

དངུལ་

Dawu

Chinese: Daofu Xian

道孚县



roll/neg: 6:6a

subject: wide angle view of town and environs

location: Dawu Dzong དུ་ཨོ་རྩོ་རྩོ་, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ་སྤོ་ Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996

comment: The area is very active in exploiting timber resources. Hills in view here have long since been stripped bare. While most logs are sent to the voracious market in Sichuan's lowlands, some is retained for a boom in building the superb local style of traditional Tibetan homes. Though appearances, especially the heavy Chinese presence in Dawu town, suggest otherwise, official county population was placed at 44,000 in 1994, with a claimed 86% Tibetan majority. A PLA base marks one end of town, a huge new chöten the other.
 (Viewed from the west.)

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f. **Dawu Dzong [Ch: Daofu Xian]**

i. **Brief description and impressions**

Lying along the northern route through Kham into Central Tibet, Dawu's moderate distance from Dartsedo, accessibility by a main road, fertile agricultural land and rich lumber resources made it a target for Chinese exploitation from the earliest occupation decade of the 1950's. Covering an area of 7,546 square kilometers, Dawu Dzong ཏཱུའོ་ཨོ་ཨོ་ཨོ་ (Ch. Daofu Xian 道孚县) is drained by the extensive watershed of the Xianshui River (Ch. Xianshuihe 鲜水河) which turns south at the county town and flows into the great Nyag Chu (Yalong River) in Nyagchu.

The Xianshui watershed has provided excellent forests, pastures and land for cultivation, so that today Dawu still appears to be one of the richest of the Kartse TAP counties, the countryside dotted with beautiful new Tibetan farmhouses, religious shrines, and large herds of animals. By Highway 317 which branches north just past Minyag (Ch. Xinduqiao) from Highway 318, Dawu may be reached in a day from Dartsedo, 384 kilometers away along a mostly sealed route. Chengdu lies a further 390 kilometers east of Dartsedo. For prospective Chinese immigrants it is not an intimidating a journey, and many have made it.

Situated on the route between the larger (traditionally and currently) towns of Dartsedo and Kartse, Dawu is a heartland Kham town with the individuality that characterizes all the settlements of this region. Like Kartse, Payül and Dege, it has a schizophrenic townscape; a wide belt of beautiful traditional Tibetan housing undulating across the northern rises, and a grey functional ribbon of Chinese development spreading along the highway and incising into the lower slopes of the Tibetan sector [see photo 6:6a, p. 720]. The county town, called Xianshuizhen 鲜水镇 by the Chinese administration, hinges on the lumber industry for both its Chinese development and its traditional beauty. The atmosphere is equivocal, a little brittle. In the past couple of years incidents of political unrest have occurred here. Both Chinese residents and Tibetans alluded to this in their own way. The familiar set of contradictions jars the town as Tibetans throw up a mass of fine new houses, a magnificent chöten dedicated to the Panchen Lama soars into the sky, a huge new CCP headquarters claims a block in the administrative heart of the town opposite the county PSB detention center, and lumber trucks

thunder up and down the main street, groaning under the weight of logs on their way towards the Chinese interior.

Almost all the main streets in the Chinese sector have been called Liberation (Ch. Jiefanglu 解放路) Street or Road, distinguished by direction, and principal administrative and control units are found within their bounds. The town's axis lies approximately east-west along the highway (Liberation New Road), with the main junction at Liberation North Street, a wide boulevard (by local standards) that runs into the foot of the Tibetan sector on the northern slopes surrounding the town's monastery. Liberation West Street meets Liberation North Street half way up its west side, and contains further government units as well as the County Government itself. Parallel to a little river running through the town from the hill slopes is Riverside Street, for foot traffic only. Its upper reaches are lined with Tibetan houses, before which it encloses several important compounds in the block between itself and Liberation North Street, including the County PSB Detention Center [see photo 6:4a, p. 745].

A devastating earthquake in 1981 was partly responsible for the extensive sections of new Tibetan housing in the town. Over six years following the earthquake acres of traditional housing were constructed to replace houses that had been damaged ¹, Dawu benefitting from the more open "nationalities" policy that had been adopted after 1980. The earthquake that destroyed Draggo in 1976 occurred prior to this policy, resulting in the re-construction of a Chinese model town instead. New construction, both private and official, continues apace. As the next major stop on the Sichuan-Tibet Highway past Dartsedo, Dawu stands next in line for Chinese development.

ii. **Historical background**

Originally a part of the Qiang state of Fuguo, Dawu developed into a dominantly Tibetan area after the Tibetan invasion of the early 7th Century and Kham's subsequent incorporation into the Tibetan Empire. The region now designated Daofu County under the Chinese administration had formerly been controlled by Tibetan chieftains of Chala and the Hor states, and its main settlement centered on the large Gelugpa monastery that still overlooks the county town. Since the Chinese occupation in 1950, Dawu has been extensively exploited for its rich lumber

¹ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 281

resources and Chinese economic immigration is increasing, but the county town, distinguished by hundreds of traditional Tibetan houses, makes local cultural preferences very clear.

iii. **Current demography**

The official 1994 total population figure given for Dawu Dzong was 44,000², a number showing no change in growth from the 1990 Census figure of 44,117³. Since negative Tibetan population growth during the period 1990-1994 is implausible, and Chinese immigration to Dawu is clearly increasing, the official population figure must be treated with disbelief. Based on population growth and adjusted from the 1990 level, it should have been at least 46,000 in 1994. Actual population is almost certainly even higher. Dawu has several attractions for Chinese immigrants. It lies at a convenient location along the Chengdu-Dege highway, enjoys a relatively equitable climate, and is a wealthy county compared to many others in Tibetan areas. The 16% Chinese component in Dawu's total population for 1990⁴, if it were accurate then, would now be higher as population influx increases under post-1992 economic reform policies. The Tibetan component of 86%⁵ must be over-stated although the countryside itself is thoroughly Tibetan. Chinese congregate in the county town and other smaller townships seeking commercial opportunities and economic benefits through the lumber industry and gold mining. Such Chinese do not appear in official population statistics for the county, but impact Tibetan social and economic life all the same.

Population mix in the county town seems to be nearly equal, but could be slightly more Chinese depending on who is in all the large compounds. There are many government units here, and most seem to have more Chinese workers in them than in Kartse. However, overall Chinese majority is neither obvious nor certain. Although official sources counted only 51 Hui residents in Dawu in 1990⁶, more Hui than that live in the county town alone, mostly involved with small businesses. A small number of Yi are also found in the county.

² *Statistical Yearbook of Sichuan 1995*

³ *China Population Statistics Yearbook 1990*

⁴ *Tabulation on China's Nationality: 1990 Census Data*

⁵ *Tabulation on China's Nationality: 1990 Census Data*

⁶ *Tabulation on China's Nationality: 1990 Census Data*

Additional demographic details for Dawu can be found in Tables 12 and 16 [see pp. 175 and 376] and Charts 24 and 24a [see pp. 431 and 432]

iv. **Administrative and control apparatus**

(1) **CCP**

The Communist Party may have accorded itself imposing new premises in very recent times. A brand-new white block with gold roof trim now stands opposite the gate into the county jail in Liberation North Street, just before the Tibetan-style houses begin [see photo 6:4a, p. 745]. The gate is unsigned, but demeanor of the building and activities around it strongly suggest the Party headquarters, which were not located elsewhere. The Party also maintains a branch attached to the Forestry Bureau, a telling sign of the lumber industry's importance in the county.

(2) **government**

The County Government and several of its related administration units are found along Liberation West Street. The compound, containing a large three-story building constructed around the late 1970's, may be due for refurbishment if it is to match the CCP's contemporary profile. Lining the street opposite the County Government are the Local Tax Office, Grain Bureau and Post Office, of similar late 1970's vintage. A large national-level Tax Office (Ch. Zhongguo shuiwu 中国税务) has just been completed on the highway. The State must be anxious to collect revenue from a lumber-rich county like Dawu in these finance-conscious times. The Government Hostel occupies a large compound consisting of several c.1970's grey buildings near the main intersection, behind the commercial building that wraps around the intersection's corner. With the increasing level of official activity in Dawu and the rising comfort expectations of cadres, these facilities must be scheduled for upgrading.

Although Dawu is developing commercially, the town's bank profile seems restrained compared to that of many other county towns. Only the Agricultural Bank was located, in a large new building opposite the PSB, with its own Economic Police Detachment.

Generally speaking, very little has been done for the town by the local government. Civic facilities, schools and medical care units are minimal in a town where the government must derive considerable revenue from lumber exploitation. The Tibetan neighborhood, with its ongoing construction of fine new houses, flourishes, but that is largely due to the activities of private residents. Some of these Tibetans, identifiable by their cellular phones and the expensive vehicles they park in front of their new homes, are government officials or Party cadres and are probably involved in the county's lucrative lumber industry. Most lumber goes to Chinese markets where profits end up in Chinese pockets but there are still easily visible signs of local wealth. Despite the prominence of large, ornate Tibetan homes, the division of wealth from timber extraction strongly favors China.

(3) **PAP**

Typically, the PAP occupy spartan older quarters in Dawu. The County PAP unit is adjacent and west of the County Government, and incorporates a recruitment or militia training department. The PAP Squadron (zhongdui 中队) is quartered near the PSB Detention Center where it performs guard duty, although the Squadron's barracks seem too extensive for a force concerned only with guarding the small detention facility. Dawu has a reputation in Kartse Dzong for supplying security reinforcements in times of unrest. The size of the PAP Squadron may also be linked to the presence of labor camps in the vicinity. The camp at Bamei [see photo 30:16, p. 767], for which the Dawu PAP Squadron may have responsibility, lies only 60 kilometers south of Dawu. A third PAP unit, possibly involved in emergency services or forestry work, occupies a compound opposite the Forestry Bureau on the highway.

(4) **PSB**

Police and judiciary are highly concentrated within the town. Like the CCP, the County PSB has new offices, on the northwest corner of the Liberation North and West Streets junction. The Procuratorate, Anti-Corruption Work Department and Court are together in another new building with vague "nationalities characteristics" on the opposite corner [see photo 6:4a, p. 745]. The main entrance to the PAP Squadron is along a side lane next to this building. The Transport Inspection Office, an important department in a major transport stop like Dawu, stands by the highway towards the south end of town.

In the same block as the Government Hostel in Liberation North Street, a large 1970's building marked in old characters as the “Daofu County Labor Services (Office)” includes an office concerned with employment. The sign reads “Daofu County Employment Services Management Office” (Ch. Daofuxian jiuye fuwu guanli ju 道孚县就业服务管理局) [see photo 101:7, p. 751]. The use of the term “jiuye” 就业 leads to uncertainty as to the nature of the employment involved. The term has been associated with “forced job placement”, although it can nowadays also mean “starting employment”. The office’s location so close to the police and judiciary enclave and the fact that labor camps exist in the region raise the possibility that forced employment may be indicated.

(5) **known imprisonment and detention facilities**

Dawu’s PSB Detention Center at first appears small for a county of this size, and where political unrest flares up intermittently. But though well-concealed and without the conspicuous markings of a prison, it is more than adequate for a county of 46,000. It stands across the street from the PSB, in the same inner-town block as its guard unit, the PAP Squadron. The jail is cramped rather than small, however, apparently consisting of a total of 18 cells. Although an electrified fence topping a wall surrounds the jail, it does not have the usual patrolable wall and high guard towers [see photo 74:2, p. 747]. Convicted detainees must be sent from this detention center to the prisons further south, such as those at Garthar and Minyag.

This part of Kham has a reputation for prisons and labor camps. Ten kilometers north of Garthar (Ch. Bamei 八美, formerly called Qianning 乾宁) and fifty kilometers south of Dawu, one such prison camp lies right next to the highway, deceptively like a small village as vehicles pass quickly by. The facilities are run-down, but substantial in size [see photo 30:16, p. 767]. Work gangs from the camp, under guard, have been seen engaged in agricultural work, and perhaps road work, in the vicinity. Most appear to be Tibetan. Reports claim that prisoners are also forced to mine gold and subjected to particularly harsh conditions while doing so⁷. There are several gold mines in the area, and gold is being mined in the river opposite the camp. Some miners in the area could have been prisoners, judging from their shabby uniform-like clothing, and shaven heads. The Garthar and Minyag prison camps have been cited by local sources as places that hold political prisoners, including monks.

(6) **PLA**

⁷ *TIN Background Briefing Paper No. 26*, London, December 1995, p. 44

The extensive PLA Base that lies at the western end of Dawu on the edge of town belongs to the early Chinese occupation period in scale, layout and function [see photo 74:5, p. 749]. Until 1983, the PLA were responsible for a wide range of tasks in Chinese colonial areas, including national defense, internal security, capital construction, mineral prospecting, land reclamation, road-building, etc. After 1983 the PAP took over many of these functions, leaving such bases to handle the army's supply lines and maintain a much lower profile in nationalities' autonomous areas which did not directly share international borders. PLA convoys sighted in the Dawu area now are involved in materials transport, rarely troops or weapons deployment. In the lumber-rich county of Dawu the army may also have involved itself with the lumber industry. Trucks with PLA registration plates, loaded with logs over 1 meter in diameter and 5 meters long, have occasionally been seen. Lumber stockpiles are visible at the base, and a timber mill and other related compounds stand opposite it. PLA involvement in resource exploitation has been observed throughout Tibetan areas. It is unclear whether the PLA is linked to these lumber facilities.

v. **Economy**

Though far lower than Dartsedo County's 1994 GDP of almost 249 million Yuan, Dawu's 134.5 million Yuan⁸ placed its GDP as the prefecture's second largest, barely ahead of Chagzam. The county's economy is somewhat better developed than most Tibetan areas in that it is not solely based on agriculture, pastoralism and resource extraction. Secondary industry, based on processing and simple manufacture from the area's rich resources, ranked as the largest component of GDP, with 59.3 million Yuan in 1994. Primary production, which normally includes forestry and mining, contributed 45.9 million Yuan to GDP in 1994.⁹ Tertiary output lagged well behind with 29.3 million Yuan. A high level of resource extraction coupled with moderate population yielded a per capita GDP of 3,057 Yuan, third highest in the prefecture behind Nyarong and Serthar.

Given the intensity of resource extraction in the county, even 46 million Yuan seems an implausibly low primary production figure. It could easily account for farming and pastoralism, but not logging and gold mining. Dawu is one of several counties, including Kartse, Nyarong and Lithang, where resource extraction is high but primary output numbers are plainly an inadequate valuation. The only possible explanation is that production figures are credited to administrative units higher than counties. A comparison of total county GDP with prefectural GDP

⁸ *Statistical Yearbook of Sichuan 1995*

⁹ *Statistical Yearbook of Sichuan 1995*

suggests that if extraction of valuable resources is credited to a higher level administrative unit, it must be provincial or even national rather than prefectural. If so, the appropriation of Tibetan resources takes on an even more inequitable aspect - but one which is wholly consistent with China's view of entitlement to all that exists within Tibet.

The Chinese Constitution lays unambiguous claim on behalf of the Chinese State to all natural resources under its control.¹⁰ That now includes Tibet. The concept of a 'Tibetan' tree or 'Tibetan' gold conflicts with the Constitution: there can only be Chinese trees and Chinese ores. In China's view it must be taking what is not only rightly China's, but completely China's. The claim that Tibetan resources are being appropriated by China would, according to China's constitution, be nonsense since there are no Tibetan resources.

Additional economic details relevant to Dawu can be found in Tables 9, 13 and 17 [see pp. 127, 184 and 439] and Charts 14a, 15-18 and 25-26 [see pp. 122, 123-126 and 433-434].

(1) **agriculture**

Dawu is one of the "agricultural" Kartse counties, as most of the rural population practise agriculture with some grazing as the basic form of economy. Cultivated fields surround the county town, while farmers throughout the countryside grow barley, wheat, potatoes and other crops. It is one of the few Tibetan agricultural areas where farmers seem generally prosperous, judging by the number and quality of fine new houses rising in the villages everywhere. Official sources suggest that wheat-growing programs were implemented in Dawu and other counties under the 7th Five-Year Plan (1985-1989)¹¹, a revival of early occupation policies which had also tried land reclamation and wheat-growing along the Xianshui River. Funding for economic wood and orchard industry products was also apparently injected into the county in the period 1980-1988¹². While no evidence of poverty was observed in villages, the agricultural produce market in the county town is a desultory place, manned by a few Chinese sellers whose fruit and vegetables have been trucked from Chengdu. As the county town is swelled

¹⁰ *The Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, 4 December, 1982; Chapter 1 Article 9: "Mineral resources, waters, forests, mountains, grassland, unreclaimed land, beaches and other natural resources are owned by the State, that is, by the whole people [...]"

¹¹ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 296

¹² *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 298

by Chinese immigrants, the vegetable supply will have to expand to keep pace, by import or local market gardening schemes. The latter have been tried successfully in Lhasa in recent years. In the agricultural valley of Dawu county town they are probably viable too, an eventuality that would lead to loss of Tibetan control over this land.

(2) **pastoralism**

Pastoralism in Dawu is practised in conjunction with agriculture where possible. Herders raise yaks, cattle, horses and sheep, as well as pigs in the more intensively farmed areas. Nomads have certainly been settled in the county¹³, although further information is required before determining whether any may still be living a traditional nomadic pastoral lifestyle. Good pasture exists naturally in Dawu and should support herders at a comfortable economic level, but land degradation from severe logging is now a problem.

At least one pastoral labor camp, the Shaowu Monastery Ranch (Ch. Shaowusi nongchang 少乌寺农场), existed in the county during the 1950's and early 1960's. Its current status is unknown to the research team but it may still be in operation as a labor camp, as it is located in the vicinity of the prison camp ten kilometers north of Garthar, and still appears on some recently-published maps. Other such camps at least originally based on forcibly transferred labor are probably also operating in the region, as it is cited in publications as an area of state farms and prefectural livestock ranches¹⁴.

(3) **natural resources exploitation**

Forests are Dawu's richest economic resource, and have been exploited by the Chinese since the earliest days of occupation. When the Chinese lumber industry in Kham began in the 1950's, Dawu was named as one of Kartse TAP's four water transport areas¹⁵, as the potential of the Xianshui River for massive log floatage was quickly realized. By the 1960's the first nursery west of the Dadu River - traditional Tibetan territory - had been planted

¹³ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, pp. 296-297

¹⁴ *Zhongguo diming cidian (Dictionary of Chinese Place Names)*, p. 774

¹⁵ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 163

with Yunnan pine, in the Yalong River catchment¹⁶. After 1979, following the establishment of the Ganzi Forest Management Bureau for the management of prefectural forestry enterprises and local state forests, afforestation gathered momentum. By 1990 eighty-nine nurseries had reportedly been established in the whole prefecture¹⁷, at least two in the vicinity of Dawu county town. The Chinese have realized the need to replace the forests that are cut down, and government policy encourages afforestation. Unfortunately the rate of extraction is so rapid, and survival rate of replanted trees so low, that forest management cannot keep pace with the market demand for cut timber. Most seriously, virgin forests are still being logged.

Garthar (Ch. Bamei), at the junction to Tenpa (Ch. Danba 丹巴), is the beginning of an area very much dominated by the intense logging occurring up the tributaries of the Xianshui River. In Garthar township a lumber yard runs half the length of the town from the northern end, and the rest of the town seems to subsist on proceeds of the lumber traffic, with most of the main street buildings constructed of wooden shops servicing passing lumber trucks. Once Dawu county town is reached, the importance of the lumber industry in the region is even more pronounced. Forestry facilities and compounds are the most prominent in the town, staking a claim at the town's southern edge and then stretching right along the edge of the highway towards the north past the town center. Prefectural and county levels both maintain facilities in the town. At the southern end are the older County Forestry compound and its newly-built complex, an updated County Forest Products Development Company, reflecting the market trend of the industry and likelihood of intensified exploitation. The Prefectural Forestry Bureau at the north stretch of town is followed by an extensive area reaching as far as the PLA Base devoted to the lumber industry [see photo 74:5, p. 749]. A nursery has been established near the river beyond the southwestern edge of town, and another lies past the PLA Base. Inside the town, an outlet supplies forestry tools.

While logs from Tibetan forests in Kham roll through the town loaded onto trucks heading for Chengdu, thousands more logs float down the Xianshui River. The degree of waste that results from so many logs becoming stranded on the river banks or snagged on rocks and sandbanks mid-stream is horrifying. The worst stretch for such waste lies above the county town and south of Renda 仁达 in Draggo County, a distance of about fifty kilometers, in which countless numbers of logs rot at the river's edge. Signs painted on telegraph poles along the highway as it hugs the river warn against salvage, a punishable offence. Not only is environmental

¹⁶ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, pp. 157-8

¹⁷ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, pp. 155-156

destruction from heavy logging excessive, but so much of what has been cut down is wasted. Chinese environmental policy encourages protection and respect for forests and grasslands, while other branches of the government plunder the same environment for short-term economic gain. At present, the forestry industry is making some Tibetans richer too, and wood products more accessible to people in lumber-rich counties like Dawu. The great mass of logs supply the Chinese market, however. In future it is Tibetans who will suffer the most, with the irreparable loss of their most valuable natural resource and an environment characterized by severe ecological degradation.

Dawu's other natural resource now keenly exploited by State and private Chinese miners is gold. Under the 8th Five-Year Plan the Daofu Gold Mine was marked for development as part of a prefecture-wide policy to intensify gold production¹⁸. Private mining, mostly by Chinese miners, is the more visible form of exploitation, however. Private gold mining in the river (a tributary of the Ngag Chu/Yalong) in the few kilometers above Garthar (Ch. Bamei) and all the way to the labor camp was the heaviest observed anywhere in Kham, apart from along the river gorge between the Cho-la and Dege. Altogether there must be several hundred miners and dozens of pits being worked during the season in the Garthar area. A particularly busy site with several camps and possibly a couple of hundred miners is almost directly opposite the labor camp. Some men near the roadside appeared to be prisoners, although they were collecting gravel for roadwork rather than sieving for gold. Most of the pits are small. Small gold mining machines were sometimes used to work the river beds, although their ownership was not determined [see photo 75:33, p. 769]. The Chinese have the larger, apparently better organized sites, while smaller, exclusively Tibetan sites usually have less than ten workers. Tibetans often work over the Chinese mines after the Chinese have moved on. Although Tibetans participate at this level of gold mining, the great majority of miners are Chinese.

The effect on the river beds is devastating. For several kilometers past Garthar township towards Dartsedo the river's bed and banks have been intensively mined, leaving behind a ravaged channel of deep pits and mounds of rock and gravel. No attempt to repair any damage was seen. In the case of such mining activity, the Tibetans rightly complain that the Chinese extract and remove their resources, leaving behind a damaged environment but no real benefit to local Tibetans.

¹⁸ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 295

Other mineral deposits, of magnetite, iron, petroleum, lead and zinc, coal, copper and silver reportedly also exist in Dawu¹⁹.

(4) **industrial**

Except for minor workshops and compounds associated with the lumber industry, Dawu has no apparent industrial facilities. During the 1950's and early 1970's attempts were made by the Chinese administration to establish an industrial infrastructure in the prefecture, which included an iron mine, hydro-electric plant and machine factory in Dawu²⁰, but these efforts aimed only to serve the basic needs of early socialist construction. State economic energies have since concentrated on exploitation of natural resources. However, official economic statistics indicate that secondary industry provides a significant percentage (44%) of Dawu's GDP indicating that some form of industrial activity, probably basic processing of timber or ores must be occurring.

(5) **commercial and retail activity**

Only a day's journey from Dartsedo and located in a relatively wealthy county, Dawu county town has attracted many Chinese entrepreneurs, and may expect to attract more in the future as the town grows. Commerce is definitely a Chinese-dominated sector, with most Chinese coming from parts of Western Sichuan - Mingshan, Qionglai, Ya'an - as well as Chengdu and Chongqing. The preponderance of Sichuan migrants in the business sector is not a complaint only in Tibetan areas: the same complaint is heard all over China from other Chinese. Not all the immigrants are real entrepreneurs. Some are from very low economic levels, simply street pedlars or rickshaw drivers, who pedal customers along the long, level main street. Some immigrants have set up the Daofu County Self-Employed Workers' Association, whose office is on the main street, to assist resident and prospective business people in their economic ventures. As the town grows through increased lumber industry development and the demands of heavier traffic flow, it is bound to draw higher numbers of Chinese immigrants especially from the neighboring Sichuan regions, where intense population and economic pressures drive people to seek elsewhere for economic opportunities.

¹⁹ *Tibet - A Land of Snows*, p. 16

²⁰ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 115

Some Tibetans are also involved in commercial enterprises, such as small shops and restaurants, but they are outnumbered by the Chinese in this field.

vi. **Educational and medical facilities**

A primary school and middle school were located in Dawu, but no school definitely offering a Tibetan-language stream was identified. Children in primary school may nevertheless be taught some Tibetan, commonly the policy in Tibetan areas at present even though the standard is reputedly low. Tibetan reading material may be obtained at the Xinhua Bookshop, and a small private shop next door. In general education facilities in Dawu seem only basic.

Dawu undoubtedly has a county hospital, as these are standard installations in county towns. It was not located during fieldwork, nor was there any sign that Tibetan medical facilities were offered in the town.

vii. **Culture**

Dartsedo may have lost much of its “Tibetan” impetus under the pressures of economic and demographic sinicization, but once across the Chedo-la the vitally Tibetan nature of society, landscape, culture and religion reasserts itself forcefully. In Dawu, the next county town after Dartsedo along the Sichuan-Tibet Highway, this essential nature maintains itself with as much energy as it can in the face of increasing Chinese immigration and economic development. In many respects it is gaining, if not the upper hand, at least a much stronger position than in the earlier decades of Chinese occupation.

The most obvious evidence of Tibetan cultural revival is the construction of hundreds of fine new homes in traditional architectural style. These did not exist fifteen years ago, when neither “nationalities” policy nor economic levels permitted. Their ubiquitous presence now must be considered a direct measure of the enthusiasm Tibetans have for living in their own way when they have the opportunity and prosperity to do so. When much of the town was destroyed by an earthquake in 1981, the fervor for new building began and Dawu was converted from a drab colonial settlement of principally Chinese buildings to a town with a large, vibrant Tibetan sector

spreading across the rear hillside around the monastery and spilling south to the edge of the highway [see photos 6:6a, 74:11, pp.720, 761].

New Tibetan houses in Dawu are among the finest, and most numerous, seen in any of the Tibetan areas visited, extremely impressive in their sturdy design, workmanship and materials used. Quality and ornamentation vary according to budgets, yet even the simplest homes are noteworthy. All consume large amounts of timber for framework and upper story [see photo 75:22, 75:23, 75:26, pp. 757, 759, 763]. Smaller homes have lower exterior walls of compacted earth, while larger houses use stone and may even incorporate useful Chinese features such as tiled gabled roofs. The new roof styles are long-lasting and far better at shedding winter snows but leave the residents without their traditional flat roof so useful for drying crops, performing household tasks and enjoying sunshine without the company of animals. [see photo 75:25, p. 765]. In the country side homes show no such modifications and conform to strictly traditional usage, in which the ground floor serves as effective overnight shelter for livestock. While town homes continue to employ lower, largely windowless walls of compacted earth, a glance inside shows that they will no longer conceal yak or sheep but comfortable, roomy quarters for humans. Construction crews, who in the towns may be both Tibetan and Chinese craftsmen, take real pride in their work. All through the town's southern Tibetan neighborhood lie piles of logs waiting to be converted into new houses.

Where logging is an active industry, there seems to be a generalized spread of wealth which is most obvious in the size, quality and number of fine new homes being built in traditional Tibetan designs, as in Dawu, Draggo, and parts of Ngawa. Local Tibetans cannot but be relatively wealthy in order to build homes of such fine quality in both towns and villages, an example of Tibetan living standards being higher in places where resource exploitation (and exportation) is intense.

Chinese influence has made certain inroads into Tibetan behavior, where the adoption of Chinese ways fits more conveniently into current social and economic patterns. More Tibetans in Dawu county town wear non-traditional dress than in Kartse further north. Inside the Tibetan town sector more traditional dress is seen, and a "nationalities clothing" outlet was located there too. Villagers too mostly favor traditional dress, perhaps with some modern articles added. All Tibetans in Dawu seem able to speak Chinese. Tibetans from counties further north expressed their opinion that Tibetan language has become sufficiently degraded from Dawu southward that the Tibetan spoken there is to be regarded as separate and inferior. In the town center very little Tibetan signage

is evident except where official units display dual-language signs, as policy directs. People of the Dawu area already speak an unusual dialect,²¹ and although older people know Tibetan religious terms, young people now seldom learn them, a situation leading to potential Tibetan language loss in future. Although the Xinhua Bookshop stocks some Tibetan titles, no specialist Tibetan-language school was found in Dawu. Items of Tibetan interest may be found in a few of the shops on the main street, and the Xinhua Bookshop and a small shop next door also offer Tibetan calendars, thangka posters, lungta and the occasional glossier Buddhist publication from the Beijing Minorities Institute.

Two cemeteries lie on the northeastern slopes above the town, facing each other; a Tibetan cemetery and the Chinese Martyrs' Cemetery. The Tibetan cemetery is larger, in a style unknown in Central Tibet where "sky burial" is the norm and interment in earth is a fate traditionally reserved for bodies of the badly diseased or criminal. The cemetery in Dawu contains simple, often unnamed, graves formed of earth and stone mounds [see photo 9:1a, p. 753]. The grounds are distinguished by the presence of prayer flags on the graves themselves and by large clusters of the distinctive, tall, pole-mounted Kham style flags just above the cemetery. These are placed very closely together in a distinct geometrically-shaped cluster, often a triangle. Graves are sometimes marked with mani stones. Even though the graves are Tibetan, some of the inscriptions are in Chinese. A monk at the site directing construction of a new grave, and conducting prayers, claimed this style of burial was an old Tibetan practise, despite Chinese appearances. Such burial sites were observed in several places in Kham. The Daofu County Martyrs' Cemetery on the opposite hillside consists of a walled area with neat graves arranged in terraces. A poem by Mao Zedong decorates a wall facing the gate, and pavilions stand on little hillocks. Locals described the graves as belonging to cadres who had been sent to work in Dawu. The gate was heavily locked, as is invariably the case with these monuments to the founders of Chinese socialism in Tibetan areas.

The Chinese have made an effort here at cultural installation, in the form of a little sports stadium, the Xinhua Bookshop, and a couple of karaoke and video venues. Otherwise it is the shriller aspects of Chinese Communist culture that are still offered to the people of Dawu. Public loudspeakers blare long, daytime broadcasts, some of which are on the unity of nationalities and social education of children. Such programs begin daily at 7am from the vicinity of the Government Hostel, thereby reaching across the center of town. Public "nationalities" propaganda broadcasts here may be the aftermath of ethnic unrest in recent times. Once standard fare all over

²¹ This observation was also made by Europeans earlier this century; see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, p. 65

China, most towns are no longer subjected to them, at least not on a daily basis. In Dawu such broadcasts hint at the authorities' lingering fear of Tibetan unrest.

Other signs of ethnic tension were also more overt than in most places visited. Local Chinese quickly avowed their dislike of the place, unlike in Dartsedo where most seemed relaxed, satisfied and happy. Chinese do not have a long residential history anywhere in Kham west of the Chedo-la, and usually feel themselves alien there. The town opens late and closes early, suggestive of unease on the part of Chinese inhabitants. An unusually outspoken Chinese local explained, with understanding towards the Tibetan point of view, why there was tension in Dawu, including outbreaks of trouble: "The economy is in the hands of the Han ... but we (Chinese) don't like it here ... we are afraid ... we won't go out at night." Chinese in Lhasa make precisely the same comments. Local Tibetans are eager to convey their Tibetan identity, expressing disdain for what the Chinese are doing here and pride in all things Tibetan: Locals are apt to state "This is Tibet, not China" to visitors spontaneously and unequivocally.

Dawu's stage of assimilation seems to be about half way between the rather advanced state of Dartsedo and the conditions at Kartse, where resentment against Chinese dominance is clearly stronger and economic advantages associated with assimilation have not been as strongly implemented - and, in fact, may have been deliberately withheld. The high profile of Tibetan elements in town, especially the rapid proliferation of Dawu's sturdy and beautiful traditional homes, must signal beneficial economic conditions and the chance for cultural expression, at least for some Tibetans. These buildings are a vibrant contrast to the drabness of the older Chinese socialist compounds and the shoddy flamboyance of the post-reform Chinese development. The lumber industry, while resented as a form of Chinese exploitation, has undoubtedly brought short-term benefits to many Dawu Tibetans, who are using them to strengthen their cultural presence. Even if they are being drawn increasingly into the Chinese economic network, Tibetans in Dawu are simultaneously building a firmly Tibetan periphery for themselves, and with great enthusiasm, too.

viii. **Religion**

As an historical Tibetan town, Dawu was naturally centered around a monastery. As far as preservation of cultural and religious traditions is concerned, a strong monastic presence within settlements converted to Chinese

county towns has invariably proved a great advantage. Dawu's town gönpa, Dawu Nyitso Thösam Dargyeling

དངུལ་ཉི་མཚོ་ཚོས་བསམ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང།, claims to have a community of 800 monks, about half the pre-occupation

number, and is in any case an active, well-restored religious center. Fine new painting and carving decorates the interiors of the main lhakhangs, while new monks' quarters are being built with skilful traditional workmanship. A Gelugpa monastery, statues of Tsongkhapa and Maitreya have been installed in the principal lhakang. Intricate butter sculptures are still assembled for important religious festivals. The monastery is an active pilgrimage center, nestling in the heart of the town's Tibetan sector where many of the surrounding houses appear to be the residences of lay practitioners attached to the monastery, in the manner of Payül's Namgyal Gönpa.

The valley of Dawu town is now distinguished by a very large chöten, about 100 feet high, built in memory of the 10th Panchen Lama c.1989 shortly after he died. [see photo 74:12, p. 755] This beautiful, well-proportioned structure stands in a field just south of the town's outskirts [see photo 6:6a, center right, p. 720], complemented by a walkway of dozens of huge prayer wheels on one side and a cruder stone chöten near the approach to it. Pilgrims visit continuously to perform khorwa and make offerings. Monks at the site display great sincerity and seriousness in performing their duties. State funds are partly responsible for building the chöten, but it has none of the superficial decorativeness - or an admission fee - that often characterize government-sponsored Buddhist sites. Tibetans in the area clearly feel gratified by the presence of the chöten, a fitting memorial to the Panchen Lama, a man widely viewed in heroic terms as one who made strenuous efforts to improve the lot of Tibetans under Chinese rule.

Historically the Dawu region has made several important contributions to Tibetan Buddhism. Tüsum Khyenpa (1110-1193), founder of the Karmapa order, was born in the Dawu district²². The 11th Dalai Lama was born near Garthar, so there is a Yabshi Phunkhang there. Four white chöten stand at the foot of the hill behind the prison compound just past Garthar, and monastic buildings are visible in the valley behind. Other religious sites and signs may be readily observed throughout the countryside, including enigmatic chöten like conical towers made entirely from prayer flags. These are reminiscent in style, though not shape, of prayer flag chöten seen in the Pema area of Golog.

²² R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 76

Dawu was already inhabited by humans in Neolithic times, but the earliest known historical people there were a branch of the Qiang, whose state the Chinese called “Fuguo” lay in the region of Kartse, Dawu and Draggo²³. Fuguo was an important nation in the Kham region for several centuries, in contact with the Sumpa of northeastern Tibet and the Tuyuhun who established an empire in Amdo after the 3rd Century AD²⁴. They also maintained diplomatic contacts with the Chinese Han Dynasty, and had sent consecutive missions to the Sui court in 608 and 609²⁵. In the first half of the 7th Century, however, they were overrun by the Tibetans, whose armies invaded up to the Chinese and Tuyuhun frontiers in 638, defeating the Tuyuhun by 667 and engaging thereafter with the Chinese Tang Dynasty in a struggle for supremacy in eastern and northern Amdo, and into Central Asia. Kham was immediately settled by the Tibetans. More soldiers were sent there to garrison the borders, and the original Qiang inhabitants absorbed into the Tibetan armies and subsequently society. In 757, as China was thrown into turmoil by internal rebellion, the Tibetans overran their posts in Tsongön, then shortly afterwards in the rest of Amdo. Dawu, already settled by Tibetans for many decades, now remained under the Tibetan imperial administration until the Tibetan Empire collapsed in the mid-9th Century. Like the rest of Kham it developed into a distinctively Tibetan region, where the early propagation of Tibetan Buddhism contributed to its revival in Central Tibet. In 1110 the founder of the Karmapa order was born in Dawu²⁶. In this period the powerful Gar family appears to have been in control in the region, and was later to reign at Dege²⁷. The 11th Dalai Lama was born near Garthar in 1838²⁸.

After 1727, following the Qing expedition to Lhasa against the Dzungar Mongols and the inauguration of a far more interventionist Chinese frontier policy, Dawu and the rest of Kham fell under a Chinese protectorate, which theoretically made local Tibetan rulers subject to the Viceroy of Sichuan Province. As part of their Tibet

²³ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 3

²⁴ R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 29

²⁵ *Suishu (History of the Sui Dynasty)* ch. 83, p. 1859

²⁶ R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 76

²⁷ R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 75

²⁸ Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, p. 176

campaign the Qing had established a strong military base at Garthar in 1725²⁹, where they later confined the 7th Dalai Lama from 1730-1735. The Qing Emperor ordered a monastery (Garthar Gönpa) built there in his honor (Ch. Huiyuanmiao 惠远庙)³⁰. Garthar was an important security post for China in the era when Ambans and their retinues passed more frequently between Chengdu and Lhasa, but fell into a moribund state in the later years of the Qing. Only in 1903 did the Chinese re-garrison Garthar³¹. In practise the Chinese arrangement made no difference in Dawu to the rulers or their people until the 20th Century, although an alarming development occurred in the latter 18th Century when the Qing sent armies into the Jinchuan River 大金川 region and set up five military colonies in neighboring Tenpa, Chuchen and Tsenlha. Subsequently the Qing virtually abandoned these colonies to themselves. At this time Tibetans of Dawu belonged to the chieftains of Chala (Dartsedo) and the Hor chiefs of Draggo, Geshe and Mazur, a complex network of jurisdictions over families rather than fixed territories³². Ethnically and linguistically, Dawu appears to have been an unusual region, probably reflecting a complicated history of mixed settlement in the past³³. Since the Chinese used the south route through Kham, via Bathang, for the passage of their envoys between Chengdu and Lhasa, Dawu and the other Tibetan settlements on the northern route had no appreciable contact with the Qing until their adoption of a forward policy in Kham at the end of their dynastic reign.

Early in the 20th Century, the Chinese began to pursue an interventionist policy in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands, which despite determined Tibetan resistance resulted in the establishment of garrisoned Chinese administrative posts in most of the Kham states. The Qing installed a representative at Dawu (Ch. Daowu weiyuan 道坞委员) in the very last months of their reign³⁴, which was made a county in 1912 when the Republic of China succeeded the Qing Dynasty in 1911. Dawu had rebelled against the imposition of the Republican office in 1912³⁵, and although the rebellion was quelled in the brutal Chinese suppression of Tibetan opposition throughout

²⁹ L. Petech, *China and Tibet*, p. 90

³⁰ L. Petech, *China and Tibet*, pp. 156-157

³¹ Shakabpa, *Tibet: A Political History*, p. 224

³² Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, pp. 64-65

³³ Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, p. 65

³⁴ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 6

³⁵ Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, p. 65

Kham, much bitterness against the Chinese remained³⁶. Dawu at this period consisted of the large Gelugpa Nyitso Thösam Dargyeling monastery housing hundreds of monks, and the attached town below. The castle of the Mazur chieftain lay close by. A Catholic and Protestant mission had tried to evangelize in the district, but without success among the Tibetans³⁷.

Despite its position on the increasingly important northern route, Dawu did not develop into as flourishing a trade center as Kartse during the first half of the 20th Century. It was nevertheless a quite substantial town of 300 people in the 1930's³⁸, excluding the monastic population, and Chinese surveys made in preparation for the formal establishment of Xikang Province counted the whole county population as 13,498³⁹. An unusual ethnic mix prevailed in the area, according to the Chinese estimate: 25% Chinese, 30% Di (possibly Yi and other unidentified tribesmen), a handful of "others" including Hui, and only 40% Tibetans⁴⁰. These figures probably indicate Chinese confusion over ethnic identities as much as the demographic realities of the area. A European record from the 1940's describes it as a town with some Chinese traders, a monastery with 1,000 monks, and an entirely Tibetan population except for a few officials and businessmen⁴¹.

Political conflicts in China penetrated Kham in 1935 when the Guomindang armies pursued the Communist Red Army into the Tibetan areas, first Kham and then Amdo, where they were driven away by local and Central Tibet soldiers and forced to turn towards Northwest China.. The following year the Republican Government formally declared Xikang a province. The powers of the local chieftains and the monasteries remained essentially undiminished. The Chinese civil administration had little bearing in Dawu even in the town where the magistrate resided, but Chinese soldiers stationed around Kham earned severe unpopularity among the Tibetans for their lack of discipline and unfair exactions. In the 1940's, however, the Guomindang decided to construct a motorable road through Kham to Yushu and ultimately Xining. Thousands of Tibetans were forced into road-work teams

³⁶ Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, p. 42

³⁷ Eric Teichman, *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet*, p. 65

³⁸ *Xikang wenti (The Problem of Xikang)*, p. 92

³⁹ *Xikang jiyao (Survey of Xikang)*, p. 250

⁴⁰ *Xikang jiyao (Survey of Xikang)*, p. 247

⁴¹ André Migot, *Tibetan Marches*, p. 126

and the area crushed with local taxes. The resultant road was badly built and never used by vehicles. Anti-Chinese sentiments intensified⁴².

With the Communist victory over the Guomindang in 1949, Chinese attention focused more methodically on Tibetan areas. Having established a military administration in Dartsedo (Kangding) by March 1950, the Chinese began preparations for an invasion of Central Tibet. The PLA marched along the northern route through Dawu, pausing at Kartse to requisition the necessary supplies from local Tibetans before pushing towards Chamdo, and re-building the old Guomindang road as they went with army and impressed Tibetan labor and materials. By 1951 local administrations under the Communists had been established in all the Tibetan counties except still-resistant Serthar, including Dawu⁴³, now Daofu Xian under the Xikang Province TAR. In 1955 Xikang Province was abolished and the reduced administration of Kartse TAP, under Sichuan Province, established instead. In 1956 Tibetans in Kham broke into open revolt against the Chinese occupation. After the suppression of the revolt in 1958, monasteries were closed and destroyed, Tibetan culture repressed, and far-reaching political and economic measures taken to consolidate the Chinese colonization of Kham.

As a fertile agricultural and forest area, Dawu had particular attractions for the Chinese. Land reclamation schemes involving the growing of wheat and vegetables had been implemented along the Xianshui River by 1956⁴⁴, and early in the 1950's Dawu was incorporated into Chinese lumber exploitation plans⁴⁵. Despite its normally prosperous local economy, Chinese economic policies under the Great Leap Forward, followed by the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, reduced even Dawu to long periods of famine. Even by the late 1970's it had scarcely revived economically. After 1981, however, both cultural and economic recovery began, paradoxically assisted by the 1981 earthquake that severely damaged the town but resulted in extensive new reconstruction of Tibetan-style housing. But Dawu's natural wealth also means intense "development with Chinese characteristics". The county's prosperity rests on lumber and mining industries controlled by the Chinese administration, who also remain their prime beneficiaries.

⁴² André Migot, *Tibetan Marches*, p. 125

⁴³ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 49

⁴⁴ *Survey of China Mainland Press*, No. 1446, NCNA, Chengtu, Dec. 28, 1956, p. 26

⁴⁵ *Dangdai Ganzi (Contemporary Ganzi)*, p. 163

x. **Special emphasis, problems, other factors unique to this site**

Dawu offers certain contradictions. With its relative wealth, it has still been the site of anti-Chinese incidents in recent years. It consists of a well-developed sector of thoroughly traditional Tibetan homes, a large functioning monastery and a new religious site partially funded by the Chinese Government, yet ethnic tensions smoulder beneath the town's pleasant, rather prosperous exterior. Tibetans have been allowed a wide berth for cultural expression, yet the area is notorious for labor camps and has significant armed force presence in the town. Chinese-style development continues, but so does the construction of an overwhelmingly Tibetan environment right beside it. Lumber exploitation has contributed to local prosperity, but most of the profits, and in any case the control, remain with the Chinese. How these contradictions will be resolved will determine the future of Dawu and other Tibetan areas with comparable natural resources.

xi. **Summary comment**

Dawu leaves the impression of being a beautiful town, far more Tibetan than it first appears on arrival in the central Chinese sector. Chinese-style development approaches ever-more steadily from further south, but meets a determined Tibetan identity, supported by strong cultural expression and a viable economic level. The relative prosperity of Tibetans in Dawu certainly derives from the lumber industry, in which some have employment and others, due to their status or affiliations, have influence. After the suffering and privation of the decades following the Chinese occupation, it is gratifying to see some Tibetans enjoying a more pleasant lifestyle and able to define at least some aspects of their physical environment along the cultural lines of their choice. Yet there is a price for Dawu's prosperity. The beauty and robustness of the new Dawu houses is linked to the tens of thousands of wasted logs lining the Xianshui River banks, and the endless truckloads of logs from Chamdo, Dege and Kartse rumbling through the town. Wealth from Dawu's forests finds its way into private local pockets or flows south to China. The injustice involved is not so much that exploitation occurs, nor that useful development in these rugged, remote areas isn't comparable to inland Chinese areas with population densities forty to fifty times higher, but that so much is taken and so little left behind.

Sites tagged on photographic panoramas not accompanying text report

Panorama labels:

Dawu/Daofu

frames 5:17a-24a, 8pc

Agricultural Bank

Anti-corruption Work Dept

Bureau of Meteorology

Bus station

County Forestry compound

Communist Party (?)

County Court

County Govt

County Prison

County Procuratorate

County PSB

County Self-Employed Laborers' Assoc.*

Forced Job Placement Off (?)

Forest Products Development Co.

Govt Guesthouse

Government Offices

Grain Bureau

Lumber industry area

Martyrs' cemetery

Middle school

Nyitso Thösam Dargyeling

‘Panchen Lama’ Stupa

PAP Compound

PAP Middle Brigade

PLA Base

Post Office

Prefectural Forestry Dept. (not tagged)

Primary School

Sapling nursery

Sports stadium

Tax Office

Tax Office, Grain Bureau, Post Office *

Tibetan cemetery

to Dartsedo/Kangding

to Kartse/Ganzi

Transport Inspection and Control Office

Xinhua Bookshop



roll/neg: 6:4a

subject: town center

location: Dawu Dzong དངུལ་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996

comment: Here, in the heart of town, are many of the essential control structures. On the left side of the street are the County Government, Communist Party HQ, County Court and County PSB. On the right are the County PSB Detention Center, a PAP Squadron (中队), County Procuratorate and the Anti-Corruption Work Department. Behind all this, a traditional Tibetan neighborhood, stretching the full length of the town, flourishes. (Viewed from the west.)

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roll/neg: 74:2
subject: PSB Detention Center
location: Dawu Dzong ཏུ་ཇོང་།, Kartse ཀར་ཙེ་མཚོ་སྐོར་། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
[Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]
approx. date: winter 1995/1996
comment: The county jail, adjoined by a PAP Squadron, is across the street from the County PSB. All are in the town center. At first glance the jail seems small, but its cell space (two blocks of two stories each; one four cells/floor, one five cells/floor per floor; apparent total = 18 cells) is substantial for a modest population. What it lacks is high-profile towers and a walk-around wall. Dawu is thought to have been the site of political ‘trouble’ as recently as 1994 or 1995. ‘Open’ status for foreigners may express government confidence in control. (Viewed from the east.)

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<u>roll/neg:</u>	74:5
<u>subject:</u>	PLA Base, forestry and lumber processing area
<u>location:</u>	Dawu Dzong དངུལ་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ་སྤོང་། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]
<u>approx. date:</u>	winter 1995/1996
<u>comment:</u>	A large auditorium presides over the PLA Base on Dawu's north end. Army facilities this size in county towns were common in Kartse TAP, but unusual in other non-TAR Tibetan areas. Their original duty was undoubtedly to deter Tibetan rebellion and lay the foundations of 'socialist development'. With the PAP now holding the internal security portfolio, the army's role is less clear. In some cases they are involved in resource exploitation. It isn't known if they are linked to the expansive lumber-related facilities in the foreground. (Viewed from the east.)
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roll/neg: 101:7

subject: office sign indicating possible ‘forced employment’

location: Dawu Dzong ཏུ་ཐོང་, Kartse ཀར་ཙེ་ Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996

comment: It is known that ‘forced employment’ has been in widespread use in China, transforming forced labor into forced jobs. But the same characters can refer to a variety of methods for job placement, leading to uncertainty and confusion. This office was a short distance from the PSB Detention Center, PSB, and PAP. The term associated with ‘forced job placement’, *jiuye* 就业, or ‘starting employment’, is included in the name on the left, vertical signboard.

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9:1a

Dawu: Tibetan cemetery

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roll/neg: 9:1a

subject: Tibetan cemetery

location: Dawu Dzong དངུལ་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
[Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996

comment: Though 'sky burial' is the Tibetan norm for disposing of the freshly dead in Central Tibet, where 'earth burials' are considered inauspicious, Tibetan cemeteries were seen in several towns in Kham. Most graves are simple; many carry no name. Most are properly maintained. Prayer flags abound. A large, triangular field of vertical prayer flags has been set up near the hill top (upper left). A local Tibetan insisted this was a traditional Tibetan means of burial and had not been adopted from the Chinese. Tibetan graves often face west; Chinese south.

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roll/neg: 74:12
subject: Panchen Lama Chöten
location: Dawu Dzong དུ་ཇོང་།, Kartse ཀར་ཙེ། Tibetan Autonomous
 Prefecture
 [Ch: DaoFu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]
approx. date: winter 1995/1996
comment: The gigantic new chöten memorializing the Panchen Lama stands like a sentinel in Dawu's valley. Proportioning is superb: despite the immensity, it doesn't seem overbearing. Peripheral elements, such as prayer wheels and sets of smaller chöten, were still being added in 1995. Daily worship activity, principally khorwa, is active. Tibetans clearly take great satisfaction from the presence of the chöten. As is the case in many other Kartse TAP towns, visual contrast between Tibetan and Chinese areas is intensifying as Tibetans revitalize their building traditions and Chinese press ahead with their style of modernization.



<u>roll/neg:</u>	75:22
<u>subject:</u>	interior of large, traditional Tibetan home (constr. details)
<u>location:</u>	Dawu Dzong དཔུང་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]
<u>approx. date:</u>	winter 1995/1996
<u>comment:</u>	There is absolutely nothing efficient about timber usage in Dawu's local variation of Tibetan home building. But it is breathtaking in stature and assembly. However profligate the consumption of timber by homes such as this, they constitute barely a sliver of the trees cut. This home was one of the grandest seen anywhere. The 'post' in the foreground is about one meter in diameter and extends to the roof. Every joint is mortised, tenoned and pegged. Foundations are abbreviated. Each post is set, but not anchored, on a stone pier barely wider than the post itself. There is no foundation whatsoever underground.
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roll/neg: 75:23

subject: exterior of large, traditional Tibetan home under constr.

location: Dawu Dzong དངུལ་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ་སྤོང་། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996

comment: Several Kartse TAP county towns had superb Tibetan neighborhoods, all comprised of relatively new, but traditional, regional variants of Tibetan housing. Dawu has some of the finest and largest, and none surpass them in consumption of lumber. This grand home was built on a columnar grid of 7 x 8 (56 columns), and will have ~3,500 square feet under the roof. [see 75:22]. Structural joinery is massive, yet intricate. In a surprising exception to the norm, carpenters doing the main preparation of posts and beams for this home were Chinese.

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<u>roll/neg:</u>	74:11
<u>subject:</u>	rapidly growing Tibetan neighborhood
<u>location:</u>	Dawu Dzong དངུའོ་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ་སྐོར་། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]
<u>approx. date:</u>	winter 1995/1996
<u>comment:</u>	Hundreds of new Tibetan homes have been built in Dawu over the past few years, nestled near the hills and stretching the full length of the town. This area, the largest and finest concentration, is on the southeastern end of town near the Panchen Lama Chöten. The homes are exuberantly traditional, yet many have taken architectural adaptations, especially gabled roofs, on board. (Viewed from the southwest.)
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<u>roll/neg:</u>	75:26
<u>subject:</u>	typical Tibetan home under construction
<u>location:</u>	Dawu Dzong ཏུ་ཐོང་ཁྱེད་, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ་སྤོ་ Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]
<u>approx. date:</u>	winter 1995/1996
<u>comment:</u>	Arrangement of posts and beams is easily seen in this typical home under construction in Dawu's southern fringes. More modest than the home in 75:23, the grid is 6 x 6 (36 columns) and will provide 2,000 to 2,500 square feet under the roof. Similarly to the larger home, foundations are almost nonexistent. If soil-bearing is sufficient, sheer massiveness and interlinkage of posts and beams will keep the home in place. Many homes in the countryside, as well as smaller town homes, are on a 5 x 5 grid and would provide about 1,500 square feet. Rural homes often are 3-story, with animals sheltering on the ground floor.
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75:25

Dawu: almost a traditional home: Tibetan body, modern roof

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roll/neg: 75:25

subject: almost a traditional home: Tibetan body, modern roof

location: Dawu Dzong དཔུང་རྫོང་།, Kartse ཀར་མཚོ། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 [Ch: Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜 TAP, Sichuan Province]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996

comment: A new fashion in Dawu is putting a modern architectural cap on a Tibetan body. While the principal design and construction of this home are strictly Tibetan, a tiled, gabled roof has been substituted for the flat, packed-earth Tibetan standard. The sloped roof will provide no useful space on sunny days, but it will require far less maintenance and resist the elements more effectively. This particular variant of a gable roof is common in China.

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roll/neg: 30:16
subject: tower of a forced labor camp
location: 10km north of Garthar འགས་ཐར།, Dawu Dzong རྒྱུ་རྩོད།, Kartse
 ཇཀར་མཚོས། Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
 [Ch: Bamei 八美, Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜TAP]
approx. date: Spring 1995
comment: The prefectural-level camp, about 50km south of Dawu and 10km north of Garthar Shang itself, reportedly forces prisoners to mine gold. There are several mines in the area. Sieving in the river bed is carried out within a few hundred meters of the prison. Gangs of prisoners, under guard, were observed doing agricultural labor.

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roll/neg: 75:33
subject: a small gold-mining machine in river bed
location: between Garthar རག་ར་ཐར་ Prison and Garthar town, Dawu
Dzong རྟུ་ཐོང་, Kartse ར་ཀར་མཚོ་ས། Tibetan Auto. Pref.
[Ch: Bamei 八美, Daofu Xian 道孚县, Ganzi 甘孜TAP]

approx. date: winter 1995/1996
comment: Two or three kilometers south of Bamei Prison, several such machines worked the river bed. All were new in the area. It isn't known who operates the machines, or on what administrative level. The boom which scoops up gravel is visible in the machine's mid-section, pointing down and left. The exposed end of the machine expels gravel after it has been stripped of gold. Extensive damage to the river bed is left unrepaired.
(early morning, before start-up)

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