

Gender and Ethnicity in China and Tibet

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Course Description

Chinese and Tibetan peoples have interacted for centuries, but it is only in the last half of the twentieth century that the "Tibet question" in China has risen to global attention. This course looks at modern Sino-Tibetan relations through the lens of ethnicity and gender as a way to understand the contentious process through which the Chinese nation-state and national identity have been constructed. Through readings, films, discussions and lectures, we will explore the diversity of Tibetan and Han Chinese family organization, gender ideologies and ethnic identities just prior to, during and after the Communist revolutionary period. This perspective will shed light on the incorporation of Tibetans as a "minority nationality" in the Chinese "multinational state", the role of such minorities in constructing Han Chinese majority identity, and the differing impact of state policies on men and women in the context of rapid economic reform and globalization in the PRC.

Late Paper Policy: Deadlines are strict. Barring personal crisis, family emergency, or severe illness (please let me know ahead of time), all late papers will be subject to one half grade off per day late. Except for abrupt crises, no requests for extensions will be heard within 48 hours before the deadline (that includes for reasons of computer malfunctioning, minor illnesses or being "behind").

Summary of Requirements

- Discussion leadership
- [5 multimedia film commentaries](#) (due by Friday of week after film screened).
 - *1 of these MUST be for week four film "Stranger in my Native Land"; Must discuss the film in terms of nationalism and imagined community*
- Take-home midterm exam
- [Final paper](#) proposal and annotated bibliography
- 10 page [final paper project](#)

Course Organization

This course is your chance to delve into a particularly controversial topic in current world politics. Classes will revolve around student-led discussions and film viewings. There will be 5 multimedia film commentaries, a take-home midterm exam, and a final 10 pg. paper project. I will expect your avid participation--including regular attendance, prompt completion of assignments, and active involvement in discussions whenever possible. In fact, class participation and attendance will comprise a significant portion of your grade. Beginning week 2 class members will take turns posting discussion questions on the [class moodle page](#) and helping to lead class discussions.

Reading and writing assignments are meant to encourage close, critical engagement with the history and cultural politics of the Sino-Tibetan relationship, as well as your thoughtful reflection on the issues they raise in the context of the anthropological perspective on gender, ethnicity and nationalism presented in class. The reading load is moderate to heavy and it is assigned per week. On average, you should expect to put in two to three hours of work outside of class for every hour of in-class time.

Weekly further readings are provided for your use. These readings are ones that are especially relevant or provide differing viewpoints; they offer points of departure for deepening your understanding of particular issues.

Part I: Nationalisms and Rethinking Histories

Week One: Locating "Tibet"

Class 1: Introductions and Goals of the Course.

Class 2: Locating "Tibet"

- Lopez, Donald. "Introduction," in *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. (11pp)
- Goldstein, Melvyn: "Preface" in *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1997. (bookstore and book reserve) (4 pp)
- Bishop, Peter. "Ch. 4: The Axis Mundi Appears (mid-19th century)" (pp. 97-135). *The Myth of Shangri-La*. 1989.

Week 2: Imagined Communities

Week Two Film Assignment: [Tibet: Cry of the Snow Lion](#), *Earthworks Films*, 2004, 103 min.

Class 1: Nation, Culture and Identity Theorized

- Anderson, Benedict. "Introduction" in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983. (7 pp).
- Ana Maria Alonso. *The Politics of Space, Time, and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity*. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 1994 , Vol. 23: 379-405.
- Maalki, Lisa. "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees," in Gupta and Ferguson, eds. *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Class 2: Narratives of Nation

- H.H. The Dalai Lama. [The Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama](#) on the 52nd Anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day on 10 March 2011.
- Norbu, Jamyang, ["2008 Introduction," and "Rangzen Charter,"](#) April 1999. (30 pp)
- PRC State Council, White Paper: "Foreword," "I. Old Tibet," and "II. Momentous Democratic Reform in Tibet," in ["Fifty Years of Democratic Reform in Tibet,"](#) March 2009. (10 pp).

Week 3: Making Majorities: From Empire to Nation in China and the Invention of Nationality

Week Three Chronology: [Moments in Chinese Narratives of History](#)

Class 1: Empire and Nation in China

- Duara, Prasenjit. "Introduction," and "Linear History and the Nation-State" in *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995. (50 pp.)

- Hevia, James. Ch. 2 "A Multitude of Lords: The Qing Empire, Manchu Rulership, and Interdomainal Relations," in *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995. (27 pp.)

Class 2: Ethnicity and Nation in the PRC

- Mullaney, Thomas. 2011. Intro, p. 1-5, Ch. 1 Identity Crisis in Postimperial China, in *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*. (~30 pp)
- Fei Xiaotong. "Ethnic Identification in China," in *Toward a People's Anthropology*, Beijing: New World Press, 1981. (17 pp).
- Munson, Todd. "[Selling China: www.cnta.com and Cultural Nationalism](http://www.cnta.com)," *The Journal for Multimedia History* 2, 1999.

Film clip: "Amazing Marriage Customs", Nanhai Film Co., 1992, ~20 min.

Week 4: Constructing a Pan-Tibetan Identity: From Empire to Nationalism in Tibet

Week Four Chronology: [Creating Tibetan Identities](#)

Week Four Film Assignment: 4 pm Sunday, Sept. 18, Bio 19 [A Stranger in My Native Land](#), 1997 (33 min).

Class 1: Empire and State in Tibet

- Golstein, Melvyn. Ch. 1, "The Imperial Era," and Ch. 2, "Interlude: de Facto Independence," (35 pp) *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1997.
- Goldstein, Melvyn. "Preface" and "Introduction," *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. (36 pp)
- Goldstein, Siebenschuh and Tashing Tsering. *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering*. NY: ME Sharpe, 1997. ch 1-4 (47 pp)

Class 2: The Threat of Modernity: Nationalist efforts

- Bell, Sir Charles (1946). *The Political Testament of H. H. the 13th Dalai Lama*, reprinted in Alex McKay, ed. *The History of Tibet, vol III: The Modern Period 1895-1959 Encounter with Modernity*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Shakya, Tsering. 1993 *Whither the Tsampa Eaters?* Himal Sept-Oct: 8-11
- Schwartz, Ronald, "Conclusion: the Dimensions of Tibetan Nationalism," and "Appendices A-C": excerpt of Tibetan Exile Constitution, Workplans of the Regional Party, and An Urgent Appeal, in *Circle of Protest: Political Ritual in the Tibetan Uprising*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. (29 pp). (bookstore, book reserve)

[Stranger/Nationalism film commentary](#) due Mon.

Week 5: Gendered Nationalisms

Week Five Chronology: [Nationalism and Gender in China](#)

Week Five film assignment: Sun. Sept. 25, 4 pm, Bio 19, *Through Chinese Women's Eyes*, Mayfair Yang, 1997, 53 mins.

Class 1: Gender, Nation and Modernity

- Nira Yuval Davis. "Ch. 1: Theorizing Gender and Nation," *Gender and Nation*, Sage: London, 1997.
- Duara, Prasenjit. "The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China," in *History and Theory* 37(3), October 1998: 287-308.
- Wolf, Margery. Ch. 1 "Eating Bitterness: The Past and the Pattern," *Revolution Postponed Women in Contemporary China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. (26 pp)

Class 2: Engendering Tibet (Charlene in England, in-class film)

- Enloe, Cynthia. "Nationalism and Masculinity," in *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 1989. (19 pp)
- Denchen, Pema. "The Oppression and Resistance of Tibetan Women," in *The Anguish of Tibet*. Berkeley: Paralax Press, 1991. (3 pp)
- Na Zhen. *Women, Marriage and the Family*," in *Tibet*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1981. (4 pp)
- Ama Adhe (with Joy Blakeslee). Ch.s 1-4, *Ama Adhe, the Voice That Remembers: The Heroic Story of a Woman's Fight to Free Tibet* . Wisdom Publications, 1997. (40 pp)

In-class film: [Women of Tibet: a Quiet Revolution](#), *Frame of Mind Films*, 2008. (57 min).

Week 6: One Nation Under Mao: Erasing Difference During The Radical Years

Week Six Film Assignment: 4 pm Sun, Oct. 2, Bio 19: "XiuXiu: The Sentdown Girl", Joan Chen, Stratosphere Films, 1998, 99 mins. ***Warning: This film contains graphic sexual violence*

Week Six Chronology: [The Radical Years in the PRC](#)

Class 1: The Pursuit of Gradual Assimilation: Reform and Revolt

- Shakya, Tsering. Ch. 6 "The Revolt," ch. 9, "Reform and Repression," skim ch. 7, "The Flight of the Dalai Lama," *The Dragon in the Land of the Snows*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1999. (~60 pp.) (bookstore and book reserve)
- "Black Wickedness" article, 1958, translated in *Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic: a Report to the International Commission of Jurists*. Geneva: International Commission of Jurists, 1960. (4 pp) ([ereserve](#)).

Class 2: The Homogeneous and Androgynous Ideal: The Cultural Revolution and the Collective State

- Shakya, Tsering. Ch. 12, "The Cultural Revolution," *The Dragon in the Land of the Snows*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Evans, Harriet. "Comrade Sisters: Gendered Bodies and Spaces," in Evans and Donald, (Eds.), *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution*. Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield, 1999. (13 pp.).
- Goldstein, Siebenschuh and Tashing Tsering. *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering*. NY: ME Sharpe, 1997. ch 7-10 (49 pp).

Handout Take-Home Midterm

Week 7: The Eighties Reforms: Reasserting Dangerous Difference

Week Seven Chronology: ["Reform and Opening Up" in the PRC](#)

Class 1: Reform and Opening Up

- Shakya, Tsering. Ch.s 13-14 The Dragon in the Land of the Snows. NY: Columbia University Press, 1999 (80 pp).
- Hessler, Peter. "Tibet Through Chinese Eyes," in The Atlantic Monthly, Feb. 1999. (10 pp).

Class 2: Living the Reforms

- Yezhol and Li Tao. "Doilungdeqen Farmers Have New Life," China's Tibet. Vol. 3, no. 4, Winter 1992. (2 pp)
- Goldstein, Siebenschuh and Tashing Tsering. The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering. NY: ME Sharpe, 1997. ch. 11-13 (28 pp).
- Goldstein, Melvyn and Cynthia Beall. "The Impact of China's Reform Policy on the Nomads of Western Tibet," in Asian Survey 29(6), June 1989. (21 pp).

Take-Home Midterm due Friday

Part II: Post-Mao Cultural Politics

Week 8: The Cultural Politics of Development

Week Eight Film assignment: "Kokonor", Chenaktsang Dorje Tsering, 2008, 53 min.

Class 1: Nation, Ideology and Development

- Escobar, Arturo. Ch. 1 "Introduction: Development and the Anthropology of Modernity," Encountering development : the making and unmaking of the Third World. Princeton, 1995. (30 pp)
- PRC State Council. White Paper: ["Tibet's March Toward Modernization,"](#) (Foreword, Sections II-III) Nov. 2001.
- Tibetan Govt. in Exile. "Height of Darkness: Chinese Colonialism on the World's Roof," Dec. 2001. (pp. 1-18, up to "Education").

Class 2: Development and Environment in Tibet: Myth and Reality

- Vigoda, Marcy. "Religious and Socio-Cultural Restraints on Environmental Degradation among Tibetan Peoples--Myth or Reality" Tibet Journal, vol. 14, 4, 1989.
- Huber. Green Tibetans: a Brief Social History. in Korom, ed. Tibetan culture in the Diaspora. 1997.

Week 9: Gender and the Family in the Reform Era

Week Nine Film Assignment: (4 pm, Sun. Oct. 30, Bio 19): "Women of the Yellow Earth", John Bulmer, Cicada Films, 1995, 50 min.

Class 1: Marriage and Family

- Compare:
 - Marriage Law of the PRC, 1959.
 - [Marriage Law of the PRC, 2001.](#)
- Davis, Deborah and Stevan Harrel. "Introduction: The Impact of Post-Mao Reforms on Family Life," Deborah Davis and Stevan Harrell, Eds., Chinese Families in the Post-Mao Era. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

- Makley, Charlene. "Mother Home: Circumambulation, Feminities, and the Ambiguous Mobility of Women," in *The Violence of Liberation*, 2007. (44 p).
- Short Story:
 - Yangtso Kyi (Lauren Hartley, trans.). "Journal of the Grassland," in *Song of the Snow Lion: New Writing from Tibet*, Manoa 12(2), 2000.

Class 2: Gender, Ethnicity and the State:"Family Planning"

- Anagnost, Ann. "A Surfeit of Bodies: Population and the Rationality of the State in Post-Mao China," in Ginsburg and Rapp, (Eds.) *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*. Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1995. (20 pp).
- Goldstein, Melvyn and Cynthia Beall. "China's Birth Control Policy in the Tibet Autonomous Region," in *Asian Survey* 31(3), March, 1991. (18 pp)
- Schrempf, Mona. "Planning the Modern Tibetan Family in China," *Figurations of modernity : global and local representations in comparative perspective / Vincent Houben, Mona Schrempf (eds.) Publication Frankfurt ; New York : Campus Verlag, 2008.*

Week 10: Religious Revival and Ethnic Nationalism

Week Ten Film Assignment: (4 pm, Sunday Nov. 6, Bio 19): The XVII Karmapa's return to Tsurphu, 1993 (110 min.)

Class 1: Gender, Ethnicity, Religion and the State

- Gladney, Dru. "Salman Rushdie in China: Religion, Ethnicity and State Definition in the People's Republic," Keyes, Kendall and Hardacre, eds. *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994. (20 pp)
- Schwartz, Ronald. Ch. 2, "Inventing Political Ritual," and Ch. 3, "The Anti-Splittist Campaign," in *Circle of Protest: Political Ritual in the Tibetan Uprising*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. (45 pp)

Class 2: Gender and religious revival: the case of nuns

- Havnevik, Hanna. "The Role of Nuns in Contemporary Tibet," in Barnett, ed. *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*. London: Hurst and Co., 1994. (7 pp)
- Makley, Charlene. "The Body of a Nun: Nunhood and Gender in Contemporary Amdo," in Hanna Havnevik and Janet Gyatso, Eds., *Women in Tibet* . (31 pp)
- Short Story:
 - Geyang. "An Old Nun Tells her Story," in *Song of the Snow Lion: New Writing from Tibet*, Manoa 12(2), 2000.

In-class Film: "[Satya](#)", Ellen Bruno, 1994, 28 min

Final project proposal and Annotated Bibliography Due Friday

Week 11: Work and the Rural-Urban Divide

Class 1: Work, Gender and the State

- Zheng, Tiantian. Introduction, Chs. 2-3. *Red lights: the lives of sex workers in postsocialist China*, Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Class 2: Work, Gender and Education among Tibetans

- Fischer, Andrew Martin. "[Urban Fault Lines in Shangri-La: Population and Economic Foundations of Inter-Ethnic Conflict in the Tibetan Areas of Western China](#)," Crisis States Programme, Working Papers series no. 1, London: Destin Development Studies Institute, 2004.
- Skim:
 - Liu Zhonglu. Women of Tibet, Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 1994. (23 pp)
- Seeberg, Vilma. "Tibetan girls' education : challenging prevailing theory," *Education and social change in China : inequality in a market economy* / Gerard A. Postiglione, editor ; foreword by Stanley Rosen Publication Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

Weeks 12-13: Refiguring Identities: Globalization, Urbanity, and Consumption

Class 1: Han Disenchantment and the Commodification of Minorities

- Schein, Louisa. "Urbanity, Cosmopolitanism, Consumption," in Chen, et al, eds. China Urban: Ethnographies of Contemporary Culture. Duke University Press, 2001.
- Gladney, Dru. "[Representing Nationality in China: Refiguring Minority/Majority Identities](#)," Journal of Asian Studies 53(1): 92-123, February 1994. (26 pp).
- Short Story:
 - Chi Li. "The Heart More Than the Flesh" (Xin Bi Shen Xian Lao), in Chinese Literature. Beijing: Chinese Literature Press, 1999 (27 pp).

Week Thirteen Film Assignment: (4 pm, Sun. Nov. 27, Bio 19): "[Windhorse](#)", Paul Wagner, 1998, 97 mins

Class 2: Moral Crises: Consumption and Gendered Sexualities Among Tibetans

- Selected media coverage on prostitution in Lhasa 1996-2009. ([ereserve](#)).
- Makley, Charlene. "Consuming Women: Consumption, Sexual Politics and the Dangers of Mixing," in *The Violence of Liberation*, 2007. (bookstore, book reserve).
- Online exhibit:
 - "[Steel Butterflies](#)," Sex workers in Lhasa, 2006, Sarah Schorr.

Class 3: Masculinity, Disenchantment and the Negotiation of Modernity among Tibetans

- Shakya, Tsering. "[The Waterfall and Fragrant Flowers: The Development of Tibetan Literature Since 1950](#)," in Song of the Snow Lion: New Writing from Tibet, Manoa 12(2), 2000. (12 pp.)
- Poem:
 - Dhondup Gyal (trans. Tsering Shakya). "[Waterfall of Youth](#)" in Song of the Snow Lion
- Makley, Charlene. "Monks are Men too," in *The Violence of Liberation*, 2007.

Week 14: Conclusions: the Future of a Relationship

Class 1: Hope and Fear

- Makley, Charlene. "Epilogue," in *The Violence of Liberation*, 2007.

- Bob, Clifford. "Merchants of Morality," Foreign Policy No. 129, Jan-Feb, 2002.
- Ma Rong. "The Key to Understanding and Interpreting Ethnic Relations in Contemporary China," The Hague: Int'l Institute of Social Studies, August, 2011.

Film clip: "Leaving Fear Behind," 2008.

Final Paper Project Due

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Moments in Chinese Narratives of History

221 BCE Unification of "China" (Zhongguo, middle kingdom) under the Qin ruler who took the new title of huangdi, emperor.

3rd cent. BC. Qin emperor orders construction of Great Wall to protect new empire from nomad warriors

206 BC-220 AD Han dynasty founded; military campaigns conquer vast territories, incl. what is now N. Vietnam, Korea, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang; Consolidate notion of "The Middle Kingdom" surrounded by barbarians.

3rd-6th AD "Period of disunion". Region splinters into a variety of contending polities.

581-617 AD Sui Dynasty. Plains region reunified by shortlived dynasty.

618-907 AD Tang dynasty, new capitals at Chang 'an and Loyang; reunites vast territories previously carved up into competing regimes; claims Tibet as vassal state.

907-960 AD Five Dynasties. Region splinters into a variety of contending polities.

960-1279 AD Song dynasty; elite Chinese culture and administrative system flourishes, but territories lost to non-Chinese states.

1279-1368 AD Yuan dynasty; Mongols under Ghenghis Khan conquer whole territory, rule vast empire with Chinese-style administrative system and officials.

1368-1644 AD Ming dynasty; Chinese rebels retake plains region, capital in Nanjing; formalized tribute system with over 40 other "vassal" states.

1644-1911 AD Qing dynasty; Manchus from north conquer China, administer empire with Chinese-style system, adopt Chinese elite culture. Great prosperity and expansion of some administrative control into Tibetan regions.

1911-1949 AD Tumultuous period of nation-building; political control collapses into competing warlords and civil war between KMT and CCP. Threats and humiliating defeats from imperialist Japan and western states.

May 4, 1919 May Fourth Movement; Chinese students and merchants protest Japanese interference, new national identities emerge.

1949 CCP wins civil war; establishes the "multinational state" of the People's Republic of China.

1953 Chinese scholars begin massive effort to investigate and define "minzu" groups. 400 different groups initially claim separate identities; 56 eventually

recognized by the state, with "Han" defined as the majority, all others as "minority" minzu. Tibetans called "Zangzu".

Nationalism and Gender in China

May 4, 1919 May Fourth Movement; Chinese students and merchants protest Japanese interference, new national identity formed. Female students participate. First large-scale involvement of women in political action.

1920's-30's Campaign carried out in press, new literary journals for a "New China". Men and women writers attack "big family system" and the oppression of women. Urban women push for birth control, end of foot binding, and a political voice. But rural women little affected.

1927 The KMT under Chiang Kai-shek attempts to eliminate Communist rivals in brutal massacre. New nationalist government advocates gender conservatism, limits political roles of women, stresses modern woman practice self-restraint and self-sacrifice.

1937-49 Communists escape Chiang's troops and end up after Long March in Yanan in northern Shanxi province. They build up local support against KMT and Japanese and establish social program for development of a new, socialist China--including promises to "modernize" marriage and gender relations.

1942 CCP Rectification Campaign. Mao purges his enemies, return to explicit policy of gender conservatism. Woman writer Ding Ling punished for criticizing party leaders' treatment of women. Advocate women's participation in production as only means to "liberation".

1950 CCP Marriage Reform Law. Granted rights to divorce, banned arranged marriage, infant betrothal, and selling women. Conjugal "love" now seen as basis of proper monogamous marriage. National identity emphasizes hard work, collectivity. Begin period of Communist sexual puritanism.

1953 Failures of Marriage Reform Law reported. Publicity campaign launched to "gently" inform people of the new laws.

later 50's Conservative retrenchment in rural areas; women urged in "5 Goods" campaign to work hard in family and household. Collective labor was subject to gender restrictions.

1958 Great Leap Forward. Mao attempts to push China to quick modernization. Collective kitchens and daycare for women to work longer hours. "Iron woman" models as strong, patriotic, independent and doing man's work to benefit the nation.

1960-70's Cultural Revolution. Mao mobilizes youthful "Red Guards" to whip nation into patriotic frenzy. Women encouraged to participate more fully in production and political activities. Young women leave home as Red Guards or sentdown youth. Sexuality seen as bourgeois and improper. All citizens made to wear gender-neutral, desexualized clothing and hairstyles.

1980's-90's Conservative retrenchment with economic reforms at the same time as young people feel more "liberated" sexually. Women hold up rural economy while men seek work elsewhere. "Double burden" intense for urban women.

The Radical Years in the PRC

"The Chinese Communist Party has consistently recognized the nationalities question as being one of the major questions of the Chinese revolution and the liberation of the national minorities as being a part of the liberation of the Chinese...What has been called nationality struggle is in reality a question of class struggle". Mao Zedong (1940's?).

1949 Communist victory, "Liberation" of China, establishment of PRC.

Oct. 1950 PLA troops cross Yangtze river and defeat Tibetan troops in Chamdo, on the eastern edge of Central Tibetan territory.

Nov. 1950 The regent and the Kashag (Council of ministers) in Lhasa request the 16 year old 14th Dalai Lama to take up his full powers as religious and political authority of Central Tibet two years ahead of the traditional age.

May 1951 Tibetan delegation reluctantly signs the "17 Point Agreement" with the CCP w/out Dalai Lama's approval. First time Tibetan govt. formally recognized Chinese sovereignty. Agreement promises to leave traditional govt. intact. PLA troops march into Lhasa.

1951-56 Mao pursues "gradualist" policy in TAR, urges PLA and Han cadres to "make friends and do good", respect local customs. At same time, Chinese begin massive infrastructure construction in Tibetan regions.

1955-56 Sino-Tibetan relations in TAR and eastern Tibetan regions deteriorate. CCP treats other Tibetan regions as part of other provinces, land reforms and other attempts at forced assimilation implemented there. Men in Kham and Amdo take to mountains in revolt, try to organize guerrilla campaign of resistance, refugees flee to Lhasa.

1958 Great Leap Forward. Mao tries to mobilize country to quickly modernize and achieve pure Communism in one step. Mass kitchens, day care organized, women encouraged to work, industry emphasized. All ethnic customs, dress, language discouraged.

1958-59 Revolts in eastern Tibetan regions and in Lhasa and flight of Dalai Lama to India. PLA troops crackdown. Monasteries shelled, looted, monks and lamas arrested as "leaders" of rebels. Terms of 17-pt. agreement renounced and reforms implemented in TAR. Mao's economic policies cause massive famine throughout the country, ~30 million people die.

"The thought of Mao Zedong is the sun in our heart, the root of our life, and the source of all our strength. Through it one becomes unselfish, daring, intelligent, and able to do anything; no difficulty can conquer him, while he can conquer any enemy. The thought of Mao Zedong transforms men's ideology, transforms the fatherland... Through it the oppressed people of the world will rise". PLA newspaper, 1966.

1966-1976 The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". In order to re-establish his power in Beijing, Mao encourages radical youth to organize (as "Red Guards") and destroy the "elites", launches "Destroy the 4 olds" Campaign. Red Guard factional fighting sends country into anarchy. Some Tibetans take advantage of the social chaos to rebel, others participate in destruction of religious monuments. Most monasteries, temples, shrines in Tibetan regions damaged or completely destroyed. All ethnic customs, dress, hairstyles, language learning prohibited.

1976 Death of Mao Zedong. His widow, Jiang Qing, tries to maintain radical policies.

1978 Rise of new moderate government. Jiang Qing and 3 associates (called the "Gang of Four") arrested, imprisoned, and scapegoated for failures of the Cultural Revolution.

1981 "Reform and Opening Up". Deng Xiaoping emerges as head of state, dismantles many of Mao's policies, decides people needed material incentives, not political campaigns, to modernize. Ethnic minorities allowed more freedom to express ethnicity, religious beliefs. Tibetans begin revitalization of religion, local customs.

"Reform and Opening Up" in the PRC

Never feared the ultimate fate. Now that the country has become Red, Who will be its guardians? Our mission, unfinished, may take a thousand years; The struggle tires us, and our hair is gray. You and I, old friend, Can we just watch our efforts being washed away?

(Mao Zedong, poem to Zhou Enlai in 1975, months before both died)

Dec. 1978 The dominance of Deng Xiaoping is confirmed at the 3rd plenum of 11th Central Committee. Deng introduces new pragmatic economic reforms--initiated the decollectivization of agriculture, the beginning of the "household responsibility system", and declared an "open door" to foreign investment. Advocates policies for "4 modernizations".

1979 Deng invites delegations from the Dalai Lama's government to tour Tibetan regions. Han officials believe they will be impressed. Instead, the tour members are mobbed by sobbing crowds in Qinghai, Gansu and Lhasa. Tibetan tour members are shocked by the level of poverty and cultural devastation among Tibetans. Begin series of failed negotiations with the exiled govt.

1980 Hu Yaobang, CCP General Secretary, sent to the TAR. He is shocked, likens 20 years of CCP rule to "colonialism" and calls for 6-point reform program aimed at modernizing the economy and promoting respect for Tibetan culture.

1981-87 Period of optimistic reform and recovery in China and Tibet. Rural industry booms, incomes and standards of living increase. Official corruption increases, major gaps in income emerge. Massive state investment in TAR. Tibetan culture revives, monasteries reopen. Exiles allowed to visit. Foreign tourism begins. Influx of Han and Hui migrants begins.

1987 Dalai Lama and exiled govt. launch international campaign. Dalai Lama addresses U.S. congress. Congress passes resolution condemning China for human rights abuses in Tibet.

1987-1989 Monks' demonstration in Lhasa after Dalai Lama speech begins series of protests and riots led by monks and nuns in Central Tibet. Chinese security forces violently repress, imprison activists. Hu Yaobang is purged. Unexpected death of the Panchen Lama.

Mar 1989 Beijing declares martial law in Lhasa. Foreigners expelled. Suspected dissidents arrested, tortured. Hardliners blame liberal ethnic policies for the unrest.

Spring 1989 Massacre in Tiananmen square. Deng Xiaoping calls in PLA troops to crackdown on massive student protests in Beijing demanding democracy, end to official corruption.

1990's Period in which the state continues rapid economic development but cracks down on political dissent, strengthens security apparatuses, tightens control on school curricula. Tibetan monasteries more tightly regulated or closed in a "Patriotic Education" campaign. Tighter restrictions on public, especially religious gatherings

1999 President Jiang Zemin launches the "Develop the West" Campaign.