

The Anthropology of Global Tibet

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Since the Dalai Lama fled to exile in India in 1959, Tibet and Tibetans have garnered emblematic status in global debates on indigeneous cultures and human rights. The widespread Tibetan unrest and subsequent military crackdown during China's "Olympic year" (2007-2008) focused renewed global attention on the issue of Tibet in the face of China's rise as an important political and economic power. This course draws on anthropological theories of ethnicity, modernity and globalization to understand this phenomenon in its historical and ethnographic contexts. Working with a wide range of theoretical, historical and ethnographic writings, as well as a variety of other media such as film, popular songs, websites and blogs, we consider the global contexts and causes of changing meanings of Tibetanness before and after Chinese Communist intervention. We focus especially on the historical and contemporary diversity among Tibetans across the Himalayan region and into the diaspora, as well as the changing political economic conditions of Chinese-Tibetan relations.

Summary of Requirements:

- Discussion leadership
- Written assignments
 - 5 film commentaries (due by Friday of week after film screened).
 - At least 2 should be turned in by the end of the 8th week
 - Take-home midterm exam (due Friday, Oct. 18, 5 pm)
 - Final paper proposal and annotated bibliography (due Friday Nov. 15, 5 pm)
 - 10-12 page final paper (due Wed., Dec. 18, 5 pm)

Late Paper Policy: Deadlines are strict. Barring personal crisis, family emergency, or illness, all late papers will be subject to one half point off per day late.

Course Organization:

Classes will revolve around student-led discussions, presentations, and film viewings. There will be a take-home midterm exam, 5 film commentaries, and a final 10-12 pg. paper. 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 forum. For the week in which you are posting questions, you will also be responsible for helping to lead discussions both days. Our moodle site can be found at: <https://moodle.reed.edu/course/view.php?id=1837>. It serves only as our class discussion forum. All information on the course is available on the website.

Reading and writing assignments are meant to encourage close, critical engagement with the history and cultural politics of Tibet in a globalizing world, as well as your thoughtful reflection on the issues they raise in the context of the anthropological perspective on nationalism, states and ethnicity 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 supplemental 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.

Required readings are marked on the syllabus for where they can be found. Multiple copies of all texts are available on reserve in the library, and many books are available in the bookstore. In addition, a large number of required readings are available on-line, through e-reserves and on the web.

Please print out as many readings as you can! Reading is much more engaged when it is on paper and laptops and phones are prohibited in class. All readings available on-line are easily accessed via links on the [web syllabus](#). Please let me know if you have any trouble obtaining the readings. **To facilitate discussion, you should bring all readings for the day to class.**

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Week 1: Locating Tibet

Chronology: [Turning points in Modern Sino-Tibetan Relations](#)

Film

- *Lost Horizon*, 1937, Frank Capra, Wed, Sept. 4, 4 pm Psych 105, 130 mins.

Class 1: Introductions and Goals of the Course

- No reading assignments

Class 2: Where is Tibet? Who Says?

- Lopez, Donald. 1998. Introduction and Ch. 6 The Field. *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. University of Chicago Press.
- Makley, Charlene. Introduction: Bodies of Power, in *The Violence of Liberation: Gender and Tibetan Buddhist Revival in Post-Mao China*, Univ of CA press, 2007.
- [Jamyang Norbu](#). Behind the Lost Horizon, in Dodin and Rather, eds., *Imagining Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.

Week 2: Ethnicity, Nationalism, State

Class 1: Theories

- Said, Edward. 1978. The Scope of Orientalism, (pp. 31-49) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Anderson, Benedict. Introduction in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983. (26 pgs).
- Das, Veena and Deborah Poole. State and its Margins, in Veena Das and Deborah Poole, eds., *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, 2004.

Class 2: Narratives of Ethnicity, Nation and State

- Dalai Lama. Sept. 1987. [Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet](#). Address to Members of the United States Congress; Washington, D.C. (7 pgs).

- PRC State Council. 2009. [White Paper: 50 years of democratic reform in Tibet](#). (9 pgs)
- Norbu, Jamyang, April 1999. "[Rangzen Charter](#)," (23 pgs).

Week 3: Tibet as Global Exception

Chronology: [Creating Tibetan Identities](#)

Film

- [Milarepa](#), 2007, 4 pm Bio 19, 90 mins.

Class 1: Tibet as place

- Kapstein, Matthew. Ch 1 The Vessel and its Contents. *The Tibetans*. Blackwell, 2006.
- "Early Glimpses of Tibet," in Alex McKay, ed. *The History of Tibet, vol I: The Early Period: to c. AD 850 The Yarlung Dynasty*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003 (3 pgs)
- Dalton, Jacob. Introduction and Ch. 2 Demons in the Dark (p. 1-22, p. 44-76), in *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*. Yale Univ. Press, 2011.

Class 2: Tibet as polity

- [skim] Powers Ch. 2, Characters, Plots and Motivations in Tibetan History, *History as Propaganda: Tibetan Exiles versus the People's Republic of China*. Oxford. 2004.
- Dalton, Jacob. Ch. 4 Sacrifice and the Law, and Ch. 5 Foundational violence (p. 95-125), in *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*. Yale Univ. Press, 2011.
- Gyatso, Janet. Down with the Demoness in *Feminine ground: essays on women and Tibet*, edited by Janice D. Willis. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 1995, (reprinted in Alex McKay, ed. *The History of Tibet, vol I: The Early Period*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

Week 4: Buddhist interventions

Film

- [Kundun](#), 1998, 4 pm Bio 19, 135 mins.

Class 1: Incarnations

- Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. Ch.s 1-2. *Freedom in exile : the autobiography of the Dalai Lama*. San Francisco, Calif. : HarperPerennial, 1991, c1990 (1st HarperPerennial ed).
- Lopez, Donald. 1998. Ch. 1, The Name. *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*. University of Chicago Press.
- Makley, Charlene. Ch. 1 Fatherlands: Mapping Masculinities (p. 29-48 only!), in *The Violence of Liberation: Gender and Tibetan Buddhist Revival in Post-Mao China*, Univ of CA press, 2007.

Class 2: Monasticism and Sectarian expansions

- Dreyfus, George. Read: Chs. 1-3, Skim!! 13-14, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. University of California Press, 2003.(bookstore, book reserve).

- Dreyfus, George. Cherished Memories, Cherished Communities: Proto-Nationalism in Tibet. reprinted in Alex McKay, ed. *The History of Tibet, vol II: The Medieval Period*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Week 5: Constructions of Tibetan (trans)locality: Landscape and divine power

Optional Film

- [Blindsight](#) (award-winning 2006 documentary)

Class 1: Pilgrimage as ritual

- Huber, Toni. Chs 1-3, 5. (pp. 3-35, 58-77) *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet*. Oxford. 1999.

Class 2: Pilgrimage, difference and power

- Huber, Toni. Chs 8-9. (pp. 128-174) *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet*. Oxford. 1999.

Week 6: Encounters with "the West"

Optional Film

- [Seven Years in Tibet](#), 1998, 136 mins.

Class 1: Tibet as Political Agenda

- Anand, Dibyesh. Strategic Hypocrisy: The British Imperial Scripting of Tibet's Geopolitical Identity. *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 68, No. 1 (February) 2009: 227–252.
- McKay, Alex. "The British Construction of an Image of Tibet," Dodin and Rather, eds., *Imagining Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- Hansen, Peter. Tibetan Horizon: Tibet and the Cinema in the Early 20th Century, Dodin and Rather, eds., *Imagining Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.

Class 2: Tibet as Escape and Salvation

- Barnett, Robert. Preface, Preamble, Ch. 1 The Unitary View, Ch. 2: Foreign Visitors, Oscillations and Extremes (p. xi-xix, p 1-39). *Lhasa: Streets with Memories*. Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Bray, John. Missionary Images of Tibet, Dodin and Rather, eds., *Imagining Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- Ekvall, Robert. pp 13-24, pp. 35-46, pp. 153-173. *Gateway to Tibet*. Christian Publications, inc. 1928.

Week 7: Early Tibetan modernities

Take home midterm due at the end of the week

Film

- [Angry Monk](#), 2005, 4 pm Bio 19, 97 mins.

Class 1: The Great Thirteenth

- Kapstein, Matthew. Ch. 5, pp 168-174 (The Life and Times of the Great 13th Dalai Lama), *The Tibetans*. Blackwell, 2006.
- Goldstein, Melvyn. Introduction, Ch. 1, 3, 4, *A History of Modern Tibet 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*. 1989.

- 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.

Class 2: The Modern Madman, Gendun Chopel and Masculine Modernities

- Stoddard, Heather. "Tibet from Buddhism to Communism," *Government and Opposition* 21, 1986 (20 pp.)
- Lopez, Donald. Preface and Ch. 1. (pp. ix-46). *The Madman's Middle Way: reflections on reality of the Tibetan monk Gendun*. Chopel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c2006.
- Makley, Charlene. Ch. 1 Fatherlands: Mapping Masculinities (p. 48-75 only!), in *The Violence of Liberation: Gender and Tibetan Buddhist Revival in Post-Mao China*, Univ of CA press, 2007.

Week 8: Encounters with China

Chronology: [Moments in Chinese Historiography](#)

Film

- *Red River Valley* (Hong He Gu), 2003, 4 pm Bio 19, 120 mins.

Class 1: Lamas, Emperors and the Rise of the Chinese nation-state

- Tuttle, Gray. Introduction, Chs 1-2 (pp 1-66). *Tibetan Buddhists in the making of modern China*. New York : Columbia University Press, c2005.

Class 2: Chinese Modernist Claims and Tibetan Resistance

- Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. Ch.s 3-7 (focus on ch.s 3, 5 and 6, skim rest). *Freedom in exile : the autobiography of the Dalai Lama*. [San Francisco, Calif.] : HarperPerennial, 1991, c1990 (1st HarperPerennial ed).
- Powers, John. pp. 101-140. *History as Propaganda: Tibetan Exiles versus the People's Republic of China*. Oxford. 2004.
- Tsering Shakya. Appendix 1: 17-pt agreement. in *The Dragon in the Land of Snows*. Columbia Univ Press. 1999.

Week 9: China's Tibet

Chronology: [The Maoist Years and the Rise of the PRC](#)

Film

- *Distorted Propaganda*, 2006, 4 pm Bio 19, (63 mins)

Class 1: Official Chinese views of Socialist Transformation

- Panchen Lama. Selected Appendices. *A Poisoned Arrow: The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama*. Tibet Information Network.1997.
- Herberer, Old Tibet a Hell on Earth? Dodin and Rather, eds., *Imagining Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001. (bookstore, book reserve).

Class 2: Tibetan views of Socialist Transformation

- Khetsun, Tubten. 2007. preface, ch. 1, chs. 13-22; (~83 pp) (Matthew Akester, trans.) *Memories of Life in Lhasa under Chinese Rule*. Columbia.

Week 10: The Dilemmas of Exile

Film

- *We're No Monks*, 2004, 4 pm Bio 19, 129 mins.

Class 1: New Lives and Spaces

- Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. Chs. 8-11. *Freedom in exile : the autobiography of the Dalai Lama*. [San Francisco, Calif.] : HarperPerennial, 1991, c1990 (1st HarperPerennial ed). (bookstore, book reserve).
- Diehl, Keila. Introduction, Ch. 1 (pp. 1-56). *Echoes from Dharamsala: Music in the Life of a Tibetan Refugee Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2002.

Class 2: Modernities in Exile

- Diehl, Keila. Ch.s 4-5. *Echoes from Dharamsala: Music in the Life of a Tibetan Refugee Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2002.

Final Paper Proposal and annotated Bibliography due Friday

Week 11: Dilemmas of Post-Mao modernities

Chronology: [The Era of "Recovery": "Reform and Opening Up" in China](#)

Film

- *Stranger in my Native Land*, 1997, 4 pm Bio 19, 33 mins.

Class 1: Modernization and Protest in Lhasa

- Barnett. 2006. Ch.s 5-8. Lhasa: Streets with Memories. Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Schwartz, Ronald. Ch.s 2 and 4. in *Circle of Protest: Political Ritual in the Tibetan Uprising*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Class 2: Dondrup Gyal and New Tibetan Media

- Tsering Shakya. The Development of Modern Tibetan Literature in the People's Republic of China in the 1980s, in Laurant R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani, eds. *Modern Tibetan literature and social change*. foreword by Matthew T. Kapstein. Durham : Duke University Press, 2008.
- Dhondup Gyal (trans. Tsering Shakya). 1983 "Waterfall of Youth" in *Manoa*, Volume 12, 2000, Issue 2, 2000. (online JSTOR). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4229861>
- Stirr, Anna. 2008. Blue Lake: Tibetan Popular Music, Place and Fantasies of the Nation. in Barnett and Schwartz, eds. *Tibetan Modernities*. Brill
 - ["Blue Lake" lyrics](#) (Tibetan script, transliteration, English - [Word doc](#))

Week 12: (Trans)localizing Tibetan Buddhism

Film

- [Tibet: Cry of the Snow Lion](#), 2004, 4 pm Bio 19, 103 mins.

Class 1: Buddhism, Tourism and Contested Modernities

- Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, Dalai Lama XIV. Chs. 14-15. *Freedom in exile : the autobiography of the Dalai Lama*. [San Francisco, Calif.] : HarperPerennial, 1991, c1990 (1st HarperPerennial ed). (bookstore, book reserve).
- Moran, Peter. Chs. 3-4 (pp. 34-85). *Buddhism Observed: travelers, exiles and Tibetan Dharma in Kathmandu*. New York : RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Makley, Charlene. Ch. 3 Mother Home: Circumambulation, Femininities and the Ambiguous Mobility of Women, in *The Violence of Liberation: Gender and Tibetan Buddhist Revival in Post-Mao China*, Univ of CA press, 2007.

Week 13: Global environment and development

Film

- [Kekexili \(Mountain Patrol\)](#), 2006, 4 pm Bio 19, 89 mins.

Class 1: Green Tibetans?

- Norberg-Hodge. Tibetan Culture as a Model of Ecological Sustainability. Dodin and Rather, eds., *Imagining Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- Huber. Green Tibetans: a Brief Social History. in Korom, ed. Tibetan culture in the Diaspora. 1997.
- Craig, Sienna. Introduction. *Healing Elements: Efficacy and the Social Ecologies of Tibetan Medicine*. Univ of CA press, 2012.

Class 2: Marketing Green Tibet as Medicine

- Craig, Sienna. Craig, Sienna. Ch. 4 (SKIM), Chs 5-6 (READ) (p. 112-214). *Healing Elements: Efficacy and the Social Ecologies of Tibetan Medicine*. Univ of CA press, 2012.

Week 14: Self-immolation Protest and the future of Tibet

Last day

- Dhundup Gyalpo. 2012. "[Making Sense of Tibetan Self-Immolation](#)," Asian Times Online.
- Barnett, Robert. 2012. "Political Self-Immolation in Tibet: Causes and Influences", *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 25, Décembre, pp. 41-64.
- Makley, Charlene. (2013). "The Socio-political Lives of Dead Bodies: Tibetan Self-Immolation Protest as Mass Media," unpublished manuscript.

Final paper due

Chronology: Turning points in Modern Sino-Tibetan Relations

1903 British invasion of Tibet. Troops under Colonel Younghusband force their way to Lhasa from India, ostensibly to open trade with the reluctant 13th Dalai Lama. The 13th Dalai Lama flees to Mongolia.

1910 In part in response to the British invasion, ~2000 Qing Chinese troops occupy Lhasa, the first Chinese attempt to establish direct rule in Tibet. The 13th Dalai Lama flees to India.

1911 Collapse of the Manchu Qing Dynasty, the last imperial dynasty in China.

1913 13th Dalai Lama returns to Lhasa. Sends all Chinese troops out of the city and declares independence from Republican China.

1913-1950 Central Tibet under the 14th Dalai Lama's government enjoys *de facto* independence

1949 Chinese Communists (CCP) win civil war against Republicans (KMT), call this the "liberation" of China and establish the People's Republic of China (PRC).

1950-1 Communist troops attack borders of central Tibet, Tibetans surrender and sign "17-Point Agreement" acknowledging Chinese sovereignty and claiming Tibet will be protected from communist reforms.

1958-1959 Revolts in eastern Tibetan regions and in Lhasa against Chinese-led reforms and flight of the 14th Dalai Lama. Tens of thousands of Tibetans flee to exile in India.

Feb/Mar 2008 During the much-hyped run-up to the Beijing Olympics (August 2008), Tibetan monks and laity participate in unprecedentedly widespread unrest across 4 provinces in China's far west. A military crackdown ensues, along with de facto martial law.

March 2009 First self-immolation protest by a young monk in Sichuan province, commemorating the protests and crackdown a year earlier. In 2011, more self-immolations by Tibetans begin an unprecedented series of such protests (121 by July 2013).

Moments in Chinese Historiography

Important Dates:

221 BCE Unification of China under the Qin ruler who took the new title of *huangdi*, emperor.

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

206 BCE-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 cent. 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 China, 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 Republican Era; Tumultuous period of nation-building; political control collapses into competing warlords and civil war between KMT (Guomindang, "Republican Party") and CCP. Threats and humiliating defeats from imperialist Japan and western states.

1912 Founding of the Republic of China. Revolutionary activist Sun Yat-sen, in exile in the U.S., returned to be elected the first president. But Yuan Shikai, head of the northern military, proclaimed himself emperor later that year and Sun, after leading an unsuccessful revolt, fled to Japan, where he organized the Republican Party (Guomindang, KMT). Centralized control collapses. Competing warlords control most of the north.

May 4, 1919 May Fourth Movement; Chinese students and merchants protest post-WWI Treaty of Versailles and Japanese interference, new national identities emerge.

1937 Japanese invasion and occupation of Manchuria (NE China).

1949 CCP wins civil war; establishes the "multinational state" of the People's Republic of China (Zhonghua Renmin Gonghe Guo).

1950-1 Communist troops attack borders of central Tibet, Tibetans surrender and sign "17-Point Agreement" acknowledging Chinese sovereignty and claiming Tibet will be protected from communist reforms.

1953 Chinese scholars begin massive effort to investigate and define "minzu" groups in the PRC. 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".

Creating Tibetan Identities

The Imperial Era: The Yarlung Dynasty

627 AD King Songtsen Gampo (609-650) becomes king of Tibetan Yarlung empire; unifies vast kingdom under organized military districts

641 Songtsen Gampo marries Chinese princess; (Wencheng); Tibetan histories say this is the time when Buddhism first introduced to Tibet ("1st dissemination")

650-754 After death of Songtsen, series of 4 kings

754 King Trisong Detsen takes throne, begins supporting Buddhism in earnest.

779 Samye, first Buddhist monastery established in Tibetan Yarlung valley.

842 Assassination of King Langdarma, who is said to have opposed Buddhism, and break-up of Tibetan kingdom. End of effective Tibetan power on Chinese frontier. Buddhism said to decline in Central Tibet.

Tibetan Local Rule

9th-10th "Age of Fragmentation" ("dark ages"). Buddhist monasteries closed, but Buddhism localized and popularized, rise of local charismatic teachers, great interest in tantric Buddhist ritual.

11th-13th Monastic Buddhism flourishes again in Central Tibet ("2nd dissemination"). Major Buddhist sects emerge and build monasteries in the valley, compete for lay patrons.

Mongol Overlordship

1206 Genghiz Khan (Chinggis Khan) declared Supreme Khan of Mongols; later Mongol and Tibetan sources say Tibetan king/chiefs surrendered; but this unclear.

1240 Mongol troops first sent into Tibet; Buddhist sects vie for Mongol patrons.

1249 Sakya lama appointed Tibetan viceroy by the Mongols, succeeded by his nephew Phagpa.

1268 Mongol domination over Tibet completed with pacification of Tibetan resistance.

1368 Fall of the Mongol Yuan dynasty; Tibetans independent

Tibetan/Mongol Local rule

14th-17th Period of lay Tibetan rule, series of rival principalities

1409 Emergence of Gelug sect, establishment of first Gelug monastery

1578 Sodnam Gyatso given title of Dalai Lama by Mongol ruler Altan Khan

1642 Gushri Khan, Mongol leader, defeats lay king of Tibet and sets up 5th Dalai Lama as ruler of Tibet. 5th Dalai Lama first ruler to unite Buddhist and secular; builds stature of Tibet, builds Potala, new monasteries, meets Qing emperor.

1682 Death of 5th Dalai Lama. His regent hides his death for 15 years.

Qing Overlordship

1705-1723 Period of civil war, struggles with Mongols over rule of Tibet. No other Dalai Lama holds actual power from here on until the 13th. Qing emperor establishes authority in Lhasa.

1723-1747 Lay noble Pho Lha defeats rivals and governs Tibet with Qing support. Qing ambans in Lhasa.

1750's-1870's 8th-12th Dalai Lamas die young; Tibet governed by series of monk regents through a monastic bureaucracy.

1904 British Younghusband expedition, British troops force their way into Lhasa, forces signing of "treaty" to open trade access.

1910 Zhao Erfeng's Qing troops occupy Lhasa. 13th Dalai Lama flees to India, denounces relationship with Qing.

(1911 Fall of Manchu Qing dynasty)

De facto Independence

1913 13th Dalai Lama evicts Chinese from Lhasa; begin period of de facto independence.

1914 Simla Conference between China, Britain and Tibet. Tibet gains no legal status.

1934 Death of 13th Dalai Lama, begin period of conflict over succession.

1930's-40's Tibetan elites in Lhasa refuse attempts to modernize. Expel and imprison Tibetan intellectuals advocating change.

1950 Chinese Communist troops march on Central Tibetan territory.

The Maoist Years and the Rise of 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, framed as "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 Khams 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 crack down. 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.

The Era of "Recovery" (huifu): "Reform and Opening Up" (gaige kaifang) in China

*Loyal parents who sacrificed so much for the nation
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

Important Dates:

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.

Mar. 1987-1989 Monks' demonstration in Lhasa after Dalai Lama speech to US Congress committee 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 crack down on massive student and worker 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 "Great Develop the West" Campaign.