

**POLITICAL CHANGE AND CONFLICT
IN TIBET**

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1989

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* TO MY LOVING *
* MOTHER AND FATHER *
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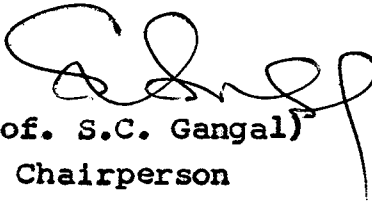
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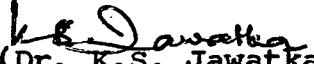
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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the dissertation entitled "Political Change and Conflict in Tibet" submitted by Nandan Singh in fulfilment of nine credits out of total requirements of Twenty-four credits for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) of this University, is his original work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or of any other University to the best of our knowledge.


(Prof. S.C. Gangal)
Chairperson


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PREFACE

PREFACE

Tibet, the roof of the world, is a vast country. It is now thirty years since Tibet became the victim of Chinese imperialism. With the losing of their right to self-determination, Tibetans lost their right to live like human beings.

When China arrived in Tibet in 1950 to undo the latter's independent and proclaim it as a Chinese territory, no body apprehended that the effect of the change would cross the Indo-Tibetan border and grow gradually and steadily in to a serious anxiety for the entire world community. Whatever, the arguments for or against the Chinese claim to suzerainty over Tibet, the Tibetans had a novel and altogether disturbing experience in their national life: never before had China held such complete physical possession of Tibet, and they were violently shaken. Whether the change would be good or bad for them in the years to come was not a question of argument. The Tibetans claimed that they were different from the Chinese, and that China had no right to occupy Tibet.

Tibet has been fighting for survival since the Chinese occupation in 1950. The cost of this struggle for freedom is often blood-shed, torture, imprisonment and execution. The Tibet that exists today is not the

same as the Tibet that existed thirty years ago. There have been many changes.

Although, non-violent resistance and humanity centered teachings are embraced by the Tibetan people, the Peoples Republic of China should not mistake this for indifference. Yet, if the land and culture are to be saved, the Tibetans most certainly need the help of freedom loving people, as well as the cooperation of the United Nations.

Against this background, this study attempts to analyse the Tibet that disappeared in the fire and smoke of the March rebellion and of the consequence of its disappearance. Beginning with the third century, it tells the story of Tibet's International Status: a vassal of China? a protectorate of Great Britain? a buffer to the India? an autonomous and sem-independent country allied to India by spiritual and sentimental bonds and nominally under Chinese sovereignty? or just, pure and simple, the "Tibetan region of China"?

Therefore, efforts have been made in this direction through the institution of International Organisations, international law and international morality. In spite of pursuing their national interests and frequently

selfish interest too, world nations approve necessity and desirability of international legal and moral norms.

In first chapter, I have given the origin of Tibet, how it grew into a great military power and carved for itself a huge empire in Central Asia, how it renounced the use of arms to practice the teaching of Budha. Infact, during this period there were many ups and down in the Tibetan territory but Tibet maintained her sovereignty till the end of 1950.

Second chapter gives a brief account of changing pattern of Political, Cultural, Economic , Trade and Military aspects of Tibet. And the tragic consequences that it suffers today as a result of the brutal onslaught of the Communist Chinese forces.

The recent revolts in Tibet, which turned towards a new change, is given in the third chapter. It intended to serve as a symbol of the right to self-determination of the Tibetan people.

What is the international responsibility? It is discussed in fourth chapter. It shows that the

global pressure presented by events of last three years
almost brought the Chinese and the Tibetan to the
negotiating table. I have included in this chapter
certain World Communities' attitude towards Tibet.

In conclusions, I have tried to throw light
on the remedies for the improvement in the existing
state of affairs to strengthen justice, law and rule of
reason in international field.

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I am grateful to my supervisor Dr. K.S. Jawatkar, whose guidance made me to have an insight in to the subject and gave me encouragement in going ahead with this work.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my thankfulness to Dr. Dawa Norbu, Associate Prof. of Central Asian Studies(J.N.U).With whom I had occasion to discuss some of the important topics presented here.

I express sincere gratitude to the librarians and staff members of the Central Library, J.N.U., Sapru House, Nehru Memorial Museum, Indian Council of World Affairs, Institute for Defence Study Analysis, and American Centre, New Delhi, have always been helpful to me. But apart from this, I wish to place on record my sincere thanks to Mr. Tadin Choephel, librarian of Tibet House(New Delhi), for his co-operation in providing me material and information regarding my work.

I am also indebted to all my friends, for their timely help and useful comments in completion of my work.

Last but not the least, I express my deepest gratitude to my elder brother Shri Alam Singh Rawat for his constant inspiration and assistance in the completion of this dissertation.

Finally, the responsibility for any shortcomings in this work, however, is entirely mine.

NEW DELHI

JULY 21, 1989

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NANDAN SINGH

CHAPTER - ONE

INTRODUCTION : HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

UPTO: 1950

Tibet, an ancient land has always occupied a unique position in the heart of Asia. Though essentially the home of a nomadic people before the seventh century A.D. it emerged as a strong Military Power in Central Asia under Songtsen Gampo and his successors. Its all embracing and total acceptance of Buddhism earned its religious leadership not only of people of Tibetan extraction, but those of Mangolia and China as well. This leadership is fundamental to the highly complex nature of the relationship that existed between Tibet and the Himalyas border states , like Nepal, India, Bhutan, Sikkim and between Tibet and China.

Nature has assigned to Tibet a buffer position between China and India and between North Asia and South Asia. It was more a wall between China and India than a bridge, while the association of China with Tibet has always been motivated primarily by expansionist aims, that of India has always based on religious, cultural and commercial considerations.¹

Tibet has always had its own polity, and has always been governed by its own institution and officials. There is

1. Ram Rahul, The Government and Politics of Tibet, (New Delhi, 1969), pp. 119-20.

not much substance in the Chinese claim to Tibet. There are numerous factual and documentary evidences which confirm that Tibet had been an independent country for centuries together in the past. Its history can be traced back to the third century A.D. although there are records of nomadic tribe called Chiang, believed to have been the ancestors and precursors of the Tibetans as far back as the second and third centuries B.C.² Whatever the Chinese influence in the internal affairs of Tibet, it disappeared by the middle of the nineteenth century. After the Chinese revolution of 1911, Tibet proclaimed its independence from China and demonstrated that it possessed all the attributes required for sovereign statehood. During this period the Government of Tibet exclusively conducted its own foreign relations, and the countries with which it had relations treated it as an independent country.

Tibetans are not Chinese either historically or anthropologically. "Tibetans are a different race".³

2. H.E. Richardson, A Short History of Tibet (London, 1962), p.28.

3. Tibetan are different race' by physical anthropologists such as Turner, Morant, Risely and Buxton, extract from Tibet Past and Present by Attar Chand.

The Tibetan language and script are entirely different from those of Chinese. It is said that the Tibetan script was borrowed from India in the seventh century and resembles the Northern Gupta Script of that period.

Tibetan society was organised upon the medieval feudalistic pattern but the lines were blurred by the intricate inter-weaving of ecclesiastical and secular society along the hierarchy. The result was a confusing pattern of social hierarchies, which though well defined and rigid at the same time, did not form any discrete strata. It was something which one existentially felt and lived with; a sense of hierarchy pervaded all aspects of Tibetan life including the ecclesiastical rank, but at the same time it was difficult for an outside observer to comprehend, enveloped as it was by a mystique which often defied analysis.⁴

Before the Chinese invasion Tibet's people fell broadly into four classes Nobles, traders, peasants and nomads. The nobility which owned most of the country's

4. Peissel, Michel, *Cavaliers of Khan - the street war in Tibet* (London Heinemann, 1972), p.63.

land and wealth formed a class apart and traced its descent from one of three sources. The oldest and smallest section of the Aristocracy comprised descendants of the early monarch's who ruled Tibet before the tenth century of the Christian Era. The second were descendants of the families in which a Dalailama or a PanchenLama was born. The third section was composed of individuals whose ancestor's had rendered meriterious service to the country and were duly rewarded. Traders in Tibet constitute what might be called the middle class, though there has never been a real middle class in the country. But they are ranked intermediate between the landed gentry and the peasants. The position of peasants vis a vis their landlords has been virtually that of the serfs, for no peasant is allowed to quit his land without the landlords permission. Though, slavery is not common in Tibet, slaves exist, and oddly enough, they are often treated better than the paid servants. In the fourth class fall the shepherds and Herdsman the nomads who work largely in the uplands, discending once a year to lower levels to sell their produce.⁵

5. Frank, Moraes, Revolt in Tibet (Delhi; 1966), p.43.

Most of the authors on Tibet hint at the existence of two divisions. For instance, Michel Peissel writes that "The Tibetan Society was divided strictly into upper and lower classes nobels and ordinary men. There was a clear defined graduation in which everyone know his or her proper place and such inequalities did exist in medieval societies within a set social pattern".⁶ Richardsen's conclusions are almost identical "Society in Tibet was strictly divided into two upper and lower classes by a clearly defined graduation in which everyone know his proper place. Similar distinction also existed in the religious hie#archy".⁷

The History of Sino-Tibetan relations falls into four clear and distinct periods and it commenced at the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian Era, when the King of Tibet, Strong-Tsen-Gampo, annexed eastern China and compelled the Chinese Emperor to sue for peace and give in marriage one of the royal princess.

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- 6.. Peissel, Michel, Cavaliers of Kham, - the street North in Tibet (London Heinemann 1972), p.15.
7. H.A.Richardson, Tibet and its history(London, 1962), p.15.

This period was characterised by relation on a footing of equality and reciprocity. The treaty concluded at the beginning of the following century and inscribed on a stone pillar in the Central Temple of Lhasa bears witness to this relationship.⁸ Under the rule of the king Stong-Tsen-Gampo in the Seventh Century A.D. Tibet became a very powerful and unified country which conducted its conquest expeditions on Nepal and China.⁹ Another interesting piece of evidence of this relationship between China and Tibet during this period to be found in the treaty concluded between the two states in the year 821. "This treaty recognised the equal and independent status of both China and Tibet. The treaty inscribed on a pillar in both Tibetan and Chinese language was placed in front of the Potala palace".¹⁰

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8. C. Bell, Tibet Past and Present, Appendices I and II, (Oxford, 1927).
9. Potala Publications; The Independent Status of Tibet, (1979)
10. Sacks, Howard, C., (The quest for universal responsibility; Human Rights Violation in Tibet: (1981), p.1

But this period of wars and alliances came to an end when thinking of Tibet, long-dar-ma was assassinated during religious dance, which became subsequently famous as the dance of the 'Black Hat'. The kingdom was divided in several petty states governed by independent and absolute rulers. Sino-Tibetan relations between the Seventh and Nine Centuries were close indeed, but the status of Tibet even then was rather vague. During that period Tibet as a military power was by no means inferior to China; but when later it was divided and weakened, and its foreign relations were reduced almost to nought, its status naturally became even less clear.¹¹

But during the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Centuries Buddhism which was adopted as state religion during the rule of Stong-Tsen-Gampo in Seventh Century A.D. overwhelmed the Tibetan way of life. Numerous monasteries were built and thousands of men became monks.¹²

11. Tieh-Tseng Li, The Historical Status of Tibet, p.18.

12. B.R.Burman, 'Religion and Politics in Tibet' (New Delhi, 1979), p.8.

In the Thirteenth Century Kublaikhan the great Mangol leader invaded Tibet. He embraced the Buddhism of Tibet and established his suzerainty over the country by installing the grandlama of the Monasteries of Sakya as the Pontiff of Sovereign of Tibet. But the authority of the Lamas of Sakya did not endure and was replaced by the second Monarchy of Tibet. The Emperor of China recognised as the sovereign of the country, the appointment to all important offices of the state were made under his orders, and all measures were submitted to the Government of Peking for final decision. But the internal government of the country was confined to the people.¹³

Up to the fourth DalaiLama, the DalaiLama's were still nothing mere than a great religious figure and acknowledged head of the Gelulepas. Political power was still vested in the head of Dukpas. In 1642, the fifth DalaiLama, Ngawang Lobsang Guatso, assumed both spiritual and temporal authority over Tibet. He destroyed the political power of the king Lamas of Tsang and established the present system of Tibetan Government, known as the "Tibetan Government Gaden Phodrang, victorious everywhere".

13. Government of His Holiness The DalaiLama, The International Position of Tibet(New Delhi, 1959).

After becoming the ruler of all Tibet, he set forth to China to demand the Chinese recognition of his sovereignty . The mini Emperor not only accepted the DalaiLama as an independent sovereign but also as a divinity on earth. Another important events was the statement of the fifth DalaiLama that the life of the first PanchenLama , who was one of his tutors, would continue.

Following the great fifth's deaths, there was a period of disorder and anarchy in Tibet compounded as usual in such case by foreign invasions. The eighth DalaiLama, then 26 years old, requested the Manchu Emperor, Chienhung, for temporary military assistance. The Manchu Army who entered Tibet in 1792 became more harmful to Tibetans and they again tried to increase of the Manchu resident. During this period Tibet was invaded several times and the Manchu Resident at Lhasa enjoyed in nefarious intrigues and medded in Tibetan state affairs. But Tibet never lost her sovereignty. The Tibetan people recognised only the Central Tibetan Government headed by the DalaiLama, as the only legal Government of Tibet.¹⁴

14. Raja, Hutheesing, Tibet fights for freedom (Bombay, 1960).
5.

The sovereignty of Tibet was further shown in her dealing with Nepal in 1856, when a treaty was signed between the two countries without reference to China. In 1876, the thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso, took charge of the duties of state from Regent Chokyi Gyaltzen Kunderling. He was an outstanding personality and helped Tibet to reassert her rightful sovereignty in International Affairs.¹⁵

At this period, the British had close and profitable ties with China. The Chinese had persuaded the British that they exercised 'suzerainty' over Tibet. The Tibetan Government refused to do with the British, who were dealing over their head with the Chinese. This coincided with new contacts between Russia and Tibet around 1900 to 1901. As the Russian Power in Asia was growing, the British Raj felt that their interest was at stake. Tibet was invaded by the British expeditionary force under Col, young Husband, which entered Lhasa on August 3, 1904. A treaty was signed between Tibet and Great Britain. Here China was not

15. Rabgyal, Nawang, The 1987 Uprising in Tibet (Dharamsals, 1987), pp. 179-83.

a party to it".¹⁶

When the British invaded Tibet, the 13th DalaiLama went to Mongolia. When the DalaiLama finally returned to Lhasa in 1909 he found that contrary to all the promises he had received in Peking-Cho-Erhfeng's troops were at his heels. Once again the DalaiLama was forced to leave Lhasa. In India the DalaiLama and his ministers appealed to the British Government to help Tibet..

In 1911, a revolution broke out in China, resulting in a decisive infuence on Tibetan Politics.¹⁷ The Chinese troops mutinied against their Manchu officer's and attacked the Amban's, residence fighting brokeout between rival Manchu and Chinese Generals. Then in a desperate attempt to regain their dwindleing hold in Lhasa, the Chinese attacked the Tibetans. By then, however, the Tibetans had recognised themselves. Chinese troops in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet were overcome by the Tibetans and finally expelled in 1912.. While the Chinese authority in Tibet collapsed in 1912,

16. T.W.D, Shakabpa 'Tibet a Political History(1967), p.243.

17. H.A.Richardson, Tibet and its History(London, 1962), p.5.

some fighting continued in the eastern region. Tibet did not wish to accept China's control. Britain thought that Tibet might be driven to take assistance from Mongolia and Russia. Since Great Britain did not want to help Tibet a memorandum was addressed to China to the effect that it would not recognise the right of China to intervene actively.¹⁸

In 1913, a treaty was signed between Mongolia and Tibet, confirming that the two countries would help each other in case of external threats. The treaty recognised independent status of both countries.¹⁹ As a result of this treaty, Russian arms reached Lhasa and started training troops in Lhasa. Consequently, the British became more eager to check Russian influence in Tibet. The Russian already been successful in Mongolia. The Chinese too did not desire Russia to be powerful in Mongolia or Tibet. In this context China agreed to a tripartite conference at 'Simla' in 1914.²⁰

18. C.Bell, Tibet Past and Present (Oxford, 1968), p.149.

19. Potala Publications, Supra n.10.

20. Richardson, op.cit., p.107.

The result of Simla conference may be summed up as follows: first; the Chinese government did not gain anything. As the Chinese representative did not sign the convention, the Chinese suzerainty acknowledged by the British in "Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907",²¹ remained only on paper. Tibet remained independent for all practical purpose. Secondly, the British Government gain freedom to hold direct negotiation with the Tibetans.

After the Simla convention, Tibet came nearer to Britain. Around this time, Sir Charles Bell led a mission to Lhasa in 1920. He said, "our main requirement was that Tibet herself should be strong and free... The Tibetans could be no serious menace to India on the otherhand, they would furnish a northern frontier for India of unparallel strength... Unless she is free, she can not be really strong;... In Tibet we also had an ideal barrier's against Bolshevik influence for the latter is abhorrent to the orderly Tibetan mind and to the religion which inspired it."²²

21. This convention was signed at St.Peters on August 31, 1907.

22. (Bell, was continuously involved in Tibetan Affairs and through him the British Government had carried out its Tibetan Policy). B.R. Burman; Tibetan Review, Vol. XI, No.12, 1976.

After Bell's stay, the Thirteenth DalaiLama made some attempt to modernise Tibet on a limited scale with British assistance. Tibet underwent a slight measure of modernisation; a few social reforms were carried out, the administration became more efficient. But on the whole, Tibet remained steeped in the past. The rule, maintained Tibet's neutrality in world affair preserving with great skill a precocious balance of forces between the British in India, the Chinese war lords and China's weak Central Government and Soviet Russia who displayed enough interest to send a Soviet mission to Lhasa in 1927.

The ambiguity of Tibet's judicial status remained unaltered since no foreign state recognised the Tibetan state as fully independence and sovereign. "In internal affairs the Thirteenth DalaiLama displayed his autocratic temper and could not countenance political interference on the part of Tibet higher clergy; this eventually led differences with the PanchenLama and in 1923 the PanchenLama left for China along with his followers.²³ This incident caused some anxiety to the Tibetan Government and also to the Thirteenth DalaiLama. The PanchenLama put the

23. Richardson, op.cit., p.127.

following proposals, to the Lhasa Government. First, he resented the existence of the Tibetan Army in Tsang, his own province, therefore, he requested withdrawal of Army. Second, he claimed the return of the estates of his followers. Third, he sought the help of the British Government to arrive at a settlement. But before this issue could be settled the Thirteenth DalaiLama died in 1933 at the age of 58.

The traditional way to discover child as the candidate for the post of the DalaiLama was to send important Lama's to different places. In 1929, a child born in the Amdo region was selected for the position of the DalaiLama. After the arrival of DalaiLama to Lhasa, once again China wanted to appoint an Amban or a high commission. The Tibetan did not agree. But in 1942, the Tibetan Government set up a bureau of foreign affairs and expressed its right to maintain independent relations with other countries. This is the first time that Tibetan realised the importance of maintaining foreign relations.

After the death of the Thirteenth DalaiLama China made attempt to increase its influence in Tibet through various missions, but no fruitful result emerged.

From 1947, onwards, Tibet made attempt to manifest its independence. "It participated in the Asian Relations Conference"²⁴ and sent trade agents to different countries . In 1949, it sent back the official of the Chinese Mission.

From the beginning of the Twentieth Century, Britain had been taking active interest in Tibetan affairs. However, after the Second World War, the situation changed completely. Britain had to withdraw from many parts of the world, including India. Britain could have kept China at a distance by its presence in Tibet till the Second World War; but after 1947, it lost power as well as interest in the area.²⁵

During 1947 to 1950 , China emerged as a strong Unified Power. Tibet was gradually becoming more aware of China's renewed efforts to establish its influence. Therefore, Tibet also tried its limited way to express and assert its independence.

In September 1949, Communist China, without any provocation, invaded eastern Tibet and captured Chamdo, the headquarters of the Governor General of Eastern

24. T.W.D. Shakbpa , Supra n.16, p.289.

25. B.R.Burman, Religion and Politics in Tibet(New Delhi, 1979), p.23.

Tibet, on October 19, 1950. On November 11, 1950, the Tibetan Government protested to the U.N.O. against Chinese aggression. On November 17, 1950, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama assumed full spiritual and temporal powers as the head of the state because the grave crisis facing the country, although he was barely sixteen year old. Dalai Lama appealed to several powers and the United Nations. They described the Chinese attack as "Clear aggression".²⁶

The Chinese invasion of Tibet in October 1950, while the Tibetan mission was on its way from India to Peking provoked a sharp exchanges of communications between the Indian and Chinese Governments. In its first note of October 26th, the India Government complained that despite the fact "we have been repeatedly assured of a desire of peaceful means and negotiations" and notwithstanding the departure of the Tibetan delegation for Peking on October 25th, the Chinese Government had ordered its troops to invade Tibet. While reiterating that New Delhi had no political or territorial ambitions in Tibet, the Indian Government emphatically stated

26. N.C. Kasliwal, Tibet and its autonomy (NI, 1964), p.52.

that "there was no justification whatever for such military operations". On November 16th , the Chinese Government replied, insisting that "Tibet was an integral part of Chinese territory and that the problem of Tibet was entirely a domestic problem of China".²⁷

China practically accused India of having been influenced by the imperialist and claimed that China had not taken any military action but was determined to liberate Tibet by peaceful means.²⁸

But the history substantiates the claim of Tibetans to the right to self-determination. The view of the legal enquiry committee that "throughout the period 1912-1950 the Government of Tibet exercised exclusive authority in domestic affairs within its territory that is successfully defended its territory against attack under colour of a claim to sovereignty and that vis-a-vis the Republic of China no act was committed or

27. Frank, Moraes, Revolt in Tibet, (Delhi, 1966), pp. 119-20; Suchita Ghosh, Tibet in Sino Indian Relations (New Delhi (1977)).

28. Ambassador, K.M. Pannikar "in two China", Extracted from Tibet fights for freedom by Raja Hutheesing.

declaration made that compromised its internal independence.²⁹

In the view of the legal enquiry committee the relations between Great Britain, India and Tibet from 1913 to 1950 lead to the conclusion that the practice of the two former countries was to deal with Tibet as a separate state. The 'nominal suzerainty' of China with Britain was always prepared to recognise was never in fact recognised by either by Britain or Tibet, and indeed Britain undertook, with Tibet not to recognise it untill China acceded to the Simla convention of 1914. India assured Tibet in 1947 that she would honour all Britains erstwhile treaty obligations with Tibet. At this time in the view of the committee "the status of Tibet if it had to be classified in terms of modern jurisprudence was at the very least of defacto independence founded on the autonomy agreed upon between the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Tibet at Simla in 1914."³⁰

29. International Commission of Jurists, Tibet and the Chinese Republic(Geneva, 1960), p.148, Report of Tibet submitted to the International Commission of Jurists by Shri Purshottam Trikandas.

30. International Commission of Jurists, Tibet and the Chinese Republic(Geneva, 1960), pp. 161-62.

The international commission of Jurists have also found that human rights, as contained in the Universal declaration of Human Rights of 1948 have been grossly violated by the Chinese authority in Tibet.³¹

Thus, the history confirms the claim of DalaiLama XIV that the Tibet has always been an independent country and has never been " an integral part of China" as the Chinese claim. His argument bears this truth when he says "The very fact that it has to be referred to now as 'Part of China' is a clear indication of separate and independent status in the past".³²

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31. A New Tibet Policy by Raghwan, Jayanta Bandhopadhya, Prof. M.L. Sondhi, Published by Tibet Swaraj Committee, 1962.
32. Information office of His Holiness the DalaiLama, His Holiness the DalaiLama's collected statements 'Interviews and Articles , (1982), p.66.



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CHAPTER - TWO

TIBET AND ITS CHANGING EVENTS

1951-1986

Following its successful invasion of Tibet China pledged in the treaty of May 1951 not to alter the established status, function and powers of the DalaiLama. This pledged was observed on the surface with no formal attempt to alter the traditional institution of Tibetan Administration, but China began to lay the ground-work for concerted action to transform Tibetan Society.

By the following years, they occupied the whole of Tibet after forcing the Tibetan's to agree to the so-called 'agreement' of the Central People's Government and the local Government of Tibet on measure for the 'Peaceful liberation of Tibet; more commonly known as the 'Seventeen Point Agreement'¹. In that Agreement, the suzerainty of China was stated that Tibet would enjoy full autonomy, though, the control of External Affairs and Defence were to be in the hands of the Chinese Government. It was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government with the Tibetan religions, customs and her internal administration.²

1. For text of Agreement of Chanakyasen: Tibet Disappears (Bombay, 1960), p.78

2. The question of Tibet and the rule of law, International Commission of Jurists (Geneva, 1959), p.95.

In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Armies, the Tibetan government did not enjoy any measures of autonomy even in internal matters, and the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs. On September 9, 1951 thousands of Chinese troops marched in to Lhasa. The forcible occupation of Tibet was marked by systematic destruction of monasteries, the suppression of religion denial of political freedom, widespread arrest and imprisonment.

In 1956, a preparatory committee was set up for Tibet with DalaiLama as Chairman, the PanchenLama as vice Chairman and General Chung-Kua-hua as the representative of the Chinese Government. In practice even this body had little power and decisions in all important matters were taken by the Chinese authorities. The DalaiLama and his Government tried their best to adhere to the 'Seventeen Point Agreement', but the Interference of the Chinese authorities persisted.³

From 1951 to 1959, the Chinese policy in Tibet was to avoid any direct confrontation with the traditional ruling elite. Until , the uprising of 1959, the formal institution of traditional Civil Administration remained by and large undisturbed.

3. Noel, Barber, The Flight of DalaiLama(London,1960), p.46.

The programme which were taken up during this period by the Chinese authorities were varied. They carried out programmes of welfare for the people and tried to create a development infrastructure. A by product of this was the erosion of the political base of the traditional elite of Tibet on the one hand , and the political and strategic penetration of Tibet by the Chinese on the other. "By mild and polite government the Chinese would made themselves surprisingly popular. Their troops have behaved in exemplary fashion..... world has been disseminated throughout the Himalyas about the friendly and helpful Chinese Administration".⁴

A large number of people belonging to the upper strata of Tibetan society were indoctrinated along with the commoners. They had agreed to participate in Chinese plans and programmes in an attempt to retain their position in the new structure. Through the programme in the field of agriculture health and education , the Chinese were successful in creating an atmosphere of friendliness. The traditional Government and the feudal lords were quit indifferent, and people did not expect anything from them. "The rulers neither helped nor harmed us; they simply left us alone".⁵

4. The New York Times pointed out.

5. Dawa Norbu, Red Star Over Tibet(London, 1974),pp.181.

The other programmes launched by the Chinese administration failed to make any apparent impact on the Tibetan masses.

Despite, these changes the mass of the Tibetans remained as basically a political as they had always been. At the same time a section of the people expressed resentment, and even became violent against the Chinese. There was violent opposition in Eastern Tibet leading to the postponement of reform programme for six years.⁶

In the political sphere the traditional government and its agencies tried to preserve their authority. The DalaiLama know that after the creation of the preparatory committee the Chinese government exercised much more power and authority through its various newly opened department thus eroding his traditional authority.. In the preparatory committee , the DalaiLama's Government, the sigatse areas and the Chamdo Zone, all had equal representations. The DalaiLama area did not have a special position in it. Under these circumstances DalaiLama had the following alternatives before him.

6. Outline of propaganda for CCP Tibet work committee concerning the policy of not implementing democratic reforms in Tibet within six years.

First, complete collaboration; he could have collaborated with the Chinese as a price for retaining his, however, nominal, authority perhaps as the symbol of Tibetan identity. This was not possible, for it would have been social change, which over the years would have led to gradual disappearance of the traditional ruling classes.

Second, partial collaboration; the DalaiLama had some members of the traditional elite understood that the Tibetan society needed change. They were favourably oriented towards gradual reforms. The section of the elite already collaborating with the Chinese were described by Chinese media as "Progressives".⁷

Resistance: The third alternative before him was to resist China by broad based social mobilization through (i) unification of the Tibetan people against the Chinese; (ii) Nationalisation of the religious and cultural institutions within a view to using them in the fight for the national cause; (iii) Democratisation of the political process retaining the institution

7. New China News Agency, (Peking), 28 March, 1959 .

of the DalaiLama as a constitutional source of political power. But it was impossible for the DalaiLama to organise the masses for the above mentioned purposes.

Flight: The other option for the DalaiLama was to flee from Tibet, and depend upon external forces to restore the Political Authority of the traditional elite. Events that followed prove that this was practically the only alternative open to him.⁸

The March 1959 uprising radically altered the political situation in Tibet. The Tibetan government was dissolved . This was reverse of the Chinese policy of "gradualism". They for the first time admitted of how little progress the preparatory Committee for the autonomous region of Tibet had made over the preceding three years. The Chinese began to push the "uninterrupted-
revolution" in Tibet with all speed. It decreed the establishment of an autonomous region. The peoples Liberation Army assumed full control of the functions of the government with a promise that autonomy will gradually and completely replace military control

8. B.R. Burman, Religion and Politics in Tibet
(New Delhi, 1979), p.103.

when the rebellion is put down and peaceful order is established. To that end, the postponed "reforms" were to be instituted immediately.⁹

The National Uprising of Tibet did not take place at one place and one one particular date. It was widespread in time as well as in territory. It was national in the sense that the sentiment of the majority of the people of Tibet was involved and it was spread over different parts of the country. All had one thing in common , that is, to maintain independence and the Tibetan way of life, which was endangered by the Chinese occupation . The terms of the 1961 Agreement, the Chinese government succeeded in creating conditions favourable for posting the Peoples Liberation Army all over Tibet.¹⁰

After the Chinese invasion of Tibet in October, 1950 the Government of India adopted a very cautious approach on the Tibetan issue and probably did not like to displease the Government of China at the cost of pleasing the Tibetans and that was considered by the Prime Minister

9. Phuntsog, Wangyal, "The revolt of 1959", Tibetan Review, July-August 1974, p.24. And Union Research Institute , No.1, p.387.

10. Phuntsog, Wangyal, op.cit., p.24.

variable at that time which determined Indian attitude towards the Tibetan problems.

So the preamble to the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet enunciated for the first time the famous five principles of co-existence known in India as "Panchshila". The principles of 'Panchshila' were reiterated and reaffirmed in a joint statement by the Prime Minister of India and China in June 1954 when ChouEn-lai visited New Delhi. These principles were the (i) mutual respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty ; (ii) Non-aggression; (iii) Non-interference ; (iv) Equality and mutual benefit (v) Peaceful co-existence. Nehru referred to Panchshila in words "live and let live to proclaim no one should invade the other, no one should fight the other."¹¹

But the light of China's ruthless aggrerian on Tibet in 1959, assurance are ironic, these said India's Prime Minister , referring to Panchshiela *are word we have used".¹² Prime Minister Nehru devoted the bulk of his monthly press conference to answering question about Tibet. He made it clear that India was deeply interested

11. In the same speech of 'Panchshila Principles, .

12. Here word means , recognition of territorial integrity and sovereignty means, there should be no invasion.

in the autonomy of Tibet and in its being allowed to function in its own way. He declared that , a difficult delicate and embracing situation had been created and India would have to deal within the light of three considerations; (i) National Security ; (ii) Her desired for continued friendship with China; (iii) And her strong feeling about developments in Tibet. These considerations would have to be balanced and adjusted.¹³

Nehru was hopeful that the Chinese would not at once communise Tibet and that by persuasive diplomacy it might be possible for DalaiLama to return to Lhasa and exercise his sobering influence on Tibetan affairs.

The DalaiLama has been forced to lounge in India and got political asylum, along with atleast 40 thousands of his royal followers. The unrest in Tibet ruthlessly suppressed. This gave a rude shock to the whole civilised world.¹⁴

13. K.P.Sen Gupta, Tibet Disappears(1960), Nehru's Speeches on Tibet, pp.161-214.

14. Hukam Singh, India and Tibet (NI, 1964), p.8.

The political asylum to the DalaiLama was justified by the principles of International Law. The Indian Government could do no less than give asylum to the DalaiLama on humanitarian grounds was desirable.¹⁵

There were some emerging patterns after the flight of DalaiLama. Earlier in 1950, when the DalaiLama had appealed to the UNO , the international community had shown great indifference to Tibetan affairs. In 1959, the attitude of some nations had changed. The Time (London), suggested that "it was every body's business to see that Tibet was not forgotten".¹⁶

By the end of September 1959, the federation of Malaya and the republic of Ireland had secured the inclusion of the question of Tibet on the agenda for the forthcoming session of United Nations. But in the UN Assembly the Communist bloc cast negative votes. Thus, General Assembly only discussed the question and called for the respect for the fundamental rights of the Tibetan people. But it could^{not} take action as the People's Republic of China was not a member of the UN and Tibet

15. Aloo.J. Dastur, The Tibetan Ordial and India (NI 1964), p.64.

16. A reute message from London, 12 August 1959, quoted by Raja Hutheesing in , Tibet Fights for Freedom (Bombay, 1960), p.220.

was accepted as the part of China.¹⁷

The Tibetan question came up again in 1961. This time General Assembly not only called for the restoration of human rights and freedom but also the right of Tibetan people to self-determination.

After the gap of four years, the Tibetan question again came up before the General Assembly in 1965 and on this occasion the Assembly, "reaffirming its resolution 1353(xiv) of October 21st 1959 and 1723(XIV) of December 12th, 1961 on the question of Tibet." Assembly gravely concerned at the continued violation of the fundamental rights and the freedom of the people of Tibet.¹⁸ A significant development during this session in 1965 was India's support of the resolution.¹⁹

The U.N. could not do anything beyond passing these resolutions. It could not take any effective steps because the powerful nations were not seriously interested in Tibetan affairs. The communist bloc

17.. H.A. Richardson, Tibet and its History (London, 1962), pp. 286-87.

18.. B.N. Mullik, "A Case for Tibet's Independence", Tibetan Review, May 1977, p.27.

19. Ibid., pp.28-29.

supported China and India did not have any power and it wanted to maintain friendly relations with China by non-interference in Tibetan affairs.

Pandit Nehru had always been extremely anxious that the Tibetan personality and Tibetan autonomy should be maintained. Pandit Nehru had already, as a legacy from British, accepted Chinese suzerainty. This was done in good faith to secure for the Tibetans the autonomy which they had enjoyed throughout the history to protect their culture and religious freedom.

India gave asylum to the DalaiLama along with his followers. Pandit Nehru inspite of the criticism by the Chinese fellow travellers in India, not only refused to turn them back but extended to them such economic help as was possible in India's own straitened circumstances. In doing so Pandit Nehru incurred the ire of the Chinese who not only became hostile but actual enemies to the extent of invading Indian territory in 1962.²⁰

20. B.N. Mullik, op.cit., p.27.

After the 1959 , revolt a decree of the state council of the People's Republic of China dissolved the local Government of Tibet with the DalaiLama as the head. At the sametime , the preparatory committee for the Tibetan Autonomous region was made the principle instrument of Chinese rule with complete control of local administration. The PanchenLama was named Chairman of the Organisation.

Major change were made in the organisation of the Administrative system to facilitate the effective territorial control of the plateau by China. Tibet was divided in to seven region(Nagchu, Chamdo, Lingse, Gyangtse, Shigatse, Ari, and Lhasa) and further sub-divided into 72 rural districts; four urban districts and two sub-urban districts in the capital eliminating the former "feudalistic" division of territory for land tenure and Civil Administration into areas assigned to monasteries and nobility communist indoctrinated. Tibetans were brought back from China and appointed to all levels of Government in the new Administration. The measures were designed to assure China's absolute control over the

Administration of Tibet.²¹

This is a fact that by 1965, Tibet was almost integrated with China. The Tibet autonomous region was created. But the year of 1966, saw a completely new trend in the political field of China. These changes in China had profound influence on the happening in Tibet too.

In 1966, the "Great Cultural Revolution" began to China. The Chinese Communist Party took up a programme, which was known as the sixteen point programme. Among other items, it was decided to introduce "New Fours" they were new ideas, new customs, new culture, and new habits. The old ideas and customs were to be discarded. A youth organisation called the 'Redguards' was formed after the P.L.A and became active in August 1966. It was obvious that Mao wanted to achieve certain goals with the help of Redguards, as through the actions of the party these goals were not easily achieved.

21. P.P.Karan, "Ideology and Landscape: A Study of Tibet", The Tibet Journal, 1981, Vol. 6, Autumn; 1981, Vol. VI, No.3, pp. 11-21.

According to many scholars "Tibet was remarkably quit"²² Here , scholars gave a clear picture of Tibetan's people , in terms of their simplicity , modesty and non-violent resistance. Another statement is that the Tibetans regarded the Cultural Revolution as a "Han Export".²³

But slowly China revised the policy. Though, earlier, frontal attack on the national Elite were avoided in Tibet, after the flight of DalaiLama much of the Elite had to give up their position. Even then the DalaiLama was mentioned as the Chairman of the preparatory committee for (T.A.R.) and the PanchenLama was also degraded and after the creation of the autonomous region of Tibet the PanchenLama also lost importance.

Though, China had claimed that education had been spread to all of Tibet, in remote areas there were

22. G.P. Deshpande, "Towards Integration : Tibet since the revolt", International Studies, Vol. No. 4, April, 1966, pp. 511-22.

23. June, Ereyer, "China's minority nationalities in the Cultural Revolution", China Quarterly, No. 55, July-Sep 1968, pp.96-108.

hardly any school. Hence, it is difficult to assert that the majority of Tibetans understood the proper significance of or actively participated in the Cultural Revolution. It seems that only few educated Tibetans had the proper background to do so.

The Red-Guards had spread to the Tibetan region too. At that time, the total strength of Red-Guards in Tibet was 8,130 of which about half were Tibetans.²⁴ In August 1966, the Red-Guards started their activities in Lhasa. Later, two factions worked in different ways. The Chinese Communist Party of Tibet distributed large number of quotations from Chairman Mao's booklets, which were translated into Tibetans.

It is reported that, Liberated Serfs were excited beyond words than they received the booklets.²⁵

Like other parts of China Lhasa also went through a few changes. The Red-Guards changed the name of street places, work units etc, to break off with the past.²⁶

24. Paljar, Kunsan, Tibet the Undying Flame, (Dharamsala, 1977), pp. 50-55.

25. "The Golden sun of Mao-Tse-Tung's Thought Shines over New Tibet", NCNA, Lhasa, August 12, 1966; Jen-Min, Jih-Pao, August 13, 1966.

26. "Revolutionary Masses of Various Nationalities in Lhasa thoroughly smash the Four Olds", NCNA Lhasa, August 28, 1966, and "Lhasa takes new look", NCNA, Lhasa, September 15, 1966.

In the same manner the name of summer palace of the DalaiLama, the Narbu Linka, was renamed as the "People's Park". An important landmark where the revolt of 1959 took place was named "Victory Park".

It is very difficult to assess the correct impact of the Cultural Revolution on Tibetan social life. Regarding the elimination of the influence of religion, various sources give evidences, NCNA reported that "a new culture was being built up by smashing the shackles of all the feudal and capitalist culture. During the Cultural Revolution, ancient scriptures, priceless images and object of worship belonging to monasteries were all confiscated".²⁷

In the execution of the nationalities policy too China could not strictly adhere to her policies which were formulated earlier. After the Cultural Revolution the minority areas were treated as other parts of China. The new constitution adopted in 1969 but made no mention of the United Front or of the existence of the minority nationalities. It seems that during the Cultural Revolution the old forces of the Tibet Elites were completely

27. "Fate of Monks and Monasteries", Tibetan Review, March 1976, p.5.

wiped out.²⁸

After the Cultural Revolution, Tibet entered a new phase. Development in various spheres have been reported. In Tibet Army remained quite strong even after the Cultural Revolution. A refugee has been quoted thus "The Chinese are every where in Tibet as thick as flies on a carcass"²⁹. It means the massive transfer of Chinese population in to the Tibetan territory.

Upto 1973, relations between India and China was clearly not good, and Tibet was a major factor in it. Sino Soviet relations too, were not cordial. India has been accused of helping the Tibetan Guerillas by China. From 1973, the Indian and the Chinese Government have been trying to normalize relationship.

China's attitude towards the DalaiLama and religion changed slightly from 1973. It is reported that the Chinese authorities in Tibet launched a programme to instruct the masses on their reaction to a possible return of the DalaiLama. But DalaiLama said in

28. Rupen, "Peking and National Minorities", Communist China, 1949, 1969. A Twenty Years Appraisal, New York University, 1970, pp. 243-258.

29. P.P. Karan, The Changing Phase of Tibet, 1976, p.42.

March 1970 "Many of Tibetans may be ideologically communist but they are definitely national communist. To these Tibetans, their nation comes first, ideology second. We are fighting against colonialism and not against communism."³⁰ Here, DalaiLama made it clear that nobody can challenge about the patriotism and just struggle of the Tibetan's people, that is because of their Right to Self-Determination.

A few years later, he said (DalaiLama) (according to the Mahana School of Buddhism, "you sacrifice for the benefit of others, for the good of suffering humanity".³¹ So is the good of communism.... We are not against communism. The struggle is really against Chinese domination and it will continue till the good days come and the Chinese leave Tibet.

By late 1970s, the DalaiLama had transformed his political demand into conciliatory gesture to China on numerous occasions and International Forums, he made the same point that he was concerned his return to Tibet would not mean the restoration of old order. It was the Chinese according to Tibetan sources, who made the first move. They send message that the new leadership in Beijing would like to work for the possible return of the DalaiLama to the "Motherland".

30. Asian Recorder, Vol. 16, No. 17, pp. 23-29; 1970, April 9, pp. 502-03.

31. "Diplomacy and the DalaiLama" Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 83, No.11, 18 March, 1974, p.22.

In July 1979 , they discussed the possibility of a visit to Tibet. Though a private initiative the visit was approved by the DalaiLama. He felt that "It would be good if **the** Tibetans themselves got an opportunity of seeing the conditions of Tibetans in Tibet."³² In other words, he was prepared for any kind of contact with Tibet even under Chinese terms.

The DalaiLamas first delegation left India on August 5, 1979. Their aim was to try to understand the new leaders of China, greet the six million Tibetans in Tibet. The Delegation reported the following points to the DalaiLama; that the people belief in Budhism is far from shaken; that the vast majority still cherish the DalaiLama and dream to see an Independent Tibet under him; that their economic conditions are incredibly poor.³³

The second delegation consisted of five modern Educated Young Tibetans. They travelled through various parts of Tibet for more than three months. Their belief report said that the ordinary Tibetans still

32. Dawa Narbu, Red Star Over Tibet (New Delhi, 1987), pp. 268-69.

33. Dawa Narbu, op.cit., p.270.

lead indiscribably poor life and that they all desire restoration of Tibet Independence.³⁴ What is more striking about their report is the strong evidence of persistent religious faith in Tibet. Finally, delegation could not fail to deserve an insidious process of Sinofication which poses direct threat to the future of the Tibetan civilization.

The third delegation consisted of seven members headed by the DalaiLamas sister, Pena Gyalpo . But unlike the previous delegation, this one faced some structured obstacles, which did not allow them to visit where they wanted. The delegation were briefed that there were 430 Primary School with 1,75,000 students and 6,000 school run by parents with 200,000 students who now received Government Grants. None of the school visited was comparable in standard to school run by Tibetan in exile.³⁵

34. Ibid.

35. Dawa Narbu, op.cit., p.272.

The contact between China and Dharamsala had been suspended since July 1980 when a huge crowd demonstrated in support of the DalaiLama and Tibets independence. China took such a serious view of the mass demonstrations that the second and the third delegation were asked to cut short their visits. This provided an appropriate opportunity for the DalaiLama to ask the Chinese leadership. If they wanted to talk, they agreed . A high ranking, three members delegation from Dharamsala left for Beijing on April 24, 1982.

The delegation which is the fourth in the series spent about a month in the Chinese capital , exploring and sounding various prospect for the future of Tibet. The delegation was instructed by the DalaiLama personally .³⁶

The DalaiLamas' demands included the following: That China should change its political system in to federal one in which Tibet would become an equal and to a large extent, independent member holding U.N. membership. But when, the Chinese leaders rejected

36. Ibid.

this package deal, the Tibetan delegates sounded the next package; that China should grant Tibet a status promised to Taiwan under the nine point reunification programme. And that the PLA troops must be declared a demilitarised zone of peace.

Chinese answer to this package deal were Yes and No. Chinese have condemned the DalaiLamas demand for the unification of Tibetan speaking people in China under a single Tibetan administration. Therefore, when the fourth delegation returned to Dharamsala, the member who made this particular demand was bitterly criticised.

Perhaps there is still ground for hope. In the summer of 1985, delegation with six members was sent to investigate the conditions in North Eastern Tibet or Amdo, as it called in Tibetan. The report they brought back was most "frightening"³⁷. The fact is that the

37. As one of the delegates(Sampel) wrote "I don't know what the dianasour felt when it knew that it was getting extinct but to me there can be nothing mere frightening than the prospect that ones people's, language, culture, within a few generation will be more exhibits in the museum, just asthe Dianasour is today."

Tibetan in North Eastern Tibet are already engulfed in a sea of Chinese.

The fifth delegation might perhaps be the last, because there was hardening of the Chinese position in the seven year old Sino-Tibetan dialogue. In 1986, the Dalai Lama proposed to send the sixth delegation but it had to be cancelled because of the Chinese demand that they must carry 'overseas Chinese passport'. It should be noted that earlier delegates did not have to carry such documents. What is at issue is the basic Chinese condition for the continuance of the Sino-Tibetan dialogue, the Dalai Lama and his followers must recognise that Tibet is a part of China, and therefore they must consider themselves as Chinese. This, seems unacceptable to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan exiles.³⁸

It is well known that the "Overseas Chinese Permits" has been strongly condemned within the exile Tibetan Community. However, number of officials in Dharamsala declined to make any comment in their official capacity, and all of them wished to remain anonymous; most feel that the exile Tibetan Government should forget the

38. Dawa Norbu, op.cit., p.277.

"delegation diplomacy" and it should take a firmer and clear stand for total Independence of Tibet. "Only working for the total independence of Tibet will satisfy the Tibetan people."³⁹ "Since the delegation policy came into existence the gain has mainly been with Chinese and not for us."⁴⁰

Tibetan situation seems more tragic and pathetic. Not only is China's domination of Tibet based on a continuing refusal to allow the Tibetan people to exercise their right to self-determination but it has brought suffering on a scale so broad as to make much of the repression and violence used by dictatorial regimes elsewhere seem insignificant by comparison.⁴¹

39. Said one senior officials.

40. A notice from the Ksang Secreteriot on 20 June 1986, confirmed this report. Tibetan Review, July 1986, p.6.

41. Doe, John, "Tibet for Tibetan's, Not for the Chinese", Tibetan Review, July 1980, p.22 (Doe John is an American Academy).

CHANGE IN ECONOMY IN TERMS OF INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY -

Modern Industry as is wellknown had its origin in Europe and industrialisation in most non-European countries was initiated under the auspices of European Colonial rule, as a result of contacts with European. But Tibet completely escaped European Colonialism. The security interest of the British Empire in India dictated that Tibet be a buffer state, completely insulated from foreign contact. The Lhasa convention of 1904 signed that no other power may get into Tibet. And the British themselves, apart from the policing, the region, would not colonise because it was not worth-while economically.⁴²

In most of inner China people live and their economic activity focuses notion the highlands, but on the great plains, valleys and river deltas that support Agriculture and promote trade. Yet this total cultivatable area of about 100 million hectares is only 11 percent of the total land area, and it is concentrated to the east and south. To the West is plateau area: the desert and

42. C. Bell, Tibet Past and Present (London, 1968), pp. 158-59.

steppe of the Tibet or TAR - Qinghai Plateau, along with the plateaus of Yunnan - Guizhou, and the desert and steppe land of Xinjiang and inner Mongolia, comprises nearly half the land mass of the polity of China.⁴³

Motivation for industrialisation in general seems fairly obvious but it is not so simple in the case of Tibet, which has been such a controversial political issue in the past. Since industrialisation is one of the most sought after goals of most developing countries, it becomes a handy legitimisation device and justification for past immoral and illegal actions. The New China News Agency, released a somewhat clear report on the industrial situation in Tibet. It said that Tibet has now 'more than' 250 Industrial and Mining Enterprises, and recalled that in 1965 there were only eighty factories and mines. In 1974, industry accounted for 22 percent of the region's total output value as against 8 percent in 1965.⁴⁴

43. A Journal of Himalyan Studies, Kailas, Vol. XIV, 1988 , No. 1-2 , pp. 69-71.

44. New China News Agency, (Hereafter NCNA, 9 Sep 1975).

By 1976, Tibet had began to export wool and woolen products.⁴⁵

Another natural endowment of Tibet is the number of mountain streams, particularly suited for power generation. By hydro electric stations, it was reported that power output by 1970 was doubled that of 1965.⁴⁶

Although it makes economic sense to render such centra economic assistance in order to bridge the regional imbalance in development, there should be enough resources financial or otherwise, in Tibet itself. One can think of two major sources of capital for Tibetan industrialisation. First all the gold and silver object and precious stones confiscated from the ruling class during the 'democratic reforms' were not distributed to the poor, they were kept outside the future development projects.⁴⁷

45. NCNA, 5 October, 1976.

46. Peking Review, No. 29, 16 July,

47. D. Narbu, Red Star Over Tibet (New Delhi, 1987), pp.197-202.

Second , both agriculture and dairy outputs have definitely increased but the rationing scale has not.⁴⁸

The new regime considers the number of Industrial Worker(Praletariat) as a measure of revolutionary progress towards socialism. But most of the so-called Industrial worker are mobilised handicrafts man.⁴⁹ It was reported that in 1961 there were 24.000 workers.⁵⁰ In 1968, there were 25.000 industrial workers and 8.000 of them declared as qualified for filters and welders.⁵¹ In 1975, it was reported that about 10.000 Tibetan had been trained in mining, technical and other vocations in various Chinese cities.⁵² The total industrial workforce was reported to be 67.000 in 1975.⁵³

48. The Guardian (London), 11 June, 1976.

49. Report, A. Scalapina (Elites in Communist China) Washington Press, 1972.

50. Communist China and Tibet, p.154.

51. The Times(London), 17 May, 1966.

52. NCNA, 9 Sep, 1966.

53. NCNA, Ibid.

In terms of Agricultural Development , the Tibetan economy had been in the past and still remains - essentially an agricultural economy with a significant pastoral sector that comprises one third of whole, barely, which is the staple diet in Tibet, account for roughly one third of all agricultural land and two thirds of the area given to corps; other important corps are wheat, green peas and millet. Soon after the 1959, land was distributed equally to all but was collectivised six year later.

In most part of Tibet , the intermediary stage seemed to have been skipped over; a few places like Chiepa and Naitung, however, passed through this stage as well. Later mutual aid teams in Chiepa and Naitung, which are described as pioneers, merged in to an agricultural producers cooperative.⁵⁴

Both agriculture and stock breeding were in the process of profound communist transformation. Following the Cultural Revolution is characterised by major transformation of the economy. By 1975, nearly 600 comuners were operating in 34 percent of the townships of Tibet. But despite, energetic pushing, the work of organising comuners in Tibet moved slowly because of

54, Peking Review, No. 13, 31 July, 1970, p.30.

strong Tibetan resistance.⁵⁵

Tibetan refugees during the late 1960s and early 1970s persistently complained against the introduction of communes which forced them to work harder and which meant the withdrawal of all other small source of food which were available before and left the peasantry with the only officially sanctioned ration. Above all they seemed to have resented the fact and feeling of being subjected.⁵⁶

Although increasing agriculture output is itself evident, it becomes more difficult to see where the surplus goes. As far as rationing is concerned, there has been no increase since 1959.⁵⁷

But mystery remains. In 1975, the Guardian(London) carried a special full page report on the current situation

55. Tsultin Chhonphel Tersey "One month in Tibet", The Tibet Society News Letter, No. 8, 1979, pp.1-36.

56. D.Narbu, "The Tibetan Response to Chinese Liberation", Asian Affairs, Vol.62, October 1975, p.271.

57. This is evident from all refugee reports between 1972-76. It is true that there has been no increase in ration quotas in China as well.

in Tibet and wondered about the missing surplus which the report said remains 'mystery'.

The Chinese claim that Tibet became self sufficient in food in 1974 is incredible; Tibet was self sufficient in food even before the Chinese appeared. It is a historical fact that none of the poor economic conditions that plagued , the Chinese peasantry before 'Liberation' prevailed in Tibet. It is also a historical fact that there has been no peasant rebellions, which might suggest poverty or some gross injustice. The fact confirmed by Western travellers that Tibet experienced no famine in her recorded history.⁵⁸

In most of the region, the economy is dependent on Animal husbandry which approaches 50 percent of the gross Agriculture output value of the TAR as a whole. Before 1951, about one sixth of Tibet's population was estimated to be engaged in Pastoralism or livestock breeding. The Animal were not distributed equally among the nomads in the way property and the land of the upper classes were distributed among the poor peasants.

58. Tibetan Review, Oct-Nov., 1974, p.4.

In Eastern Tibet which was considered de jure China, even before 1950, the policy of fixed abodes and nomadic herdings was pursued as early as 1958. Because such fixation involved changes in the herdsman habit of production and way of life, China encounter 'severe resistance initially'.

There have also been reports about how the Chinese are trying to rationalize better use of pastures. They have ordered the nomads to regularly graze lower pastoral lands in winter and similar programmes in other parts of Tibet repeated.

Because of the weather, terrain and traditional animal husbandry will on the whole "continue to take first place in planning with an eye to developing agriculture to its full potential".⁵⁹

Hence the overall averages for production for the TAR cover over a spatical imbalance of production, or specialisation and exchange with in the TAR, one that the

59. China Report, Vol.24, No. 3, July-Sept 1988 (This was the theme of a Congress of advanced collectives and producers held at Nakchu Region.

traditional exchanges linked. The traditional agriculture may have lead to a greater density of people in the South East than the North West; but this could not lead to a progressive migration to these crop-rearing areas without an abandonment of the basic resource of pastoralism, the grasslands. This is true today, with modern incentives for urban migration, as far the traditional system of Agriculture.

FOREIGN TRADE -

Foreign-trade plays an important role in Tibet's economy and improving the life of the people. It is carried out in three forms: (i) Trade with neighbouring countries ; (ii) Barter by border inhabitants and ; (iii) foreign trade through the country's major ports.

Tibet's foreign trade has developed rapidly since 1980, reform in 1984 gave further impetus and by 1987 the regions import and export volume had reached 200 million Yuan, quadrupling that of 1984. Foreign exchange earned from export increased nearly eight-fold. Tibet border on Burma, India, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal and to its west lines , the Kashmir regions. India was once Tibet's major foreign trading partner, but after the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962, the trade between the two countries almost came to a halt. In the past 25 years, Nepal has become Tibet's largest trading partner.⁶⁰

Before 1980 mainly grain, sugar, cloth, chemical fibre textiles, woolen fabrics, fuel and copper and aluminium goods were imported from Nepal. In recent years, the

60. China Report, Vol. 24, No. 3, July-Sept., 1988..

imports of grain have been substantially reduced as production in Tibet and other parts of China has increased. From 1980 onwards, trade with Nepal increased dramatically. The total imports and export value in six years 1980-85 was 50.59 million Yuan. In 1986, Tibet for the first time exported more to Nepal than she imported. In the same year, the region earned US \$ 2.6 million in foreign exchanges.

Tibet now imports, trucks, jeeps, iron sheeting, instrumental fitting, communication equipment and machinery from abroad. Before 1980, the imports were controlled by the state foreign trading companies, but in 1981 the region took the charge of its own affairs. Aided by state subsidies, Tibet now spends US \$ 6.8 million on imports each year. In 1987, the region spent US \$ 12 million on imports and earned US \$ 6 million from exports. Its total foreign exchanges income in the same year, including US \$ 7 million from tourism and US \$ 6 million in state subsidies amounted to US \$ 20 million.

The region is relying on its own industrial and economic resources to develop livestock processing but also welcomes foreign aid. West Germany has shown interest in building a Woolen Sweater Factory and

upgrading a tanning factory. Foreign investment is welcome in Tibet. The first class Lhasa Hotel is a joint venture with the USA. But Tibet is aware of its shortcomings; it is inaccessible and shorting killed people and energy, but determined to make a new start by developing available resources.

CHANGE IN MILITARY AND STRATEGIC LOCATION -

In terms of military development in Tibet"for nearly a century the British maintained the security of India from the north by supporting the neutrality of an autonomous Tibetan state. If the British acknowledged a tenuous form of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, it was entirely for the purpose of the working a bigger danger from Czarist Russia than what weak China could pose to the Indian frontiers at that time. With a neutral Tibet an independent treaty relations with the British outposts thrust deep into the Tibetan Plateau, the Northern Frontiers of India remained dead frontiers, completely insulated from any danger from foreign aggression with the British in predominantly strong position in Tibet, other Himalyas kingdoms or states like Nepal , Sikkim, Bhutan etc continued to remain firmly within the British sphere of influence.⁶¹

Not only the British power in Tibet protested the independent existence of these territories but they in

61. B.N. Mullik, The Chinese Betrayal (Allied Publisher, New Delhi, 1971) pp. 15-19; 'Military Development in Tibet', 1954-74.

turn provided an effective barriers against the predatory Chinese and kept them away from the heartland of British India. This balance of power has now been upset. The struggle no longer is in Tibet but has been pushed forward to the Himalyas, that is to India's door steps and at many places within Indian territory.

Ever since the Chinese invaded Tibet in 1950, the Chinese have been developing Tibet as a military bastion. It provides with a base from which to project their power and influence in to the border region with India and Pakistan, Kashmir Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Assam and the NEFA (North East Frontier Agency) region and it also affords an important adjunct to their defensive posture in Sinkiang vis a vis the Soviet Union.⁶²

With the Chinese occupation of Tibet, Chinese and Indian troops face each other on the Himalyan border for the first time in history. Instead of being separated by a large buffer state, the world two most popular countries now share a common border over which a serious dispute now exist. The growing tension between China and India embreils other powers in the region and even the USSR and the US. In 1962, the first China India war brokeout when the Chinese occupied Tibet in late 1950, they began to construct two major highways to connect the

country with China proper.⁶³

The two highways not only brought the entire country under Chinese control but brought Chinese troops on the door steps of India, Nepal and Bhutan. Between 1954 and 1965 , the road construction reached a feverist pitch, all at the expense of Tibetan sweat. By 1965, the Lhasa Government of Tibet was successfully linked with China by two highways; Chamdo Lhasa highways coming from Chengtu and Tsinghai Highways. Simultaneously, the Chinese were busy adding off-shoots to the Chamdo Highway in the West leading to various points of Tibet India and Tibet Nepal borders.

The new road construction began soon after 1962 Skirmishes on the Nathula pass and completed in 1971. Another new forward road is being built in Western Tibet, which links Shekar, and important People's Liberation Army Headquarters with the strategic border areas in North - Western Himalyas.

The number of Airfields in Tibet seems to have shot up since 1969 where there were only eight major airfields and 18 airships along the Himalyas borders.

63. Tibetan News Agency, Vol. 5, No. 13, November 14, 1968.

It is now known that the most important airfields are at Shigatse, Dam Shung, Chando, Gyantse, Dingri, Phari Dzong and Ghonakhar Dzong most of them are purely for military service. The airport Jekonda is said to be the biggest in Asia, Phari Dzong is one of the most southern points near the sensitive Nathula pass. With Worag, the Chinese have doubled their airlifting capacity in central and South Tibet. The airfields are located in areas where there is heavy PLA concentration and closely linked with forward areas.

Tibet falls within the defence jurisdiction of four of China's military regions. A sizable section of Western Tibet falls under the Sinkiang Military Region. The remainder of the Autonomous Region of Tibet (TAR) comprises the Tibet Military District under the Chengtu Military Region. The Amdo province of Tibet remained Chinghai forms a military of the Lanchow military region. Finally posts of Eastern Tibet are incorporated in the Szechuan military district under the Chenglu military region and South-east Tibet comprises part of the function military district subordinated to the Kunning Military Region.

The emergence of China as a nuclear power has for a long time been played down, although, it was accepted in the 1960s that China had built up a substantial nuclear stockpiles. The commissioning of another nuclear centre in Tibet , the Chinese threat will grow immeasurably for India, Nepal, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam and other countries.

In North Western Tibet, Rudok Dzong (125 airmiles South East of Leh, Ladakh) is reported to be the focal point of the Chinese military posture in Western Tibet. It is a major supply base in all weather, Sinkiang Tibet Highway Rudok Dzong is also a missiles and radar stations have been installed. It is not known what category these belong, but Chinese are known to have a deployed both ICBMs and MRBMs with ranges of 1.500 to 2.500 miles and 600 miles. It is evident from the strategic location that targets are Indian population and industrial centre.⁶⁴

Recently, it is estimated that the Chinese military presence in Tibet includes an estimated 300,000 -500,000 troops of which 200,000 (15 divisions) are permanently

64. "Military Development in Tibet," Tibetan Review, Sept.-Oct. 1975, pp.15-19.

stationed in the Tibet "autonomous Region" (approximately one soldier for every 10 Tibetans) . Apart from troops, there are 17 secret radar stations , 14 military airfields , 5 missile bases and at least 8 ICBMs, 70 medium range missiles and 20 intermediate range missiles are located in the Tibetan territory. ⁶⁵

Thus, as a part of these "war preparations" which of course, fit into an overall pattern within China itself, trends , fortifications and airraids shelters are being constructed throughout the country in all important towns and strategic locations; and there are constant blackout and civil defence exercises. In fact, in Tibet Chinese have found an ideal hide-out for the nuclear experiments. ⁶⁶

65. Derspiegel, 13 July, Nr 29, 1987; The Economist, May 23, 1987; Times of India, April 28, 1987.

66. A.H. Stanton , Candlin, Chinese Military Base in Tibet,

FUTURE OF TIBETAN'S CULTURE -

A British visitor to Tibet in 1979 has remarked "Gradually Chinese ideas and Chinese civilisation are eroding one of the richest cultural heritage in the world, a heritage whose principal storehouse, the great monasteries of Tibet, has been very largely destroyed fewer than now remain".⁶⁷

Following their rule over Tibet, the Chinese Communist have launched a major offensive against Buddhism. Religious figures have been imprisoned accused of being reactionaries, tortured put to forced labour and subjected to brutal treatment. Public meetings are held in order to hurl abuse at both the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama and to discredit religion in general.⁶⁸

67. Philipshort, *Progerwheels*, "Turn in Tibet" Listener, Vol. 102, No. 2622, August 2, 1979, p.150.

68. *Bulletine of International Commission of Jurists*, December 1964, p.44.

Since 1959, some 1.2 million Tibetans have died, over 6.000 monasteries have been destroyed, and an estimated \$ 80 billion in precious metals, religious art and statues have been pillaged by the Chinese. Moreover, in an attempt to eradicate Tibetan culture, Chinese soldiers, on order from the central authorities reportedly set fire to Tibetan books detailing the history of the country.⁶⁹

Although, the tremendous gulf remains between the living standard of Chinese and Tibetans living in Lhasa, health services, education, transport, industry and agriculture have been significantly improved in recent years. According to Chinese statistics, both Urban and rural incomes have doubled since 1979. Indeed, a Chinese economic journal recently complained of the excessive subsidy given by the Central Government to Tibet. Tibetan language and culture have been encouraged and limited religious practices and training of Monks has again been allowed.⁷⁰

69. 'Searching for a solution in Tibet', Bangkok Post, 6 October, 1987.

70. Michal, Yahuda, 'Lhasa casts a long shadow in Peking', Times London, 7 October 1987.

It is also true that large number of primary and secondary schools have been established to ensure continuation of the programme of political indoctrination of young people. Educational institution effectively used in Tibet today to meet the needs of communist transformation and construction. With Chinese culture taught in Tibetan schools and the peoples Liberation Army Commanders in key administration roles, the Chinese are attempting to root out the core of Tibetan culture which is precustoms; and culture contain some seeds of anti Han feeling, and until the Han succeed in exterminating the Tibetan culture ,it will phase a political threat.

The communist rulers in Beijing have often stressed that the prosperity of various sub-nationalities of China is best guaranteed as members of a vast multinational family. This is make believe, at least in part. Whether it is in inner Mongolia, Sinkiang or Tibet, the stark truth is that the subnationalities in these regions have in effect been reduced to subject races. The part of Chinese policy that has offended the people of these regions, the most has been the forcible settlement of large numbers of the dominant Han people

in the traditional homelands of the ethnic minorities.⁷¹

The transfer of Chinese to Tibet is reaching alarming proportions. The real fear is that if the present Chinese policy is successful and indications are that it is - Tibetans will be reduced to a small and insignificant minority in their own country in the same way as the Manchus (35 Chinese to 1 Manchu) and the Mongolians (5 to 17) have been. The object of this policy is to forcibly "resolve" China's territorial claims over Tibet by means of a massive and irreversible population shift. The result of the population transfer policy reveals that 7.5 million Chinese now outnumber the 6.0 million Tibetans in Tibet. In all major cities, the Chinese today outnumber the Tibetans. In Lhasa there are 100,000 Chinese civilians compared to 50,000 Tibetans. The transfer has produced a 300% inflation rate a two-class society sharply divided along racial lines and unprecedented unemployment among Tibetans. In the Lhasa valley, for example, 30,000 Tibetans

71. 'Tibet in Turmoil', Indian Express, (New Delhi), 6 October, 1987.

have lost their jobs to the newly arrived Chinese.⁷²

Therefore, the onslaught of Han culture and communist ideology continues. "But these have come at high political and cultural cost China has pushed a vigorous policy of assimilation and integration of Tibet into the Han culture. Where Tibetans might well have preferred "benign neglect". The future of Tibetan under China in terms of the aspiration and prospects for cultural autonomy remains in doubt".⁷³

The Tibetan youth congress member, Thubten Samphel, marked at the 13th anniversary of its founding that "there were the ideas which characterised the traditional Tibetan's world view. But before the Tibetan could adopt their attitude to the realities of the outside world, the new world in the form of communist China overwhelmed them and brought about ^{the} collapse of not only their civilisation but their national existence".

72. The Economist, 15 June, 1985, V.W.V. Parag, 'Population transfer and the survival of the Tibetan identity', New York Times, 1986); New York Times, June 23, 1987.

73. Fredworld, "Inland Forbidden Tibet", National Geographic Magazine, Vol. 157, No. 2, 1980, pp. 218-59; P.P. Karan, Ideology and Landscape: A Study of Tibet, The Tibet Journal, 1981.

Coming as did from such a self-absorbed, if not Xenophobic culture, how the Tibetan refugees, under the leadership of the DalaiLama were able to adjust and adopt to the vast social milen of modern democratic and secular India? is a study of what faith and loyalty to one's culture can accomplish in making an almost miraculous recovery from a disastrous blow. In India, the Tibetan polity, its settlement, its enterprises and its religio-political structure have not only flourished but have been transformed and developed from the prototype in Tibet in to an active part of the modern world.⁷⁴

74. Franz, Michael, Commemorating Twenty Five Years of Tibet in exile in Thubten Samphel (ed.), Tibet 84: 25 Years of Struggle and Reconstruction (Dharamsala, Information Office, 1984).

CHAPTER - THREE

NATURE, CAUSES AND IMPACT OF REVOLT

1987-1989

Tibet came in the news after twenty eight years since the 1959, National Uprising in Tibet. Since then, many crises and conflicts have taken place in various parts of the world, and the Tibetan question was almost forgotten. There is a tragic dimension to the natural process of forgetting in a crisis-ridden world. The fact that few revolts in Tibet were reported during the last twenty years, led many to conclude that things in Tibet were alright; that the Chinese were treating Tibetans well and that Tibetans were consequently satisfied. Nothing could be further from the truth, as the recent uprising demonstrated the lack of news from Tibet in the past did not mean nothing occurred there. News of events did not reach the outside World because the Chinese authorities completely closed Tibet until 1979. So that no reporter was able to witness and report on the many anti-Chinese disturbance that did take place.

The nature of the demonstrations for independence indicate conspicuously the just aspirations of the Tibetan people. There are both religious and political elements. The lamas played a leading role in the demonstrations. It should also be noted that the demonstrations took place near the most holy place in Tibet, Jokhang. In other words, despite the destruction of Tibetan religious

institutions since 1959 and especially during the so-called Cultural Revolution, Tibetan Buddhism's influence is still felt and cherished. There were also modern political elements that reflect popular aspirations. The demonstrators waived Tibetan national flags during the demonstrations. They shouted slogans calling for the restoration of Tibet's Independence.¹

The first week of October 1987 witnessed two different anniversaries in China. October 1 marks the establishment of the People's Republic of China and is celebrated joyously in China proper. But the second one October 7, is a day of mourning for Tibetans on that day the Chinese Army entered Tibet and has stayed there ever since.

In 1987, as the latter anniversary approached, protest demonstration demanding independence for Tibet began on September 27. What started a peaceful protest quickly turned violent. When some 21 of them mostly monks, were arrested and taken to a police station, the demonstrators attacked the Police Station and burnt

1. Nawang, Rabgyal, 1987 Uprising in Tibet (Dharamsala, 1988), p.1.

it down. According to official Chinese reports, during this 'riot' six Tibetan demonstrators and one policeman were killed but Tibetans said that the casualty was much more than the Chinese official statement. This incident followed by two demonstrations was apparently the most serious of its kind since the major Tibetan Uprising of 1959.²

The Chinese authorities, using a mixture of jailings, political indoctrination and conciliation, have established a shaky peace over Tibet since the violent anti-Chinese protest four months ago.³

The Chinese are clearly having a difficult time here. There is a lot of resentment against them, and they are having real problems persuading the Tibetans. Chinese control of the place threatened, but there is still a strong possibility of serious disorder".⁴

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2. Giri, Reshingkar, "Redstar over Tibet", Indian Express, (New Delhi), 12 October, 1987; "Tibetan Protest", Times of India (New Delhi), 6 October, 1987.
 3. According to diplomatic sources.
 4. A western diplomat said.

After the demonstrations and riots in late September and October that left about 20 Tibetans dead, the Chinese authority in Lhasa closed the principal monasteries and began a program of political re-education for the monks there. Chinese political re-education teams also reportedly visited schools and the University of Lhasa.

The gradual dissipation of tension was shaken on December 14 by a small demonstration by 20 Buddhist nuns who marched around the Jokhang in Lhasa shouting slogans for Tibet independence. Last month China suddenly adopted a more accommodating posture towards Tibetans, according to diplomats. During the first week of January, the standing committee of the communist party of Tibet met to discuss the situations. More, remarkably however, the party committee acknowledged that 'religious sentiment remains a permanent feature of Tibetan life and cannot be tempered with.'⁵

5. Edward A. Gargan, "Beijing Imposes Tenuous Calm in Tibet", International Herald Tribune (Paris), 8 Feb 1988.

Unrest in Tibet, officially designated as an autonomous region of the "Peoples Republic of China" has again surfaced on 5th March 1988, leading to violence. Just over five months ago protests in the region capital, Lhasa, had erupted in to bloody clashes which promoted the Chinese authority to clamp down on foreigners travelling in Tibet.⁶

"Eight persons may have died in clashes in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa between Chinese policeman and pro-independence demonstrators".⁷

According to reports from Lhasa, several hundred young monks led a demonstration calling for independence from China. The monks emerged on top of the Jokhang Temple during the closing ceremonies of Tibet's major annual religions festival, surprising the Chinese police, who had made careful preparations to prevent a recurrence of last year's violent pro-independence demonstrations.

6. "Trouble in Shangri-La", Deccan Herald (Banglore), 8 March 1988.

7. According to major 'French News Agency'.

The monks, reportedly hurled rocks on the policeman and officials below them and then led a demonstration next to the temple supported by hundreds of civilians . The demonstrators set vehicles on fire and attacked a police station.

The French Press Agency said the police men brought in reinforcements , assaulted the demonstrators with tear gas and fired pistols at some of the demonstrators.⁸

Zooming guns, reprisal killings of demonstrating tibetans, martial law in Lhasa and other towns with Chinese militia patrolling round the clock, have been the latest developments.

On 5 March 1989, this years hundreds of Tibetans marched in the streets of Tibetan capital, Lhasa, to observe the 30th Anniversary of the 1989 uprising. As the demonstrators were demanding independence of Tibet and return of DalaiLama, and a section^{of} demonstrators tried to damage the Government property. The rioting

8. Sautherland, Daniel, "8 said to die in Lhasa in independence clash", 'International Herald Tribune (Washington Post Service), 7 March, 1980 .

broke out after the police fired on pro-independence demonstrators who were throwing stones at a police station, the Tibetans continued their demonstration until 8 March when the Chinese authorities imposed Martial Law in Lhasa and adjoining areas.⁹

It is too early to specify in any definitive historical sense the causes of the demonstrations. However, the following points are suggested by the nature of the revolt as well as by the course of developments in Tibet during the last two decades.

Firstly, Beijing's official policy of population transfer has caused deep resentments among the Tibetan people. According to the DalaiLama, "fertile lands have been occupied by the Han and the Tibetans are being pushed to the hilly areas".¹⁰

9. David, Halley, "Lhasa riot trial", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), 2 April 1989, M.R. Kazmi, Third Concept, April, 1989.

10. "The DalaiLama must talk to Beijing Immediately", Times of India (New Delhi), 28 March 1989.

If this happens then in the next ten or fifteen years, the Tibetan will become a minority in their own land. If this happens, then everything is finished. This is the real danger . That is why we need an urgent remedy and action.

Secondly, His Holiness , the DalaiLama's ten-day visit to the United States in September 1987 was viewed by China as purely political motivated. What annoyed , the Chinese most was His Holiness , the DalaiLama's reasonable solution to the Tibetan question: the five point peace plan. China rejected the DalaiLamas's five point peace plan to transform Tibet into Zone of peace . "We are opposed to DalaiLamas's engagement in activities anywhere and in anyform aimed at splitting China".¹¹

Thirdly, the American peopel's renewed interest in Tibet encouraged the Tibetan people in their just struggle for freedom and independence. When the U.S. Senate also adopted a resolution condemning the Chinese crackdown on Lhasa, the People Daily, the

11. A Chinese Foreign Office spokesman said, commenting on the DalaiLama's proposal made during his current tour of the USA.

official Chinese organ, lashed out at the US congress and warned them against deteriorating the Sino-US relations. It claimed that the protest in Lhasa were a direct fall out of the DalaiLama's visit to the US. The Chinese are certainly aware that the recent troubles in Tibet would give the conservative communists a stick to beat the Deng Xiaping leadership and his liberalisation policy which allowed foreigners to enter in Tibet.¹²

Fourthly, the recent demonstrations are inconceivable under the pre-1979 conditions. Between 1959 and 1979, the entire population was tightly and ruthlently organised into small manageable units. But now these social units were directly controlled and closely watched by party cadres. Though Tibet has been designated an Autonomous Region, it remains tightly controlled by Beijing, which appoints the region's senior Government and party officials.¹³

12. "The Tibetan Tangle", India Today, October 31, 1987, pp. 130-41.

13. "Tibet-China's Untamed Dragan", International Herald Tribune(Paris), 24 June 1987.

Since 1979 with establishment of the DalaiLama's contact with the Chinese authorities , the above mentioned conditions began to change a little bit for the better, thereby giving the Tibetan people a little of much needed breathing space. But the Tibetan people did not use this pinch of relative freedom and relaxation of rule for rest and enjoyment which they deserve after all those years of forced labour and deprivation. The moment the Chinese rule was little relaxed, the Tibetan people revolted.

Referring to the Uprising in Tibet and his own ambiguous stand, the DalaiLama said " I do not want to discourage the Tibetan people's determination. At the same time, I will keep things open politically".¹⁴ The DalaiLama said the Lhasa uprising of 1987 was probably influenced by his trip to the US. Where he had proposed five point peace plan seeking to transform Tibet into a "Zone of peace".

But the spiritual leader said that the path of violence was not the solution of the problem in Tibet

14. Chandan, Rajghatta, "DalaiLama backs uprising", Telegraph (Calcutta), 8 October, 1987.

and he considered it suicidal. He said the idea of achieving the goal was through demonstrations without using physical violence. He quoted the example of India when it was under the colonial rule of the British. He said, time was major factor and we needed to develop mutual confidence either through secret dialogue or direct talks.¹⁵

On the other hand, the PanchenLama, the Tibetan spiritual leader who met with an untimely death on Jan 29, 1989, will be remembered more for his pro-China stand than for any service to the people of Tibet during their long struggle. He ranked second only to the DalaiLama. But the differences in the reactions of the two leaders to the Chinese occupation of Tibet conditioned their response to subsequent events.¹⁶

The PanchenLama Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, made the remarks at a meeting called by the Standing Committee of the Qinghai Provincial People's Congress to

15. K.S. Tomar, "DalaiLama for Peaceful Agitation", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), 8 October 1987.

16. "The Death of a Lama", Hindustan Times (New Delhi), 31 January 1989.

welcome him on his inspection tour of Qinghai.¹⁷

He has advocated a carrot and stick approach "to achieve long term stability in Tibet" where anti-Chinese riots erupted in October 1987 and then again in March 1988. "The few lamas taking part in the riot can by no means represent the majority of living Budha's and Lamas, who oppose the incident and safeguard the unification of the country and unity of all Chinese Nationalities".¹⁸

On the one hand, it is imperative to punish separatists involved in riots and raise the consciousness of the Tibetan people; he said at a press conference. The PanchenLama has criticised rioters in Tibet and warned the 'separatists' against regarding the Central Chinese Government's forbearance as sign of weakness.¹⁹

17. Beijing Review, Vol. 30, No. 42 October 19, 1987, pp. 5-7.

18. Ibid.,

19. "PanchenLama tipped for Vice-Presidentship", Indian Express (New Delhi), 19 March 1988.

On the other, no wonder Beijing appointed him Vice Chairman of the National People's Conference (China's Parliament) and honorary president of the Chinese Buddhist association. But of late there appeared to be a perceptible change in his stand on Tibetans. He said that the damages caused by leftist mistakes were more harmful than the rightist wrong doings. He was also quoted as saying that the price paid by Tibet for its development over the last 30 years had been higher than the gains. His appraisal of the socialist process was no less startling for, according to his analysis, Tibetan society went straight from the serf system in to socialist and had not even reached its primary level of socialism. By exploring the leftist mistakes, he might have annoyed a section of rulers in Beijing. With the passing of the Panchen Lama, negotiations with the Dalai Lama may become imperative for Beijing.²⁰

China's imposition of martial law in Lhasa marks a failure by the Chinese Communist Party leadership

20. "The Death of a Lama", Hindustan Times, (New Delhi), 31 January, 1989.

to control Tibetan aspirations through either a hard or softline. This failure could weaken the position of the Chinese leaders who have argued in favour of continuing to open Tibet to the outside world.

The party has tried both leniency and suppression in the Tibetan capital over the last few years. But the violent events of the last three years show that Tibetan desires for freedom from Chinese rule are more alive than ever". Each day has shown that the carrot and stick approach to Tibet is not working".²¹

The Chinese Government apparently considered the threat serious enough, however, to warrant a declaration of martial law and the deployment of regular Army troops in Lhasa for the first time since the Army suppressed a major uprising in Tibet in March 1959.²²

21. It is said by a western diplomat in Beijing.

22. Daniel, Southerland, "China's Policy in Tibet is seen as failure" (Washington Post Service), International Herald Tribune, 10 March, 1989

China's People's Liberation Army, the world's largest at 4 million strong, has a very special relationship with Cultural Revolution that wracked the country between 1966-76. During the cultural revolution Tibet went through its worst period during the cultural revolution. Many monasteries with their priceless treasures were destroyed. Monks were "struggled against" and many possible killed when they resisted.²³

After winning the Chinese revolution for the communist in 1949, the PLA kept the relatively low profile for more than a decade. But when Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung unleashed the cultural revolution, thing changed virtually overnight. The prevailing chaos made the PLA the only force in China capable of holding the country together.

The Maoist legacy, troublesome enough to the new regime of Deng Xiaping in the areas of politics and economic modernisation, is especially nettle some

23. Giri, Reshingkor, "Red Star Over Tibet", Indian Express, (New Delhi), 12 October 1987 .

when it comes to the Armed forces.²⁴

Tibet began to change for the better particularly after 1980. Deng Xiaping drastically modified the party's earlier position on religion. It was acknowledged that almost the whole of Tibetan population was deeply religious and should be allowed to practise. The Chinese Government is now making amends for its past misdeeds. Some monasteries have been restored at great expense. About 15 percent of the region's budget is now subsidised by the Central Government.. The Tibetan language is now given for greater independence than ever before.²⁵

The current agitation has however, proved that all efforts to assimilate the Tibetan in to the Chinese mainstream have been futile. And the Deng Government despite its claims to more openness is as repressive as the Mao regime and what happened

24. 'Deng Takes on Army', Asia Week, March 23, 1984, pp. 23-32.

25. Giri, Reshingkar, op.cit.,

during the famed Cultural Revolution was not an aberration but only an extreme manifestation of the official Chinese Policy.²⁶

The 13th Party Congress of China has reaffirmed the thrust for political reform and the concept "one country two systems" of Deng Xiaping does not suggest the least hint of doctrine. In fact a rational basis for a settlement in consonance with this Liberal principle was mooted as long as 1981, when the 30th anniversary of the treaty establishing Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was being celebrated (incidentally that treaty was never ratified by the DalaiLama or his government). The formula is more than even valid today and can be ignored only at the risk of casting grave doubts on China's new internationalism and its good faith in promising a multi polar system.

The conditions were cited in 1981. First, the DalaiLama was reportedly prepared to return, if Tibet's boundaries were redrawn to take in all the Tibetans who now live in neighbouring Chinese provinces.

26. Anil, Mehra, "An agitation to shake off the Chinese Yoke", News Time, October 6, 1987.

Secondly, the DalaiLama is believed to have demanded the same political and economic terms that were offered to Taiwan and rejected by the late Chiang Ching Kuo.

The Chinese can not possibly plead reasons of history, geography or ideology to claim that innovations to accommodate Tibet would defile the purity of their system. Infact , the mainland has a much better claim to the several territories of HongKong and Taiwan that it does to Tibet which, has enjoyed centuries of independent existence defacto as well as dejure.

Tibet is severely handicapped in all respects. As the victim of fate, it is in the individual position of pleading for a better deal without being able to offer anything except acquiescence in return.²⁷

The Chinese leadership now faced with two choices. The hardliners willtake the opportunities provided by these riots to criticise the "relative" liberation allowed by Mr. Deng and his follower in Tibet and

27. Sunanda.K. Datta Roy, "Precedents - For Tibet 'one country, two system, principle", Statesman (New Delhi), 24 January 1988.

argue for a much tougher line. Alternatively, the moderates may have to think again about how best to meet Tibetan demands for greater political and cultural freedom without undermining overall Chinese control. Any such approach will have to take into considerations the DalaiLama, who has always argued for non-violence, from his supporters and confined himself to demanding greater autonomy for Tibet rather than complete independence.²⁸

Outlining his (DalaiLama) new thinking on the Tibetan's issue in a speech before the European Parliament in Strasboureg in the month of June 1988, he said, he wanted to "achieve a realistic solution to my nation plight". After the five point peace plan for Tibet announced in Washington on September 21, 1987, the leader of the six million Tibetans said he had now taken the initiative to resolve the Tibet issue.

"The Government of the People's Republic of China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy"

28. "China's failure", Times of India, (New Delhi), 12 March 1988.

he said. The DalaiLamas initiative calls for a Government in Tibet that should comprise a popularly elected chief executive, a bicameral legislature branch and an independent judicial system. Its seat would be in Lhasa. "This means that the Government of Tibet have the right to decide affairs, relating to Tibet and Tibetans".²⁹

This is significant because though the DalaiLama enjoys unrivalled authority, the Tibetan underground which commands enormous influence and played a significant part in these riots is increasingly dominated by those who want independence and believe that it is only a matter of time before the overwhelming majority of Tibetans feel this way and are then prepared to fight-for its. While this underground respects and acknowledges the authority of DalaiLama, it believes that his non-violent approach and limited political goal are outmoded and that will progressively be seen to be so. Ironically, both Beijing and the DalaiLama can come to others aid by talking seriously to each others. But whether this comes about or not will depend on what lesson the Chinese leadership draws from the latest

29. "DalaiLama ready for a less than full independence" by Chitra Subramanian, Hindu, (Madras), 16 Jun 1988.

riots in Tibet.³⁰

But reacting to the DalaiLama's recent proposals to solve the Tibetan question, the Chinese Government offered for talks with the DalaiLama. Beijing recognition of the role of Tibetan religious leader can play in working out a peace formula for the strife torn region.

The review announced that the Chinese Government was ready to negotiate with the DalaiLama, "in person in Beijing, Hongkong or a Chinese diplomatic compound in any place of the world". Further according to the newspaper, the Chinese were prepared to leave to the DalaiLama the choice of another location "if he still feels uneasy in any one of these places, on the condition that no foreigners would be present on the occasion.

The Chinese have been categorical that such talks could cover all topics except the issue of

30. "China's failure", op.cit., 12 March 1988.

Tibetan independence. Beijing, turned down the DalaiLamas 'strasboureg' proposals on the plea that these did not contain the assurance of giving up the idea of Tibetan Independence.³¹

The DalaiLama himself seems to have taken the Chinese attitude seriously as reports from Dharamsala, the headquarters of his Government in exile in Himachal Pradesh. According to these reports; the Tibetan leader believed to have said that he was ready to send his representatives to Geneva for talks with the Chinese Government on any date set by Beijing. The reports further say that the DalaiLama had already chosen a team of advisor to represent him in the talks. It is also being said that he is willing to enter into negotiations with the Chinese without any pre-conditions and not raise the question of Tibetan Independence in the talks.³²

In reality Tibet is bad news for China's dissident intellectuals and restive urban workers.

31. "Chinese Offer", National Herald, 15 March, 1989.

32. "The Tibetan Question", The Week, April 9, 1989, p.47.

The ideological hard-liners, who have criticised the reformers for eroding central control, will use the Lhasa riots as an object lesson and the more Liberal reformist leaders will not dare dispute them. One of the reasons Party General Secretary HuYaobang was removed from office in January 1987 was conservative resentment at his apologies to Tibet for Chinese misrule.

In the third world, China will lose face. For years, Peking's diplomats have condemned Israel for its operations on the West Bank, denying its claim to historic rule over the area and praising the ethnically distinct population, which resists heavily armed foreign soldiers with paving stones. In Tibet, China is facing its own intifader.³³

The DalaiLama's proposals concern not only the fate of Tibet but also of China and India and the whole world. Therefore, not only moral obligation and civilisation responsible towards Tibet, but the highest ecological and security interest of India

33. Jonathan, Mirsky, "Bloodbath Fear in Tibet", The Observer(London) , 12 March, 1989.

and Asia and world demand that we unambiguously ask Beijing to respond with generosity and responsibility to the DalaiLama's character for peace in Tibet, which is the most significant initiative of wisdom and compassion in Politics in Asia since Mahatama Gandhi's self-sacrificial espousal of Hindu-Muslim Unity in the Indian sub-continent.³⁴ ✓

The Global pressures generated by such bloody events almost brought the Chinese and the Tibetans to the negotiating table. The two high points were, of course, the DalaiLama's five point Peace Plan and his strasbourg address. But significant as they were, offering a via media that would guarantee Chinese political and military interests and save China's face while assuring Tibetans of the irreducible minimum, they alone would not have had a decisive impact on Beijing if Tibet had not risen in revolt.

If anything, the turn of events in Tibet has shown that the way out lies not in use of force but in resolving the issue across the table. These developments will be watched with interest the world over.

34. Rama Chandra, Gandhi, "A Himalyan Betrayal", Indian Express(New Delhi), 20 January, 1989.

CHAPTER - FOUR

WORLD RESPONSE TO TIBETAN PROBLEM

In the second half of the Twentieth century the period known as 'era of decolonization' in which centuries long Imperialism and colonialism were rooted out from vast Asian, African land; and liberty, equality, rationalism and rule of law grew to become the order of day, Tibet was turned from an independent, peaceful and happy nation to an entrapped, enslaved and terror stricken land- a land of unparalleled oppression and repression in the hands of China - the country which herself fought with the other.

When right to self-determination having been adopted as a basic principles of UNO and the International Law was changing the map of the world, Tibetan people were not only being deprived of it in the name of Chinese National Integration but also being massacred for claiming it. The rape of Tibet forced Dalai Lama and his eighty thousand Tibetan followers to flee from their homeland and to take refuge in India and other countries. Tibet has been grasping in agony since then. Its people have been appealing the United Nations and the world community to help them and restore their right to self-determination.

In fact, various powers paid special attention to the pivotal position of Tibet in Asia in modern times, thus clearly underlying its importance in the context of both Asian and International Politics. Russia, historically Britain's chief rival for ascendancy in Tibet,

regarded the situation there since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, as entirely the competence of China. The United States which had always taken the view that Tibet was an integral part of China is now for its Independence from that country. It was largely British Commercial interest that led to the "opening up" of Tibet. India also abandoned Tibet in the large interests of its friendship with China.¹

Since the bloody demonstrations and subsequent Chinese imposition of military rule in Tibet, major U.S. newspapers have blasted the repression in the country. The U.S. senate has passed a resolution condemning the Chinese brutality, while the Swiss, French, Canadian and British governments have called on the Chinese to respect human rights in Tibet and to reach an accord with His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, for a peaceful resolution of the Tibetan crisis.²

Because of poor understanding of inner Asia by Westerners and the open door Policy theory which made the Americans look upon Inner Asia, as a part of China. Indeed, even after the fall of the manchu empire, American continued to regard Mongolia, Manchuria, East Turkistan and Tibet as parts of China. America's

1 Rahul, Ram, 'The Government and Politics of Tibet' (New Delhi, 1969,)P. 120.

2 .Nyandak, Tinley, "Tibet : The Undying Nation", May-June 1989. Freedom at Issue, pp. 25-27.

changed attitude about this region now is an interesting question and must be looked at from a historical perspective.

The only European power to take an interest in Tibet was the former British India. And she did this for two reasons: Commerce and as a gateway of China. With the departure of the British from India in 1947, and the prevalent American climate of cold war politics, and the sino - soviet Ideological allaince. America found herself drawn to Chinese occupation of Tibet.³

The united states recognised the Sovereign status of Tibet before Chinese invasion of the latter. It is evident that during the second world war it respected the right of Tibet as a neutral country.⁴ Since its occupation by China the U.S. Government's attitude towards Tibet can be divided in to two periods. First period ranging between 1950 to 1970 and second period from 1971 onwards.

The emergence of Communist China posed a major threat to United States affecting extensively its foreign policy. Unlike its other allies, United States

3 Stobdan. P, US changes tack on Tibet, Link, January 15, 1989, P.P, 32-33.

4 Tenzin, Atisha, 'A survey of Tibetan History', 1984, P. 37.

neither recognised Communist China nor let it enter the U.N.O. The United States condemned the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

However, U.S.A,s Central Intelligence Agency helped Tibetan guerillas. "American involvement in the Tibetan resistance began in 1957 when Gyalo Thondup, the elder brother of Dalai Lama, arranged for six Khampa Tibetan to receive C.I.A training in the use of modern arms and radio equipments. They were then para chuted back into Tibet to form the nuclei of a guerilla movement."⁵

The first U.N. resolution on Tibet which came in the wake of massive Tibetan revolt in March, 1959 was supported by U.S.A. and her friends, United Kingdom, Malaya, Pakistan, Spain, Newzealand, Netherland e.t.c., expressed the view that People's Republic of China had suppressed the human rights of the Tibetan people.⁶

In 1969, Richard Nixon became 37th President of the United States. He ushered in an era of sino - American amity. He said "We seek an open world - open to Ideas, open to exchanges of goods and people-a

5 Stempg, Torg, Trouble in Shangrila, "From Liberation to Liberalisation", 1982, P.63. Avedan, John. F. 'In exice from the land of snows'. P.P., 118 - 119.

6 Quated from sacks, H.C., The quest for Universal Responsibility; 1983, P. 17.

world in which no people great or small will live in angry isolation. We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can not try to make no one our enemy".⁷

In 1971, under the compulsion of new realities of power -- equation, America started reviewing its policy towards Communist China. As the period of friendship and cooperation between Peking and Washington started American opposition to Chinese in Tibetan case and open support to Tibetans vanished.

President Jimmi Carter who entered White House in January, 1977, showed an Idealistic bent. In his inaugural address, he said "Because we are free we can not be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. We have the highest regard for individual human rights ---- our commitment to human rights is absolute."⁸

Carter's declaration naturally inspired hope in Tibetans. However, he too, alike his predecessors could do nothing substantial in case of Tibetans except that DalaiLama was given a tourist visa in 1979 for U.S.A.

In 1981, President Ronald Reagan occupied White House. His policies revived the Soviet American cold war. His

7. Chandra, Prakash, 'International Relations', 1983, p.41.

8. Ibid., p.52.

hard line to anti-communism and his belief that Soviet union is the focus of all troubles in the world has led him to check the growing presence of Soviet Union in Asia and the Pacific region through the formation of military axis among U.S.A., China, Japan and Pakistan. As China is expected to prove the linchpin of this new alliance, it has remained a favourite of America. So naturally, Reagan too has been unable to annoy China.

However, Reagan Govt., permitted Dalai Lama to address a U.S. Congressional caucus. On September 21 the Dalai Lama spoke to the caucus, where he launched a five-point peace plan. The U.S. Senate also expressed the concerns of many American in the first week of October 1987, when it voted 98 to 0 to condemn Peking's abuse on human rights in Tibet.⁹

At present, President Bush's failure to raise the question of human rights during his visit to Beijing has been sharply criticised by Columnist William Buckley, he said, "It is a disappointment that George Bush did not comment on the low esteem in which human rights continue to be held in China."¹⁰

9 Review and out look, extract from Wall Street Journal (Brussels), 5 October 1987. The Christian Science Monitor, October 8, 1987.

10 Balu. A.L, US Silence on Tibet unrest, Indian Express, March 9, 1989.

Former US Ambassador to the United Nations, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick, wrote in the Post "It was enough that the American President had remained silent concerning repression in Tibet and other Chinese human rights violations."

Thus, the US Policy towards Tibet has been determined by her own strategic interest in Asia. "Neither did she recognize the Tibetans Govt. in exile nor could it force or persuade China to liberate Tibet."¹¹ America is not likely to help Tibetans in their struggle for Independence at the cost of its relations with China and influence in Asia but despite this healthy development that U.S. Congress on June 18, 1987 has unanimously passed a resolution on human rights violation in Tibet.

On the other side, the annexation of Tibet by China came during sino-Soviet honeymoon. The establishment of Communist regime in China defeating US supported Nationalist Govt. was infact the victory of Soviet Union. She was able to exert its influence over vast stretch of Asia through China. The Soviet Union felt that the real intention of the United States was to overthrow the communist regime and if it happened the USSR would lose the power game in Asia. Thus, the national interest of USSR demanded a strong and appeased China.

11 Chandra, Prakash, op. cit., P. 59.

"Besides the political reasons Ideological considerations also prevents USSR from supporting Tibetan case. The form of erstwhile Government of Tibet for communist was feudal for which the orthodox communist mentality of Stalin had no sympathy at all."¹²

The USSR though did not annex Tibet itself yet later's occupation by China quended considerably the formers thirst for power and leadership for it became possible for Soviet Union to keep Tibet indirectly under its influence through China. The communist China at the moment was a satellite state of Soviet Union. With the increase in the United States interest in Asia and its manoeuvres to Contain Communist influence by installing Pro-American Govt. in the continent there was a possibility of Tibet's falling into American influence. All these made Soviet Union support the Chinese claim that Tibet was an Integral part of China.

Soviet recognition of Tibet as a part of China decided the line of its stand on three U.N. General Assembly Resolutions on Tibet, passed in 1959, 1961 and 1965. It voted against all the resolutions on the ground that the issue was entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of China.¹³

12 Sharma, Swaranlata, Tibet: self Determination in Politics among Nations, (N.Delhi, 1988)

13 U.N.R. 12, 1959, Bailey 'question of Tibet', A case study ; 1960. P. 232.

However, China was far too became a puppet of Soviet Union. Within a decade it became a rival of USSR in Asia. Mao Zedong declared only in 1959 "We must conquer the world. Our target is the entire world, where we shall create a mighty power."¹⁴ When USSR itself became the target of Chinese expansionist designs, she raised the point of self determination.

As the Sino-Soviet cold war aggravated, the Soviet Union under the leadership of Breznev began to take interest in Tibet. It remained no longer 'an integral part of China for Russia but an Independent country.'¹⁵

It is evident that the favourable change in soviet attitude towards Tibet was the result of deteriorated Sino-Soviet relations. The Soviet interest now demanded the weak China. The heavy and ever increasing Soviet military build up at the Sino-Soviet common border and China's realization that Moscow was trying to encircle her by anti-Chinese regimes made her feel the urgent need to consolidate her position in Tibet. Soviet Union has not so far granted political recognition to the Dalai Lama led Government in exile of Tibet. But her attitude towards Tibet is sympathetic.¹⁶

14. Mao-Zedong, Speech at the meeting of the Military Council of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on September, 11, 1959.

15 Tersey, Tsugtrimc, "one month in Tibet", from 'liberation to liberalisation', 1982, P.41.

16 As revealed by Information office of Central Tibetan Secretariat, Dharamsala and Senior Officials of 'Tibet House' New Delhi.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev's assumption of office of the General Secretary of the communist party of Soviet Union there have been several signs of a move towards better relations between Beijing and Moscow. Soon after his elevation in March, 1985 - Gorbachev expressed a desire for a serious improvement in relations with China. " Again in June, 1985 he expressed his conviction that the two states could bring an end to the negative period in sino - soviet relations, born largely out of artificial factors."¹⁷

The recent development in the Sino-Soviet relations established a principle of peaceful Co-existence. And with these developments the Soviet propaganda that the Tibetan's "Should free from the Chinese yoke" has abruptly stopped. It proves the validity of the statement of the Morgenthau that "in International field there are no permanent friends or foes only the interests are perennial which overwhelm all other considerations of past friendship, Justice or morality."¹⁸

To sum up , the Soviet Union can become an important factor in the realization of the Tibtans' right to self determination. But it can be so only when it sincerely

17 Ibid,.....

18 Morgenthau, ' The politics among Nations: The struggle for power and peace; 2nd ed., 1954.

takes Tibet as a nation struggling to regain its independence and not as a pawn of the power game in Asia.

The British Govt's attitude towards Tibet is not good. In the beginning she took some interest in Tibet but that was mainly for commerce and as a gateway of China. But now whitehall does not want to offend Beijing. The 10 day visit of exiled Tibetan leader Dalai Lama to Britain on 4th April 1988, was being played down by whitehall. Whitehall has gone to the extent of virtually jaggng the Dalai Lama. It has advised the spiritual leader of the Tibetans not to hold any press conference about his homeland and its troubles. The Dalai Lama has also confirmed that the British Govt. had objected to him making political statement during his visit there.¹⁹

Are the British afraid of China ? "If I were a chinese leader, I would think that British are not sincere. Every country has negative side, but with China the British only praise. This will just make the chinese smile they know there is no sincerity".²⁰ The Dalai Lama said.

However, an All Party Parliamentary human rights group has condemned the British foreign office for

19 Sharma, P.S., "UK. playing down Dalai Lama's visit," Hindustan Times (N. Delhi), 3 April, 1988.

20 Ibid;.....

asking the Dalai Lama not to make any political statements while in Britain. The Dalai Lama urged Britain to speak against the chinese repression in Tibet and not to bow to Beijing to remain silent. "Every one knows what has happened in Tibet. I feel Britain is the only western country that has historic links with Tibet that knows our history. Britain speak's up for human right in South Africa and Afgani-
stan and on the West Bank, the British must speak out about human rights in Tibet and must show concern."²¹

Despite the failure of British Govt. to support the Tibetan's cause, the European Parliament made a Joint motion for a resolution on the situation in Tibet on 14th October, 1987. They expressed their concern by the disturbances in Tibet, which are reported to have caused many deaths. The European Parliament urges the Chinese Govt. to respect the rights of the Tibetans to religious freedom and cultural autonomy, and considers that the Dalai Lama's five-point programme could well form the basis of a settlement.

Apart from the European Parliament, the West German Parliament and Dutch Parliament passed their resolution on Tibet on October 15th 1987 and October 28th 1987, respectively. They made some following

21 Gandhi, Batuk ' Dalai Lama not to embrass U.K. Govt', Hindu (Madras), 6 April, 1988.

conclusion. (i) There are still violations of Human rights on the part of the Govt. of the People's Republic of China going on. (ii) We must hope that the dialogue that has been going on for some years between the Chinese Govt. and representatives of the Dalai Lama not be discontinued as a result of the recent events in Lhasa. (iii) The Federal Govt., in consultation with the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations, should find out which active help may be necessary and appropriate to specially preserve cultural identity of Tibetan refugees.²²

In order to study the attitude of India towards Tibet at present, it is essential to cast a glance on the Indo-Tibetan relations in the pre-Independence period. It is clear that British Indian Government treated Tibet as an Independent country which had Unquestionable authority to sign treaties with other states. It also did not consider it necessary that any treaty concluded between China and some foreign Government was binding on Tibet. It is also evident that the concept of Suzerainty of China over Tibet was a 'constitutional fiction' developed to protect the South Asia specially Tibet against the Russian designs.

In Nov. 1949, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru as prime minister

22 Robgyal, Nawang, 1987 uprising in Tibet, Dharamsala(H.P.), 1988, P.P., 161-164.

of interim Govt. of India, explained India's stand on Tibet in press conference in London. He said that India had always recognised chinese suzerainty over Tibet. But she had regarded at the same time, Tibet an autonomous region and had dealt with the latter all along on this basis.

On the new Year's day in 1950, Marshal Chu Teh, 'vice chairman of Peoples Republic of China declared the 'liberation' of Tibet as one of the "basic talks" of the People's Liberation Army.²³

The chinese invasion of Tibet in October 1950 gave a big shock to India. In its note of protest sent to Peking on October 26, 1950, Govt. of India described the whole episode as "most surprising and regrettable" more so in view of the fact that China had assured India that the question of Tibet would be solved peacefully.

India's note (November 1, 1950) reasserted that India only wanted a peaceful solution of Tibetan problem "adjusting the legitimate claim of Tibetans to autonomy with in the framework of chinese suzerainty."

When Tibetan issue was first raised in the United Nations in November, 1950, India alongwith United

23. Leader of the Chinese Communist Party had been talking bout the Liberation of Tibet since 1982

Kingdom refrained from supporting it in the hope that the matter would be settled through other peaceful means.

Infact, the wide gap between the declaration and subsequent actual behaviour of India as manifest in recognising Tibet as 'a part of China' is absolutely confusing. Here, it is interesting to note that inspite of Nehru's statement that his Govt. considered Tibet to be under the suzerainty of China, his actual treatment with Tibet before the latter's invasion was like what is usually metedout to be a Sovereign nation. Tibet participated as an Independent country in the All Asian Conference in N. Delhi in 1947, on India's invitation.

The other important cause behind India's possive attitude during the invasion of Tibet was Nehru's earnest desire for peace in Asia, on November 7, 1950, Nehru had expressed the fear that" another diastrous global war might breakout in the next fifteen months and plunge the world in to Irrecoverable Chao's."²⁴

Pt. Nehru wanted to avoid the war for he felt that "a war between India and China will be bad, terribly bad and a tragedy of the deepest kind, a tragedy for us, a

24. S.P. Varma, Supra, n., p.22.

tragedy for China too and a tragedy for Asia and the world." 25

Following the March 1959 revolt in Tibet, Dalai Lama crossed into Indian border along with the thousands of his followers and took a asylum in India. Nehru said on this occasion in the Parliament, "They (Tibetans) sought asylum and we agreed --- you could not leave these refugees to their own sources, Apart from the humanitarian considerations invaluable there was also the law and order problem to be considered." 26

The attitude of Govt. of India in United Nations was governed by her obligations under the Sino-Indian treaty of 1954, under which she had recognised Tibet as a part of China as well as pledged not to interfere in the internal affairs of China. It had also expressed its willingness to maintain friendly relations with China. "It was a wise step not to have supported the resolution passed by General Assembly in October, 1959 because till then all hopes of re-establishing the Dalai Lama in Tibet and restoring the previous position were not lost. Even in 1961, India abstained from voting hoping still to be able the bridge the gulf. But the events of 1962 proved how insulostantial that hope was." 27

25. Ibid., p.108.

26. 'China Today', Vol IV, n.6, New Delhi, p.65.

27. Attarchand, Tibet Past and Present
(New Delhi, 1982), pp. 27-28.

So, when the Tibetan issue was raised for the third time in U.N. General Assembly in 1965, India supported it.

It is true that no Government of free India has so far granted political recognition to the Government-in-exile of Tibet. The attitude of Indian Govt. towards Tibet remain the same as it had adopted in 1954 i.e. 'Tibet is a part of China'.

However, India has suffered much for the sake of Tibetan's in order to uphold one of the most precious international principles of giving shelter to political refugees. India's deep rooted sympathy with Tibetan's is evident from her enormous efforts to rehabilitate Tibetan refugees. It has provided them every facility to stand on their own feet. "It has also tried to bring an end to the sufferings of those Tibetans also who had to suffer in other countries for some reason."²⁸ The Dalai Lama is held in high esteem in India in official circle or well.

Thus, the interests involved in having good relations with China have been instrumental in shaping

28. For example, India accepted to take in 2000 more Tibetan Refugees from Bhutan for resettlement in 1980, when they were in trouble there.

India's attitude towards Tibetan's right to self - determination from the very beginning. Unless some major international events bring about a change in these interests, this attitude seems to remain unchanged in the near future also.

Apart from the world response to support Tibetan cause for self-determinations, there is the United Nations organisation which represents the sense of justice, conscience of the world. It emerged as a reaction to the second world war which downed this realization that war was a menace to the welfare and happiness of humanity. It was realized that peace did not merely imply the absence of war and silence of guns. It was recognised as a positive thing which grows and develops on the said of friendship, goodwill, mutual trust and co-operation .

The way in which Tibet was annexed by China and was made a land of gravest repression of the human rights of the inhabitants formed proper ground for the intervention by the United Nations.

Tibetan issue was first raised in UNO, on November 17, 1950, by Elsalvador soon after the

'Peoples Liberation Army, marched into Tibet for its forcible' Liberation. But the issue was adjournal on the advice of United Kingdom and India. Both these countries hoped that Tibet and China would be able to settle the matter through bilateral talks. When no nation or United Nations came forward to save Tibet. It had to sign seventeen point Agreement with China under the shadow of serious military threat in 1951.

But the news of March, 1959 revolt of Tibetans by Chinese and escape of Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans to other countries, again brought Tibet to the mind of world community.

The representatives of the federation of Malaya and Ireland requested the U.N. General Secretary to include the question of Tibet in the following fourteenth session of U.N. General Assembly. The issue of Tibet was raised in General Assembly on September 29, 1959. On October 21, 1959 General Assembly adopted a draft resolution by a vote of forty five to nine with twenty six abstentions. The resolution recalling the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedoms setforth in U.N. Charter and Universal Declaration of Human rights expressed its grave concern on

the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet.²⁹

It was the period of Cold war and China had not drifted from the Russian bloc. As such, the countries of Western bloc like USA, U.K., Spain, Australia, Newzealand, etc voted in favour of the resolution. While countries of Soviet bloc opposed the resolution on the ground that Tibet was an integral part of China and as such the issue was entirely within the domestic jurisdiction of China.

In the 16th session of General Assembly, issue of Tibet was again brought up on the request of Malaya and Thailand on December 20, 1961, U.N. resolution 1723 (XVI) was passed by a vote of fifty six to eleven with twenty nine abstentions. The resolution referring to the earlier resolutions on Tibet (Res, 1353, Octo. 21, 1959) expressed grave concern and anxiety over the continuation of events in Tibet including the violation of fundamental human rights of Tibetan people.

29. U.N.G.A Resolution 1353(XIV), 834th, Plenary meeting, October 21, 1959.

There were two things especially significant in this resolution first; right to self-determination was explicitly mentioned unlike in the previous resolution. Second, member states were expected to take necessary action for the implementation of this resolution.

However, this resolution met with the same fate as that of 1959 resolution.

The General Assembly passed another resolution on Tibet on December 19, 1965, on the request of Philippines. The resolution (2079 (XX)) was adopted by a vote of forty three to twenty six with twenty two abstentions. The resolution reaffirming the previous resolution of December, 1961 expressed its grave concern and deploration on the continued violation of fundamental human rights and freedom of the people of Tibet.

"Although the three General Assembly resolution could not bring any change in the fate of the the Tibetan people, they helped in forming a world public opinion in their favour. The majority of the world Nations considered the claim to self-

determination of Tibetan justified. However, individually they failed to take any action that could ensure directly or indirectly the implementation of the U.N. resolution's, apparently due to their National Interests."³⁰

But world wide interest in the Dalai Lama's constructive proposals and foreign tourists presence at the time of bloody riots in Tibet quickened, as extensive media coverage promoted human rights organisation to express horror at the brutal suppression of freedom in Tibet, and as an increasing number of National parliament adopted resolutions of sympathy and support for the Tibetan cause. Beijing may have felt the need for some conciliatory gesture.

"If there is no immediate action by the United nations to stop further killings in Tibet, the blood being shed for freedom will continue to flow."³¹ The nations today are growing more and more interdependent. What happens to Tibet:

30. Swaran Lata Sharma, op.cit., New Delhi, 1988.

31. Nyandak, Tinley, 'Tibet: The Undying Nation', Freedom at Issue, May-June 1989, pp. 25-27.

or any other part of the world is bound to affect directly or indirectly sooner or later its other parts as well. This Inter-dependence puts a special responsibility on every nations to recognise its international role and act accordingly whenever there is an occasion.



CONCLUSIONS

The elimination of Tibet as an independent Political entity is not merely the extinction of a militarily weak state by a powerful one, but the question mark on the sense of justice, righteousness and responsibility of human race and world community. It is one of the saddest ironies of our contemporary history why Tibet and Tibetan people were treated by the nations of the enlightened world in the way they were treated; why the freedom and status of Tibet was considered as nobody's interest and/or responsibility.

Tibet which was nearly as vast in its geographical expanse as India and which enjoyed independence or autonomy tantamount to independence through successive periods of history was sacrificed at the cruel actor of Chinese neo-imperialism.

The justification of China has been that Tibet was under its suzerainty in the past. But it is difficult to understand the Chinese claim of suzerainty over Tibet in the changed modern political international relationship.

It is not a theory of international law or international relationship that once a suzerain always a suzerain. Whatever might have been Tibet's relationship with the Manchu Empire, Tibet never accepted that relationship. Tibet could never be considered a part of China, from the point of view of religion, language, culture, social life and political faith. Tibet has always been poles apart from China. As for geographical proximity, Tibet is as close to India as to China.

Even assuming that once China had suzerainty over Tibet, there is no reason, why in the present international set up that should continue. Bulgaria, for instance, was under the suzerainty of Turkey from 1878 to 1901. Yet nobody would today argue that Turkey should have similar rights over communist Bulgaria. Suzerainty was originally a notion of feudal society, with the disappearance of that society, the notion also disappeared from constitutional law and became outmoded in the context of modern international law.

The right to self-determination is today the part and parcel of customary international law. It is one of the basic principles of the United Nations Organisation. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

proclaims that "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government".¹ But the reason behind United Nations failure to take any effective action for the restoration of Tibetans rights is the fact that it is an actor in world politics. Moreover, it is only one of the relatively, larger number of actors in the international system. Its constituents are the sovereign states who are vehemently engaged in power-politics and the fulfilment of their national interests.

Present world environment is also greatly responsible for the non-implementation of human rights including right to self-determination at international level. In the post second world war period, during which several declarations of the rights of the people were made, has been depleted with acute rivalry, coldwar, distrust and hostility between Russia and America. Whole world has been engulfed in their environment. Cold war has assumed new dimensions also. New intro bloc cold war is also amply visible. In such environment, self preservative motives which also essentially include offensive tactics makes the policy makers to view and react to the international problems from the angle of their narrow national interest.

1. Article 21, Para (3) of Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Any meaningful improvement in the existing system can not be anticipated without sincere co-operation of super-powers. Solution of this problems depends entirely on the willingness and efforts of the governments and people of these two countries. In view of their dominating role in the International Politics, they need to be conscious of their international responsibility.

Non-aligned bloc can play a vital role in the process of self-determination and other human rights. It is composed of those countries who themselves have suffered a lot on account of being deprived of their rights under imperial and colonial rule. Remaining non-aligned with the selfish politics of super-powers, they can give at least their moral support to the cause of Tibet - like appressed communities. Non-aligned movement can become a powerful channel to communicate their voice to the world and thus to invoke a sense of international responsibility in the peoples and governments of the world by forming a strong public opinion in their favour.

It is only natural that there would be a school of thought amongst the Chinese which thinks that time

was on the side of Chinese and after the demise of the present DalaiLama, the Tibetan resistance will lose its focus. Even, if a new incarnation is found he will also permit the Chinese to play the same kind of politics as the Manchus used to play during the minority of DalaiLama. The argument seems plausible at first sight. But the tenacity of Tibetan's identity and hopes was proved in 1987, 1988 and 1989 when it was least expected.

The jews and the polish people kept their hopes and identity alive during long periods of national disintegration and subjugation. Both were religious people. The Tibetan live and breathe religion and their ability to preserve their identity should not be doubted. The younger generation of Tibetan in exile have not forgotten Tibet. Not having a direct memory of their land, they hold on to the idea of Tibetan culture with great tenacity.

Apart from the Tibetans resistance against the Chinese repression, the third world in particular tends to see China as a principled friend. Chinese aid to

developing countries is managed with sympathetic concern for the receivers. It succeeds thereby in gaining China's influence disproportionate to the actual flow of aid. But the questioning of the Chinese policies in Tibet is growing. In June 1987, the American Congress moved to restrict American aid to China so long as the human rights of Tibetans continued to be infringed. This was later endorsed by the Senate and by President Reagan. In October 1987, the European Parliament, after noting adversely Chinese repression in Tibet, urged the Chinese government to negotiate on the basis of DalaiLama's five point proposal. Action continues in a number of capitals to keep up the pressure for changes in Chinese policy towards Tibet. It is not without significance. Moreover the DalaiLama was invited to the Soviet Union and paid a much publicised VIP visit to the Buryat Monastery at Ulanudhe in 1986.

However, it is in the ultimate interest of every concerned party to reveal its legitimate interest in relation to Tibet, and try to convince China of the geopolitical necessity of a peaceful political

settlement that would not only minimally satisfy the political aspirations of the Tibetan people but also conciliate the contending security interest of several neighbouring countries.

Thus, from all accounts , it seems that immediate future is the most propitious time for a Tibetan settlement, which to be acceptable must for autonomy as well as the Chinese national interest. One hopeful factor is that the Chinese government recently, made an important offer to the DalaiLama for the first time since 1959. The DalaiLama has been told that the Chinese government was ready to negotiate with him "in person in Beijing, Hongkong or a Chinese diplomatic compound in any place of the world". But the Chinese have been categorical that such talks could cover all topics except the issue of Tibetan independence. The DalaiLama himself said more than once that one must be realistic, thus implying that he may be willing to accept Chinese suzerainty provided other conditions are met. Those conditions are obvious. Beijing must recognize Tibet's autonomy in internal affairs. Therefore, a negotiated settlement would greatly benefit

the Tibetan peoples and Chinese reputation internationally .

Finally, the issue of Tibet is not merely the issue of independence, autonomy, sovereignty or suzerainty. It is the far more Universal Issue, the issue of basic human rights which transcends all national and ideological barriers. Today the world is getting so smaller and inter-dependent that neither a nation's problem can be solved only by itself completely nor they can let the world today or tomorrow unaffected by them. If the nations of the world fail to realize the truth and their responsibility, their very existence and survival will be threatened.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - ISEVENTEEN-POINT AGREEMENTTHE AGREEMENT OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT AND THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF TIBET ON MEASURES FOR THE PEACEFUL
LIBERATION OF TIBET. MAY 23, 1951

When China ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the local Government of Tibet to send delegates to the central authorities to conduct talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful Liberation of Tibet. In the latter part of April 1951, the delegates with full powers of the local Government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talk on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the local Government of Tibet. As a result of this talks, both parties agreed to conclude this agreement and guarantee that it will be carried into effect.

1. The Tibetan People shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet.
2. The Local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the National Defence.

3. The Tibetan people have the right of exercising National Regional Autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.
4. The Central authorities will not alter the existing Political System in Tibet.
5. The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Erdeni shall be maintained.
6. By the established status, functional powers of the DalaiLama and of the Panchen Ardeni are meant the status function and powers of the 13th DalaiLama and of the 9th Panchen Erdeni.
7. The policy of freedom of religion belief laid down in the common programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out.
8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganised by stages into the People's Liberation Army.
9. The spoken and written language and school education of Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step.

11. In matters related to various reform in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the Central authorities.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kumintang officials and do not engage in sabotage and resistance they may continue to hold office irrespective of their post.

13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above mentioned policies.

14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralised handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee. Apart from the personnel sent there by the Central Peoples Government shall absorb as many local Tibetan Personnel as possible to take part in the work.

16. Funds are needed by the military and administrative committee shall be provided by the Central People's Government.

17. This agreement shall come into force immediately after signatures and seals are affixed to it.

APPENDIX - IITHE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AND REPUBLIC OF INDIA ON TRADE AND INTERCOURSE BETWEEN
TIBET REGION OF CHINA AND INDIA. APRIL 29, 1954

The Central Peoples Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India, being desirous of promoting trade and cultural intercourse between Tibet region of China and India and of facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the People's of China and India, have resolved to enter into the agreement based on the following principles.

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
4. Equality and Mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful co-existence.

And for this purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries.

APPENDIX - IIIRESOLUTIONS OF THE UN ON TIBET

PASSED ON OCTOBER 21, 1959

The General Assembly - Recalling the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedom set out in the charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Right and adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

Considering that the fundamental Human Rights and freedoms to which the Tibetan people like all others, are entitled include the right to civil and religious liberty for all without distinction.

Gravely concerned at reports, including the official statements of His Holiness the DalaiLama, to the effect that the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet have been forcibly denied them.

1. Affirms its belief that respect for the principles of the charter of the UN and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evaluation of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law.

2. Calls for the respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life.

II

PASSED IN THE SIXTEENTH SESSION (1961) RECALLING ITS
RESOLUTION 1353 (XIV) OF 21 OCTOBER, 1959 ON THE QUESTION
OF TIBET

Gravely concerned at the continuation of events in Tibet including the violation of Fundamental Human Rights of the Tibetan people, suppression of their distinctive cultural and religious life which they have traditionally enjoyed.

1. Reaffirms its conviction that respect for the principles of the charter and the ^Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evaluation of peaceful world order based on the rule of law.
2. ^Solemnly renew its call for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of the fundamental Human Rights and freedom including their right to self-determination.

3. Expresses the hope that member states will make all possible efforts as appropriate towards achieving the purpose of the present resolution.

III

PASSED IN THE TWENTIETH SESSION 1965

"Bearing in mind the principles relating to human rights and fundamental freedom set forth in the charter of the United Nations and proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

"Reaffirming its resolution 1353 (XIV) of October 21st, 1959 and 1723(XIV) of December 12th , 1961 on the question of Tibet".

1. "Deplores the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedom of the people of Tibet".

2. Reaffirms that respect for the principles of the charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evaluation of peaceful world order".

3. "Declares its conviction that the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedom in Tibet and the suppression of the distinctive cultural life of its people increase international tension and embitter relations between its peoples".

4. "Solemnly renews its call for the cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan peoples of the Human Rights and fundamental freedom which they have always enjoyed".

APPENDIX - IVHIS HOLINESS, THE DALAILAMA MADE PUBLIC HIS FIVE-POINT
PEACE PLAN IN AN ADDRESS TO MEMBERS OF THE US CONGRESS
SEPTEMBER 21, 1987

His Holiness the DalaiLama said that " I wish today to clarify the principal issues and to propose in a spirit of openness and conciliation, a first step towards a lasting solution. I hope this may contribute to a future of friendship and cooperation with all of our neighbours, including the Chinese People."

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into Zone of peace;
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans.
3. Respect for Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;

5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese Peoples.

APPENDIX - V

IN A LENGTHY SPEECH TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN STRASBOURG (FRANCE), HIS HOLINESS DALILAMA OUTLINED A SCENARIO WHEREBY A VIRTUALLY, BUT NOT TATALLY, INDEPENDENT TIBET WOULD LIVE AND DEVELOP IN PEACE AND HARMONY WITH ITS NEIGHBOUR , CHINA

JUNE 15, 1988

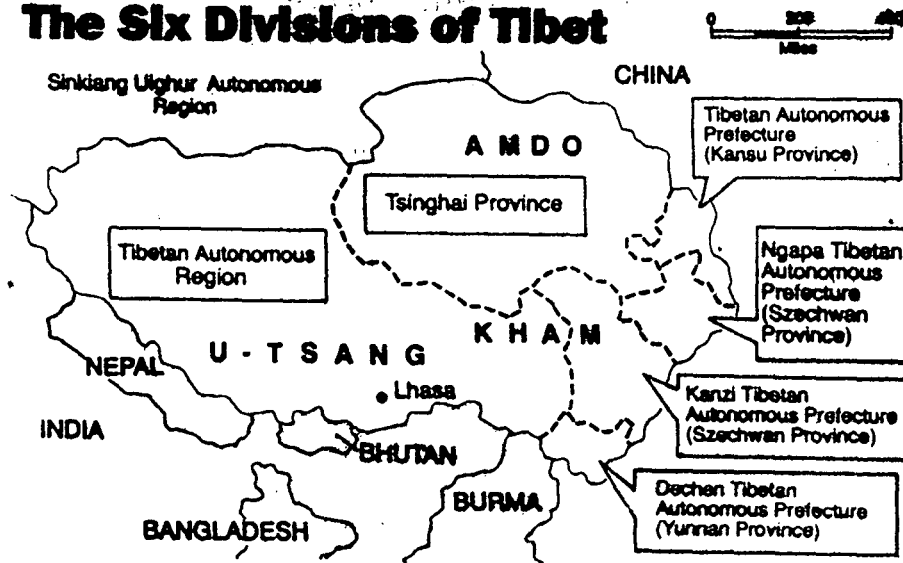
His Holiness, the DalaiLama said that he wanted to "achieve a realistic solution to my nations plight". The proposed thought, he said, "represent the most realistic means by which to re-establish Tibet's separate identity and restore the fundamental rights of the Tibetan people; while accommodating China's own interests".

1. The DalaiLama recognised China's right to run Tibet's foreign affairs and maintain troops in the Himalyan nation which China invaded in 1949.

2. But in a shift of policy, the DalaiLama proposed talks with China to make Tibet "a self governing democratic political entity....." in association with the Peoples Republic of China.

The DalaiLama proposed a democratic government for Tibet under an elected president, with a bicameral legislature and an independent judiciary" We are prepared to meet within the Chinese to discuss details of such a proposal aimed at achieving an equatable solution".

The Six Divisions of Tibet



Over half of Tibet's original territory has been appended to the contiguous Chinese provinces with only Central Tibet Co-Tsang and parts of Eastern Tibet (Kham) remaining as the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

The Administrative incorporation into China of these vast areas serves to reduce the importance of Tibet, while also splitting the Tibetan population, and accelerating their signification.

The "Tibet Autonomous Region" is ruled by the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army, through the local Government of the "Autonomous Region". Recently a number of Tibetans have been appointed to high ranking but politically insignificant posts. All authority is actually vested in the hands of Chinese Party officials and military officers.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

Amban(s)	Chinese political officer(s), generally of the Manchu race, stationed in Lhasa by the Manchu rulers of China(A Manchu Chinese Word).
DalaiLama	Lama whose learning is as deep as the ocean and as vast and all embracing "Dalai" (Mangolian for Ocean"). Corresponds to "Gyatso" in Tibetan. The expression "Lama" spiritual teacher and guide, corresponds to the expression "Guru" in Sanskrit.
Depa (Sde Pa)	Title of Chief or officer of varying importance. From Sde Community, province.
Depa Shung (Sde Pa gshung)	Government of Tibet.
Depa Tsangpa (Sde Pa gtsang Pa)	Chief of Tsang
Gyalpo (Rgyalpo)	King
Khan (Qan)	Chief, Kin.

Panchen	Short for Pandita Chhenpo Great Sange.
Panchsheel	Five principles. (from Sanskrit Panchasheela)
Ponchen (Dpon Chhen)	Chief
Po Gyalpo	King of Tibet
Sakyapa (Sa Skyapa)	Semi-reformed red hat sect which had political dominance over Tibet during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its main monastery was at Sakya in Central Tibet.
Sikyong (Srid Skyong)	Protection of state
Trulky (Sprul sky)	Incarnate Lama
Tsongdu (Gshogs hdu)	National Assembly. It is also the name of the Bhutanese Assembly.

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