

possible the abolition of all Tibetan elements and institutions, religious and civil, which had opposed Chinese initiatives and afterwards the confiscation of private property, the injection of class war, and Communist indoctrination in schools. There are balanced assessments of the real content of Chinese claims to social and economic progress, the possible betterment of the lot of the poorer people, and the extent to which all improvements were necessitated by and subordinated to the aim of military domination.

The conclusion that, for the present and barring unexpected accidents, Tibet is completely under Chinese control, and is scheduled for total assimilation, can hardly be disputed; but the authors do not speculate what might happen when the new peasants find their recent private ownership turned into a collectivised illusion; nor do they consider whether a Tibetan way of life and thought can, in some form, survive the threat of integration, much as an indigenous ethos has survived in Outer Mongolia. The continuance of guerrilla resistance in Tibet is relevant here, and the recent dismissal of the Panchen Lama, which the authors did not expect, shows how wide and strong a feeling of Tibetan-ness and religious faith lie submerged. Even the most emphatic public protestations of Communist ideology must now be seen to have no meaning to the Tibetans to whom they are attributed.

The warning that possession of Tibet might be the key to the domination of Asia cannot be dismissed lightly; but the authors hardly glance at the cost and difficulty, both financial and human, in developing it as a base for expansion, problems which could yet give force to Professor Lattimore's description of Tibet as a zone of diminishing returns for imperialism. At all events, the book provides a systematic and stimulating text for study of the past twelve years and of future developments there.

H. E. RICHARDSON.

The Timely Rain, Travels in New Tibet. By STUART and ROMA GELDER. [London: Hutchinson, 1964. 248 pp. 50s.]

Tibetan Sourcebook. By LING NAI-MIN. [Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1964. 485 pp. H.K. \$30.00. U.S. \$5.00.]

THESE two books are quite different. The first is an account of a journey in Tibet in 1962 while the second is a collection of Chinese Communist statements and documents on Tibet from the period 1950-1962. *The Timely Rain* is a generally favourable treatment of Chinese Communist policies in Tibet and of general conditions there. A reading of the *Tibetan Sourcebook*, even though it presents excerpts from Chinese Communist broadcasts and publications, shows that the Chinese and their ways are not acceptable to most Tibetans.

The authors of *The Timely Rain* entered Tibet in the late summer of 1962, spent five weeks in that region of the People's Republic of China, mainly in Lhasa and its vicinity, and flew out over the eastern grasslands back to China proper.

The title is part of a line in a poem which the Dalai Lama wrote in praise of Mao Tse-tung in 1954 upon the occasion of the former Tibetan ruler's first visit to Peking. This poem of generally adulatory content is an example of the material the authors present as evidence to weaken the anti-Chinese position the Dalai Lama has maintained in India since the Tibetan revolt of March 1959. It is possible, however, that in his relations with the Chinese the Dalai Lama was steering an understandable course combining pretended acquiescence to the Chinese policies with an attempt to maintain a real degree of autonomy in some areas of Tibetan life.

Stuart and Roma Gelder are no strangers to the Far East. Stuart Gelder was a correspondent for the *News Chronicle* in the China-Burma-India theatre during the Second World War. In 1960 the Gelders returned to tour China and then wrote *Long March to Freedom*, a chapter of which is devoted to interviews with Tibetan students in western China. Their latest book is illustrated with about seventy good-quality photographs, twenty-eight of them in colour.

The Gelders got most of their information from interviews, apparently twenty-five in all, surely too small a "sample" for definite conclusions about conditions in Tibet. The authors are not sufficiently aware of the limitations of this approach, even though they state at one point that the person interviewed could have been someone other than the person he purported to be. It is partly this problem that has made the book "contradictory in some respects" as Edgar Snow writes in his foreword. The interviews were done with the necessary aid of an interpreter from China.

My main criticism of these interviews is that they were held in an area which experienced the suppression of a revolt only three years previously and since then had undergone all manner of changes in education, land tillage and social relationships under Chinese military occupation. Under such conditions it could not have been possible for the interviews to have yielded Tibetans' true opinions on any meaningful subject, e.g., the conditions under which land is tilled or the limitations upon the practice of religion. The risks of Chinese retaliation for any revealing statements are too great to have allowed the expression of honest opinions and attitudes by the Tibetans interviewed.

The authors present the Tibet of 1962 as many times better, in a material sense, than the disease-ridden medieval society which existed until after the Chinese invasion of 1951. This is correct as far as it goes.

For example, it is possible, as is claimed, that many new agricultural implements have been brought into Tibet. But this does not mitigate the basic situation, glossed over in this book, that Tibet was militarily seized by China and that the great mass of Tibetans cannot possibly desire to live under the control of the army of a people so different in culture, language and ethnic background. The history of Tibet shows that it has maintained its independence from China whenever possible. Material improvements do not automatically produce, as the authors seem to believe, general acceptance of alien rule.

The authors' favourable attitude towards Chinese policies and intentions may have been partly engendered by the fact that they were not in Tibet until 1962, three years after the revolt. They had not been permitted to visit Tibet in 1960, during a former trip to China. It is possible to assume that in 1962, unlike in 1960, Tibet was in a period of quiescence within a general process of deep transformation. It may have been possible for the authors to view conditions then as if they constituted a permanent reality, without acknowledging that the end ordained for Tibet by the Chinese is to integrate it in all ways into China, a goal which has never been passively accepted by Tibetans.

This integrative process was in abeyance in 1962, because China was then still in the throes of recovering from the economic reverses of 1959-1961. The Chinese Communists were so preoccupied with restructuring their economy and forestalling internal opposition to their rule that little thought or energy remained for promoting further revolutionary changes in distant Tibet at that time.

The situation is very different at present. There are indications that Tibet is now headed for further change which will be another step in the process of re-making Tibet in China's image. The State Council at its plenary session on December 17, 1964, decided to dismiss *in absentia* the "incorrigible traitor" Dalai Lama as Chairman and member of the Preparatory Committee and to brand him as a "running dog of imperialism and foreign reactionaries." (*Peking Review*, No. 52, December 25, 1964, pp. 4-5.) The Panchen Lama has also been demoted. He recently was removed from the posts of Vice-Chairman and Acting Chairman of the "Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region" for representing a "reactionary clique of self-owners . . . against the people, the motherland and socialism." (*Peking Review*, No. 1, January 1, 1965, p. 15.)

These acts of the Chinese show that the pace of revolutionary change is being intensified in Tibet. Because the Chinese have initiated this intensification, it is not possible that the relationship between the Tibetans and the Chinese is, as the authors say, agreeable to both sides. If it were, there would have been no reason for further change.

BOOK REVIEWS

At the end of the book, the authors present diplomatic conventions in five appendices, the texts of which show that Britain and imperial Russia always acknowledged Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, although China was never able to exercise a continuous and definite control over Tibet. The period 1911–1951 is the most recent period when Chinese authority was not exerted in the area, a condition desired by most Tibetans. The presentation of the documents, however, is in effect a legalistic exercise which shows only that it was not in the interest or power of Britain and Russia to recognise the independence of Tibet. Furthermore, at the time of the agreements the British assumed they would be able to continue to ensure some degree of Tibetan autonomy. After 1947 this was no longer possible. The documents have been reproduced almost exactly as they are printed in various volumes of *British and Foreign State Papers* of the years 1889–1914. The differences are of no consequence. A sixth appendix reproduces the Chinese-Tibetan agreement of May 23, 1951.

Although *The Timely Rain* is worthy of attention for its representation of the everyday life of Tibet as it existed in late 1962, the authors' attempt to show that most Tibetans are satisfied with conditions in the area is not believable in view of the long opposition so many Tibetans have shown to Chinese rule. The opposition has been revealed even in Chinese Communist sources as well as in many reliable Western reports.

The central problem is not only, as Edgar Snow says in the foreword, that of the "elusiveness of facts" themselves but also one of believing that it is possible to establish meaningful facts in an area occupied by the army of the People's Republic of China.

Tibetan Sourcebook contains 100 representative Communist statements on Tibet, more such material than has appeared in any one book heretofore published. The Communist statements, although of an official nature and replete with self-praise, nevertheless reveal the difficulties the Chinese conquerors have had in promoting their own policies against a general Tibetan resistance and provide valuable information on that region. Most of the documents were originally published in Chinese and have been translated into English in this volume. A few were first released in English.

The documents are organised in chronological order in sections relating to certain events, e.g., the Chinese invasion of Tibet. The documents within each section are further divided by their relevance to certain subjects, e.g., resistance, religion, communications. Related groups of documents are prefaced by explanatory notes as are occasional single documents. Additional notes at the end of the book clarify details in the texts. The notes to Chapter IV give useful information

on the administrative divisions and personnel of the government of Tibet.

Appendix I contains brief but interesting information on the contacts between Tibetans in Szechuan and the Chinese Red Army in 1935 during the Long March. At that time the Communists seized food from the Tibetans in the area. They received help from other Tibetans, some of whom were many years later rewarded with positions in the government of the CPR.

On pp. 451-454 is a good selected bibliography of publications on post-1950 Tibet in English, Russian and Chinese. Only a few items, e.g., a 1958 Russian book on the geography of Tibet, are missing.

Of necessity the *Tibetan Sourcebook* is a digest. All the available Communist statements on Tibet will not fit into one volume. Research on contemporary Tibet will still involve digging in unpublished material. However, this book will appreciably lessen the amount of necessary preliminary excavations. It is a useful aid for both beginning and experienced students of Tibet under Chinese domination.

KARL W. RYAVEC.

Religious Observances in Tibet. By ROBERT B. EKVALL. [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. 313 pp. \$8.50.]

RIGHT up to the Tibetan revolt and the flight of the Dalai Lama in 1959, Tibet was an enclosed inward-looking civilisation, continuing its traditional way of life as heedless as possible of the rest of the world. Tibet seems strange and remote to people of today, but in fact there is very little in Tibetan social and religious life for which we cannot find significant analogies in our own European medieval history. There are also many still earlier civilisations which have likewise been centred on a firm unified religious faith. The Tibetans are only unique perhaps in having persisted in their own particular religious beliefs right up to the present day and in such a total manner that it has been all but impossible to talk of Tibetan *secular* life.

Thousands of Tibetans have come to India as refugees and a few hundreds (mainly in Switzerland) to the West. It is now easy to meet Tibetans of all ranks and of all kinds of occupations, but except to a very few Westerners, no more than twelve or so perhaps, who speak Tibetan well enough, they remain a totally alien people, extolled dotingly by a fervent few for their real or imagined grasp of higher religious truths, but more usually simply disregarded as queer remnants of some strange cultural anachronism.

Robert B. Ekvall is one of the very few Westerners who speaks Tibetan and knows Tibetans well, having lived himself for eight years