led to the emergence of the gompa as central redistributive institutions whose sustenance depended on the accumulation of surplus provided for by the lay people. In the labour starved harsh terrain of Tibet the mediating influence of the gompa extended to all sphere of life and exerted a conservative influence that perpetuated the lack of choices and hence ensured

its continuity. This the pre-liberation economy of Tibet was shaped to great degree by the socio-cultural institutions which appropriated the surplus.

The embeddedness of the economy in the socio-cultural matrix has prompted many scholars to label the pre-liberation era as feudal economy. This argument has also been explored from the political dimension focusing on the role of the traditional aristocracy and the claim of Tibetan independence, we find that in opposition to the commonly held belief China lays its claim on the peaceful liberation of Tibet, not on liberating Tibet from the clutches of serfdom but from imperialism. The main claims of China in justifying their rule over Tibet are based on pre-1949 documents and stretch back as far as the 7th century A.D. The main areas of contestation are the Yonchod or the patron-priest relationship that started during the period of the Mongols and continued till 1911.

Embarking on the road to development of Tibet shedding the vestiges of feudalism and its allied institutions involving primitive means of production and compounded by unpredictable and harsh climatic conditions have been a major hurdle in the path of rapid economic growth. Industrialization that are considered to usher in modernization had to start from scratch in Tibet since there was no modern industries worth the name during the time of liberation. Paucity of modern infrastructure like power, transport and communication network has added to the woes of Tibetan population over the past several centuries. Social infrastructure like health, education etc. were grossly under developed and inadequate.

Policies adopted since 1950s in Tibet seem to have had salutary effect on the standard of living of the people. Available evidence indicates that the per capita Income of the rural masses had been consistently growing with the over all compound growth rate put at around 15 percent particularly in the 1990s. But an interesting result of the comparison between urban rural living standard suggest that the people of Tibet in urban centres enjoy much favourably than their Chinese counterparts as well as Tibetan rural areas.

The centrality of Tibetan economy lies on the prosperity of agricultural and pastoral sectors. Emerging evidence strongly suggests that the primary sector still employ almost a phenomenal 80 percent of the total population in economic activities and contribute roughly 45 percent of the provincial share of GDP. These observations

prompt us to advocate the primary sector has to be the keystone for the any sound strategy/policy to succeed. Hence the long term and sustainable goals of Tibet must necessarily aim at attacking poverty, improving food security and enriching living standards of the pastoralists cultivators etc.

The vast Chinese agrarian zones, the fertile template on which Mao essayed his radical agrarian reform with success and path breaking achievements were sought to be replicated with equal intensity in Tibet, coupled with this gradual commercialization of farming took place with the aroused objective of boosting peasants income. Food security system was put in place to aid both the farmers to assured returns and consumers of food grains a fair price. Commemorable performance was the net result of such strategies. Over all farm production increases, peasants income rose without creating gulf of difference between them, commercialization of the farm economy took deep roots productivity too witnessed upward trend during the last four decades and most specifically in the 1980s and 1990s.

Not withstanding aforementioned success, on the post reform years the exigencies of promoting industrialization took primary with the result that long term perspective was at a considerable risk from the earlier situation leading to deviations of priorities in the farm sectors over the years. Shifting of resources like subsidies grants and other non productive investment into productive primary sector is the immediate need of the hour. This is because of the nearly 3000 million Yuan subsidies, only one tenth or less than 10 percent of the total subsidies amounting to around 300 million Yuan, went to primary sector inspite of the predominant role played by this sector in the production process. Hence, large infusions of subsidies from the secondary and tertiary sector need to be rechannelled to agricultural and allied activities.

In its unbridled passion to develop faster, the strategy of exploiting natural resources has resulted in the untold miseries. Alarming environmental degradation, fragile eco-systems have evoked concerns in the process of development. Notwithstanding the debate of development or environment? What needs to be done is to strike an ingenious balance between the two- the development activities and environment protection.

With the exclusion of a few cottage industries, in the pre-liberation era industrialization was centuries away from the Tibetan plateau. Industrialisation policies

adopted in the post liberation period ensured that the state owned enterprises had flourished emphasizing on the “five pillars industries” approach, namely ethnic handicraft industry, mining industry, building materials industry, forestry and tourism apparently, such strategies seem to have ended in a lack lustre performance as it was alleged that the policies grossly ignored the peculiar local environment. However since the reform years of 1980, industrial production level have registered upward trend. Reform measures in the post 1980 period have resulted in a buoyant Improvement in the value of total industrial production that sealed up from 149 million Yuan in 1980 to 442 million Yuan in 1991. Recent industrial growth has been very encouraging in which it had trapled production.

Paucity of physical infrastructure has been a consistent factor in retarding sectoral development and linkages. The inimically harsh climatic conditions had put road blocks in the path of infrastructure development, such as highways Inland roads, railways, tele-communications, transport structure etc. policies initiated in the past 40-50 years period had indeed geared up the tertiary sector to stand up to the challenges and provide the necessary support. One can not gloss over the development that took shape over the past 40-50 years. In fact, a rough estimate show that 30 percent of Tibet’s GDP is derived from the tertiary sector roughly totaling around 1086 million in 1991.

For a sustained transformation of economy physical infrastructure Per se cannot be the sole panacea for social infrastructure development. The number of educational institution has sprung up substantially, general literacy level has seen tremendous rise particularly in the urban areas, dropout rate have shown enormous dip. Health indicators of Tibet depicts a healthy trend over the years as the life expectancy, death rate and infant mortality rate have generally performed well, but in no way close to what the other parts of China have achieved.

External trade of Tibet has been an insignificant factor due to several reasons arising out of historical and geographical constraints. Since the counter parts in other areas of china, the coastal belt in particular, are enjoying the fruits of international trade and investment, the government of TAR had stepped up efforts and identified areas and specific products for support and expansion, such as farm and livestock products , ethnic handicrafts and tourists souvenirs etc.

The financial powers and potential of TAR is fragile and chronically suffers from multitude of shortcomings. As an over all development policy, the Chinese central government has perceived a plan in the 1950s to support and aid the backward northern region. It is in this context, subsidies and investment had assumed significant role in Tibet's development fund from China. In the past 40 years spanning 1950-90, the central governments total investment in the region was close to 20 billion Yuan with three-fourth contributed as financial subsidies (15.7 billion, to be process) and the rest 4.30 billion Yuan) by way of capital construction projects.

As commercialization proceeds apace, Tibetan's traditional source of income is drying up thick and fast immersing them deeply. The average rural Tibetan's per capita income is a paltry US \$ 140 (1159 Yuan) who constitute 86.23 percent of the total population. This simple fact is pointer towards the magnitude and spread of poverty among the rural Tibetans. The UNDP that measures development through its Human Development Index (HDI) assigns Tibet a position on the bottom of the list placing it at 146th with a score of 0.45. International apart this cries for a solution from authorities that must ensure that the basic minimum needs of the economically deprived sections of society, are satisfied as an urgent and prime task.

Deriding both the modal of development namely western capitalist model and communism of Chinese variety, the government in exile, call the strategy adopted by the present Chinese communist state as being "convergent". 'Convergent' because both the strategy focuses on industrialization, large scale competition, growth of material well being etc. Moreover as economies world over are unabashedly carrying out the program of three economic mantras "liberalization, privatization, and globalization". China is also invariably pursuing with these policies, that have been accorded a foremost place. This is likely to have insurmountable consequences for the people and land of Tibet, as these policies create "sky high unemployment dehumanization and inequality in the society that widens the gap between the haves and have nots.

Comparision between regions/provinces in China manifest the emergence of an apparent two phases of regional development pattern since the 1950s. The first phase involving the Maoist development strategy covering the period 1953-78, focused mainly on the extensive development of interior in contrast to the already relatively developed coastal area. The reform period since the 1978, i.e. Phase II, witnessed a reversal of the Maoist strategy aims at ripid growth accepting in the process regional disparities as

inevitable. Economic policies, therefore followed in the past Mao period had contained a seed within, favouring the coastal regions / provinces as compared to the interior. It is believed that the fruits of development of coastal region would naturally trickle down to the interior and modernize whole economy. However, available evidence, as marshalled above, do not substantiate post Mao Chinese Policy, in fact there is a sharp and pronounced gap between the eastern coastal region and the western areas. Provinces like Tibet, which forms part of the western region, is found to be lagging far behind in almost all the indicators, whether it be regional income, agricultural output per capita, or per capita industrial production.

For instance in 1986, six provinces – Jiangsu, Shandong, Liaoning, Shanghai, Guangdong and Sichuan 33% of the total population accounted for a bulk of 43.5 percent of total gross output value of agriculture and industry. Against these there are eight poor provinces inner Mongolia, Guizhou, Yunnan, Tibet, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang – together with a total population of 12.4 percent had only a small slice of 7.2 percent of the total agricultural and industrial output. Still on a lower economically stratified scale, provinces like, Tibet, Qinghai and Ningxia had a minuscule output share of less than one percent (0.6 percent) with a population total share of one percent. Hence the post Mao era, is dismally placed in the regional disparities level intensifying the gap phenomenally.

Relentless pursuit of growth is leading to extreme differential in inter-personal and inter-regional income and wealth. We are therefore back to square one to a position of richer provinces getting richer while poor one getting poorer. Such wide regional variations in the economic pattern have thrown up tension between provinces and regions and between the majority and minority nationalities. It is no wonder that the interior areas have started demanding preferential treatment against the coastal region. Such tensions which were sought to be quelled by economic means of favouring the interior in the Mao period, is now giving way to sharpening of tensions and economic disintegration between East and West China.

An analysis of the foregoing, leaves us with following observations to record here it is quite natural for my multi-cultural multi-ethnic society to encounter nationality questions, which force many contemporaries, and for that matter, any government to quell such movement. It is another fact that ultimately what matters are the aspirations of the local people who basically form the core of the society. Moving further, any

nation-state that is in the process of consolidation of its territory and more so, in the communist regime the relentless ideological pursuit of upgrading the backward regions and the Populace with strategies can not be wished away. Any strategy which is essentially framed and pursued for the local population, however must not only involve them but take them in confidence in proceeding further. This aspects requires the Chinese attention quite firmly particularly in the era of “globalization” and “liberalization” followed under the banner of “market socialism” that is supposedly accentuating the social cleavages among different ethnic minorities and within them in recent years, Communist China can cite other striking attainments in Tibet. An area that was dominantly illiterate in 1951, now has thousands of students in schools. Hundreds of Tibetan student have been sent to China for advanced education and to learn mechanical skills. They have completed their courses and are back serving as experts in their homeland. Welfare amenities such as sanitation, housing and health services have been sub-ordinated, as far as state expenditure is concerned, to capital construction, particularly roads, and agricultural production. But great progress have nevertheless been made in this fields largely through the modernization of mass effort. Athletics, popular drama, pamphlets, and magazines all useful for communist propaganda and increase productivity have been extensively developed.

Economic production and social reforms are only part of a more fundamental concern with consolidation of Han political domination and the new, all embracing communist system. This concern has meant uprooting the religious ideas, destroying the privileges of the monks and nobility remolding the minds of the Tibetans, establishing the full political geographical unity of the plateau, and asserting military power and influence over all parts of Tibet.

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