

Spring 2010

Border Conflict and Tibet: The Asian Giants and Their History of Power Struggle

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BORDER CONFLICT AND TIBET:

THE ASIAN GIANTS AND THEIR HISTORY OF POWER STRUGGLE



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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Tibetan/Himalayan Studies,
SIT

Study Abroad, Spring 2010

“You are undone if you once forget that
the fruits of the earth belong to us all,
and the earth itself to nobody.”

-Jean Jacques Rousseau's Defender of Anarchy
A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality

Abstract

The South Asian world is dominated by India and China, their combined populations equaling almost a full half of humankind. In 1962, the two countries clashed over their border. The main reason for the war was the contest over large areas of territory claimed by both countries. The border still has not been adequately defined. This essay examines the border dispute from its roots in history, through the 20th century and into the present. It was the goal of this work to give an unbiased account of the dispute, though the weight of evidence in favor of the Indian claim has influenced my conclusions. This topic is one of the most relevant issues in modern Asia, though the absence of any recent armed conflict over the areas have caused public interest in it to wane. Central to the dispute is the issue of Tibet and Chinese occupation therein. The history and circumstances surrounding the border are instrumental in settling the dispute and keeping peace in Asia.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all of those who took the time to speak with me. Their hospitality and willingness to aid this endeavor has moved me. Their knowledge on these issues is astounding. Meeting them was an experience that I will not soon forget. Matthew Akester is a man whose expertise on Tibetan matters is unparalleled. His ability to recall any fact, name, or date surrounding the issue is a herculean feat of the mind. His help and guidance contributed greatly to this project. I would also like to thank Isabelle Onians and Hubert Decleer, my academic director and senior faculty advisor, respectively, for their diligence in ensuring that I left my studies in Nepal with as much knowledge about this area of the world as possible. Finally, I owe the most gratitude to my family, for supporting every endeavor I undertake and always being there when I need them.

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Introduction

China and India have become two of the world's largest economic powers. Their combined population is almost half of the world's entire population. The two giants share a land border that spans over 2,000 miles.¹ Much of this border remains undefined, and the delineation between China and India is not an actual boundary in many places, but a line of control.

The border between India and China lies in the western region of China, dividing India and the Tibet region. This was once internationally considered a border between Tibet and India. Of course, when China began to exercise authority in Tibet in the 1950s, this was no longer the case. With the change in *de facto* sovereignty in Tibet, the relationship between China and India changed greatly. Alongside this, Mao Zedong called the accepted border between what was once Tibet and India into question.

The entire dispute, in fact, hinges around Tibet, the government of Lhasa, and the Chinese occupation of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Before China's military took over Tibet, there was almost no question of the lines that divided Tibet and India. They were clearly marked in treaties made by the British with the government in Lhasa. The question of Tibet's independence is synonymous with the question of where the boundary lies between China and India. If, in fact, Lhasa's sovereignty over Tibet can be verified as historically valid pre-1950, then Lhasa's treaties with the British are legal and definitive of the boundary. Yet, because Beijing claims that even at that time Tibet was a Chinese territory, and that the Tibetan government had no legal right to make treaties with foreign governments or to cede territory, they reserve

¹ The Indo-Tibetan Border Police Force Website.

the right to call these treaties into question. The question of Tibet's independence is not only the key question that began the debate over the boundary, it is also of paramount importance to keeping peace in Asia.

History, Pre-Simla Convention

The origins of the border dispute date back to British colonial rule in India. Before this time, the border was considered a “traditional” border, in which there was a place that was clearly under Indian rule and a place where that rule was no longer effective, but it was unclear where exactly India began and ended. Historically, China had little interest in defining its border, because the weak states surrounding China were not subordinate to the Emperor, but they posed no threat to the superiority of Chinese rule. Often-times the surrounding kingdoms would pay an annual tribute to the Emperor, allowing him to benefit from their relationship without stretching and overtaxing his rule. According to Robinson and Shambaugh in their book *Chinese Foreign Policy*, the tributary system caused China to believe that boundaries had little significance, until colonialists took over the bordering states.² It was then that the British practically dragged Chinese officials to the discussion of the border.

Originally, as the British tried to ensure unwavering control of their territory in India, they employed a policy of using “buffer states” under the control of another, weak government, to insulate India from aggression. Tibet itself was one of these buffer states. And, oddly enough, Britain did not consider it a buffer against China. At the time the weakened Manchu Empire, ~~known as~~ the Qing Dynasty of China, was

² Robinson, Thomas and Shambaugh, David, *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 352-3.

merely placated with respectful tones in British correspondence, but was by all means disregarded in terms of policy. It was Russia that was vying for control of central Asia. Mulik, the Indian Intelligence Bureau Director throughout Nehru's term in Indian office, states in his memoir, *My Years with Nehru: The Chinese Betrayal*, "Britain's Tibetan Policy was then entirely based on its fears of Russian expansion in Central Asia."³ It was well known that the Russian powers yearned for dominion over Asian territory, and had designs on a warm-water port as can be found along India's coast.

In 1903, Lord Curzon recognized that Tibet was the most likely area for Russia to launch an attack on British India.⁴ Mohan Guruswamy suggests that the reason for the Younghusband expedition was specifically to gain military control of Tibet to preempt any Russian attempt on the country, which Indian troops accomplished, marching all the way to Lhasa. The flight of the thirteenth Dalai Lama from Lhasa led the Chinese to assert that he had been deposed, and the British dealt primarily with the Chinese amban when creating the Anglo-Tibetan treaty of 1904.⁵ This treaty was uniformly regarded as illegal by Tibetans, who remained loyal to the Dalai Lama. Even after the Younghusband mission, the British continued to dictate border policy between Tibet and India based on the struggle for preeminence in central Asia between English and Russian powers. This struggle for power is termed "The Great Game."

³ Mulik, B.N., *My Years with Nehru: The Chinese Betrayal* (Bombay [Mumbai]: Allied Publishers Private LTD., 1971), 77.

⁴ Guruswamy, Mohan, "India-China Border: Learning from History." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2003. 38: 39, 4102.

⁵ Powers, John, *History as Propaganda: Tibetan exiles versus the People's Republic of China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 82.

The British, during the 1800s, were set on creating an authoritative demarcation of the boundaries of India, and yet were vague in their position on Tibet's relationship with China. It was in the mid-1800s that the colonial government first began trying to outline their border with Tibet. July 1846 marked the first boundary commission created by the government.⁶ Their goal was to define the Indian boundary and to create a body of regulations on official trade between India and its neighbors. A year later, after the first commission failed to collaborate with the Chinese, a second boundary commission was assembled, "for the purpose of defining the boundary of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Emperor of China." In ~~a~~-an 1847 letter, the British Governor-General sent a letter to the High Officer in Hong Kong stating, "As I am led to understand, Tibet is immediately under the authority of the imperial government of Peking." This statement shows that, although the Governor-General would cater to Chinese sentiments on the ownership of Tibet, he was hesitant at best. Still, regardless of polite and placating language, the record shows that the Chinese government failed to participate in either of the border assessments commissioned by the British. According to Lall, the English Foreign Department "emphasized that the international boundary would remain an arbitrary one until it had the consent of the Chinese government... it was not enough for the Chinese to say, as they had done in the past, that the boundary was a non-issue because it was already well-known."⁷

After the first two border commissions were shown to be a failure, the colonial powers in India decided to take matters into their own hands. And so, in

⁶ Lall, John, *Aksai Chin and Sino-Indian Conflict* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1988), 122, 127, 126.

⁷ Lall, 169.

1855 a man by the name of Montgomerie was chosen to head a team of surveyors to map the entire boundary alone.⁸ After completion, this boundary would be sent to Peking to be approved. It was at this time that Montgomerie employed Johnson, a man described as “opportunistic,” who had little surveying experience, to survey the Ladakh region of India’s border. He concluded his study in 1865, claiming huge tracts of land in Aksai Chin equal to around 7,000 square miles, for India.⁹ According to Mohan Guruswamy, Johnson probably had personal reasons for such an ambitious claim, as it would have put him in the good graces of the Maharaja. This, in fact, worked well for him, and he became the governor of Ladakh.

Johnson’s survey includes the plateau area between the Karakoram and the Kuenlin mountain ranges in Indian territory. Any possible Indian claim to this area rests solely on this map. Further, his survey has been called into question, as it may have been impossible for him to have covered and surveyed as much area as he claimed in the treacherous terrain, requiring a pace of eighteen miles per day.¹⁰ In a less grandiose claim, Ney Elias, the Joint commissioner of Leh, advocated the use of the high-water line in the Karakoram Range as the boundary between India and Tibet in 1878.¹¹ He submitted the claim officially in 1890.¹² This is the boundary that India continues to claim today. Many land borders today are determined by the watershed

⁸ Lall, 140, 143.

⁹ Guruswamy, 4101.

¹⁰ Guruswamy, 4102.

¹¹ Lall, 164.

¹² Guruswamy, 4102.

principle*, which utilizes the highest line of peaks in a mountain range to divide two territories.

The British government succeeded in speaking directly with the Chinese for the first time about the border of Tibet and India in 1890. The Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 defined the border between Sikkim and Chinese Tibet. Tibetans, Alastair writes, “repudiated” the convention, and its findings.¹³ Yet, this convention and the resulting treaty is most likely the reason that Sikkim is now one of the few areas along the Sino-Indian border not disputed.

Many of the fringe territories now contested between India and China were first contested by Tibet and China. The areas in dispute in the southern part of the Tibet region, namely Tawang and Arunachal Pradesh and the entirety of the Manyul Area are all “Tibetanoid” in cultural, religious, and individual traits. Yet, these areas are remote, and often the people who inhabited them were resistant to any form of government.¹⁴ Usually, if the people were willing to pay taxes at all, they would pay to whichever government required the least tax from them, and consider themselves under that government’s protection.

Tawang, during the 19th Century, was ruled by local Raja chieftains.¹⁵ In 1852 the Gelong Raja the leader of the seven Rajas, was given the annual payment that he received from the British, which ensured uncontested English rights to Assam. Each

*The Watershed Principle is termed as such because the rivers, tributaries, and entire water system for the area run down these mountain faces, and ownership up to the height of the peaks is a logical boundary, and it ensures that a nation will own the entirety of their water system, from beginning to end.

¹³ Marshall, Julie G., *Britain and Tibet 1765-1947* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), Forward by Alastair Lamb, xii.

¹⁴ Akester, Matthew. Interview 15/04/2010.

¹⁵ Lamb, Alastair, *The China-India Border: The Origins of the Disputed Boundaries* (Bath: Pitman Press, 1964), 118, 161, 163.

year, he sent that payment on to Lhasa. When he failed to do so that year, Tibetan troops assembled along their border. Indian troops mobilized to meet them, presenting a far larger force than the Tibetans could stand against. Negotiations ensued, and it was decided that Tawang was to be considered British territory, but Lhasa enjoyed the right to tax the area for many years after this. As late as 1936 Tibet was administering and taxing Tawang, although maps and the Simla convention had endowed India with its control. India was upset over Tibet's rule in Tawang, but was unwilling to take any action in the area. As for China, regardless of the fact that Lhasa collected taxes from these areas, China's Manchu government still considered these areas, as the rest of Tibet, to be Chinese, not Tibetan.

The Simla Convention

In April of 1914, delegates of the British, Chinese, and Tibetan conferences met to discuss the boundaries of the Tibetan nation. Neville Maxwell notes in his article, "Deadlocked Deadlock: The Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute," that Simla was set up as the British brokering the conversation to define the border between Tibet and China.¹⁶ This point is often lost, as the Simla Convention is now often discussed only in terms of the Indian and Chinese border. In spite of this, the existence of a Tibetan nation would preclude the existence of any such border, as both countries would border Tibet, and not each other. China wished to divide the Tibetan region into two areas, and the British acknowledged the Eastern part of Tibet as a province

¹⁶ Maxwell, Neville, "The Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1981. 16: 38, 1546.

of China.¹⁷ The discussion at Simla was centered around the line between Tibet and China. The Kuomintang (Nationalist) Government in China was so weak that they were willing to discuss the border with Tibet, even though they continued to claim that Tibet in its entirety was a part of China.

The Tibetan, British and Chinese delegates initialed the Simla convention document of the 27th of April, 1914.¹⁸ The endorsement reads: “We hereby initial in token of our acceptance, this 27th day of April, 1914 (i) A.H.M. British Plenipotentiary (ii) Ivan Chen, Chinese Plenipotentiary (iii) Lonchen Shatra Tibetan Plenipotentiary (Tibetan script).¹⁹²⁰ On July 3rd, China repudiated the action of Ivan Chen, both his signature and his acquiescence to any form of Tibetan autonomy.²¹ That same day, upon the Chinese refusal to ratify the document, Henry McMahon and the Tibetan representative, Lonchen Shatra, initialed a second convention. The Chinese were denied any rights under the convention until they acquiesced to the terms. As such, because they failed to sign, Britain and Tibet no longer acknowledged any Chinese relationship with Tibet, including suzerainty, and Tibet became a free nation.

Maxwell accuses the British of claiming to be an innocent third party wanting only to help the conversations of Simla, but then using the opportunity to illegally annex territory. This is a strange claim, as Britain ~~had~~ no interest in holding any official power in Tibet, and actually preferred it to remain an autonomous buffer state. In fact, when the 13th Dalai Lama asked Sir Charles Bell to induce the British

¹⁷ Thupten Samphel, Interview 17/4/2010.

¹⁸ See Appendix C.

¹⁹ See Map 1

²⁰ Lall, map opposite 226.

²¹ Lamb, 51.

Government to control, and thereby protect Tibet, in a similar relationship that Britain had with India.²² This was declined, though the British still expressed interest in keeping up a relationship with Lhasa. Further convoluting Maxwell's claim, the areas which Tibet gave to British India were well outside of Chinese control, thousands of miles away from the closest Chinese-administered area. Maxwell also asserts that Olaf Caroe, a Delhi official in 1935, falsified the published record of the Simla conference to give the impression that all parties agreed.²³ Maxwell, however, makes this statement without citing any evidence or naming any concurring scholars.

Another charge is leveled at the British in their actions at the Simla conference by Alastair Lamb. He references Article 3 of the Anglo-Russian Convention, which stated that neither the British nor the Russians could send representatives to Lhasa. This convention is unrelated to the one held at Simla, however, and even the Chinese government rarely cites it as one of their reasons to void the events at Simla. The Russians did not record any protest, and considering the fact that the Chinese sent a representative to meet the British one at Lhasa, clearly they were not too offended by the apparent breach of the Anglo-Russian Convention, either.

The Tibetans heralded the events of 1914 as the Tibetan declaration of independence. Yet, it is remembered now as the event where the McMahon Line was born, and where the British finally, after decades of trying, demarcated their boundary with Tibet. This line followed the watershed principle, using the highest peaks in the border region as the outline for the division. It can also be guessed that, although

²² Ghosh, S., *Truth about the McMahon Line* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1977), 38.

²³ Maxwell, Neville, "The Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute." *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1981. 16: 38, 1546.

areas such as Tawang were close with Tibet in culture, and historically paid taxes to Lhasa, they were given to the British Government in hopes that the British would continue to offer Tibet protection from the Chinese. When the British ended their colonial rule of India in 1947, the entire Asian dynamic was thrown askew. The major lasting legacy of the Simla conference was the McMahon line, which continues to be the line that India claims as the boundary between India and China today.

The Occupation of Tibet

After the Chinese occupation of Tibet beginning in 1950, China and India faced a problem they had never encountered before: the delimitation of a border between India and China. By the end of the Manchu dynasty, the Chinese government was politically incorporating Tibet into the provincial structure.²⁴ Yet, because they lacked any political or military clout in Lhasa, there was no Chinese-Indian border ever delimited. Chinese presence in Tibet was almost entirely lost after the Simla conference declared complete Tibetan autonomy. Still, China was set on including Tibet within the limits of the motherland. The Chinese government was aware of British and Russian powers vying for the control of central Asia, and their discomfort with the untimely weakness of China in this period caused them to claim the territory. It was a desperate façade of strength: China was hoping to show that she was ~~a~~ still a true power in ~~s~~outh Asia after losing Manchuria to Japan.

Britain, during the 19th century, had been trying to use both sides of the Tibetan issue to their advantage, keeping China happy by not contesting their claim in Tibet, while still dealing directly with Lhasa and ensuring her safety as a buffer state.

²⁴ Lamb, 30.

The British ended this policy early in the 20th century, and officially recognized Tibet as independent from China. China was in no way capable of contesting Tibet's independence militarily, especially with the promise of British support in retaliation to any threat. Yet, once British colonial rule of India ended in 1947, Mao Zedong was quick to invade. On the first of January, 1950, Mao made his first announcement declaring his desire to “liberate” the people of Tibet from “imperialist aggression.” When Tibetan resistance had been suppressed, and the 17-Point Agreement²⁵ was signed, India reacted.

Mulik makes it very clear in his memoir that India's interest lay in keeping Tibet between India and China. It was a traditional British buffer state, and though the new Indian government did not have the military power that Great Britain wielded to protect Tibet, it was widely acknowledged that the best way to ensure Indian security was to keep a buffer between her and China. Literature about this time period in Sino-Indian relations is almost entirely uniform in its criticism of Nehru for allowing China's takeover of Tibet. Mulik alone defends Nehru, stating that he was in no position to fight with the Chinese militarily, and fighting for Tibetan independence ideologically brought forth the danger of calling the McMahon line into question.²⁶ In retrospect, questioning the Chinese invasion of Tibet held no bearing on whether or not they would accept the McMahon line. Not knowing this at the time, Nehru engaged in a strategy of appeasing the Chinese government regarding their occupation of India's northern neighbor.

²⁵ See Appendix D.

²⁶ Mulik, 76.

Nehru was a believer in a policy of non-alignment with any country as a measure to ensure the safety of India.²⁷ But Nehru's nervousness that came with Chinese presence just above the McMahon Line was apparent in his speeches. In the early 50s, his public talks showed his inability to define Tibet's status as a country. Nehru said, "Tibet is not the same as China," in December 1950. However vague this statement may be, his position would only become less evident in the next years. In one 1951 speech, Nehru actually said first that Tibet was historically independent, but also that it was always an integral part of China.²⁸ He was floundering between trying to limit China's aggression and keeping open the possibility of a free Tibet, but also hoping to keep Peking happy with his actions. Mulik wrote that Nehru was timid when it came to speaking out about Tibet partially because he did not want China to become suspicious that he, too, had designs on Tibet.²⁹

The Panchsheel Pact of 1954 was Nehru's decisive action on the matter. It was a trade agreement between India and China about trade with the Tibetan region, signed on April 29th.³⁰ It provided that Tibet was an inextricable part of China. And so, where British India had been the champion of Tibetan independence, India under Nehru recognized Chinese sovereignty over the whole of Tibet. This was a historically unprecedented event. Lhasang Tsering (*Lha bsang Tse ring*), former president of the Tibetan Youth Congress (1986-90), said that this was allowed to happen because "China under Mao had yet to show their true colors."³¹ He believes

²⁷ Mankekar, D.R. *The Guilty Men of 1962* (New Delhi: Tulsi Shah Enterprises, 1968), 2-3, 10.


²⁸ "India's Foreign Policy." Selected Speeches: Prime Minister Nehru, 1946-51. 341.

²⁹ Mulik, 78.

³⁰ Mankekar, 12.

³¹ Lhasang Tsering, Interview 24/04/10.

India considered bilateral relations with China more important than their policy on Tibet.

Nehru was “shocked” to hear that Chinese armies were marching into Tibet.³² He thought to ensure India’s standing in Mao’s eyes by affirming Chinese action in Tibet with the Panchsheel Pact. It was yet another surprise to him when, despite the Panchsheel Pact, Chinese Prime minister Chou En-Lai began to bring questions forth as to ~~the~~ where  division between their two countries truly lay.

Maps and Letters

On July 17th, 1954, China sent correspondence to India stating that Indian patrols had been sighted by the Chinese army, and that these were a violation of the Chinese border in the Wu-je area.³³ India wrote that it was aware of no border incursions on their part, but that Chinese troops had been seen within Indian territory in the Hoti Plain. The two countries would soon find out that Chinese Wu-je and the Indian Hoti Plain evidently overlap. Both countries agreed to examine their borders, and Nehru travelled to China to question “inaccurate maps” being published in the mainland.³⁴ 1955 was characterized by silence on the border issue, while Chinese military strength in the region grew. In 1956, India finally broke the silence, and Nehru warned that Indian border guards were instructed to defend against

³² Mulik, 74.

³³ Gopal, Ram, *India China Tibet Triangle* (Rajendra Shukla. Lucknow: 1964), 76.

³⁴ Stahnke, Arthur A. "The Place of International Law in Chinese Strategy and Tactics: The Case of the Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1970. 30: 1, 96.

intrusions.³⁵ China agreed to stop sending troops in Wu-je until the dispute was settled.

Yet, between the years of 1956 and 1958, no settlement could be achieved. Exasperated, Nehru wrote a letter to Chou En-Lai dated 1958 that read, “Our boundaries [with Tibet] were quite clear and were not a matter of argument. You were good enough to reply to me [in regard to the 1954 meeting on inaccurate maps] that these maps were really reproductions of old pre-liberation maps and that you had had not time to revise them.”³⁶ He was referencing the November Memorandum, which stated (p.104), “The Chinese Government has not yet undertaken a survey of China’s boundary, nor consulted with the countries concerned and... it will not make changes in the boundary on its own.”

This was patently false. Over the next year, Chou En-lai put forward a wealth of maps, each pushing the border further inside traditional Indian territory. The Chinese discussed the boundary shifting as a “rectification of unequal treaties.” Mankekar describes this as “cartographic aggression.”³⁷ There is a well-documented history of Chinese maps extending the Sino claim to land in India. Mulik talks about Chou En-lai’s letter of 1960, in which the border was pushed even further west and south than the map proposed in 1956 after the Wu-je incident.³⁸ He also attributes to Chou’s government, “classic instances of deliberate vagueness indulged in by the

³⁵ Stahnke, 97.

³⁶ Gopal, 102.

³⁷ Mankekar, 15.

³⁸ Mulik, 306.

Chinese while defining their various shifting lines with a view to exploit it for future maneuvers on the ground^{39,22}

For many years, the British maps showed the lines proposed by Johnson.⁴⁰ These were by far the most ambitious claim ever set forth by the British or Indian governments, and were largely replaced after the Simla conference. This is the basic area of discrepancy in the cartographic record of the British.

The cartographic record of China, on the other hand, is messy at best, and rather than being based in history, deliberately flies in the face of historical documentation. In the words of Nehru, “The Government of China... not only [does] not accept incontrovertible facts, but disregards major frontier agreements by untenable interpretations of their terms or by questioning their validity.”⁴¹

The Sino-Indian border can be divided into three areas: The Eastern, Middle, and Western Sectors. The Eastern Sector⁴² includes Monyul, Loyal and Lower Tsayul. These areas are commonly referred to as Arunachal Pradesh or NEFA (the North East Frontier Agency), with an especially important area known as Tawang contained within. The Chinese argument solely cites a letter from a Raja chief about “friendly relations between the Government of India and our Lhasa Government” to show Tibetan rule.⁴³ India, conversely, cites ten separate documents stating the historical Indian jurisdiction up to the McMahon Line. One of these documents is the Tibet-Ladakh Agreement of 1684*.⁴⁴ The Dogra – Ladakh engagement of 1842

³⁹ Mulik, 253.

⁴⁰ Lamb, 84.

⁴¹ Stahnke, 109.

⁴² See Map 2.

⁴³ Gopal, 123, 125-6.

* Some sources refer to this as an 1683 treaty, while others use 1684 or 1687 as the date.

confirmed the boundary.⁴⁵ The treaty was further re-affirmed by notes exchanged between the British and the Chinese in 1846 and 1847. Another British note dated 1899 re-stated British ownership of Aksai Chin.

As for the Middle Sector⁴⁶, Gopal writes, “Unlike the Indian side, the Chinese side did not produce any documentary material to support their claim, but seemed to believe that their critical examination of the Indian material suggesting its refutation would be enough proof in their favour.⁴⁷” The middle sector is defined by no major official treaties, but has been under Indian administration since the late 17th Century.⁴⁸

The Western Sector⁴⁹ is in the Indian area known as Ladakh. Aksai Chin is on the western frontier. Alastair Lamb tells that in the Western Sector, the “extent of Chinese claims seem to increase slightly from time to time.⁵⁰” The main delineation of the Western Sector is the Simla Convention. On the Chinese side, the boundary is demarcated in an 1877 map by a man named Walker.⁵¹ India insists that Walker drew the line where he believed the water-parting was, but because he had never visited the area and knew nothing about it, he mistakenly drew it into Indian territory.

India puts forth very strong case⁵² for her claim to the boundaries, noting historical documents and clearly defined maps. The Chinese case rests almost entirely on the refutation of the Indian case. Mulik’s memoir explains, “The Chinese would point to an area of an antiquated map to define the border, but would reject the border

⁴⁴ See Appendix A.

⁴⁵ Lamb, 11.

⁴⁶ See Map 4, showing the entire Northern Frontier.

⁴⁷ Gopal, 129.

⁴⁸ Lamb, 11.

⁴⁹ See Map 3.

⁵⁰ Lamb, 7.

⁵¹ Gopal, 169.

outlined in other areas of the map.⁵² He goes on to write that the Chinese were exploiting the fact that the line was not physically drawn on the ground to create an impression that the border did not exist at all. However, there was a demarcation put in place in 1892.⁵³ The Chinese had erected a boundary pillar at the summit of the Karakoram Range. Clearly, at this time, the Chinese believed this to be the border between India and Tibet.

China's tack is that the border between the two countries was never historically delimited, and that it must follow the traditional lines set in place by cultural similarity and the tax records of Lhasa. Here, the Chinese argument is confounded by the question of Tibet's nationhood. If cultural continuity is to be used as the argument for Chinese rule beyond the high watershed, then one must recognize that the culture of these people is similar to those who reside in Lhasa, and is extremely dissimilar from Han Chinese. Similarly, if the tax record is used, then China must acknowledge that Lhasa was a government capable of taxing its people without any permission from the Chinese powers, and their tax records are permissible as evidence of their border, then the "One China" policy fails to ring true. Still, to say that a government's tax records are conclusive, but to negate the treaties in which they have entered into to define their border is duplicitous.

In 1959, Chou En-lai sent a letter to the Indian ambassador in China stating that the entire border had not be historically delimited and that it must be negotiated.⁵⁴ Nehru's response was that China was "contesting the facts of history."

⁵² Mulik, 250, 257.

⁵³ Lamb, 48.

⁵⁴ Mulik, 259-60.

Chou fired back that he understood the existence of the McMahon Line, but that it was an illegal boundary set up by British colonialists seeking more power in Asia. He claimed solidarity with India in that both countries were victims of “imperialist aggression” which should cause them to view the border in the same way, as a relic of said aggression.⁵⁵ Chou claimed that where understanding was in order, Nehru was trying to use Britain’s illegal oppression to his advantage. China defined the entire Simla Conference as “an important step taken by Britain in its design to detach Tibet from China.”⁵⁶ Nehru asked China why they did not bring up the border question in the 1954 agreement⁵⁷. Chou En-Lai responded that “conditions were not yet ripe,” and admitted that the Chinese had “had no time to study the border question.” Later, on December 8, 1959, Chou En-lai wrote a letter to Nehru claiming 50,000 square miles of previously Indian territory.⁵⁸ In an additional embarrassment, China completed the construction of a road in Aksai Chin in 1957, without the Indian Government’s knowledge. There was no official Indian statement on the road until 1959.

The map war continued into 1960. A February 12th note from New Delhi referenced one of China’s own maps to prove the Indian case. An official Chinese Postal map published in 1917 showed the McMahon Line to be the boundary between India and Tibet.⁵⁹ As Mulik puts it, “Most of India’s case could be proved from the Chinese maps and material produced by the Chinese themselves.”⁶⁰ China failed to

⁵⁵ Stahnke, 103.

⁵⁶ Gopal, 106.

⁵⁷ Mankekar, 16.

⁵⁸ Mankekar, 18, 26-7.

⁵⁹ Gopal, 116.

⁶⁰ Mulik, 278.

respond to the existence of this map, citing in retaliation a 1958 map by British scholar John Bartholomew that denotes the boundary under the qualification “Disputed Area.”⁶¹ Of course, there was no question of the fact that there was a border dispute between the two countries as of 1958. The use of this map by the Chinese as evidence of their claim on the land is circular reasoning, and renders logic useless in examining it.

Tensions continued to rise between the leaders of the two countries. Essentially, the only border upon which the two could agree was the one between Tibet and a small, Indian-controlled state called Sikkim, which was chosen in 1890.⁶² In 1960, China and Burma were able to resolve their border, which they defined along the McMahon line drawn out in Simla.⁶³ In 1961, China used the high watershed principle to divide Nepal and China, which is the same method used to mark the line between Sikkim and China. It seemed that everywhere, China was solving border disputes, and, in many cases, was willing to use the exact same types of lines and demarcations with other countries that she was unwilling to use with India. In the Indian dispute, neither side would make any concessions along what her proposed border was. The tension broke in 1962, when true hostilities began.

The Sino-Indian War

The Sino-Indian war is one of the more embarrassing events of India’s past. They were handily defeated by the Chinese, who used their superior military might to show who was truly in control at the negotiating table. Mankekar’s book, *The Guilty*

⁶¹ Gopal, 116.

⁶² Lamb, 48.

⁶³ Mulik, 92.

Men of 1987, provides one of the most comprehensive views of this war. Mankekar suggests that the Chinese easily defeated India because of superior intelligence.⁶⁴ Chinese spies actually infiltrated groups of Tibetan refugees crossing into India, and remained in the disputed regions to examine the land. India, during this time, detected multiple incursions to Indian airspace, which were presumably Chinese reconnaissance missions to photograph the topography. The Indians counted 102 Chinese airspace violations between 1950 and 1960. The aircraft were known to be taking off from Lhasa. Not only had the Chinese quickly seen to the construction of air bases in Lhasa, but they also had an estimated 200,000 troops stationed in Tibet.

All this served to make Nehru quite nervous. Earlier, because of its policy of non-alignment, India felt safe, and the army lost funding. Military training, equipment, troop numbers – each lagged behind as Nehru tried to focus the Indian economy elsewhere.⁶⁵ After the Second World War, India was under the impression that nuclear deterrence would prevent *all* war. By 1960, it was becoming more and more apparent that armed conflict was looming close.

In March of 1960, China made an economic aid agreement with Nepal. The Chinese Government began to build roads into Nepal. Mulik concludes that China was attempting to convince Nepal that she was no longer economically dependent upon India, and was wooing her away from allegiance with India.⁶⁶ Beyond this, India began seeing signs of Chinese encroachment on the border, and in March of 1961, began preparing for war. Between 1959 and 1961, China had “annexed over

⁶⁴ Mankekar, xi, 20, 23, 14.

⁶⁵ Mankekar, 2-3.

⁶⁶ Mulik, 92, 309-10.

2,000 square miles of territory in Northern Ladakh.⁶⁷ Considering this, it is surprising that the war began as late as it did. A December 1961 note from New Delhi showed Nehru growing impatient and hostile.⁶⁸ He wrote that it “ill-behooves the Chinese Government to ask the government of India to desist from taking measures to safeguard its territorial integrity.” He goes on to suggest a Chinese military withdrawal to allow negotiations to take place.

Still antagonizing Nehru, on May 3rd, 1962, China and Pakistan began discussions on aligning the Indian border, a process which New Delhi, of course, protested as illegal.⁶⁹ It was later in 1962 that India initiated the “Forward Policy.”⁷⁰ The idea was to establish posts both North and South of the Chinese position in an attempt to cut off supplies to these positions. China was mired in the disastrous aftermath of the Great Leap Forward and at the same time was dealing with the threat of a Taiwanese invasion and a war-by-proxy in Laos. Because of these factors, on June 26th, Lt. General Kaul wrote that, despite the Chinese infantry build-up, “I am convinced that the Chinese will not attack any of our positions, even if they are relatively weaker than theirs.”⁷¹ General Cariappa, rather than surmising on whether or not China would attack, looked at the situation more practically. He believed that war would be disastrous for the Indian army, because no troops could be spared from the fighting in Kashmir⁷². Beyond that, Indian troops were neither trained nor equipped for high-altitude combat.

⁶⁷ Mulik, 312.

⁶⁸ Stahnke, 115.

⁶⁹ Mankekar, 26.

⁷⁰ Malone, David and Mukherjee, Rohan. “India and China: Conflict and Cooperation.” *Survival*, 2010. 52: 1, 140.

⁷¹ Mankekar, 40.

⁷² Mulik, 80.

Though the first shots had been fired in 1959, when Chinese troops fired upon an Indian position in the Kongka Pass, it was the Forward Policy that was the beginning of the 1962 war.⁷³ Beijing, as a reaction to the forward policy, issued a 30-day ultimatum to India to desist from moving into what they considered to be Chinese territory.⁷⁴ When Nehru refused to withdraw, the PLA easily destroyed the Indian troops stationed along the border.

The quick defeat had shaken Nehru. He had realized that his military prowess was not equal to that of China, but it was inconceivable that China had dislodged his armies so easily. New Delhi offered to allow the Aksai Chin road to continue to exist for civilian use only, if hostilities could be ended.⁷⁵ China wanted more. Chou En-lai was prepared to accommodate India along the NEFA border if India would accept the actual line of control in Ladakh. According to Mankekar, this was “a proposal that should have made sense to any realist.” Nehru, however, rejected it because of popular pressure not to yield to Chinese aggression. He told a protest that had gathered outside of his house that he vowed to preserve for India what was India’s.

It was not until August 17th that Indian troops were actually authorized to fire at Chinese troops when fired upon.⁷⁶ It did little good. China used a military technique in which it would strike unexpectedly until India was ready to defend, but then would call a ceasefire. They would merely beat back the Indian army, and then withdraw entirely from an area before the Indian army could focus its forces on the area. Thupten Samphel (*Thup bsdan Bsam phel*), the Secretary of the Department of

⁷³ Maxwell, 1981. 1547.

⁷⁴ Robinson, 511, 513.

⁷⁵ Mankekar, 25, 31.

⁷⁶ Mankekar, 41.

Information and International Relations (DIIR) in the Tibetan Government in-exile, believes that China “felt that keeping Indian territory was not sustainable, so they withdrew.”⁷⁷ China believed that the local people might revolt against their rule. It is because of this fear of local people favoring the Indian government that anti-Indian propaganda was spread throughout Tibet at the time.⁷⁸ Upon the military capture of Tawang, the Chinese employed their Silver Dollar Campaign for the short time they were there. This was a campaign familiar to Tibetans, in which the Chinese Government shamelessly handed out Silver Dollars to civilians to literally buy their affections and increase Chinese popularity.

Mankekar describes the Sino-Indian war as a “war in which everything went awry for India.”⁷⁹ According to General Kaul, Indian equipment was defective and the Indian army was ill prepared for mountain warfare. A lack of intelligence stopped India from using the air force for support because they had exaggerated the Chinese ability to retaliate in the air. The U.S., Britain and Australia had begun to offer India military aid just before the Chinese called a ceasefire.

The November 1962 ceasefire was entirely to the Chinese advantage. It allowed China to pose as though it merely defended its borders, and kept them from losing their military advantage in the snows that would disrupt communication and perhaps could even the odds between the two militaries.⁸⁰ On December 10th through December 12th, 1962, the six “non-aligned nations” of Ceylon, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, UAR and Ghana held a conference with the intent of promoting a ceasefire

⁷⁷ Thupten Samphel, Interview 17/04/10

⁷⁸ Mulik, 324, 339.

⁷⁹ Mankekar, 74, 76, 88.

⁸⁰ Mankekar, 88.

and peaceful negotiation between China and India.⁸¹ The Chinese first acknowledged the need for the Colombo Conference and claimed a “positive response” to the idea of a resolution.⁸² The Colombo proposals went on to state that regardless of the quibble about history, ~~that~~ the McMahon Line was the line of actual control, and because of this it was the most appropriate boundary. At that revelation, China no longer acknowledged the Colombo Six to be a valid international body capable of resolving the conflict.

The Colombo Conferences represent the closest the situation has ever come to a resolution. Though the violence along the Sino-Indian border has stopped, it remains undefined and a constant source of tension between the two most populous nations on the earth. The person who is usually singled out and blamed for the conflict and the war that ensued is Nehru. Mankekar sums up Nehru’s view in his quote, “Jawaharlal Nehru had convinced himself and his country that in the post-War nuclear era, with the United Nations keeping law and order in the world, war was not only outmoded but had ceased to be an instrument of policy, and that personal diplomacy was the new instrument.”⁸³ Nehru’s policy was doubtlessly flawed. Yet, a new administration for India did not mean that the problems of the old administration would disappear. The border conflict promised to be an Asian problem for years to come.

Present

⁸¹ Mulik, 464.

⁸² Mankekar, 94.

⁸³ Mankekar, 106.

The Sino-Indian border debate is a persistent one. It is over 50 years old, now, and there is little being done in the modern arena to see its resolution. Today, China has amicably settled almost every one of its disputed borders with the exception of India.⁸⁴ Its problem with the Indian border runs deeper than just the political gerrymandering of a line. Robinson agrees, giving his opinion in his book *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*: “Chinese leaders tend to internalize a sense of historical resentment at the raw deal which history has given them. The resentment often translates into a claim of entitlement upon others.”⁸⁵ This resentment led to their claim upon a helpless Tibet. It is this sense of bullying that keeps them in conflict with India. Upon India’s acceptance of Tibet as a part of China, China immediately challenged India in other territorial arenas, as if to find how far they could push into Indian territory without resistance.

China pushing into Indian territory has already led to war once. It will not be altogether surprising if war should break out again. Data taken by Stephen Kocs between 1945 and 1987 in his study for College of the Holy Cross suggests that the best way to determine whether or not war will occur is the existence of disputed territory.⁸⁶ The international legal bodies have inhibited the use of wars for territorial gain since World War II, and so the main cause of war since 1945 has been territorial dispute. In fact, war is over 3,300 percent more likely between two states that have a border dispute that has never been resolved than for two states that have well-defined boundaries.

⁸⁴ Banyan. “From the Charm to the Offensive.” *The Economist*, January 9, 2010. 29.

⁸⁵ Robinson, 44.

⁸⁶ Kocs, Stephen. “Territorial Disputes and Interstate War 1945-1987.” *The Journal of Politics*, 1995. 57:1, 159.

Recent years have marked an acceptance of the fact that the border is not delimited. In 1992 Chinese legislation began to permit trade with India through the border, though it remained unresolved.⁸⁷ Still, this is not to say that this acceptance of reality is complacent. Emotions still run high over the ambiguity of the border.

Trade between India and China was worth \$38 Billion in 2007.⁸⁸ And so, economically, China and India can be seen to be allies. This is the reason for the pragmatic decision in 1992 to allow transit through the border, though it is still a matter of severe discord between the two nations. Militarily, the two are caught in an arms race that is similar to a modern-day cold war.

India has, since 1962, drastically increased its defense spending and military capability.⁸⁹ In 1964, China completed their first nuclear test. Ten years later, India finally began her first.⁹⁰ Again, India in 1998 held nuclear tests. The prime minister told President Clinton that Chinese aggression was the main reason.⁹¹

The amount of disputed territory is incredibly large. Other than Himachal Pradesh and Utter Pradesh, the main dispute is over 16,000 square miles of uninhabited territory in Ladakh, as well as 35,000 square miles of NEFA, which is populated throughout.⁹² The Ladakhi territory may be uninhabited, but it has traditionally been used for mining in the rich salt mines there.

Now, in the absence of actual violence, a political contest is constantly being held for control over the areas. In 2008 the Indian Prime Minister, Singh, visited

⁸⁷ Robinson, 466.

⁸⁸ Malone, 144.

⁸⁹ Mulik, 480.

⁹⁰ Malone, 138, 142.

⁹¹ Maxwell, Neville. "Sino-Indian Border Dispute Reconsidered." *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 10, 1999. 905.

⁹² Mulik, 96.

Arunachal Pradesh, infuriating the Chinese.⁹³ The Indian side often uses its *de facto* control over the area to needle the Chinese, or at least just to demonstrate its inclusion on the Indian side of the border. One place in which this is especially evident is in Tawang.

Tawang lies in Arunachal Pradesh, just below the McMahon Line. There is an extremely important Buddhist monastery there, which is the birthplace of the Sixth Dalai Lama. The Chinese claim Tawang because the sixth Dalai Lama was born there.⁹⁴ Yet, somehow, recognition of Dalai Lama as Tibet's central figure does not translate into the recognition of Tibet as a separate entity from China. Tawang lies in the foothills south of the Himalayas, below the high watershed line. Guruswamy writes, "Any claim that they [the Chinese] might have on the Tawang Tract is rendered invalid in the sense that it becomes a geographical anachronism," referencing the distance from Mainland China and the high watershed.⁹⁵ Because of the *de facto* boundary on the McMahon line, Tawang lies squarely within India.

The holiness of the Tawang temple has prompted the Dalai Lama to visit on multiple occasions. Most recently, he visited on November 8, 2009. The Chinese government protested loudly. According to the *Tibetan Review*, "For India, permitting the visit was an act of asserting its sovereignty over the territory." The Chinese powers were not impressed. A Chinese international newspaper said that India proved it had not "learned [*sic*] its lessons from [the] 1962 war" in allowing the Dalai Lama

⁹³ Malone, 144.

⁹⁴ Akester, Matthew. Interview 15/04/2010.

⁹⁵ Guruswamy, 4103.

to visit Arunachal Pradesh.⁹⁶ The Minister of the State of External Affairs, Sashi Tharoor, called this charge “silly” and went on to say, “We are not woefully prepared as we were in 1962, and such language will not help.” Though the Chinese government has claimed Tawang since the 1950s, the fact that they are not supported by Tawang locals keeps their claim at bay. During the Sino-Indian war, they had actually occupied Tawang for a short time, threatening Calcutta as the next target, but they quickly disembarked back across the McMahon Line.

Though the Dalai Lama usually refrains from making any political commentary, he stated “My stand that Tawang is an integral part of India has not changed.”⁹⁷ Including this 2009 visit, the Dalai Lama has visited Tawang five times since coming into exile, in 1983, 1997, and twice in 2003. This recent visit was the first time the Chinese Government protested. Assuredly, from this point onward, it will not let such visits go by uncontested.

Though India controls most of the area that is claimed, China’s clout in the area is unparalleled. The Chinese Government feels free to use that clout to pressure India in ways other than open military aggression. Since the late ‘50s, China has exercised a policy of isolating India by befriending India’s land neighbors. Mankekar notes that around the 1962 war, China was making a “special effort to cultivate Nepal” with money, trade agreements, and promises of development and the training

⁹⁶ Thinley, Pema: Editor. “India Rejects Chinese Charge on Dalai Lama in Arunachal.” *The Tibetan Review*. December, 2009. 25.

⁹⁷ Thinley, Pema: Editor. “Dalai Lama’s Tawang Revisit Emotional.” *The Tibetan Review*. December, 2009. 24.

of technicians.⁹⁸ At this time, Nepal and China also came to their border agreement, which placed the once bitterly contested Everest peak inside Nepal.

China was also clearly trying to isolate India when it befriended Burma in 1959.⁹⁹ On India's west side lies Pakistan. Sino-Pakistani relations are impeccable, and China is always quick to defend Pakistan whenever her border and India's come into question. In 1965, Chou En-Lai went so far as to promise to open a front with Sikkim if India did not desist in their bid for Kashmir. Now, forty-five percent of Kashmir is in India's control. Pakistan holds about 35 percent, and the remaining twenty percent is occupied by China.¹⁰⁰ Still, despite China's "strategic markers of encirclement," India continues to support Chinese policies such as the One China policy.¹⁰¹

China has between 300 thousand and 500 thousand troops stationed in Tibet, the vast majority of them lining the Indian border.¹⁰² There are fourteen military airfields in Tibet being used by China. There are 8 missile bases with an impressive range of missiles capable of reaching Indian targets. Beyond this, the Tibetan rail project poses a serious threat for India.¹⁰³ It would allow for the easy movement of Chinese troops directly to the Indian border. Ecologically, the dumping of nuclear waste in Tibet has the potential to pollute Indian rivers. It is little-known that China uses Tibet as a dumping grounds for nuclear waste. But, the fact is, China actually offers to sell Uranium to countries, and as a further incentive, promises to take back

⁹⁸ Mankekar, 32-33.

⁹⁹ Mulik, 268.

¹⁰⁰ Thinley, Pema: Editor. "China Denies but Takes Up Kashmir Cause." *The Tibetan Review*. December, 2009. 26.

¹⁰¹ Malone, 138, 145.

¹⁰² "Tibet and Indian Security." Tibetan Youth Congress Pamphlet. McLeod Ganj:2010.

¹⁰³ "Tibet and Indian Security." Tibetan Youth Congress Pamphlet. McLeod Ganj:2010.

the waste, which most countries do not know what to do with.¹⁰⁴ Whether or not China is respecting international standards for how to deal with nuclear waste is anybody's guess, as the entire Tibet area is not open to survey or inspection.

Again, Tibet proves to be at the heart of the entire conflict. Though it is an oft-overlooked fact, there simply would be no border issues between China and India were Tibet still to exist. Yet, without Tibet functioning in its colonialist-era role as a buffer state, two of the major powers in Asia have now collided, and the friction on the border remains a concern for the entire continent.

The Tibet Issue

The “One-China Policy” utilized by China is a direct response to the natural questions that arise from the country's occupation of Tibet. Any country that enters into any type of agreement or relationship with China must first accept the terms of the One-China Policy. Tibet proves to be an insecurity for the massive country, even 50 years after full Chinese occupation took place.

The Issue of Tibet is, similarly, still close to India's heart. Indian Parliamentarian Arun Shaurie stated that “India's security is inextricably tied up in the existence and survival of Tibet as a buffer state.¹⁰⁵” It was a major failing of Nehru's to let Tibet be taken over by a powerful nation like China. When the British left India to become an independent nation in 1947, India was faced with a choice: to continue playing the Great Game, or to become the little brother of a better-established state. Nehru did neither. The result was a war that left India, and Indian

¹⁰⁴ Lhasang Tsering, Interview 24/04/10.

¹⁰⁵ Malone, 138, 146.

pride, badly bruised. Now, India finds itself surrounded by countries with grudges against it, and nearly no strong allies. Putting Tibet's role in Sino-Indian relations in even stronger terms, Indian analyst P.C. Chakravarti said, "Any strong expansionist power, entrenched in Tibet, holds in its hands a loaded pistol aimed at the heart of India."¹⁰⁶ Nehru had deluded himself into thinking that the Chinese intrusion into Lhasa, despite the bloody evidence, was "grossly exaggerated," and "more a clash of wills at present than a clash of arms or physical bodies."¹⁰⁷ His deliberate ignorance of the facts came with a heavy price not only for Tibetans, but later, in 1962, for India as well.

As for the Tibetan community, many of those exiled currently live in India. Tibet has set up an entire government-in-exile to handle Tibetan affairs and to keep the Tibetan identity alive. Tsewang Rigzin (*Tse dbang Rig 'zhin*), the leader of one of the bodies of the government, the Tibetan Youth Congress, disagrees with any kind of discussion on the border conflict, because he believes China does not have the authority to discuss the Tibetan border issue with the Indian government.¹⁰⁸ However, in the Department of Information and International Relations, the leaders agree, "mutual suspicion is hampering the speedy resolution of the issue of Tibet," and believe that a calm, amicable and well-reasoned approach to the disputed border will bring about a better outcome for Tibet and Tibetan people.¹⁰⁹

But this approach, which assumes the humanitarian agenda will be carried out, is considered by some to be unrealistic. A very simple, honest view on the issue of

¹⁰⁶ Malone, 138, 140.

¹⁰⁷ Mankekar, 109.

¹⁰⁸ Tsewang Rigzin. Interview 29/04/2010.

¹⁰⁹ Thupten Samphel, Interview 17/4/2010.

Tibet was put forth by Giri Lal Jain at the conference held at the Indian International Centre on October third, 1965. Jain said, “The Tibetan issue is far from closed, and will not be solved till either of two conditions are fulfilled: 1) Tibet becomes independent again or 2) the Tibetan people are really swamped by Han immigration.”¹¹⁰ The latter of the two is being realized in Tibet today. According to Tsewang Rigzin, Chinese policies are very clear in their intent to destroy Tibet and Tibetan people. Every day the railway is used to bring more Han Chinese into Tibet, and returns, taking Tibet’s natural resources back to the mainland.

China’s political history in Tibet begins roughly in 1720, when Manchu forces rescued the 13th Dalai Lama from Dzangor Tribesmen, and place him back in Lhasa.¹¹¹ Since then, Chinese representatives have continuously been present in Lhasa. Yet, it was not until the beginning of the 20th Century that the Chinese made any attempt to directly control and administer Tibet. Gopal notes in his book *India China Tibet Triangle* that Tibet had enjoyed the right to sign treaties for 300 years before 1950, and dealt directly with neighbors on border issues.¹¹² He cites not only the 1684 treaty with Ladakh, but also an 1856 Tibetan treaty with Nepal, recognized by the People’s Government of China.

In Chou En-lai’s own words in a 1959 note to the Indian Embassy in China, he claims territory below the McMahon line because “in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the fifth Dalai Lama unified Tibet,” Tibet had exercised

¹¹⁰ “A New Policy for Tibet.” Conference held at Indian International Centre, October 3rd, 1965.

¹¹¹ Lamb, 28.

¹¹² Gopal, 117.

jurisdiction over the areas.¹¹³ This is a plain acknowledgement of the leadership of the Dalai Lama and the uninhibited governmental rule of Tibet by Tibetans.

But Tibet would not survive without the British to support them against the growing Chinese power. On October the 7th, 1950, China invaded Tibet for the first time after Tibet had declared its independence.¹¹⁴ Though it was Britain that helped Tibet to declare its independence from China in 1914, after China had invaded, the British blocked Tibet's humanitarian and political case against the Chinese from being heard in the U.N.¹¹⁵ Sadly, because Tibet is a small nation far removed from the hotbeds of political scheming, a nation that was disinterested in war and power struggle, no country found it politically necessary to come forward in Tibet's defense. Yet, without having ever been politically involved itself, Tibet could be the key to peace throughout Asia.

Analysis

The situation surrounding the border between India and China is simply a matter of *Realpolitik*. Morality, idealism, and justice play no part in the interactions between the two nations. It is merely guided by the principles of national interest.

China claims areas beyond the high water line because it is in her interest to do so, not because of any historical record. China is an extremely powerful nation, but the government of China is consistent in showing their discomfort with their place on the international stage and their need to assert themselves. "In the case of Vietnam," Neville Maxwell, a China scholar who leans heavily in the favor of China

¹¹³ Gopal, 120.

¹¹⁴ Ghosh, 24.

¹¹⁵ Mulik, 79.

in the border case, writes, “China, under Deng Xiaoping’s leadership, used a trivial boundary dispute as a pretext for an attack intended to teach a lesson – the lesson being that Chinese Hegemony must be accepted.¹¹⁶” Though Maxwell admits that the Chinese acted irresponsibly and irrationally in the Vietnam case, he claims that this is a singular black mark on China’s foreign policy record. Yet, he uses the word “hegemony,” meaning absolute dominion over *all* countries in a region. It follows, then, that China would have to repeat this action elsewhere in South Asia, in order to teach its lesson of unquestioned dominance. India is a prime candidate to be a recipient of the Chinese “educational aggression,” as it is the only economic and military force in South Asia that rivals China in any way.

China’s record shows that she is aggressive on almost every border that she has, including in the ocean. China has more contiguous countries than any other in the world. Laos has the only land border with China that has never been disputed.¹¹⁷ One can assume that the only reason for a country not to have a disputed border with China is acceptance of subjugation under Chinese hegemony. The one exception to this rule may be Russia, as the Sino-Russo border was delimited around the time that the U.S.S.R. was a world power second to none.

It is capricious of the Chinese to assert that there is no historical delimitation of the border between Tibet and India, then to try to bring historical evidence to the table. China suggested that they owned the areas of dispute because they had collected taxes in these areas, suppressed revolts, and defended the frontier

¹¹⁶ Maxwell, 1999. 906.

¹¹⁷ Robinson, 352-3.

militarily.¹¹⁸ In this, they mean that Lhasa had collected taxes, suppressed revolts, and that it was the Tibetan Army that had responded to frontier questions. The McMahon Line was accepted by Tibetans while they were autonomous and able to enter into treaties. And, at the time of the Simla Convention, it was not the McMahon Line that China objected to, only the definition of Tibet as autonomous under suzerainty.

Maxwell goes on to say that China was prepared to live with the McMahon line, but that Indian over-reaching in other sectors caused them not to have an accord.¹¹⁹ Yet, if China was prepared to accept the McMahon line and a fair boundary in other areas, then Beijing should have consented to the terms of the Colombo proposals. It was not because of an unfair Indian claim that a deal has not been struck between India and China. It is because China is posturing in a way that allows them to protest that they are not aggressing, while India stares down the barrel of her gun. China purposefully avoids reconciliation to keep the boundary question open. In this, China is able to slowly gain more territory; she backs down her only legitimate hegemonic challenge, and is gaining a foothold in the Himalayas, ensuring military dominance in South Asia.

China's relationship with Pakistan exists only to divide Indian attention and aggravate India militarily. The Sino-Pakistani relationship has existed since the 1960s. Robinson speculates that is a mutually-beneficial relationship which China uses to counter India and which Pakistan uses to ensure protection.¹²⁰

Now, India is caught between two pincers, Pakistan on one side and Chinese Tibet on the other. Lhasang Tsering said on the two borders: "India has more at stake

¹¹⁸ Stahnke, 113.

¹¹⁹ Maxwell, 1981. 1547.

¹²⁰ Robinson, 386.

in Tibet's future than Tibetans.¹²¹” He calls the border a “cancerous wound” that is bleeding India's economy. One third of the Indian defense budget is spent on Tibet. Another third goes to the border with Pakistan. Were the border tensions to take a course for war, India would simply be out-gunned and over-exhausted by the two fronts.

Maxwell tells that it was Indian propaganda that made it out to be Chinese aggression that started the 1962 war.¹²² This is unfounded. India had no desire to come into any conflict with China whatsoever; her military as poorly equipped as it was and untrained to fight in high altitudes. Though Indian generals may have thought that they could meet Chinese aggression, as an aggressor they knew they had no chance. Maxwell's accusation is also inconsistent with accounts of Nehru both personally and as a politician, and diverges from the facts about the 1962 war and the events preceding it.

Still, with all the antagonism between India and China, and despite the failure of a policy of appeasement in the past, India treads carefully when it comes to China. When China reacted to the Dalai Lama's visit in Tawang, a senior official in India said, “Keeping the sensitivity of the area, we've advised His Holiness to amend his programme.”¹²³ India asked that he change his public address scheduled for November 12th to a religious discourse, and restricted press permits to the area. India has proven that it is still wary of Chinese disapproval of the Dalai Lama.

¹²¹ Lhasang Tsering, Interview 24/04/10.

¹²² Maxwell, 1981. 1548.

¹²³ Thinley, Pema: Editor. “India Restricts Dalai Lama, Media, After China's Outburst.” *The Tibetan Review*. December, 2009. 26.

There seems to be no key to a peaceful agreement on the border issue. “There is no question of ‘if,’” Lhasang Tsering said, passion flowing from him as he talked about the nation that occupied Tibet and took his homeland from him, China, “will not [come to a resolution on the border], because it’s not in China’s interest to do so.”¹²⁴ He felt Chinese aggression in Tibet; he knew firsthand what China’s ambitions meant for countries that were in its way. And it seems ~~that~~ that this land that China has occupied and is in the process of systematically destroying, the revival of this nation could be the only way to create harmony in south Asia. In the words of Lhasang Tsering, “The issue of Tibet is not just about Tibetans. It is about the roof of the world. It’s about peace between India and China.”¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Lhasang Tsering, Interview 24/04/10.

¹²⁵ Lhasang Tsering, Interview 24/04/10.

APPENDIX A

Ladakh-Tibet Peace Treaty of 1684*

The Drukpa (red sect) Omniscient Lama, named Mcephanwagpo, who in his former incarnations had always been the patron Lama of the kings of Ladakh, from generation to generation, was sent from Lhasa to Tashis-gang, to arrange the conditions or a treaty of peace—for the Ladakh king could never refuse to abide by the decision of the Omniscient One.

It was agreed as follows:

- (1) The boundaries fixed, in the beginning, when king Skyid-Ida ngeerma gave a kingdom to each of his three sons, shall be maintained.
- (2) Only Ladakhis shall be permitted to enter into the Ngarees-khor-sum wool trade.
- (3) No person from Ladakh, except the royal trader, the Ladakh Court, shall be permitted to enter Rudock.
- (4) A royal trader shall be sent by the Deywa Zhung (i.e., the Grand Lama of Lhasa), from Lhasa to Ladakh, once a year, with 200 horse-loads of tea.
- (5) A “Lo-chak” shall be sent every third year from Leh to Lhasa with presents. As regards the quality and value of presents brought for all ordinary Lamas, the matter is of no consequence, but the Labrang Chhakdzot shall be given the following articles, viz:
 - (a) Gold dust—the weight of 1 zho 10 times.
 - (b) Saffron—the weight of 1 srang (or thoor srang)
 - (c) Yarkhand cotton cloths—6 pieces
 - (d) Thin cotton cloth—1 piece.

The members of the Lapchak Mission shall be provided with provisions, free of cost, during their stay at Lhasa, and for the journey they shall be similarly provided with 200 baggage animals, 25 riding ponies, and 10 servants.

* This treaty was signed after a war between Ladakh and Tibet.

APPENDIX B

Peace Treaty Between the Ruler of Jammu, the Emperor of China and the lama Guru of Lhasa (1842)

As on this auspicious day, the 2nd of Assuj, Sambat 1899 (16th or 17th September 1842 A.D.) we, the officers of the Lhasa (Government), Kalon of Soka and Bakshi Shajpuh, Commander of the Forces and two officers on behalf of the most resplendent Sri Khalsaji Sahib, the asylum of the world, King Sher Singhji and Sri Maharaj Sahib Raja-i-Rajagan Raja Sahib Bahadur Raja Gulab Singhji i.e., the Muktar-ud-Daula Diwan, Hari Chand and the asylum of vizirs, Vizir Ratnun, in a meeting called together for the promotion of peace and unity, and by professions and vows of friendship, unity and sincerity of heart and by taking oaths like those of Kunjak Sahib, have arranged and agreed that relations of peace, friendship, and unity between Sri Khalsaji and Sri Maharaj Sahib Bahdur Raja Gulab Singhji, and the Emperor of China and the Lama Guru of Lhasa will hence forward remain firmly established for ever; and we declare in the presence of the Kunjak Sahib that on no account whatsoever will there be any deviation, difference or departure from this agreement. We shall neither at present nor in future have anything to do or interfere at all with the boundaries of Ladakh and its surroundings as fixed from ancient times and will allow the annual export of wool, shawls, and tea by way of Ladakh according to the old established custom.

Should any of the opponents of Sri Sarkar Khalsaj and Sri Raja Sahib Bahadur at any time enter our territories, we shall not pay any heed to his words or allow him to remain in our country.

We shall offer no hindrance to traders of Ladakh who visit our territories. We shall not even to the extent of a hair's breadth act in contravention of the terms that we have agreed to above regarding firm friendship, unity, the fixed boundaries of Ladakh and the keeping open of the route for wool, shawls, and tea. We call Kunjak Sahib, Kairi, Lassi, Zhoh Mahan, and Khushal Choh as witnesses to this treaty.

APPENDIX C

Convention between Great Britain, China and Tibet – 1914

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Excellency the President of the Republic of China, and His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, being sincerely desirous to settle by mutual agreement various questions concerning the interest of their several States on the Continent of Asia, and further to regulate the relations of their several Governments, have resolved to conclude a Convention on this subject and have nominated for this purpose their respective Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, Knight of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department;

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China, Monsieur Ivan Chen, Officer of the Order of China HO;

His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Lonchen Ga-den Shatra Paljor Dorje; who having communicated to each other their respective full powers and finding them to be in good and due form have agreed upon and concluded the following Convention in eleven Articles: -

Article 1

The Conventions specified in the Schedule to the present Convention shall, except in so far as they may have been modified by, or may be inconsistent with or repugnant to, any of the provisions of the present Convention, continue to be binding upon the High Contracting Parties.

Article 2

The Governments of Great Britain and China recognising that Tibet is under the suzerainty of China, and recognising also the autonomy of Outer Tibet, engage to respect the territorial integrity of the country and to abstain from interference in the administration of Outer Tibet (including the selection and installation of the Dalai Lama), which shall remain in the hands of the Tibetan Government at Lhasa.

The Government of China engages not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province. The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibet or any portion of it.

Article 3

Recognising the special interest of Great Britain, in virtue of the geographical position of Tibet, in the existence of an effective Tibetan Government, and in the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbourhood of the frontiers of India and adjoining States, the Government of China engages, except as provided in Article 4 of this Convention, not to send troops into Outer Tibet, nor to station civil or military

officers, not to establish Chinese colonies in the country. Should any such troops or officials remain in Outer Tibet at the date of the signature of this Convention, they shall be withdrawn within a period not exceeding three months. The Government of Great Britain engages not to station military or civil officers in Tibet (except as provided in the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet) nor troops (except the Agent's escorts), nor to establish colonies in that country.

Article 4

The foregoing Article shall not be held to preclude the continuance of the arrangement by which, in the past, a Chinese high official with suitable escort has been maintained at Lhasa, but it is hereby provided that the said escort shall in no circumstances exceed 300 men.

Article 5

The Governments of China and Tibet engage that they will not enter into any negotiations or agreements regarding Tibet with one another, or with any other Power, excepting such negotiations and agreements between Great Britain and Tibet as are provided for by the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet and the Convention of April 27, 1906, between Great Britain and China.

Article 6

Article II of the Convention of April 27, 1906 between Great Britain and China is hereby cancelled, and it is understood that in Article IX (d) of the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet the term "Foreign Power" does not include China.

Not less favourable treatment shall be accorded to British commerce than to the commerce of China or the most favoured nation.

Article 7

(a) The Tibet Trade Regulations of 1893 and 1908 are hereby cancelled.

(b) The Tibetan Government engages to negotiate with the British Government new Trade Regulations for Outer Tibet to give effect to Articles II, IV and V of the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet without delay; provided always that such Regulations shall in no way modify the present Convention except with the consent of the Chinese Government.

Article 8

The British Agent who resides at Gyantse may visit Lhasa with his escort whenever it is necessary to consult with the Tibetan Government regarding matters arising out of the Convention of September 7, 1904, between Great Britain and Tibet, which it has been found impossible to settle at Gyantse by correspondence or otherwise.

Article 9

For the purpose of the present Convention the borders of Tibet, and the boundary between Outer and Inner Tibet, shall be as shown in red and blue respectively on the map attached hereto.

Nothing in the present Convention shall be held to prejudice the existing rights of the Tibetan Government in Inner Tibet, which include the power to select and appoint the high priests of monasteries and to retain full control in all matters affecting religious institutions.

Article 10

The English, Chinese and Tibetan texts of the present Convention have been carefully examined and found to correspond, but in the event of there being any difference of meaning between them the English text shall be authoritative.

Article 11

The present Convention will take effect from the date of signature.

In token whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Convention, three copies in English, three in Chinese and three in Tibetan.

Done at Simla this third day of July, A.D. one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, corresponding with the Chinese date, the third day of the seventh month of the third year of the Republic, and the Tibetan date, the tenth day of the fifth month of the Wood-Tiger year.

Addendum No. 1

At the page 38 of the memorandum of the Dalai Lama's Government on the International position of Tibet it has been contended that Article 1 of the Convention of 1914, which recognised Chinese suzerainty, did not come into operation and was devoid of any legal effect. This is fully substantiated by the Treaty of Ratification concluded between Great Britain and Tibet which brought into force the Convention of 1914. A copy of the English translation of the Tibetan version of the Treaty is enclosed herewith.

Treaty of Ratification between Great Britain and Tibet (English Translation)

The plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Tibet accept the following treaty.

The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Tibet will recognise and abide by the Convention already concluded.

The powers granted to China under the Convention shall not be recognised by Great Britain and Tibet until and unless the Government of China ratify the Convention.

This treaty in two copies each of English and Tibetan versions respectively have been sealed and signed on the 3rd of July, 1914 corresponding to the tenth day of the fifth month of the Wood Tiger Year.

APPENDIX D

Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet

(17-point Agreement of May 23, 1951)

The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China and, like many other nationalities, it has done its glorious duty in the course of the creation and development of the great Motherland. But, over the last 100 years or more, imperialist forces penetrated into China and in consequence also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations. Like previous reactionary Governments, the Kuomintang reactionary Government continued to carry out a policy of oppression and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan people. The local government of Tibet did not oppose the imperialist deception and provocation and adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards the great Motherland. Under such conditions the Tibetan nationality and people were lunged into the depths of enslavement and sufferings. In 1949 basic victory was achieved on a nationwide scale in the Chinese people's war of liberation; the common domestic enemy of all nationalities – the Kuomintang reactionary Government – was overthrown and the common foreign enemy of all nationalities – the aggressive imperialist forces – was driven out. On this basis the founding of the People's Republic of China (CPR) and of the CPG was announced.

In accordance with the Common Programme passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the CPG declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the CPR are equal and that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the CPR will become a big family of fraternity and co-operation, composed of all its nationalities. Within the big family of all nationalities of the CPR, national regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated and all national minorities shall have freedom to develop their spoken and written language and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs, and the CPG shall assist all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural, and educational construction work. Since then, all nationalities within the country – with the exception of those in the areas of Tibet and Taiwan – have gained liberation. Under the unified leadership of the CPG and the direct leadership of higher levels of people's governments, all national minorities have fully enjoyed the right of national equality and have exercised, or are exercising, national regional autonomy.

In order that the influences of aggressive, imperialist forces in Tibet might be successfully eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the CPR accomplished, and national defence safeguarded; in order that the Tibetan nationality and people might be freed and return to the big family of the CPR to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all other nationalities in the country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, the CPG when it ordered the People's Liberation Army (PLA) 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. At the latter part of

April, 1951 the delegates with full powers of the local government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The CPG appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the local government of Tibet. As a result of the talks both parties agreed to establish this agreement and ensure that it be carried into effect.

- (1) The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland – the People's Republic of China.
- (2) The local government of Tibet shall actively assist the PLA to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defences.
- (3) In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the CPPCC, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the CPG
- (4) The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.
- (5) The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni (Lama) shall be maintained.
- (6) By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni are meant the status, functions and powers of the thirteenth Dalai Lama and of the ninth Panchen Ngorhtehni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with one another.
- (7) The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Programme of the CPPCC shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected and lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.
- (8) The Tibetan troops shall be reorganized step by step into the PLR and become a part of the national defence forces of the CPR.
- (9) The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual condition in Tibet.
- (10) Tibetan agriculture, livestock-raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual condition in Tibet.
- (11) In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and, when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.
- (12) In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

- (13) The PLA entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a needle or thread from the people.
- (14) The CPC shall have centralised handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with the neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality.
- (15) In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the CPG shall set up a Military and Administrative Committee and a Military Area HQ in Tibet and apart from the personnel set there by the CPG shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work. Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the Military and Administrative Committee may include patriotic elements from the local government of Tibet, various districts and various principal monasteries; the name-list shall be set forth after consultation between the representatives designated by the CPG and various quarters concerned and shall be submitted to the CPG for appointment.
- (16) Funds needed by the Military and Administrative Committee, the Military Area HQ and the PLA entering Tibet shall be provided by the CPG. The local government of Tibet should assist the PLA in the purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.
- (17) This agreement shall come into force immediately after signatures and seals are affixed to it.

APPENDIX E

The Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet, Signed 29 April 1954

Agreement between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India.

The Government of the Republic of India and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, being desirous of promoting trade and cultural intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India and of facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the peoples of China and India, have resolved to enter into the present 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; and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

And for this purpose have appointed as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the Republic of India, His Excellency Nedyam Raghavan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India accredited to the People's Republic of China, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government, who, having examined each other's credentials and finding them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

Article 1

The high contracting parties mutually agree to establish trade agencies:

1. The Government of India agree that the Government of China may establish trade agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong.
2. The Government of China agree that the Government of India may establish trade agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok.

The trade agencies of both parties shall be accorded the same status and same treatment. The trade agents of both parties shall enjoy freedom from arrest while exercising their functions and shall enjoy in respect of themselves, their wives and children who are dependent on them for livelihood, freed from search.

The trade agencies of both parties shall enjoy the privileges and immunities for couriers, mail bags and communications in code.

Article 2

The high contracting parties agree that traders of both countries known to be customarily and specifically engaged in trade between the Tibet Region of China and India may trade at the following places:

APPENDIX F

The Proposals of the Conference of Six Non-Aligned Nations Held at Colombo* (December 10 to 12, 1962)

1. The conference considers that the existing de facto ceasefire period is a good starting point for a peaceful settlement of the Indian-Chinese conflict.

2. (a) With regard to the Western Sector, the Conference would like to make an appeal to the Chinese Government to carry out their 20 kilometres withdrawal of their military posts as has been proposed in the letter to Prime Minister Chou En-lai to Prime Minister Nehru of November 21 and November 28, 1962.

(b) The Conference would make an appeal to the Indian Government to keep their existing military position.

(c) Pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and China in that area.

3. With regard to the Eastern Sector, the Conference considers that the line of actual control in the areas recognised by both the Governments could serve as a ceasefire line to their respective positions. Remaining areas in this sector can be settled in their future discussions.

4. With regard to the problems of the middle Sector, the Conference suggests that they will be solved by peaceful means, without resorting to force.

5. The Conference believes that these proposals, which could help in consolidating the ceasefire, once implemented, should pave the way for discussions between representatives of both parties for the purpose of solving problems entailed in the ceasefire position.

6. The Conference would like to make it clear that a positive response for the proposed appeal will not prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries.

* When presented to Peking, this document was accompanied by a document entitled "The Principle Underlying the Proposals of the Six," which exhaustively details the reasoning behind each of the Colombo Proposals.

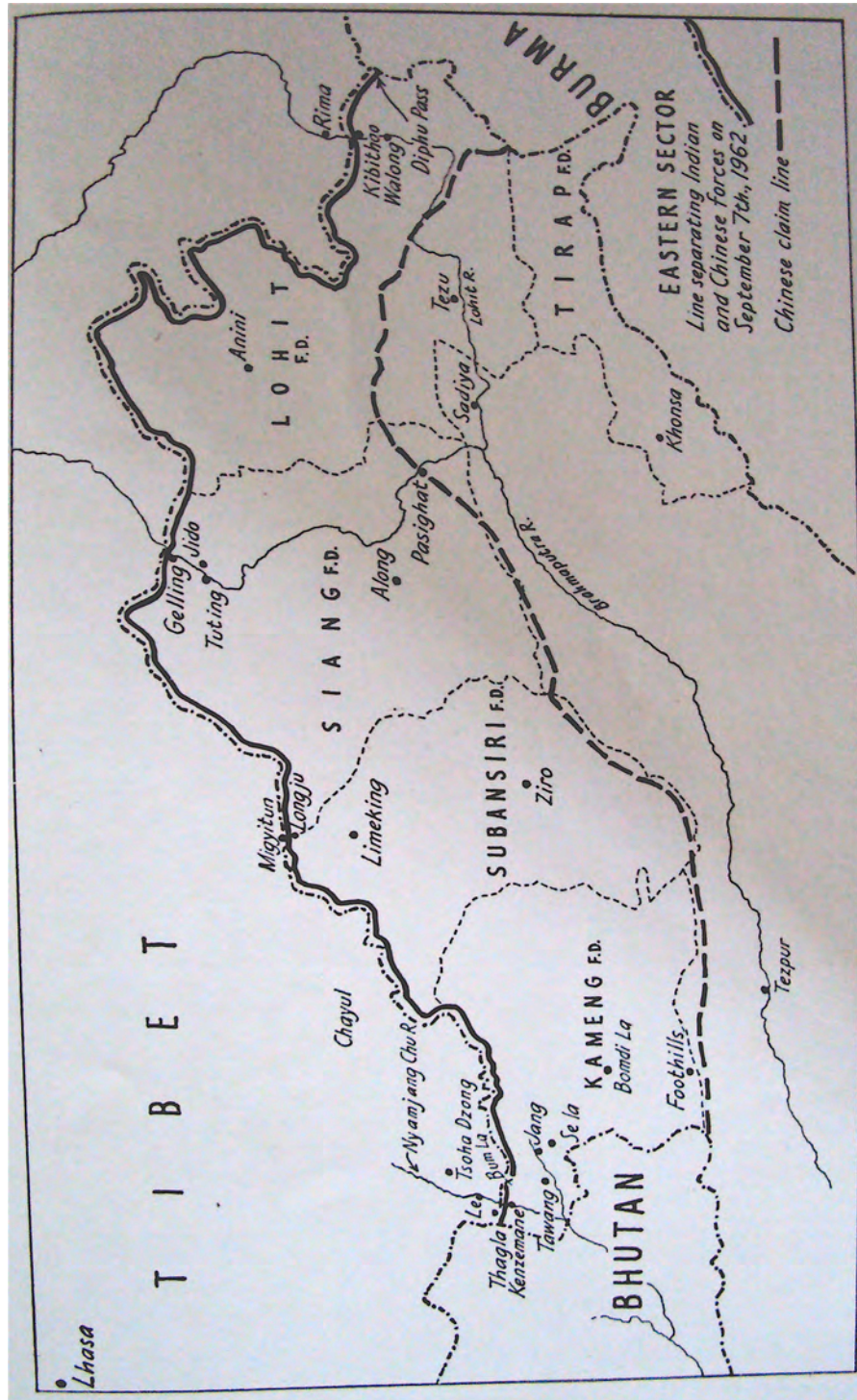
MAP 1

Map Produced in the Simla Conference of 1914, Initialed by British, Chinese, and Tibetan plenipotentiaries.



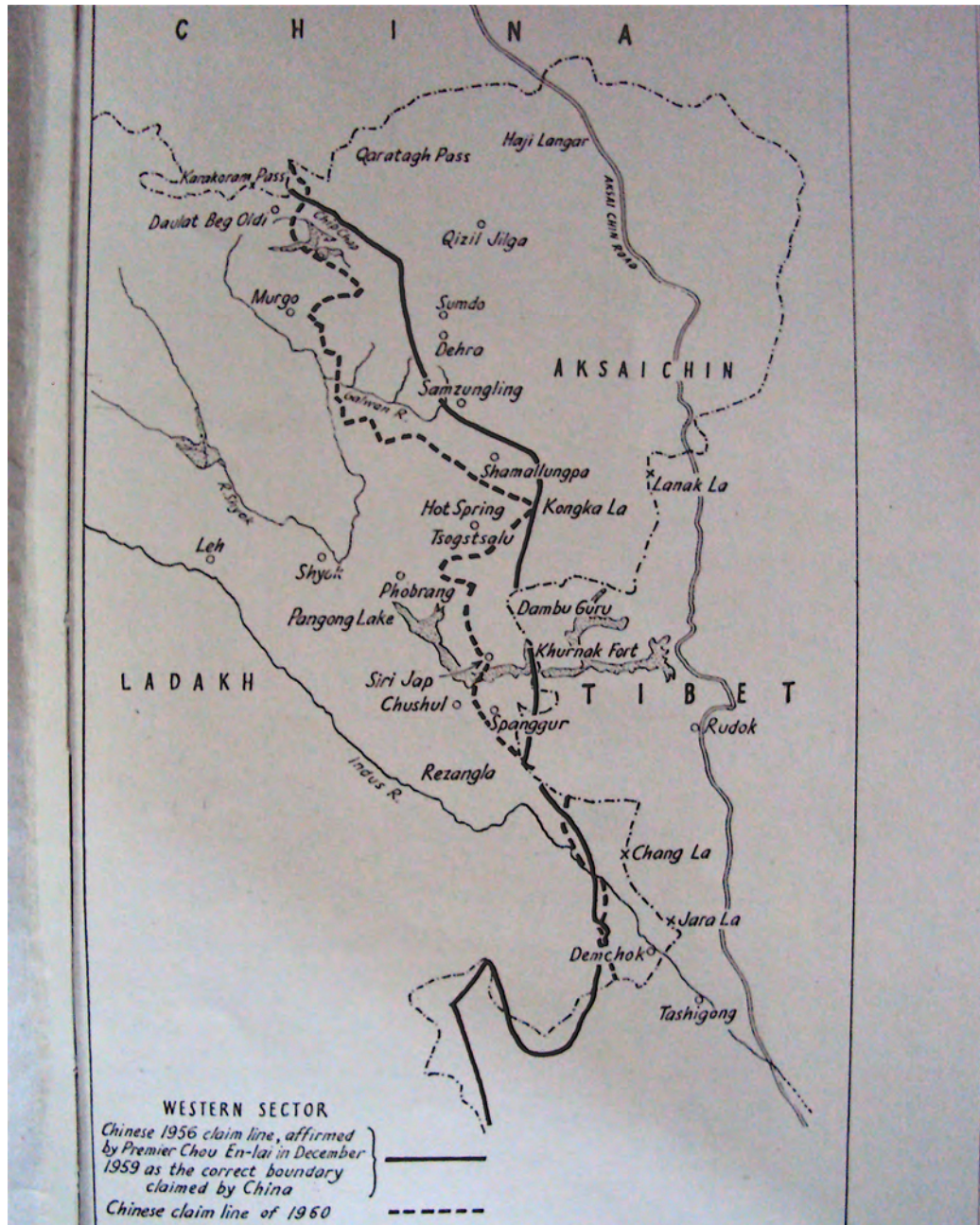
MAP 2

The Eastern Sector



MAP 3

The Western Sector



MAP 4

The Northern Frontier of India



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Lahsang Tsering Interview, The Bookworm Bookshop, 24 April 2010

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Maps

Cover Map-

Malone, David and Mukherjee, Rohan. "India and China: Conflict and Cooperation." *Survival*, 2010. 52: 1, 137-158.

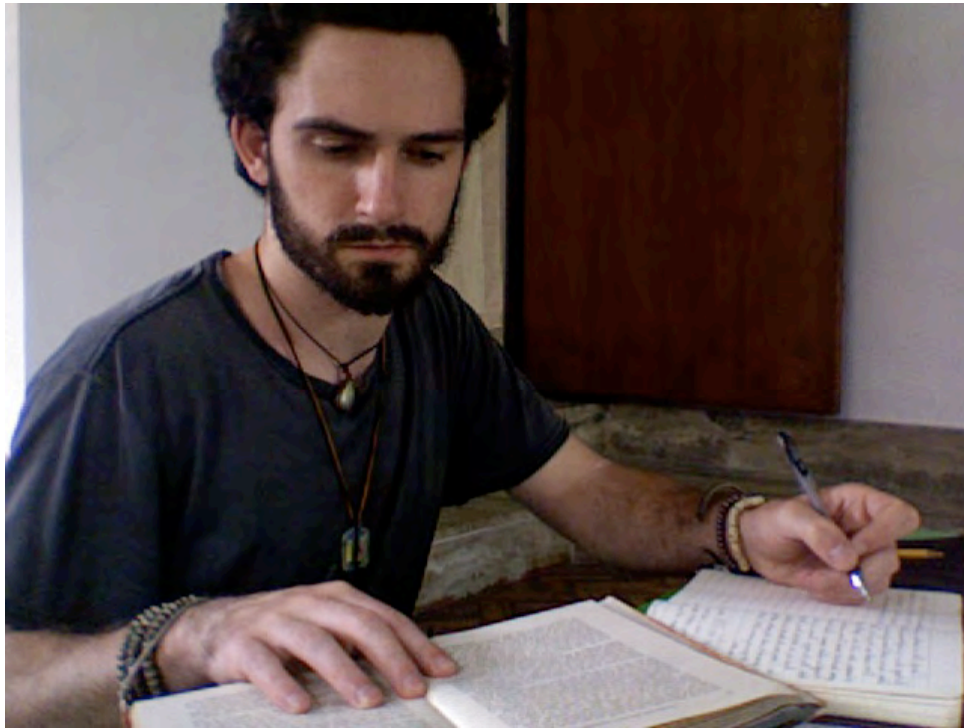
Appendix Maps-

Lall, John. *Aksai Chin and Sino-Indian Conflict*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1988.

Methodology and Suggestions for Further Research

I spent my time in Dharamsala looking at rare books in the Library, reading, and finding articles. I also conducted four separate interviews, during which each person I interviewed provided a different view on the issue. I kept myself aware of anything that could pertain to the subject of border dispute as I travelled around, and skimmed local bookshops for relevant material.

I would suggest that further research be conducted in the field, particularly by visiting a disputed area. There, one can get a true idea of the local opinion of the two governments. I would especially suggest, and highly consider studying in Tawang, as it is one of the most hotly contested areas, and is also rich in culture and history.



A picture of myself, reading and taking notes.