

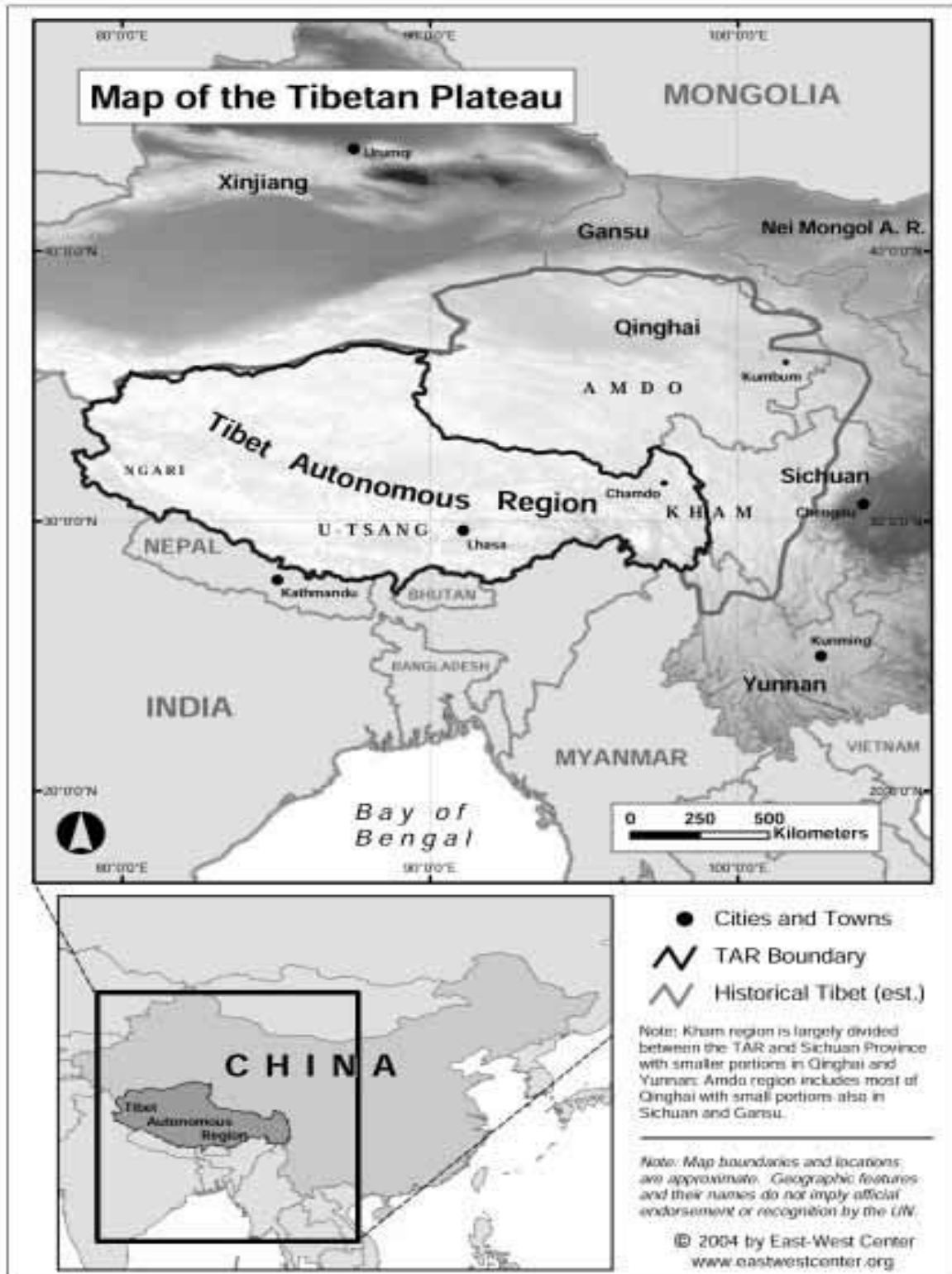


Tibet - Historic Boundaries



0 200 400
Miles

----- Tibet Autonomous Region
1965 to present



Statement of Declaration!

I, Santosh Pratap Thapa, hereby declare that this assignment is written by me and is a result of my own work, has not been used for another exam at another department/university/university college in Norway or another country. I've done this work with full of reference by stating in the text as well.

I'm aware of the fact that violation of these clauses is regarded as cheating and can result in the annulment of the examination or paper. Cheating or attempted cheating can result in the expulsion of the examinee, in accordance with the University and College Act Chapter 14-1.

Place/Date

Signature

Acknowledgements

At first, this is the time to remember my dear father, Chandra Bahadur Thapa, presently who is not anymore in his physical form but has been always felt in my heart. He was the source of inspiration and the best teacher that I have had ever in my life. His moral lessons and the practice life with dignity and justice are the causes which inspired me to be able to read and write towards at this point. That's why, I'd like to say - thank you dear father, may your departed soul be rest in peace forever!

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Table of Contents

	Page No.
Statement of Declaration	III
Acknowledgement	IV
Abbreviations	VII
Abstract	0
Part I	
1. Introduction	1
2. Historical background: 1950s Invasion	5
3. Armed Resistance	12
Part II	
4. Political, Religious, and Cultural Values	20
5. Middle-Way Approach: Greater Autonomous Tibet	24
6. 2008 Uprising and Peaceful Protest by Tibetan Refugees in Nepal	31
Part III	
7. Future of Tibet: Negotiation	39
8. Conclusion	50
Appendixes	55
References	78

List of Maps & Figures

Maps:	Page No.
Map 1	I
Map 2	II
Figures:	
Figure 1	34
Figure 2	35
Figure 3	35
Figure 4	36

Abbreviations

CCP – Chinese Communist Party

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

EU – European Union

HURON – Human Rights Organisation of Nepal

ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR – International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

ICJ – International Commission of Jurists

ICT – International Campaign for Tibet

INC – Indian National Congress

KMT – Koumintang

MOFA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs

OHCHR – Office of High Commission for Human Rights

PCART – Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet

PLA – People’s Liberation Army

PRC – People’s Republic of China

SAARC – South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

TAR – Tibetan Autonomous Region

UDHR – Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

USA – United States of America

Abstract

*The conflict between Tibet-China has been going on since 1950s. Chinese has proclaimed Tibet as an alienable part of her mainland where as Tibetans have distinct view regarding the issue. Tibetan spiritual leader and his followers fled to India in 1959 due to the invasion made by Mao Tse-tung and his PLA. Tibetans tried to regain their homeland by the armed struggle with the support of CIA. The movement was known as Khampa gurreilla warfare which they fought until 1974 from the Mustang base, territory of Nepal. The changing international political realm could not further advance their war and ended with betrayal, laying down the weapons, and surrender to Nepalese Army. It was because of the growing relationship between US and China. Even though US government had inclusive nature on her foreign policy during the cold war which was against the communist ideology but Nixon agreed to recognize Tibet and Taiwan belong to the Chinese mainland. In the 80s, Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang offered the exiled Tibetan leaders to ‘return to the motherland’ where they proposed except independence, everything was supposed to be settled. That’s why, the Dalai Lama quit the concept of independent Tibet and accepted Deng’s offer for the welfare of Tibet and her people. But, the negotiation was not smoothly undertaken when the Dalai Lama awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in the year of **1989**. Chinese blamed him as ‘seperatist and friend of western hostile forces’ and ignored the concept of Greater Autonomous Tibet and his non-violent path which he had put his argument in Strasbourg (**1988**) and US Congressional Human Rights Caucus (**1987**). The deadlock is sometimes got opened and almost no talk at all. The desirable returning interest of Tibetan exiled people and the Chinese negative argument towards the the Dalai Lama and his exiled government have not got any solution at this moment. Tibetans have claimed that there has been lots of human rights violation going on inside Tibet, the religion of Tibet has been charged for anti-religion of China, population transfer is increasing, discriminatory rule for Tibetans, the culture and art of Tibet have been destroyed, arbitrary detention etc. The main theme of writing this paper is to open the deadlock in the ground of negotiation and peaceful means. Violation and anger never support for the true relationship but enhances the environment beyond to the solution. If necessary, to resolve this issue, China and Tibet may friendly invite any international body like UN or neighbour countries like India to find the solution at any time. The newly elected Prime Minister of India is willing to enhance friendly relationship with China. If India shows her interest on solving the issue, then Tibetans will definitely benefit from this negotiation for the future perspectives.*

“Struggle of Tibet: From Armed Conflict to Non-Violence”

Since my childhood, I've been recognized to the issue of Tibet that emerged in an international arena. In my mind, there is always thought of exploring the causes which has influenced Tibet's lost identity and culture. Being a Citizen of Nepal, neighbor country of Tibet-China, I'm looking closely to all the activities associated with 'Free Tibet' movement by thousands of refugees in a circle of peaceful protest. By the contrary, the Chinese pressure has been grounded to prohibit all the concerned activities of Tibetans which is also related to the One-China policy that adopted by Nepal government from the very beginning. On the other hand, besides a Nepalese citizen; a more responsible role as a human rights defender in the organization - Human Rights Organization of Nepal (HURON, estd. 1988), I used to look Tibet Desk as a member of the committee under the President of HURON, Mr. Sudip Pathak who is also the former Member of National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). Both the role and position as a responsible human rights activist and a citizen of Nepal has impressed my interest on looking the desk and activities profound by Tibetan society in the territory of Nepal. As they said these movements are for the sake of protection and promotion of Tibetan culture and identity inside Tibet, by the way, their protest and peaceful movement are the desperate consequences for Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950s and the continuous violations of human rights in terms of freedom of expression, cultural & religious practice, and democracy which are forbidden by the totalitarian regime inside the Tibetan land.

Research Questions:-

Why and how is that important to resolve the issues regarding Tibet-China since 1950s?

1. Introduction:-

The importance of solving the issues regarding Tibet-China is very much related for those who have been facing difficulties in everyday life, those are the inhabitant of Tibet, the diaspora who are residing outside of Tibet as a stateless nationals, the neighbouring countries, and the entire international communities who are willing to see the stabilised Tibet. Tibetan stabilization is mostly depends upon the hearty and cordial behaviour of her mainland, the Chinese. As the 14th Dalai Lama has tremendously been accepting the Greater Autonomous Tibet or Genuine Autonomy for the peaceful resolution of Tibet issues, his peaceful thought & foresightedness about to solving the issues has the future dimension of protecting the Tibetan culture & civilization for long run approach. When the second phase of his life in the

exile started, suddenly he realised the situation of national & international events those happening in the political realm and chose the middle way approach to enhance the traditional relationship with his neighbour country, China.

The politics of geography drag the state sometimes into confusion and dilemma with territorial dispute over the long historical timeframe. The topics of the writing on the issue of Tibet are the one which has a significant importance on its theoretical and practical way in relation to her sovereignty and political agenda with her Chinese counterparts. There are different perceptions of Tibetan validity and her autonomy that conceptualize her existence for a long time in the historic blog. The way of thinking to the relevant fact of finding the truth may explore additional treatments to fill the gap of egoism, casualties, disputes, conflict, genocide, war, and all kinds of burden in the mind of the ruler so that the state may establish considerable believes, equality, justice, rationality, peace and democracy for her people.

Whether Tibet is a part of China or an independent state that may move up the concern for those who are being interested in this field of research. Some of the researchers, they've explicitly distinguished the identity of Tibet which contradicts from the Chinese identity. But, others have claimed that Tibetan identity was always been attached with the Chinese nationalism. The ICJ Report concludes that Tibet was a sovereign nation until the Chinese invasion in 1950. In the face of this invasion the Tibetan government was forced to sign the "17 Point Agreement" in 1951 surrendering Tibet's independence to China. However, under that agreement China gave a number of undertakings, including: promises to maintain the existing political system of Tibet, to maintain the Status and functions of the Dalai Lama, to protect freedom of religion and the monasteries and to refrain from compulsory 'reforms' (Kapadia;1998). This issue has been emerging since the time of Mao's invasion which made the Dalai Lama to exile in India. In some research, it is argued that this flight was the understanding made by His Holiness to protect the will of dying and hunger people that imposed him to take such a vigorous plan (Smith Jr.; 2008). It depends on the natural intension of rulers and their extensive motive – means - how could that be possible to happen in such a context of religious historic identity? Or was it necessarily important to dismantle the identities of Tibet by the force whose power is basically equipped with military forecast? I just want to link the surprise invasion, During the World War II, the German invasion of Norway and Denmark on April 9, 1940 (Riste, Olav; 2007), can be taken as the intension of such motives which caused the massive destruction of Norwegian lives and property. King of

Norway, and his government were exiled in UK for five years. Germans took the full control of Norwegian territory within two months. They were militarily superior to the Norwegian. It was a kind of great shocked because of the unexpected attack through the both sides of North Sea which was under the British influence. This case is still taken as the failure of intelligence inside the Norway and the British themselves.

In this paper, my insight is to analyse the historic move of Chinese extension over the Tibetan plateau. The analysis of those facts is important which empowered the exiled Tibetans to raise their weapons against the Chinese invasion. Similarly, the back drop of weapons and reconciliation mechanism that advanced by His Holiness was the prime mode of ending the existed phase and starting point of dissatisfaction for some empowered Tibetan forces in the exile communities, too. The Changing role of the 14th Dalai Lama under the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi has tremendously influenced to transform the line of armed conflict into non-violence (Bharati Puri; 2002). Latter Dalai Lama is the symbol of peace and harmony for the reason that he took the path of nonviolence as his principle of living. His commitment of peaceful means- negotiation and hope- recognized him to achieve the object (ends) non-violently even at the zero level consensus built by the Chinese authority.

Although China and her alliances of American forces got victory in the World War II, the existing ruling party headed by the nationalist, Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were still fighting to hold the power for the establishment of their regime. All the Communists inside China emerged and got the victory against the government of Chiang Kai-shek. Consequently, Mao Tse-tung, got succeeded to establish the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October1, 1949. The vicious circle of crackdown of civil war even could not assimilate the solution of Tibet question indeed (Goldstein; 1997 pp37). Tibet was running under the De facto independence but apparently was struggling for De jure Suzerainty as well. The foreign powers like British, American, Russian, and Indians were still not confirmed to recognize the Tibetan independence movement but stacked on Chinese Suzerainty over Tibetan Plateau.

The characteristics of this thesis writing has various dimensions such as; historical context of Tibet-China relations, extension of Chinese Communist Party over the plateau, armed resistance, political-religious-and cultural values, middle way approach & non-violence conflict resolution method, 2008 uprising and its impact in the Nepalese territory, future of

Tibet, and Conclusion. To feel it easy to study, I've put various context & chapters under three major parts – Part I, Part II, and Part III.

Part I consists of three Chapters – **1)** Introduction, **2)** 1950s Invasion, and **3)** Armed Resistance. Similarly, **Part II** also has three chapters – **4)** Political, Religious, and Cultural Values, **5)** Middle-Way Approach, **6)** 2008 Uprising and the Peaceful Protest of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal. Likewise, **Part III** has only two Chapters – **7)** Future of Tibet, and **8)** Conclusion.

While writing this paper, I'll try to extract the events which have been taking the vital aspects of Tibetan history in terms of political, socio-economic, religious, and cultural instances. Besides these, national & international interest about this dispute and its impact in the future perspectives of protecting the Tibetan identity and culture are important to look up. Tibetan fight is not with the Chinese but with its policy imposed in the land of Snow by the communist ruler. Negotiation and hope has still power to find the solution with the Chinese leadership. There is no need to think about the arms and violence but Lack of trusteeship made the conflict more chaotic which has to be eliminated from the straight forward line. Beijing and Dharmashala can talk directly how they want to take the responsibility for the future of Tibet, for the sake of Tibetans who are residing inside and outside of Tibet. Otherwise, having with suspicion any of the world government can take an initiation to mediate for this long awaited conflict resolution.

It is important to resolve the issue of Tibet because of; stabilization of Tibet, to maintain national and international peace & security, political-religious, and cultural freedom, to stop the human rights violation; etc. Different processes can be taken to address the issues such as, direct talk between the conflicted parties or with mediation from any recognized world government, trusteeship, national and international environment for peaceful negotiation, no pressure at any cost, hopeful for the betterment, middle-way approach & non-violent means forever etc.

All the sources of this study are associated with secondary data from different books, journals, article, and interviews. I've also included some of my field experiences during the peaceful protest of Tibetan refugees in Nepal as I had gone to monitor those activities through my organisation called HURON in the year of 2008.

In the next chapter, I'll start with the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950s.

2. Historical Background: 1950s invasion and the plight of the Dalai Lama

“As Chairman Mao said openly to Tibetans in the early 1950s, Tibet should fulfil China’s need for natural resources while China would fulfil Tibet’s need for people” (Smith Jr.; 2008 p1). In 1959, the 14th Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet, forcefully had to flee his country by the pressure of dying and hunger people of Tibet which conditions were created by Mao Tse-tung and his Liberation Army of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to fulfil his desire for achieving Tibet as a new state. The analysis of events shows that the second action of the Dalai Lama, fled to exile, is the cause of aggression from the first action by Mao. So, these actions are interrelated to either the construction of a new plan or the destruction of the existed structure of Tibet. This is called the power politics where small country always been unsecured by the super power or the strong neighbour powerful rulers. That’s why, Morgenthau’s “Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace” has explicitly described why international politics is guided by the concept of interest in terms of power (Morgenthau, Hans; 1993). Power is that component which both human and state seek by their natural settings. Then, it starts to struggle for gaining by its various nature like encroaching others’ territory, property, and many things what they would like to feel as their interest. This nature is always resides towards seeking the power. That’s why, Chinese extension over the Tibetan Plateau is the outcomes in line with the interest of power politics which is based on violence and killings. On this Chapter, I’ll argue about the Chinese extension and the flight of the Dalai Lama into exile.

International community got information about the liberation of Tibet in 1st January 1950 when the British Radio Officer, Robert Ford heard an announcement on Radio Peking declaring that ‘the task for the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) for 1950.....are to liberate Taiwan, Hainan, and Tibet’ (Ford; 1990 pp11). During that time, Robert Ford was deployed at Radio Chamdo in Eastern Tibet. The Chinese communist argued on the regard of liberating Tibet was to protect the country from “Western Imperialism” and to put an end to the feudal system, which oppressed the people (Blondeau & Buffetrille; 2008 pp58). They also used the source of written document to the central government by one of the candidates belong to cabinet of Baiqen Lama for the liberation of Tibet. The letter had congratulated Mao for the victory of revolution which stated that - “we sincerely beseech that you will lead your righteous troops to liberate Tibet, eradicate the traitorous elements, and rescue the people of Tibet” (Goldstein; 1989). Whatever, the principle motive of Mao to rule over the entire

Chinese land including the neighbouring countries was the purpose of implementing his philosophy of Communism based on Totalitarian Party System (TPS). His liberation Army, on the same basis, crossed the Tibetan border called Yangtse river and invaded the eastern Tibetan Province of Kham, and later they captured the regional capital Chamdo within a week (Jane Ardley; 2002 pp6). The Chinese force gradually started to move ahead for the control of Tibetan uprising which was against their strategic political achievement. They also had to face deadly attacks and strong defence mechanism made by Tibetan fighters as well. Thus, sporadic uprising of 1950s were arouse the entire Eastern Tibet, its motive is to fight against the one enemy but with the different styles like separate coordinated pockets “ for their homes, for their faith, for their very race.” Dawa Norbu, a political scientist and Central Tibet grown up, has mentioned on his article called “the 1959 Tibetan Rebellion: An Interpretation” about the 1950s that – no matter wherever the Tibetans were, in China or India, they were all united in one common objective during the 1950s: “we would rather live for one day and die under the Buddha than live for a hundred year in an abundance of food and clothing under atheist rule.” It was a great solidarity that offered by Tibetans against the Chinese Communist invaders in 1950s. The bestowment of such type of nationalistic effort has always been protected the identities of all minorities and ethnic entities for long and historic achievement. People’s solidarity is the most powerful tool of modern age against any suppressors, dictators, and even the militarily empowered government like Egyptian regime at this moment. They will not go longer and run the country against the will of people’s desire to have peace & harmony. Gandhi did in his life such kind of leadership against the British regime in his motherland. His solidarity movement had comprised all kinds of ethnic and minorities under the nationalistic purpose of Sworaj (ruled by countrymen) and to get rid of foreign power and rule. All his movement, we can see there was rarely violent activities that offered by people, but sometimes Gandhi did fast unto death by himself (Juergensmeyer; 1984).

Mao himself was very aware in the case of Tibet because Tibetan are different than the Han Chinese and others’ who were inside the main Chinese land. He wanted to control and integrate Tibet into main Chinese land without having any bloodshed. His political strategy was doctorate by Communist philosophy which was based on class struggle of Karl Max and both Leninist and Stalinist version, Russian pioneers of communist movement. According to Dawa Norbu, Mao has mentioned about his realization towards Tibetan people on the book called “Volume V of Mao’s Selected Works” – “Tibetans were completely different

people” and that the situation in Tibet was “worse than that we face in Sinkiang where we have at least some support,” namely from Han settlers. He summed up the whole situation in Tibet when he said, “we have no material base in Tibet. In terms of social power they are stronger than us, which for the moment will not change.” Mao especially instructed the generals who were leading to march the PLA force into Tibet and said – “Make every possible effort to use all suitable means to win over the Dalai Lama and the majority of the upper strata and isolate the minority of bad elements in order to achieve long-term goals of transforming Tibetan economy and polity gradually without spilling blood.”

During the invasion of 1950s, the communist invaders had treated very badly/ bad schooling towards the people. They started to enforce the unique methods of social and political control on Tibet. Thamzing (struggle session) was the most notorious method under which they killed untold numbers of Tibetans along with deep psychological scars. It was a means of political re-education which aimed to make the Tibetans aware of the supposed oppression they were subject to before the invasion. They used the tenants against the landlords, pupil against teacher, even child against parents. People who did not take part to support their thamzing, they were executed by hanging or buried alive, beheading, disembowelling, crucifixion, and shooting (Ardley; 2002 pp7). The violent nature of exercise that configured the Communist for achieving the political agenda of comprising Tibet in her territorial integrity. In the name of peaceful liberation, they dismantle the faith and hope of people in terms of social and economic reforms. Tibetans were also knowingly or unknowingly got confused under the Communist influences. Similarly, some Tibetan (ethnic and minorities) hoped that they will have access to land resources and property distribution when PLA liberate Tibet from the traditional aristocratic social structure into the proletarian based strata. Proletarian based strata was introduced by the pioneer of Communist movement, Karl Marx. His theory of class struggle was came into practice while there was no status of people who were worked as a labour in industry and farming during the 19th Century. Thus, the Communist elsewhere used to take advantage of this principle especially those areas where bulk of population exist as workers and labourers. On the same basis, Chinese communist also applied that doctrine to influence their movement against the upper strata and ruling class. The invasion of Tibet was also some sort of advantage for the Chinese Communist to achieve their political agenda for comprising Tibet as one of their new state because of the ruling strata of Tibetan didn't engage to prosper her people in the same pragmatism.

In 1950s, the series of internal turmoil between the Baiquen Lama's government and the Dalai Lama had also caused to make the invasion of Red Star over the Tibetan Plateau. Dalai Lama was already disappointed with him because of the letter that advanced by his cabinet member for Chinese Communist Party about to liberate the Tibet. Baiquen Lama messaged to Beijing that Tibetan government had sent mission to Western Countries for the support of Tibetan Independence and it was against the right to integrate Tibet for her motherland. Under these circumstances, Beijing got aggression towards Tibetan government in Lhasa which endorsed Chinese forces to liberate Tibet as early as possible. Other means of dissatisfaction of Beijing were the case of appointing the 10th Panchen Lama as the reincarnation of 9th Panchen Lama who was died on the way to Lhasa after his long reside in China. Mao wanted to appoint the boy as a new Panchen Lama who was born in Amdo named Gonpo Tseten but Tibetan government was still not confirmed to appoint the new Panchen Lama because the new appointed Panchen Lama should be tested traditionally among at least of three of others' selected, for the divination that belongs to recognition of the late reincarnation. Until the Tibetan Government recognized the new Panchen Lama, the Chinese officials could not even proceed any negotiation for the talk about the peaceful liberation (Blondeau and Buffetrille; 2008 pp61).

Dalai Lama was just enthroned and living in the border part of Tibet and India. He was in the plight due to the worsening conditions and could not do anything at his young age of fifteen. He had no political experience at that moment. Tibetan National Assembly and the Kham Cabinet prepared all the necessary provision for the Dalai Lama to exile in case of having the invasion, that's why, he spend some time at Yatung, where the government's headquarter was also moved by that concern, too. Finally, before signing the 17 point agreement, the Tibetan emissaries met the Chinese Ambassadors in New Delhi and he was handed some terms and conditions of Chinese interest which made them to accept the 17 point agreement. It contained that – (1) Tibet had to accept that it was a part of China; (2) Tibet's Defence was to be handled by China; and (3) all political and trade matters concerning foreign countries were to be conducted through China (Goldstein; 1989). If the terms were not accepted, Mao and PLA were possibly occupied Tibet during the beginning session of the 1950s. Moreover, Tibet had already got failed at United Nations to prove her sovereignty and it was being ineffectual to attempt any appeal in an international arena. The foreign powers like Indian and British were also on sticking China's sovereignty over the plateau. On this regard, a South Asian journalist named Kanak Mani Dixit who belongs to Himel Magazine has

explicitly mentioned about the Indian cause that didn't proceed Tibet for her independency. He pointed out the memoir of Late Bisheshwor Prasad Koirala (B.P.) who was the first elected and the most popular prime minister of Nepal, had recalled about the talk of Tibet with Jawaharlal Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister by saying – “.....for one thing, because we were socialist we were for Tibet's Independence and we believed that the Chinese action was an aggression.....when we talked turned to Tibet, I told Jawaharlal Nehru, “You have given Tibet to China on a Silver platter.” To which he replied, “so, am I supposed to send an army to put the Dalai Lama on throne?” My answer was ‘there is no need to send the army. But you have given international endorsement to the Chinese action, you have recognized it. And you are also telling us to leave China to do what it will.....’. Besides these, the heavy pressure exerted by influential sections of the Tibetan hierarchy (notably the leaders of the Lamaist Church) favouring a peaceful settlement of all differences with the Chinese and an acceptance of Peking's claim to suzerainty over the region had also made the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government to accept the Chinese demand and got ready to sign the 17 point agreement (Ginsburgs; Sep 1960).

23rd May of 1951, “the Seventeen Point Agreement” was signed between the Tibetan Delegation Team and the Chinese Central Government. The principle contents of 17 points agreement are – “The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the local government of Tibet shall actively assist the PLA to enter Tibet and consolidate national defence; the Tibetan people have the right to national regional autonomy; the central authorities shall not alter the existing political system in Tibet; the central authorities will not alter the established status, functions and power of the Dalai Lama; the policy of freedom of religious belief shall be carried out, the religious beliefs, customs and habits shall be respected, and the monasteries shall be protected; Tibetan troops shall be reorganized by stages and made into a part of national defence forces of PRC; the spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step; Tibet's agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, and commerce shall be developed step by step and the people's living standards shall be improved gradually in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet; the PLA entering Tibet shall be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people; the central people's government shall be exclusively responsible for all external affairs in Tibet (Blondeau & Buffetrille; 2008).” The details of 17 point agreement between the Tibetan delegation team and the Chinese authority is available at appendix one (1) of this paper.

Ardley explained it for invalid agreement which was signed by the Tibetan delegation in Peking because they were not authorized for signing any document by the Tibetan government. It seemed that they used the facsimiles of the Dalai Lama's official seals produced in Peking. The false agreement had included even not to change the political system in Tibet, and not to alter the status or powers of the Dalai Lama. They also agreed to respect the Tibetans' religious belief and customs. But, by 1956 they replaced the traditional government of Tibet with the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet (PCART). Since then the Chinese authority of Tibet committee has been continually presided for the subject of all Tibet concerning approval that belongs to including the local legislation, too. Besides these, Chinese Communist Party (CCP) managed at least 30% of party cadres in Tibet which is the figured by Chinese and there would be probably many more; except altering the government, they have also restructured the entire country – most of the East Tibetan province of Kham and Amdo now form parts of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan, and the central province of U-Tsang is now called the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR).

On the ground reality of breaking the 17 point agreement by Chinese, the Dalai Lama had no alternative whether to support the Communist planned and structure in his homeland or not. That's the most worsening condition which made the plight for him to take some vigorous plan. He could not fight against the well-equipped Chinese with his poorly armed troops and he was not being able to stop the Chinese dictation for his people. That's why, He made plan to flee to exile in India and left his motherland on that moment. His flight followed the Lhasa uprising in March 1959, when thousands of Tibetans came out in open revolt when they feared that the Dalai Lama would be kidnapped by the Chinese. According to the Chinese count the Revolt took only the death of 87,000 Tibetans (Ardley; 2002pp7).

The events of blood-shed history in the Tibetan plateau is the outcomes made by the aggressive Chinese behaviour. The extension of powerful nation got dilute the sovereignty of small nation as in vain. This exemplifies that it is difficult to protect the sovereignty when the state falls weak in terms of power competition which is basically equipped in relation to less defensive capability. That's why, Tibetan identity is lost because of her weak military capability couldn't fight against the well-equipped Chinese PLA. To regain the lost identity of Tibet, there has been lots of efforts going on. Those efforts were armed struggle in the beginning, but now its nature has changed and non-violent means is on process. More than

three decades, the 14th Dalai Lama and the government in exile have been practising the non-violent path to resolve the dispute through negotiation. But still, there is not any sign to come at the point which both (Chinese & Tibetan exiled) of the parties even could not make it possible. Besides these, entire international communities of the world are waiting to look the peaceful solution of the issues from both sides as well. In the next chapter, I'm going to analyse the armed struggle of Tibetan freedom fighters which was covertly sponsored by the CIA and supported by other neighbour countries.

3. Armed Resistance/Conflict:

Armed resistance is the outcomes of differentiation between the parties who are involved in their own claims upon the debate or issue. The nature of armed resistance is deter by the violence and killings of human beings. The step by step escalation of violence/resistance leads to conflict and even for war. Uppsala Data Conflict Program (UDCP) has defined armed conflict – as a contested incompatibility that concerns government or territory or both where the use of armed force between two parties results in at least 25 battle related deaths in a year- where one of the conflicted parties should be the government itself (Pettersson & Themner; 2011 pp27). This contested incapability may either be stated as any forms such as verbal, writing, or signal. According to UDCP, Conflicts can be divided into two categories in terms of their intensity:

Minor armed conflicts: at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year, but fewer than 1,000.

War: at least 1,000 battle-related deaths in a year.

Similarly, according to their types, conflicts are classified into four groups which are under follows:

1. **Inter-state armed conflict** between two or more states, for example:- United States Vs. Iraq, North Korea Vs. South Korea, China Vs. Japan, China Vs. India, Nepal (Gurkhas) Vs. Britain (East India Company) etc.
2. **Intra-state armed conflict** occurs between the state of a government and the opposition groups. This kind of conflict generally happens during the state formation process inside the particular country, and the session of redrawing the borders as well. Civil war is the perfect example of this conflict by its nature. The disintegration of former Yugoslavia, & the demise of Soviet Union are falls on this typology. The world communist movement has been faced dilemmas for recurring the former position and influence in world political order after the crashed of these communist regimes.
3. **Internationalized intra-state armed conflict** deter the position by the intervention from foreign troops inside the particular country while the conflict occurs between the state and the opposition or rebellion groups.
4. **Extra-state armed conflict** happens between a state and a non-state actor but this occurs outside of its own territory. The attack of twin tower (World Trade Centre) by the non-state

actor, Osama Bin Laden (Head of Al-Qaeda) can be taken as the example of this conflict. This incident is also known as 9/11, the black day in the American history. Later on, Bin Laden was killed in the territory of Pakistan in an operation by the US security force.

Conflict occurred between Tibet and China initially refer the inter-state conflict by the view point of Tibetans but apparently Chinese may denied this concept on the same basis. Later, the mix-nature of Tibet/China conflict has been overlooked with all those components which are insisted with the function and nature that lie to all four types of conflict. The invasion of PLA in Tibet, resistance offered by Khampas (Eastern Tibetan) based on the Mustang (Nepalese Territory), and the secret covert action of CIA in Tibet explicitly shows the different actors' and the states' involvement. States in Armed Conflict, 2011 (pp73) of Uppsala University has marked the conflict between China & Tibet in three different periods; 1950 as Minor, 1956 & 1959 as War. This data also indicates the inter-state conflict between these two conflicted parties. It was continued until 1974, the Khampas were struggling the independence movement against the Chinese invaders.

We can analysed Tibetan armed struggle into two parts. The first part was begun before 1959 and the second phase occurred after the flight of Dalai Lama's life into exile. This armed resistance was mainly the cause of Chinese occupation in Tibet. Chinese PLA had already been marched into Tibet before 1950s. Under the nationalistic movement of Chinese integration, Tibet was supposed to have been an alienable part of Chinese territory. Thus, Chinese authority realized to take this opportunity for getting Tibet as a new state to fulfil her desire on the same purpose so that they could resist the security threat posed by foreigners in her mainland. On the other hand, foreign powers like Indians, British, Russian and Americans were the most influential foreign powers who had the capacity to destroy their defence mechanism that aimed to protect nationalistic purpose of secured Chinese mainland. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) expected this sense of separateness to fade as Tibet became incorporated into the Chinese 'motherland' after 1950. This did not happen either in eastern Tibet, where armed resistance continued until the early 1970s, or in Lhasa. Tibetan armed resistance was an example made by Tibetan against the Chinese occupation. The aim of that resistance was to protect the Tibetan identities from not so being destroyed by the Chinese invaders. Tibet has been long historic identities such as: religious, cultural, and political which are distinct from the Chinese. We'll talk about these identities in the next chapter with the importance of its norms and values.

There were many things inside the Tibetan system which was also an important to happen this resistance. In other terms, we can say that the seventeen point agreement and its implementation between the Tibetan delegation team and Chinese authority made dissatisfaction to the entire Tibetan stakeholders. Those stakeholders were the Tibetan authority, Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama himself. Tibetan authority and Tibetan people were the victims of seventeen point agreement. Under these agreement, Chinese had talked about the Tibetan economy and culture for the benefit of Tibetan people. The direct impact of this accord made conscience to those Tibetan who were living under the serfdom by the elite Tibetans. Thus, Chinese tactful behaviour made the Tibetan people to demand their rights for the access of properties and other belongings. But the ruling society of Tibet were not easy to provide to all Tibetans about what they have demanded for. This conflict started to raise between the elite and serfdom people and its impact was covered the entire territory of Tibet in no time. The intensive motive of invaders was just to make space to act as in their own way so that they could get all benefit for long run. The purpose of Chinese invaders was to dismantle their belief from the authority towards her people as well.

Now, it's important to look up the overview about the preliminary phase of Tibetan resistance placed against the invaders, the Chinese Communist. According to Tsering Shakya, Prof. of International Relations, Chinese pragmatism and new policies made the eastern Tibetan more aggressive towards their rule. Eastern Tibet includes Kham and Amdo which were partially been under the Chinese sovereignty during the Qing Dynasty. When CPP came into being and tried to bit more for the way of Tibetan life harder which caused the ethnic Tibetan to revolt for the protection of their cultural ties.

According to Carol McGranahan, things were seemed contrast than the beginning when the Chinese Communist soldiers came into Tibet around 1949-50: they were polite and generous. Attraction of silver coins upon the Tibetans made them to work jointly for the glorious society which they had imagined. Most Tibetans felt that no need for new society, but only appreciated the coins and the respect of soldiers who showed to Tibetan Buddhism. “How naïve we were!” – exclaim, now, the Tibetan refugees and exile generations for this benevolence and restraint was short lived. As a result, first victims were the Tibetan religious and lay leaders under the drastic reform made by the expansionist force, PLA. In defence, Tibetans took up arms for the protection of their leaders, religion, and country. Everybody including the farmers, monks and nomads and traders automatically raised their antiquated

rifle against infinitely larger People's Liberation Army. There was no turning back, this was war because the Chinese had already started aerial bombing to Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries in 1956 (Carole McGranaham; 2010).

The reason behind the armed resistance by the eastern Tibetans were the major social changes such as; aggressive social reforms, land distribution, and the destruction of monasteries began in 1955. Until that time, there was no social changes imposed to Lhasa. That's why, in eastern Tibet, resistance armed forces were formed by the elite and businessmen against the PLA (Lixiong & Shakya; 2009 pp5). Besides these, the integration of Kham into the Chinese province Sichuan with the disestablishment of Xikang province and the merge politics of central administration, the Sichuan authorities and their revolutionary application affected the eastern people and got aggressed against their new policies which caused them to raise the weapons (Kapstein; 2006 pp285).

In 1953-54, the communists were planning "Great reform" in Tibet through their political ideology into the practice for the Buddhist followers. Anyhow, it was important for them to make social change from the root. By that concern, they strategically started to re-educate Tibetans so that it could be easy to eliminate their traditions, culture, and national identities. Under the re-education, they arrested and oppressed those who were against this doctrine. Consequently, local revolts broke out in the areas of Kham and Amdo. Local Tibetans could not defeat the well-equipped PLA. Killings and destructions of human and cultural heritage brought heavy casualties. Great monasteries like Litang and Chatang were bombarded by the Chinese air force. Many eastern Tibetans were gathered in central Tibet, Lhasa due to the recently defeated war by the PLA. Thus, internally displaced from Kham and Amdo were around the Lhasa for the protection of their life and property (Blondeau & Buffetrille; 2008).

By the time being, the displaced & nationalistic force of Tibetan groups gathered and made strategy to fight against the CCP. It was 1957 in Lhokha where they planned for guerrilla movement and formed "Chushi Gandruk" (Kapstein; 2006 pp285). In the view of Tsering Shakya, the Lhasa government was not involved to construct the plan of resistance group. It was Chushi Gandruk (Four Rivers, Six Ranges) the traditional name of eastern Tibet, the Kham which initiated to rebel and united all the Tibetans against the front-liners, the PLA. The primary object of this organization was to regain the Kham in terms of political, religious, and cultural aspects. In order to get independence from the Chinese, they established relations with CIA. His perceptive envision told that despite the unconstructed

plan of Lhasa regime, there were many Tibetan including aristocrats and military personnel, involved on this resistance. Furthermore, because of the closed ally of Tibetan people and government officials with the Chushi Gandruk, Tibetan army was told to surrender weapons and arsenals. Thus, Chushi Gandruk was empowered by the Tibetan support as well.

Doma Norbu, the daughter of Khampa freedom fighter, told in an interview entitled with CIA in Tibet... She explicitly revealed the truth of Khampa rebellion in Tibet. The reason behind the guerrilla movement is because of the Khampa who were really brave and had lots of fights within their own tribes & clan. The identical history of Khampa with arms/weapons inspired them to raise against the oppressors. At least one man had a gun at their home in Kham where they used against each-other when it occurred conflict between the clans & tribes. She continued that even though Khampas were well enough to experience as fair and warriors in fighting, but yet Buddhism was a very much crucial in their life which played the huge role to come to gather against the invaders because they tried to destroy the dearest things of Tibet, indeed it was Buddhism.

In June 1958, the Chushi Gandruk was formally established and grounded for war against PLA. An undergrounded army was backed by the CIA, it consisted mostly of Eastern Tibetan Khampas. According to Thupten Juchon, the former Prime Minister of Government-in-Exile, the relationship between CIA and Chushi Gandruk was already begun in 1956 –they had very high hopes.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was formally established under the National Security Act of 1947 and was approved by legislation, the US Congress. US President Harry S. Truman was the executive head when it was implemented (official website of Central Intelligence Agency). The primordial motive of CIA was to covert action against the enemy during the Cold War period. As cited from the official definition about 'covert action' is: 'An operation designed to influence governments, events, organizations, or persons in support of foreign policy in a manner that is not necessarily attributable to the sponsoring power; it may include political, economic, propaganda, or paramilitary activities.' CIA's major activities were performed the task under the National Security Act, and correlating, evaluating, and disseminating intelligence affecting National Security (official website of CIA). So, CIA has been the best part of American National Security since its establishment and especially after the World War II. Moreover, the fight between capitalist and communist for influencing their power and politics in the national, regional via global circumference caused to active

participation of CIA in covert action. Until the fall of Soviet Union in 1990, Russia headed the communist bloc whereas America was the leader of capitalist bloc. Thus, cold war between the super powers created conflict in the regions, which hardly could be seen peace in any region. From Africa to Asia, the Europe, and the American herself were dragged into the unforgettable war that we've ever seen.

Same way, CIA's involvement in the war between Tibet and China since 1950s was also the major cause of political as well as regional security concern. We'll talk more about CIA in the next chapter which shows the triangular relationship between US-Tibet-China in terms of securities concern.

Acknowledging the view, according to the writer of "The CIA's Secret War in Tibet", Kenneth Conboy & James Morrison, "smacked of geopolitical fantasy" (pp219) underpin the fact of political utility in Tibet operation which CIA had sponsored. Before the Dalai Lama, fled to India, the operation was already barked on training for young Tibetans about how to run the paramilitary activities, and communicating the operation – as told by Clay Cathey in an interview who was the former case officer, Tibetan Task Force. Despite the supplies of weapons and training, the covert operation assisted to produce cadres to extend the resistance in Tibet – John Gear who was Tibetan Task Force Deputy Chief (1957 to 1961) denied that it was never planned that the Americans would be in Tibet. He claimed that it was strictly a Tibetan plan. It was continued until the late 1960s, and desperately ended without any achievement. The complete end of the war was by the year of 1974. According to Kapstein, M. T., the American aid for the war began to downsize after the visit of US President Richard Nixon and foreign secretary Henry Kissinger. The purpose of the visit was to normalize the relationship with the China in 1971. This clandestine visit, however, ended with dismal failure. In the experience of one of the officers who was involved in the operation quoted as-

“Of the forty-nine men dropped into Tibet since 1957, only twelve survived. Ten had escaped after arduous and dangerous treks to India. One had surrendered and one had been captured, and both of them served long prison terms. The other thirty-seven had been killed in greatly unequal battles against Chinese air power and overpowering numbers on the ground, coupled with an unforgiving climate and the absence of a safe haven in which to establish a secure base.” - (Cited from Kapstein; 2006 pp286)

In the beginning, CIA used to provide para-military training for those who were recruited from the proper area of ethnic Kham. These were the fighters who raised arms against the PLA and were living in Kalimpong, north part of India. CIA trained them to gather and bring the information about the ongoing situation inside Tibet so that it could be easy to make strategy against the Chinese to move out from the plateau. CIA had design this strategic plan with the cooperation of Gyalo Thondup, the elder brother of Dalai Lama. Thondup was in contact with CIA from the early in 1950s. His active role to establish Tibet's Independence movement had not succeeded and was still planning to contact and work with other international powers to protect the Tibetan identities and cultures. That's why, it was a guerrilla war run by the state who were in exile and sponsored by CIA with support of neighbour countries and their governments; India, Nepal, & US. On the same basis, they were sent to get training at Colorado, the mountainous zone of US (Levin; 2003 pp295-296).

The strong presence of America through CIA in the era of 1950s and 1960s in Tibet-China conflict shows that American policy of check and balance in the Asia Pacific was overwhelmed by the vital interest of political as well as security concerns. In order to reduce the communist influence and to implement democracy with economic liberalization was the primordial tools that United States and the western powers had imagined to make an order of international peace and security in the Asian Pacific.

This betrayal ending of Khampa resistance shows how things are undergone when nothing justify to change an order which they had imagined; the long battle even could not find the solution except to surrender or die. All the dreams were absorbed when they heard the voice of Dalai Lama about to lay down the weapons; many of them did suicide, cried, and were arrested and brought to Kathmandu as a prisoners. Their battle against the Chinese as well as Tibetan aristocrats who had imposed the social discrimination inside Tibet had a very depraved ending by 1974. That's why, the writer of *Arrested Histories*....., Carole Mc Granaham, has argued very beautifully on the theme of Tibetan resistance and advised to overlook for the alternative thought behind this conflict from the prospect of change and order inside the Tibetan society. Obviously, nobody will never argue that Khampa (Tibetan) war didn't mean to protect, Buddhism, the religion of Tibet. Nevertheless, the existed social disorder, and discriminatory behaviour those posed by the foreigners and the upper-strata inside Tibet were still the major challenges. These challenges which the brave Khampas had imagined to eradicate from the root were ended with ambiguity. That's why, Thupten Juchon,

the former prime minister of Tibetan government-in-exile explained that these guerrillas' hopes were dismissed by the controversies of distracting views that put forwarded from different levels. Those who were supporting this guerrilla movement, the CIA, acts of His Holiness, and other neighbour supporters like Indians and Nepalese even could not help much to finalize for the establishment of Tibetan Independence at all.

4. Political, Cultural & Religious Values

Having own identical history and culture along with specific plateau characteristic and the religious fame has brought Tibetan popularity around the world. The actual size of the population is fluctuating in different time in historical move (Kvaerne; 1994 pp507). Tibetan popularity of culture, art, religion, glory, and hospitable behaviour of her people has made the state more dynamic and adjustable to the entire community of the people in the international arena. That's why, the Dalai Lama has perceived the view – “The Conservancy of Tibetan Art and Culture is working to create a better understanding of peoples, cultures, and traditions of Tibet, as well as the treats that confronts them. Tibetan culture forms a valuable part of the world's heritage. Humanity would be poorer should it be lost – His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso (Official Website of His Holiness).

Tibet is supposed to have been existed in the 7th Century A.D. During the reign of Songtsen Gampo, a powerful ruler of the kingdom, it had positioned a strong military and economic bestow of central Asian history. Tibetan political history has been influenced by the religious and cultural tradition of its diversified ethnic entity from the very beginning. The power politics of Tibet eventually have not being consisted in the same linear pragmatism. Different internal and external factors had played the early Tibetan power into turmoil and disintegration for long time. The kingdom which Songtsen Gampo had established was lasted for two centuries. Political contact of Tibet with China was started in the time of Songtsen Gampo. The power of Tibet under the dynasty created by him was expanded Tibet's borders to include, in the north, much of Today's Xinjiang province, in the west, parts of Ladakh / Kashmir; in the east Amdo and kham – parts of Today's Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, Yunnan provinces (Norbu; 2001 pp338). Thus the nationalistic conception of Tibet comprises Kham, and Amdo, besides U-Tsang which is called ‘Cholka-Sum’ by the Tibetans. The exiled Tibetan government at Dharmasala (India) is premised and so structured upon the conception of ‘Cholka-Sum’ centred around the persons and institution of the Dalai Lama, who has brought about, in exile, considerable cultural and political unification of Tibetans from various parts of the Tibetan plateau (Norbu; 2001 pp338). On the same way, Norbu stated about the argument of His Holiness, as he said – “I've always emphasized that any negotiation must include the whole of Tibet, not just the area which China call the “Tibetan Autonomous Region”.

In this way, Tibetan historical fragmentation regarding the political control over the plateau was mainly caused due to the volatile security of her own mechanism. During the 17th century, relative weakness of military power and the frequent invasion by the foreign powers like Mongol, Manchu, Nepalese, British & Chinese made the Tibetan Society unsecured (Kapstein; 2006 pp127). The security dilemma faced by the Buddhist ruler, the Dalai Lamas, lacked all the plausible area of setting the independent political sphere until the reign of 13th Dalai Lama, Tupten Gyatso (1876-1933). By the time of Chinese nationalist movement under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen got succeeded to abolish the monarchy, Qing Dynasty, and then Tibetan sovereignty came into her traditional Buddhist ruler. 1911 was significantly important to Tibetans for getting back the glory and power to run their own system by themselves. That movement had got the victory of Chinese people against their aristocratic Qing Dynasty, and on the other hand, it ends the long Chinese imperialism over the Tibetan history. During that period, the 13th Dalai Lama declared the proclamation regarding the Tibet's independency since the 1642 onwards nobody except the Dalai Lamas and their predecessors have ruled the Plateau. So, Tibet have had diplomatic mission from Nepal, Sikkim, Britain, and later on India also signifies their independency until 1948 (Lixiong & Shakya; 2009 pp4).

There was also something in the Tibetan social history from 1912-48 which had encouraged complacency. The simple minded Tibetans saw their easy expulsion of the Chinese troops from Tibet, which was really made possible by the 1911 Revolution following the speedy departure of the Younghusband Expedition in 1904, as simply the work of their faith. This interpretation reaffirmed their belief in the existing value system and shut the door to any exogenous source of change. The absence of an exogenous source of change is not by itself an indication of the well-functioning of a society. It may at best prolong a slow decline if the social structure is disequilibrium and the value system has ceased to be sacred. But such was not the case in Tibet by 1950. This fact is easily proven by a number of books, 4 especially those written by westerners who spent several years in the country when the term "Tibet" was not a subject of political controversy. The French weekly L'Express asked a French Tibetologist a similar question about the Tibet into which we are trying to inquire. His reply was: "Tibet is not only an ethnic group but a civilization. The Tibetans stand distinctly from the Chinese with whom they have nothing in common. Tibet was also one of those rare nations of the world that developed its own culture till the twentieth century, in complete isolation from external influences. It was a country where literacy was high, and where until

1959 many dozens of new books, on voyages, poems, and biographies were being published each year. It was a religiously active country where they were still constructing monasteries. Every member of the nobility had a library and artists were brought into their homes, at high prices. It was a civilization in no way on the decline, but on the contrary, having escaped colonialism, it continued to develop along its own lines." 5 Indeed, the historical development in Tibet was almost the reverse of the familiar patterns of Europe or elsewhere. Up to the 8th century AD, Tibet was a powerful monarchy in which the native belief system called Bon did not have the kind of hold over the State that Buddhism subsequently exerted. Four centuries later, however, the Buddhist revolution in Inner Asia had clearly succeeded; a lamaist "theocracy" had replaced the lay monarchy and Buddhism increasingly dominated both State and society. The separation of "Church" and State, so vital in Europe in breaking the clergy's monopoly of power and authority, did not occur in Buddhist Tibet until 1950.

Tibetan culture is inseparably linked to Tibetan Buddhism. Over the last 1000 years, Tibet has developed a unique, spiritual, and peaceful culture with Buddhism at its heart (Official Website of Free Tibet).

Religion is the word derived from the Latin term religio which means faith, belief, worship, creed, teaching, doctrine, etc. The definition of religion, according to oxford dictionary is – ‘The belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods’. Different people have different opinion on religious faith. It is a pursuit or interest followed with great devotion. The religion of the people are, for instance - Hinduism, Buddhism, Christians, Muslims, Sheikh, etc. These are the particular religious faith of religious people. Now-a-days, other people who doesn't believe on these religions, but, have their own religion such as Humanism, Environmentalism etc. Instead of visiting to Temple, Church, Monastery, Masjid, or Gurudwar, these kinds of people emphasize on human values and aware for the natural & environmental protection as their concern.

Likewise, Tibetan people have their own religion where majority of the people believe on Buddhism, some of them believe on Mohammad i.e. Muslim, others are Christians, and the rest of them are the believer of nature and its practices. So, Tibetan Buddhism which is practiced by the majority of their people has become the religion of Tibet. Mahayana version of Buddhism is the great vehicle of her religious practice. This is the supreme form of Lamaism and they are the own who is responsible for all the teachings and practices under his direction or super status. A simple monk is not supposed to taken as a part of Lamaism

because he needs to hold the power for the teachings and practices to perform the process of Mahayana with ‘tantras and sutras’. According to Buddhism, there are three categories of human being that headed the paths to liberation, or vehicles. For this, by principally, the purpose of super enlightenment, we all have the Buddha-nature within ourselves which can be realized under the potentiality of experiences. Thus, “the inherent nature (rang-bzhim) of thought (sems) is (everywhere and in everyone) the same, but its characteristics (mtshan-nyid) are different”. The intellectual capabilities differs to all beings because of passing the previous lives which significantly may affect the present life during the different stage of struggle session/development process. According to stage of development, the intellectual capabilities are classified into three levels – upper, middle, and lower (Stein; 1972 pp169).

But, since the Chinese invasion, they have been treating the religion of Tibet as an anti-Chinese and have not accepted to free and fair practice. Their intention seems to eradicate all the identities and culture of Tibet so that nobody talk about the Dalai Lama and follow about his way of life. On this regard, the report of the International Commission of Jurists shows in detail how Chinese policies have deliberately sought to erode Tibetan identity and culture, denying them the right to practice their religion, use their language and to protest the brutal repression (Kapadia;1998).

5. Middle Way Approach

Why middle way approach is advanced by his holiness, 14th Dalai Lama, to resolve the issues of Tibet – China conflict? This approach indicates the peaceful resolution of Tibet issue with China since 1950s. It consists of resolving the issue of Tibet which is on the basis of equality and co-operation. Apart from these, the characteristics of this approach are stability and co-existence under the territorial integrity for the people of both countries, Tibet & China. It is believed that it took long time to formulate this policy. The overall views of Tibetan Central Administration, the people who are residing inside and outside of Tibet, and the well-wishers around the world are the prime factors to establish this approach through His Holiness. That's why, it's important to address the issue of Tibet as the long run benefit for the Tibetan & Chinese people in the given territory.

The crisis in Tibet offers Chinese authorities the opportunity to give Tibetans their human rights, and at the same time set China itself on a new and better course – as Robert Thurman explains, the key is a simple monk and his Middle Way (Thurman, 2008). Middle Way approach has brought some hope for all the Tibetans and the international communities about the unsolved issues of Tibet which was not underpinned through the long enforcement over the plateau by the military communist ruler. This version looks democratic, peaceful, and workable even in the polarity background of different political and ideological determinants. We see how it goes in the case of Tibet/China conflict.

“Middle Way” – Even though Tibetan people's denial of present status under the People's Republic of China, they do not seek independence for Tibet which is a historical fact. That's why, middle path is the means and policy to resolve the issue within agree-disagree version (Strasbourg Proposal, 1988 for details please see appendix 3 in this paper). The importance of middle way approach is under follows:-

Greater Autonomous Tibet: Greater Autonomy of Tibet like Hong-Kong module (Janes Intelligence, 2004) is one of the key demand by the Dalai Lama. This is called genuine autonomy what the Tibetan exiled authority have been asked for the peaceful resolution of Tibet issue since 1950s. Tibetan perception regarding the autonomy which the peaceful liberation of PLA had used during the revolution era was not genuine. By contrary, the Chinese had continuously been claimed this autonomy was already been in the practice by that event. This differentiation of understanding between the conflicted parties have not still

met any solution to address the issue of autonomy in the plateau. That's why, His Holiness persuaded the Chinese misunderstanding through Strasbourg meeting to readdress the issue towards the achievable solution for the Tibetans. His remarkable thought of Greater Autonomous Tibet may get the solution instead of continuous unsolved independency with the hardliners at Beijing. This approach is overwhelmingly adjustable for both parties who are for & against the China/Tibet conflict. The degree of willingness is required for the conflicted party to realize the context regarding the issue whether it lies in the solution or not. This applies for both - the Tibetan diaspora/ exiled & the Beijing. If they feel the situation of sufferings faced by the Tibetans inside and outside of country, the positive aspects of constructing the good relations can help to develop the step towards the proposed plan for long-run.

Genuine autonomy includes all the system as it is in Hong Kong. That's why, it is called Hong Kong module. Hong Kong, it is under the Chinese mainland where governing system is run by own local administration except foreign policy & defence. The central authority, Beijing is responsible to look only the national vital interest of foreign relations and security concern. Orville Schell's peer review of the book entitled –The Tibet Question and the Hong Kong Experience - clearly explores the theme of reversion i.e. 'high degree of autonomy' from the 1st July, 1997. Chinese has been promised the freedom and self-ruling system in Hong Kong while signing the agreement with the British. Despite, the Chinese sovereignty would not accept to this offer even in their mainland but it occurred because the British had ruled Hong Kong for long time. Barry Sautman & Shiu-hing Lo's articulation regarding the acceptance of High degree autonomy or Genuine Autonomy (Concept of His Holiness) – “can be applied creatively to solve the Tibet dispute” with “looks anew” could be possible if the Chinese answers never be like – “The Hong Kong experience is inapplicable to Tibet because Hong Kong has yet to be reunited with mainland and unlike Tibet has not experienced socialist transformation”.

The essential of a genuine autonomy refers to self-determination which was originated from the insight of American president Woodrow Wilson. Later, it was accepted and have been practicing under the charter of United Nations. On 16th December, 1966, the two different covenants pertaining the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) & International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) have clearly underpinned the aspiration of self-determination by expressing the view on article 1 – “all

the people have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”

Similarly, the article 10 of Banguio Declaration on “Indigenous Peoples’ Self-Determination and the Nation State in Asia” has expressed about the self-determination/ genuine autonomy with the spirit of – “Assert that indigenous peoples in their exercise of the right to self-determination have the right to genuine autonomy or self-government, if they so decide, including but not limited to, in matters relating to culture, religion, education, information, media, health, housing, development, employment, social welfare, economic activities land and resource management, environment and entry by non-members into their territory as well as ways and means for financing these autonomous functions, as recognized in the draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.”

The right to self-determination of all human beings are essential to foster their own destiny by their own means and ends. That’s why, it’s important to develop Tibet by the Tibetans through the use of their personal, social and national interest. If the Chinese do not let them to decide what kind of governing system they need in Tibet, there is still right for Tibetans to fight against the discriminatory law and system that posed by the Chinese. The people’s will is the primordial force that help to change the autocrat regimes away via revolution. If the Maoist had used PLA to replace the nationalist government in China, why should the Chinese and the Tibetans do not abolish this totalitarian regime from the depth for the democracy and peace in the given territory? For this, they need the power of solidarity and determination to wake up every face against this criminal regime who believe the bullet from the barrel of guns rather than the ballot.

Five Point Peace plan (Address to US Congressional Human Rights Caucus, 1987)

- Tibet as a zone of peace
- Abandon the population transfer policy of Chinese into Tibet
- Tibetan people’s fundamental Human Rights and democratic freedom
- Protection of Tibetan Natural Environment and not to Tibet for production and dumping for the nuclear waste
- The early start of negotiation for the future of Tibet and of better relations between Tibet and China (Lama, Dalai; 1987). The detailed plan of this address to US Congressional Human Rights Caucus is available at Appendix IV of this paper.

The contrasting views forwarded by the Chinese side against the Middle Way Approach claims that they are not ready to accept this proposal that advanced by his holiness for the settlement of the issue. Chinese perspectives on the Greater Autonomous Tibet is “an unrealistic idea”. According to Bondeau and Buffetrille, Chinese government and people will never accept this “new proposal” or other similar suggestions....as they said, “The Chinese government has solemnly declared that neither independence nor disguised independence of Tibet will do”. Similarly, about the Five Point Peace Plan as per the Chinese perception is the disapproval of the interest & they said that –“In essence, it continues the advocating of ‘Tibetan independence’, which both the Chinese government and people resolutely oppose (Blondeau & Buffetrille, 2008).

Those views put forwarded by the Communist Party & the government of China has enlarged the gap for the possibility of solving the issues. Overall argument of the powerful factor in the conflict has always played a vital role whereas discontent will never find the way even around the problem. The problem is based on the long historic identity that both of them have exclaimed their own argument about the facts. In this situation, government institutions and the process are the key determinants to proceed the deadlock to exit for the resolution. On the same base, Sourabh Gupta’s explicit view may useful to address the situation here, according to him, genuine autonomy for Tibet with ‘government institutions and processes will help to find the way in the near future. He has put some suggestions for the readjustment in the decision of Government-in-Exile to resolve the issue. He further said that this is not only the dispute between Chinese & Government-in-Exile but the world society and international communities are there to look for the peaceful solution.

During the Europe tour of His Holiness in 2009, He repeated the approach of Middle Way and committed the struggle of Non-violent movement. His interaction was with the students in the popular Dutch program, he expressed – “The Tibetan Struggle is a national one and a Buddhist one. Since the goal is the creation of a compassionate society, then it must be achieved by compassionate means,” (Tibetan Bulletin, 2009).

Non-violence:

I’d like to start with the saying of Mahatma Gandhi which has covered in the book entitled – “Ghandhi’s Way” - “In my opinion, the beauty and efficacy of Satyagraha are so great and the doctrine so simple that it can be preached even to children” (Juergensmyer; 1984 pp1). Gandhi’s strength was non-violence and Satyagraha was one of them which he used in

different time and different occasion for the purpose of conflict resolution. His doctrine was inspired by ethical norms which encouraged his followers to tackle having from the political and social oppression in the open life (day to day life). Satyagraha was the belief of his religious thought i.e. Hinduism. Besides these, he had respect for all religions for its positivism. He thought the positive attitude towards respecting other believes will inspired human beings alive with dignity and justice.

During the movement of “British quit India” peoples were not actively participating which made Ghandhi dissatisfied with the term “passive resistance”, suddenly he coined the enduring term “Satyagraha”. Satyagraha is the words derived from Sanskrit which is the oldest language of the world. It is combined with two different word having the especial meaning where – “sat” indicates “that which is” or “being” or “truth” and another – “graha” means “holding form to” or “remaining steadfast in”. The proper meaning of Satyagraha then refers to “truth force”, or “soul force”. It is conducted directly through the actor’s beliefs – the “truth” in the person. That’s why, Schell’s perceptive view on Satyagraha as the non-violent action where actors refuse to cooperate against the prejudice law or otherwise offensive to their principles, convoyed by readiness to suffer the moments (Schell; 2003).

Many people including the great figures of the world who are political and social activist got influenced by the principle of Ghandhi’s non-violence. Among them, almost everybody got the prestigious peace award called Nobel, they are; Dr. Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, Aung San Suu Kyi, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet.

Dr. Martin Luther King, activist of American Civil Rights Movement, got information about Gandhi and his non-violent path from Dr. Mordecai Johnson, the president of Howard University. Even though Dr. King’s reputation was recognized as the true American Philosopher by the American Philosophical Association and his contribution in the areas - preacher, educator, and leader of nonviolent campaign for social justice even could not find the solution for the ongoing racial discrimination from the biased American society. Dr. King has explicitly talked in his work called “Pilgrimage to Nonviolence” about Ghandhi’s non-violence and its utilization to struggle against discriminatory American society for the establishment of equal rights for all - white and black. So, he got “Satyagraha” (truth force or love force) more significant to implement during his “Civil Disobedience” movement (LaFayette and Jehnsen; 2008).

Dr. King's move was so important to change the existed biased rules from the American society forever. Under these discriminatory law, black people were discarded everywhere – from street to café & theatre to office. That's why, the central theme of his move was to fix the error in the name of race which had disordered the modern American society by the elite white supreme. For this purpose, he started the campaigns from 1954 to 1968 where his mighty obedience followers helped him in different areas such as – Non-segregated buses, freedom rides, public interstate facilities, guaranteed protection, voting rights, open housing, ending slums, right to organize for garbage worker, end poverty in the United States, and right to organize hospital workers etc.

Dr. King's popular speech – “I have a Dream.....” had spoken on Aug. 28, 1963 during the “March on Washington”. His insights were guided by the “truth force”. Those remarkable thought had proclaimed the freedom and liberty on the basis of equality, opportunity, pursuit of happiness. On the one hand, the white based American society had been practicing the emancipatory rights for their welfare whereas, on the other hand, Negroes were still struggling like a slum and forbidden to access in the government level. Thus, it was a speech against the discriminatory law which was biased. At the same time, DR. King was appealing to the American authority for building the environment to be able to work together with the Whites on the basis of dignity and justice for the harmonious American society (King; 1963). Dr. King's dream came to fulfill in July 2, 1964 through signing the “Civil Rights Act of 1964”. In this way, His Nonviolence- “Civil Disobedience” got succeeded to establish non-discrimination, equality, dignity and justice, liberty and freedom to all the Americans. His constructive means of negotiation and process through the nonviolent way worked even to much powerful white based society which helped him to establish the equal justice for Black peoples as well as everybody (God's People).

The process and interactions are the major steps in the constructivist approach of social-political system. The way Dr. King followed to reach the goal and the goal by the way were more overwhelmingly substantial in his “Civil Disobedience” movement. His followers were enormous obedience on this process, too. That's why, his constructive strategies were prospered to found the equality in the biased American society. No other tools of intensifying the violence would worthy to illicit the existed discriminatory law before the powerful “White” based society. So the “means and ends” were proficient for holding the strategy in a stead and fast track during Dr. King's time of protest.

Likewise, the 14th Dalai Lama, a Nobel laureate, and the most prominent religious leader of Tibetan Buddhism, and ex-head of Government-in-Exile have been practicing the Gandhi's nonviolent path in his life. From the beginning, the Dalai Lama was not in the favor of armed struggle with the Chinese. By time being, he forwarded the negotiation and his middle way approach for peace and harmony in China-Tibet relationship. He has been in the constructive position of Tibet matter. For instance, his interactions with international community and several talks with Chinese authority by his representatives symbolizes that his willingness to resolve the issue foresees the good signs in the near future. The only matter for him is that his little bit pacifistic nature has scared some of the Tibetan about losing the battle. Whatever, His Holiness is trying and doing all the constructive ways to secure the political and identical norms of Tibet for long term purpose (Bharati Puri; 2002).

6. 2008 Uprising and Peaceful Protest by Tibetan Refugees in Nepal

These are some heart touching voices of Tibetan diaspora who have been living in Nepal for long time:

"I wish my sons and grandsons will return to Tibet and live a dignified life there."

-Sunam Doma, Tibetan Refugee of 51 years

“Four of generations of my family were confined in this camp; we are neither of Nepal nor of Tibet. I will die as a refugee.” **-Tibetan Asylum seeker**, (Bhattarai; 2010)

“Tibetan Refugees had never been the problem for Nepal but the matter for worry was the China’s pressure on Nepal regarding the Tibetans”. (Centre; 2002)

Since the early of Olympic Game in China in 2008, the peaceful protest of Tibetans inside and outside of Tibet (China) were uprising. The effect was also covered in Nepal, too. In Nepal more than 25,000 Tibetan refugees have been living since the 1959 revolt in Lhasa, capital city of Tibet. The active participation of these refugees made the situation more critical in terms of security matter. Nepal government had to face lots of pressure from the Chinese authority through her embassy at Kathmandu. On the other hand, security forces was ordered to maintain the existed challenges due to the peaceful protest and the pressures from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the western diplomats to run the non-violent activities of Tibetans in free and fair manner in accorded with human rights base (UDHR). In article 20 of UDHR, it has clearly stated as “Everyone has the right to freedom of assembly and association. No one may be compelled to belong to an association” (UN, Human Rights). Almost every day, we could see the protest and the arrested series of actions until the Olympic Game was over.

In the case of Tibet, there has been moral crisis that uprising in the global context with reference to human rights violation. It is blamed by Tibetan people who are forcefully displaced and living as a status of refugee, and world society who are always willing to advocate liberty and freedom for Tibetan people under such consideration against humanity:

- Ethnic Cleansing
- No freedom of speech
- Arbitrary Detention

- Arresting and killing of innocent people are going on
- Art and Culture of Tibet have been destroyed
- Greater Autonomous or Free Tibet is the demand
- Peaceful settlement of dispute and Chinese serious attention is required

While during the protest of Tibetan refugees at Kathmandu in March 2008, all those above mentioned voices had come out from the middle of the massive peace protestors as I had gone to monitor their movement through my organization. It was happened several times and the whole month before the starting of Olympic Games in China.

And inside Tibet, the voice of people were demanding the Tibetan freedom, too. Everybody took gather; people from village to city, school to university, religious institution to civilian, peasant to traders. They repeated the message like always – ‘‘Long live Dalai Lama; independence and freedom for Tibet; let the Dalai Lama return; democracy and human lives are precious; Tibetans should be granted freedom and independence through peaceful dialogue; may the exiles and the Tibetans inside Tibet be reunited’’ (Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy; 2008).

Similarly, in the general assembly of Human Rights Council of 14th Session-item 3, Ms. Leslie BUTTERFIELD on behalf of Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights entitled ‘‘Promotion and Protection of All Human Rights, Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Including the Rights to Development’’ – clearly underpinned the issues of human rights violation made by the Chinese authority of the government in Tibet during the spring 2008. She also dig out the unwillingness of the Chinese government for the report of Special Rapporteur and urge the Chinese government to extend the invitation to study over the issues. According to her, ‘‘ In daring to refute China’s official narrative of events since March, 2008, this new generation of Tibetans a more profound challenge to the ruling Communist Party authorities than before and, as a result individual are at greater risk. For the first time since the end of the cultural revolution in 1976, singers, artist, and writers have been the target of a drive against Tibetan culture in which almost any expression of Tibetan identity not validated by the state can be branded splittist’’ (International Campaign for Tibet; 2010)

During a decade long Maoist movement in 2003, according to the report of International Campaign for Tibet (ICT), “the overall situation for Tibetan refugees transiting through and living in Nepal continued to deteriorate, despite the promulgation of new written refugee policy by the Nepalese Government”. The director of Government relation for ICT and one of the report authors, Kelley Currie writes, “By their conduct, both the Nepalese and the Chinese Government flagrantly violated the basic tenets of International law.” While the Government of Nepal handed over the 18 Tibetan asylum seekers back to the Chinese custody in May 31st 2003, she adds, “what we are seeing in Nepal right now, particularly in terms of the growing Chinese influence and increasingly aggressive Chinese demand on the Nepalese Government, is very ominous” “The Nepalese Government is trying to walk a fine line with the Chinese. I think their position will grow increasingly difficult, and we are very concerned about the impact on Tibetans living in and transiting through Nepal” (International Campaign for Tibet; July16, 2004).

The protest of Tibetan refugees and the Chinese interest are simultaneously uprising in Nepal for last couple of years. During the beginning of 2008 before the Olympic Games, 40 peace Marchist’ were arrested by Nepal police near the border between Nepal and China and then returned to capital city Kathmandu. Fortunately, I was also there in the course of monitoring their peace march. They wanted to enter inside Tibet with the message of peace and democracy but the condition was not so good because I saw near the border many Chinese civilian police and military were exercising their activities. Many Journalist and photographers were there, and Nepalese Security forces stopped them from crossing the border.

Figure 1



***Monitoring of Peaceful Movement of 40 Peace Marchist, 2008 – Nepal-China Border**

Being a human rights defender, I also requested them for not to walk ahead over for crossing the border. It may danger and might be arrested and executed if they overruled the blockade made by Nepalese security forces. The Chinese civil personnel were exercising their activities inside the Nepalese border, too. In this situation, the peace marchist were crying and feeling that they will not be able to give the message of His Holiness for the people of Tibet. The 2 hour long continuous effort of the peace marchist could not find the way to get inside Tibet, but at same time, Nepalese security personnel used excessive force to arrest those marchist and took them to city police office, Mahendra Police Club, at Kathmandu. Next day, they were handed to immigration office to send them back to Dharmasala.

I used to monitor and observe their peaceful protest from my organization, HURON, and sometimes they invited me to attain the program and also request for speech about their peaceful movement, too.

Figure 2.



Figure 3



***Few Words towards the Tibetan Refugees & their Peaceful Protest, 2008, Kathmandu, Nepal.**

Their movement sometimes looked untidy too. This is because of the young protestors who wanted to override the limited area which the Government of Nepal has restricted to protest. Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible to maintain the situation more secured, it is because Nepalese authority has uphold the “One-China Policy” from the very beginning as her foreign policy. Nepal has been adopting One-China policy since the diplomatic ties were established in 1st August, 1955. This was just the preceded relations form the long-time friendly relations which was supposed to be existed from the 7th Century B.C. During the time of Tibetan King Song Tsen Gampo who had married Nepalese prince Bhrikuti. Besides these, Nepalese architect called Araniko was famous in China for his contribution to build White Pagoda in Beijing. And historically, around 5th Century, Nepal-China relations have been importantly observed in search of peace & knowledge for saints and sages (Official webpage of Government of Nepal, Mofa). That’s why, peaceful protest of free Tibet movement is considered as anti-China activities.

It also depends upon the situation of different political party and their position in the government. The democratic parties are noted to be generous than leftist groups. When the Chairman of Nepal communist party (Maoist), Prachanda, was appointed as new Prime Minister, all the activities of Tibetan refugees were prohibited and several were house arrested. Figure 4



***Tibetan Women Leaders got released after the Court's Order against the illegal house arrestment by the security force, 2008. Sundhara (Central Jail), Kathmandu, Nepal**

Then, Jhala Nath Khanal, Chairman of Communist Party of United Marxist-Leninist became The Prime Minister. Khanal was always been closed to Chinese ally from the very beginning (means i.e. north favour) and we could see the Chinese influence over the Nepalese Sovereignty. That's why, during his premiership, he had visited China but was not officially invited to visit India. In 2011, US secretary of State Maria Otero, US special coordinator for Tibetan issues, visited the Tibetan Refugees Transit Centre in Kathmandu on the mid of last February with the US Ambassador to Nepal Scott De Lisi. They talked about the new arrival of asylum seekers and shown keen interest of leaving home town. Otero also met with the Tibetan Leaders who are living and hosting the Refugees Community there in Kathmandu, Nepal. Tibetan Transit Centre in Kathmandu was established in the early 1990 for the purpose of assisting the asylum seekers to protect and urgent help after a long journey of Himalayas between separate Tibet and Nepal, and is concerned with the response to US Congress. "Her visit signals that concerns for Tibetans, both the refugees and vulnerable long-staying population, remain a key interest in US relations with Nepal." (Sudeshna Sarkar; 2011).

The European Parliament (EP) asked Nepal Government to let vote for Tibetan Refugees for their upcoming election to choose the head of Government- in – exile, calling it a fundamental right that must be upheld, protected and guaranteed. "The EP passed a resolution, and said that Nepal didn't allow voting to choose their Prime Minister of Government-in-Exile and all these happened under the pressure of Chinese administration. It also said that the unique election process has been existed since 1960 and this was important for strengthening and preserving of Tibetan identity both inside and outside Tibet" (Sudeshna Sarkar; 2011).

It is seen that Tibetan refugees have been facing the problems of different types. The difficulties start facing from birth and grow advanced. Tibetans who arrived prior to 1989, and their offspring, qualify for a government-issued refugee [identity] certificate (RC) and can remain in Nepal but with certain limited civil rights, restricted movement and some degree of security in case of harassment. But those who entered Nepal after 1989 were not allowed to live in Nepal illegally, however, could make Nepal as transit to travel to India.

Government of Nepal has yet not registered all the Tibetans who entered prior 1989 (UNHCR).

Thus, long debate is needed in the favour of peaceful protest because every individual has equal right to live a life in peaceful and desirable way. Human rights are universal and irrespective to race, gender and nationality. Value of human life must be acknowledged and peaceful resolution of Tibetan problems must be found without any delay as this has already been a long overdue.

7. Future of Tibet: Role of Negotiation

What does it mean about the future of Tibet? Why is it important for the security of Tibet and her people in the future perspective? Who are the responsible for constructing the future of Tibet? Is there anybody inside and outside of Tibet who really wants to bring new package to create peace & stability in the Tibetan plateau? Can United Nations, European Union, United States, United Kingdom, Russia, India, Norway, or Nepal play an important role to bring the Chinese authority be more responsible to embrace hands with the Tibetan Government in Exile or the 14th Dalai Lama for the future of Tibet?

The stabilization and the development of any particular country and its policy is guided by political factor under the system which state performs and act its behaviors inside and also outside in relation to foreign affairs as well. The same thing happens here in the case of Tibet and policy adopted by China. For instance, being a totalitarian party system and communist ideology followed by the state for around 6 decades are still the causes inside Tibet and China in the central level where democratic system and human rights have not been included in the system of acting and guiding principles of People's Republic of China (PRC). That's why, Tibetans have no say in making the decisions which can change their life more sustainable in developing individual as well as societal welfare. The grip of party on power has a special significance in Tibet since in the minds of most Tibetans the party remains the administrative arm of an occupying power (Schwartz; 1994 pp1-19).

The relationship between the countries or among the countries is based on time variation. Time is the most powerful universalistic truth which has been positioned its bestowment to integrate and disintegrate the great powers according to their activities. These activities are related to past, present, and future spectrum. Presently, we can see how the great power has got the tragic end by the end of last century. The dissolution of Soviet Union is the perfect example of this venture whereas the integration of West and East Germany have explicitly inaugurated their alienable right to assimilate. These are the game of power politics. The power politics of particular nation is depends upon some determinants which are directly or indirectly related with her people. If people are satisfied with the ruling system and their leaders, definitely, the internal strength is enough to protect her sovereignty. If not so, the probability of disintegrating the nation states into various forms will be there to indicate the will of peoples' dissatisfaction. On the query of Melinda Liu, the reporter of Newsweek asked His Holiness about his perception regarding the renouncing the Tibetan independence

and the violence as the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao wanted to talk to the exiled leaders if the conditions goes like that – but, he argued explicitly and remembered his talked to some Chinese scholars during the previous visit to United States that everything will happen upon the people’s satisfaction. If people are satisfied then none of the force can’t separate Tibet from the Chinese mainland, otherwise he’ll not guarantee even himself for any statements and signature may work at the given condition (Melinda Liu; 2008). The detailed conversations are available at Appendix 5 of this paper, where he had talked about the future of Tibet and about the Tibetans’ happiness under the Chinese mainland is possible if we foresee the commonalities between the inter & intrastate concept of welfare mechanism, for instance, the work of European Union can be taken as for such part. For long decades, EU has been playing vital role on their zone and on the rest of the world in terms of producing sustainable peace and economic prosperity. That’s why, Nobel Peace Committee has awarded the prize for 2012 as its long time achievement award on working for such welfare parts. On this perspective, Noble Peace Committee has said – The Nobel Peace Prize 2012 was awarded to European Union (EU) “for over six decades contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy, and human rights in Europe” (Official Website of Nobel Prize).

Sometimes, external powers are there to look inside others’ internal matter because of the international interest. These interest are associated with - political, socio-economic, peace, security, and human rights etc.

If the identification of Chinese history refers to integration and assimilation of her ethnic minorities, then Tibet should be taken as a part of her mainland. If not then it should be permitted to act like a nation state. While considering the fact of Dr. Sun Yat Sen’s opinion during the nationalistic movement of Chinese history after the abolition of Qing Dynasty – openly argued that – China, including Qing imperial possessions, was an indivisible unitary state: “In Chinese history unification of the country has been regarded as the normal phenomenon, and the separation of the country as an abnormal phenomenon” (Smith; 2004 pp7).

Here, I would like to cite some statements of those persons who are the key elements directly or indirectly regarding to the issues of Tibet – China. From these view points, we can analyze the past & hope for the better future of Tibet in relation to find peaceful resolution with her Chinese counterpart. I’ve cited the views from the work of political scientist, Dawa Norbu.

His famous book called – ‘‘China’s Tibet Policy’’ which is the great job for bringing the possibility of resolving the current Tibet-China conflict.

‘‘Since Tibet is not the same as China, it should ultimately be the wishes of the people of Tibet that should prevail and not any legal or constitutional arguments. That, I think is a valid point. Whether the people of Tibet are strong enough to assert their rights or not is another matter. Whether we are strong enough or any other country is strong enough to see that this is done is also another matter. But it is a right and proper thing to say and I see no difficulty in saying to the Chinese government that whether they have suzerainty or sovereignty over Tibet, surely, according to any principles, the principles they proclaim and the principles I uphold, the last voice in regard to Tibet should be the voice of the people of Tibet and of nobody else.’’ – Jawaharlal Nehru

Nehru had argued about the Future status of Tibet is depends upon the will of their people. Then, there is no way than of negotiation to solve this issue. It’s because Tibetans could not fight comparatively with the Chinese to regain their lost identities. That’s why, to protect the identities and culture of Tibet, the one and only means is the nonviolent way and dialogue. After the 1950s’ revolt, the meaningful dialogue was just begun by 1978. He was Deng Xiaoping who initiated this process with the Dalai Lama. Although none of the Chinese authority had been seriously undertaking even a single talk to the exiled Tibetan leaders, Deng Xiaoping’s government unlocked the peace process which was not being resolved but was overdue. This bold decision was taken by Chinese authority under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. It looked possible after the death of Chairman Mao. Under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, Deng Xiaoping had been placed on 3rd position after Chou Enlai. That position was created according to the contribution in the party system. When Deng Xiaoping got the power, he opened all the way for the Tibetan exiled leaders to ‘‘return to their mainland’’.

The forthcoming scenario was developed by some clause and conditions. For instance, the Dalai Lama had to accept Tibet as an integral part of China. In other words, he had to quit the Tibetan independence movement. On the other hand, Deng Xiaoping was ready to accept all the demands of exiled Tibetan leaders, except – Independence! After Deng Xiaoping, Hu YaoBang in the 80s, offered His Holiness to return to Tibet which could be seen as 5 point returning package and available at appendix 2 of this paper. But, it had changed the Tibetan status which was claimed for her independent. The shifting of Tibetan independency from political to economic concern made unhappy to some Tibetans. His Holiness then started to

focus future of Tibet in terms of material welfare rather than the political independence. Consequently, the freedom fighters lost their battle of independent Tibet when the Dalai Lama expressed his argument on March 10, 1978 by saying –

“If the Six million Tibetans in Tibet are really happy and prosperous as never before, there is no reason for us to argue otherwise.”

He further argued after one year that – “the main reason why we are in exile is the welfare of the Six million Tibetans.”

It was on 1980, he overtly claimed that – “the core of the Tibetan issue is the welfare and ultimate happiness of the six million Tibetans in Tibet.”

It also varies on the thought of the people who have been involved on the conflict. Conflict by its nature are very tragic, it has to either win or loss. The overview of His Holiness can be considered as the fully spiritual sights which had still power to regain the lost identity through negotiation. If the belief of negotiation succeeded, there was the possibility of win/win situation, too. His hope and negotiation is in the same line till to this date.

However, the overall situation was supposed to be handed in for the sake of demands and needs of the necessitate procurement of the time. It is because the changing political realm was also the main cause which brought the exiled Tibetan leaders to accept the proposed scheme made by Deng Xiaoping. It was the growing relationship of US-China which was emerging due to their matter of interest. In early 1970s, Nixon and Mao had an agreement about the bilateral issues between US and China (Cohen; 2007). Under these agreements, US had to recognize Tibet and Taiwan as the parts of Chinese mainland whereas US interest was to get support from China in the Vietnam War. Apart from these, US interest was to cut the ties of Chinese involvement with Soviet Union during the cold war. At that time, US foreign policy was guided by anti-communist norms. According to Lee Kuan, “the basic feature of US foreign policy during the cold war was inclusiveness – a willingness to embrace any country that opposed communism, whatever its type of government. The Unites States contested the Soviet System and held the line militarily, and its consistent and comprehensive approach eventually led to the Soviet Union’s implosion” (Yew; 2007). That’s why, it is also important for Americans to maintain the balance of power and downsize the growing capabilities of Soviet Union in terms of political as well as regimental basis in the Asia pacific.

It is important to look the relationship between US & China because they are the major player of twenty first century in the international arena. The strong presence of US economic and military capabilities are noted to be worthy for last 6 decades while Chinese are emerging power and competitor with US for these capabilities. Besides these, US commitment of human rights and democracy have played vital role to maintain international peace and security in an international arena whereas Chinese are less concerned about these prioritized areas. This is the political differentiation having with pluralist ideology which govern the US national and international policy towards her own people and others' around the world. By contrary, the totalitarian regime having with communist ideology even could not run their own internal system based on pluralism and democratic version. It seems that Chinese are only concern about their single party system within their internal affair but they have adopted the liberalized economic policy in the global circumference. That is the cause of differentiation between these two super powers since the end of World War II or the beginning of Cold War. Until the 1940s, American had an alliance with the Chinese nationalist government, but ended the warm relation by the rise of Chinese Communist Party (CCP).

US-China relations sometimes looks very strange and sometimes looks closer to make an ally. It depends upon the interest and needs when feel to be worthy and otherwise relationship goes like zero level because of the issues in the area of human rights violation in the case of Tibet and Taiwan as per the deal of weapons. We can say there is always positive & negative correlation between them. The overview put forwarded by Harry Harding in his work of "A fragile relations" – the different cycles US-China relations between 1972 and 1992, characterized as a pattern of "progress and stagnation, crisis, and consolidation" where geo-political and strategic concerns, ideological differences and economic concern are the major areas which push the relationship in different direction. He further argued that ideological difference and economic remain subordinate to geo-political concern. Likewise, Rosemary Foot did research between the relationship of these two nations from 1949 onwards in a predominantly thematic overview which focused on diplomatic, strategic, economic, and domestic political aspects. On her findings, she got – "American relations with China were embedded in a wider structure of relationships at the global and the domestic levels; they also embraced areas other than bilateral concern about the global strategic balance" (Tunsjø; 2008). She overlooked on the powerful influence of the realistic approach and important strategic work on their relation during the period.

If we have to see the relationship between these two powerful nations especially after 9/11 occurrence in 2001, they were closed to each-other. September 11 was the case of non-state actor vs. state. US had to bear great loss on this incident that attacked by Osama Bin Laden at the heart of American Centre called New York City where World Trade Centre (WTC) was stationed. Bin Laden, the head of Al Qaeda, had operated Jihad against United States. This was just the preceded activities of the previous frequent attack of 1993 at the same Centre, and bombing at US embassies in Kenya & Tanzania in 1998. In this way, September 11, 2001 opens up an era of crisis, upheaval, and militarization of American society (Chossudovsky; 2012). That's why, US had opened the project called War on Terror against the extreme Islamist groups including Al Qaeda. To fight against the terrorism, US had to take support from around the world because these kinds of activities by extremist were against the humanity and it was important to close all the associated activities with some especial actions. Then President Bush visited to China and got the support from his counterpart. Here, the time & situation again put together for these two super powers to fight against the enemies of the mankind. From these examples, we can say that US still make something positive and may bring peace & stability in the Tibetan plateau even the Chinese has their own stand about the Tibet issue and the negative attitudes towards the Tibetan exiled leaders. These both countries have the maximum and the highest trade relation among than the others. US has billion dollars of trade deficit with the Chinese, and the Chinese have the great market for their goods in the United States. That's why, US and China still have the potentiality to talk and make understanding about the issues of Tibet. It is because Tibetans are also human beings and they also have the right to life including all the associated activities to be exercised by virtue of humanity. Besides these, other international body like UN, EU, and peace negotiating countries like Norway can also play vital role to bring both conflicted parties together for the resolution of Tibet issues. This process will, definitely, bring peace & stability for Tibetan people inside and outside of Tibet.

Peace & Stability are not for short term assessment. These are for long run approach where people may feel the emancipation for their dignified life. Emancipation is the term which has a great value in human life. This signifies the freedom from long suppression by the colonial power, dictatorship, and autocratic regime. It is shame that still many people are under the suppression even at the age of 21st Century. After the World War II, many people at different continent got free from the colonial powers in the history like Indians got free from British, Korean got free from Japanese, Indonesia got free from Netherlands, South American

countries got free from Spanish & Portuguese, and many African countries got freedom from French, British, Italian, & German powers. These are the history and history teach us something about the past and also make us be aware about how to protect our identity & culture from these experiences in the near future. But, still powerful countries have not accepted to follow and negotiate with some disputed issues at this moment. We have just seen how Russia encroached Crimea which is under the sovereignty of Ukrainian territory (BBC; 2014). Under the 1994 Budapest memorandum, there was an agreement among US, Russia, Ukraine, and UK where nobody is allowed to interfere in the independency of Ukraine. But, now this has created a big issue around the world whether Russian has the right to capture others' territory in the legitimate (?) way or not. They used referendum to separate Crimea from the Ukraine. Referendum is not only the valid tool which give the right to foreigners to capture others' territory. But this has created security dilemmas in the whole European zone and European Union is concerned about how to solve this issue from having this kind of illegal activities. This non mandatory action is held under the direction of Russian authority that everyone knows about this fact. May be they are just trying to reform their lost territory by the use of excessive force which is based on military and atomic threat. We do care if Ukraine and all the nations which were released from the Soviet Union after 1990s wanted to be reunited then it is fine. If it goes like that then will Russia be willing to cooperate for building international peace & security? I think, they never want to build peace & harmony around the world because I've never seen any peaceful resolution they have made in the UN Security Council to solve the disputed issues in the time of war between the states or intra-state. The recent security crisis in Syria is the perfect example of their denial to intervene by the UN. Millions of people have been displaced and thousands of innocent people are dying from this autocratic regime headed by Bashar al-Assad. According to UN estimation more than 100,000 innocent people have been dead, and there is no sign of deescalating the violence which has caused over 6 million people are living as a stateless national (refugees) at this moment (The New York Times; 2014). This is caused by the Russian and Chinese Vetoed which they had used against the UN Resolution to apply about to sanctions Syria in 2011. The other members of the Security Council (US, UK, France) were aware for the humanitarian cause to protect the life and property of the civilians. During the session, there was just about 2700 people died (The Guardian; 2011). Now, we can see the vast difference of casualties of human beings which has increased $(1\ 00\ 000 - 2\ 700 = 97\ 300)$ more deaths from that period. And, the percentage of death rate is 3603.7% in three years period. This is

unbelievable and cannot even imagine how cruel be the person who hold the power to dictate his own people by such an evil thought. This is just an example of a dictator who is back forced by these powerful nations who still designate their positions on the Security Council at United Nations. Security Council and the member of this highly respected body of UN have to be aware about the ongoing situations of conflict around the world instead of supporting these kind of dictator somewhere like as Syria, Cuba, North Korea, Egypt, Iran, and many other countries around the world. Being the responsible one, if Russia and China wanted to solve the issues, they would, definitely, talked with their ally partner Bashar for bringing him at negotiation. Otherwise, the 100,000 innocent people would not have died by the Syrian military government. Who knows still how many thousands of people have to die for this cause? Can anyone tell us, who will protect the civilian life if their own government is willing to vanish them? What will happen the principle of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)? Why do we need United Nations? Are we still fascinated with 20th Century Warlord attitudes even at this 21st Century which is called the Century of emancipation?

Similarly, the patron and the lineage of 20th Century China how do we think about their attitude towards the Tibetans, were they friendly or adjustable to accept the relationship of “priest and patron” with the Tibetans? It would be difficult to argue, yes! When they killed thousands of students in the Tiananmen Square against the prodemocracy movement in 1989 (Donnelly; 1998 pp115), this made to international dissatisfaction especially in the area of human rights. How could we say their system is working in the favor of people’s will? If they don’t have power to listen their own people, then how could we be assure about their interest on human rights? From these experience what they have been practicing through their communist ideology; we can analyze that they still have no repent about the past in the name of revolution. Those revolutions; which took the death of thousands of innocent Tibetans including the monks and nuns, those revolutions in the name of cultural aspect, destroyed the thousands of monasteries and blamed Buddhism as an anti-Chinese religion. The same day while I was writing my paper, I saw the news about 1989 crackdown on its 25th anniversary where the Chinese official expresses that period as a political turmoil and they termed the protests “counter-revolution”. They still remember that it was the correct path for the sake of people (Reuters; 2014). During the same time, 1989, Chinese Communist government imposed martial law to detain the protest by the Tibetans. It was the following military rule after the 1959s when the Dalai Lama left Tibet due to the Chinese agitation against the

Tibetan independency and took over the sovereignty into the Chinese mainland (Melinda Liu; 2008).

Now, what happened to the future of Tibet? It seems that it still takes some time to change the Chinese perception about the Dalai Lama and the exiled leaders. Most frequently, the Dalai Lama has been blamed as the separatist and the friend of western hostile forces. There is lack of trusteeship between the leaders of both parties. This situation has been looked since the time of Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the Dalai Lama in 1989. This made the Chinese authority more jealous and angry with the Dalai Lama and the Western powers. Suddenly, Chinese got back from the negotiation with the exiled leaders about their return package which Hu Yaobang had put towards the Dalai Lama & the exiled leaders. Similarly, the Chinese actions on Tiananmen Square for prodemocracy students movement, Lhasa uprising & the martial law, and the fall of world communist regimes; Soviet Union & Yugoslavia – all made the Chinese to think about their Totalitarian rule based on communist ideology is being attacked by the capitalistic approach headed by the West. The changing international scenario and position always made the super powers into dilemmas in terms of securities, politics, economies, and foreign relations. The competition of holding the position for the US interest and to tackle the obstacles to get the position that followed by the Chinese is another interest. This is also called the status quo. There is the problem of egoism for getting more powerful than the enemy which is not working even at the time to address the issues. Is that the same thing which the new Chinese President Xi Jinping has foreseen in the future of China termed as “Chinese Dream”? Definitely, Chinese may have such ambitions to be number one in the world. Their history shows that different occasions have brought different dreams like 100 flowers in the time of Mao, harmonious society in the time of Hu, and now the repetition of something like before. Chinese dream, indicates the economic and the military power which the political leaders have foreseen in the future perspective (Wall Street Journal, 2014). Literally, they have termed this ‘Chinese Dream’ as for ‘Prosperity & Success’, and optimistic future for many Chinese. But, researchers have suggested that this dream has deeply penetrated the psyche of regular citizens in China. So, the political leaders since 1930s have been working on this very specific Chinese dream to get success on the theme what they have imagined for.

The newly changed political leadership in China has to be more sincere to set up the democratic process in their internal system. It is very important for them to keep the

international ties and responsibilities to meet their Chinese dream, too. Chinese relations is not being only limited to Asia, but has reached to Africa as well. The newly developed relations of Chinese with the rest of the world has emerged to succeed its dream in the near future. The growing ties of Chinese relation with other emerging powers like Russia, and India looks meaningful to achieve their destiny more successful. Recently, the visit of Russian president, Putin, in the China had unlocked the previous relations in the political, economic and security spectrum. With his visit, Putin has expressed that the relations between Russia and China entered into new stage which is a historic and significant to both countries (OneIndia News; 2014). Their long waited business deal in the areas of gas settlement has opened the other bilateral cooperation in the areas of nuclear energy, aviation, outer space exploration, medical care and public health, finance, and agriculture. Russian relations with the Chinese at this moment can be analyzed as the result of recent economic sanction to his country by the Western powers (European Union & American) in the case of encroaching the Ukrainian territory, Crimea. Similarly, the Chinese relations to another Asian rising power, India is going to look more-friendly in the near future. Last week, Xi Jinping got invitation to visit India by the recently elected new Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Modi is also interested to work with his Chinese counterpart in the upcoming days. He has just expressed to make good relations with other countries like Russia, Japan, and China in the priority list but not the United States (Sharma; 2014). Modi was repeatedly denied official visa to visit US when he was the Chief-Minister of Gujarat. US has accused him of involving in the Gujarat riot in 2002. But, US is expecting to work with the Indian new government together in the upcoming days because both of them have several treaties and projects such as nuclear deal and other strategic partner in the area of developments. Recently, Modi and his organization Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), got majority in the national election which is the historic victory for BJP. His victory has damaged the Indian Congress Party (CPI) and its popularity because they have been in the government for last 6 decades since the time of Jawaharlal Nehru. The cause of defeat for 'Congress I' is the case of corruption and the pacifistic leadership of Dr. Manamohan Singh because his government didn't give any interest to pass the bill of anti-corruption from the parliament. And, it was also the long period of ruled by 'CPI' which made people to replace and to test the BJP. On this regard, Modi has shown to work in the line of people's will and has also operated his willingness to work with the foreign powers on the basis of alliance and cooperation for the benefit of his nations as well as neighbor countries. That's why, he invited all the head of government from

the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) countries on his swearing ceremony which was occurred on 26th May, 2014 at capital city, New Delhi (Panwar; 2014).

So, the changing role of China, India, and Russia in the contemporary world has brought to make an ally on the basis of strategic and partnership which may produce to counter for the traditional role of US with these powers. If this alliance works, then it may hamper the US role in the Asia Pacific in relation to make strategic balance and security concern. With the so called role and positions of these countries towards the future spectrum, can lead to negotiate for the issues of Tibet? It is important for India, too. In 1959, India provided asylum to the Dalai Lama, and the Tibetans. Still there are about 100,000 Tibetans are living in the Dharmasala of Himanchal Pradesh near to border with China. The Indo-China war in 1962 was also the Indian cause for providing asylum to the Dalai Lama and his followers. Besides these, they have border dispute in many areas. India and China has disputed over 125,000 Sq. km area where Chinese claimed is for 26% of total areas (Fravel; 2005 pp56). Uncertainty is still there to compromise the disputed land by both countries because they have faced the past violent and even the war in 1962 even could not assimilate the territorial dispute. Now, there has been the possibility of both occurrence either solution or remain the existed dispute in their relationship. Or maybe they will have new compromise with the border dispute and the Tibetan issues be together. If both government be willing to recognize the past and work for the future, then possibly there is hope for the future of Tibet as well. As Tibetan Exiled government and the Dalai Lama have been accepting the Greater Autonomous Tibet within the Chinese mainland, there is no need to worry for Chinese about the Independent of Tibet. If Chinese leadership is willing to solve the issues with the help of newly elected Indian leadership, the Tibetans will be benefitted from the long waited dilemmas of insecurities, too. Still, don't know how it goes the relationship between these two governments. Here, the question still knock the door - will they really be interested on solving the issue of Tibet?

8. Conclusion

Tibet's lost stand on independent movement even could not find the solution to address the issue. The battle is almost lost but still there is some hope which are important to protect and promote the identity and culture of Tibet. These hopes are based on the negotiation which have been abruptly discontinued for further process. Lack of trusteeship between the conflicted parties has not got any result yet. Beijing is suspiciously watching the role and negotiation of the exiled leaders especially for His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet. Accusation of being together with the west and the secretly designed separation of Tibet from the Chinese mainland is what the Beijing has blamed for the Dalai Lama. Instead of heading to the conclusive dialogue for the future of Tibet, nobody will benefit by this provocative war against each-other.

The political independent Tibet was encroached by 1950s invasion from the Chinese PLA which brought the internal turmoil in the land of snow. Signing the 17 point agreement in 1951 was to legitimize the Chinese sovereignty which they had been asserted for long time in the name of suzerainty. Even though there was a formal incorporation with the Chinese territory, however, Tibet was struggling with the previous declared status which they had been practiced from 1912-1948. The 13th Dalai Lama had run Tibet under the same declaration from the Potala Palace until he died. On the other hand, the falsification of delicate team of Lhasa government on signing the agreement could not deliver the assurance to the Tibetans either. This truth was outspoken by the Dalai Lama after the long journey in the exile life at India. Dalai Lama's fled to India was the proof that the Chinese had not accepted the role and functions of his leadership in Tibet which they had agreed on signing the 17 point agreement. The agreement was just seen to step forward to assimilate Tibetan plateau in their dreamland. Otherwise, Chinese were very horrified from the foreign powers for their presence at any time. They were suspiciously doomed with the modern equipped British, American, and Russian military powers. Meanwhile, they had just previously faced Japanese invasion and got humiliated from that war, too. So, we can analyse the agreement between the Chinese and the Tibetan in 1951 was just the political strategy advanced by Mao to establish the communist ideology which may produce the sense of nationality to protect the mainland from the foreign powers by means of future dimension.

Social and cultural dimension of Tibetan commitment had denied to Chinese rule in the eastern part of Tibet, Kham. Chinese had started to reform the social structure and forfeited

the land from the owners, besides these, they tried to eliminate the religion of Tibet, Buddhism. The heavy bombardments in the monasteries like Litang and Chatang also caused them to resist against the Chinese Communist. They were attacked in every aspects, from personal to religious, and business to cultural. That's why, Khampa guerrilla tried to establish the independent Tibet. For this purpose, they formed "Four Rivers, Six Ranges" called "Chushi Gandruk" in Tibetan term. The formation of Chushi Gandruk was the distracted consequences of Chinese reform policy in Kham. Importantly, they were in connection with Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) who supported them to resist against the PLA. In the long period, almost 20 years, CIA aided weapons, trainings, and commanded Khampas to expel PLA from the Plateau. Unfortunately, Khampas were not able to regain their lost identity in Tibet. They were unable to establish the political and religious freedom in Tibet when CIA stopped them to further assistance, and the neighbour countries like Nepal was not interested on providing her territory for their armed struggle. This brought great dissatisfaction to the freedom fighters in terms of losing the battle. The battle which they started to fight against PLA was to establish their own identity in terms of religious, political, and cultural means. The reasons behind their losing the battle was except to those aids and Mustang base geo-point, the re-approach connectivity between PRC and US government in the mean-time. Under which they had an agreement to accept Tibet and Taiwan are the alienable parts of Chinese mainland. It was a great shock to the Tibetans about Nixon government to fell in the reverse policy of US during the cold war period. It was against the inclusive doctrine of US foreign policy for the communist ideology. That's why, international support was unexpectedly seemed adverse to fight against the Chinese communist in comparison to both militarily and economically. The bestowment for exiled leaders had no options but to message the freedom fighter to surrender their arms and ends the battle over. The end of rigorous conflict could not solve the future status of Tibet indeed.

Dalai Lama's strong commitment for genuine autonomy in Tibet opened from all the way to further process. He acknowledged the changing international political realm and advanced the middle-way approach for the settlement of Tibet conflict. Under middle-way approach, he forwarded the views of Greater Autonomous Tibet or Genuine Autonomy which is related to self-governing system in Tibet. It is also called Hong Kong module where except foreign affairs and defence, all the structure is based on the interest of countrymen. This version is termed like the Gandhian fight against British for Sworaj (Ruled by countrymen). Central authority, Beijing, is responsible to protect Tibet in terms of international relations and

security concerns. His commitment regarding these proposals were presented in the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus & Strasbourg (Parliament of EU) in the decades of 1980s. His proposal had greatly conveyed the message of non-violence and negotiation for the future of Tibet. Besides these, the thought which Dalai Lama had presented during those conferences made him to win the prestigious award entitled “Nobel Peace Prize” in the year 1989. This made Beijing impatient and got backed from the 5 point returning package to the Dalai Lama and his exiled Tibetans. Chinese authority, especially in the initiation of Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang had proposed to the Dalai Lama and the exiled Tibetans to return to the Chinese mainland which was termed as “return to the motherland” in appendix 2 of this paper. Consequently, it closed the door to further negotiation and ignored the concept of Greater Autonomous Tibet as the disguised form of separation of Tibet from the Chinese mainland. Further schemes have now apprehended until the Dalai Lama abandoned the thought of independent Tibet and Chinese extension over the plateau in the 1950s. Practically, it seems very unrealistic idea put forward by the Chinese for the forceful acceptance of being part of Chinese mainland. This is the thought of 20th Century warlord state minded which does not suit to comprehend the peaceful dialogue at any cost. Why is it being so much difficult to understand for Chinese about the fact of Tibetan independency before 1949 when they invaded Tibet? Don't they know the difference of Tibetan identity with the Chinese? Solving the Tibet issue does not mean to implement an order what the Chinese told to do. If Tibetans had to accept everything from the Chinese authority within their communist ideology, Tibetans would have surrendered all their assets before the Chinese invasion. Those assets were religious, social, and cultural norms and values of Tibet which are the traditions of Tibet. That's why, the exiled Tibetans are much worried about these traditional norms and values being endangered by the Chinese communist. Thus, the theme of Greater Autonomous Tibet is for the protection and promotion of Tibetan identity and culture for long run approach. Through which they will be able to maintain the threat and opportunity in the welfare of their society in the future perspective as well. On such a condition, the self-governing system directly advance them to flourish the existed identity and culture of Tibet from national to international level.

The changing political realm of international environment also plays vital role to open the deadlock. It applies in everywhere and in every concern. Problems have been rooted due to the nature of human beings. Human nature is basically guided with seeking more power to accumulate for the strength of their wellbeing. Sometimes, they look offensive and

sometimes defensive which depends upon the position of their status. This state of mind also rules the people for their personal as well as national interest. Morgenthau's "Politics Among Nations: Struggle for power and Peace" has taught the power in terms of interest. The power seeking nation is always dangerous to other states for encroaching property and territory. But it happens because of power seekers. Here, the case of Tibet-China also implies the ongoing conflict is the presumption of Chinese power accumulating nature where weak states like Tibet have no defensive capability to protect even her identity and culture. Consequences were the forceful expel of their leaders and the destruction of existed tradition under the communist ideology. These communist ideology never respect the will of people in the given territory. None of the history has taught us being good to others with these ideologies. In the name of Karl Marx (Proletarian based society), they detained their opposition by untold number of deaths like Russian pioneers of communist ideology, Leninist & Stalinist version. On the other hand, Satyagrahee (truth force holders) like Ghandhi, Dr. King, Mandela, Aun Saan Su Kyi, and others dig out the way to solve the ongoing conflict by means of non-violent and peaceful behaviour. Besides these, these process also protect the rights of the so called enemies, too, instead of taking the deaths. In every aspect of life there is always possibility of hope and negotiation to resolve the conflict. We have to believe an understanding the fact, then we've to realise it, and we've to make a decision so that our opponents do not feel it to be unjustified and unequal. That's why, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet has perceived the view that "past is past", whether Tibet was an "independent nation" or "under the Chinese suzerainty", but we've to think for the future of Tibet. How wonderful thought of the resolution, can't it? His realisation of Tibetan welfare with the Chinese mainland has the future dimension. Otherwise, his past experience of exiled life never even think of the previous destructive war during the 1950s and 60s. War headed us to the end where nobody is allowed to live and let live. Thus, we've to quit the 20th century warlord state minded.

The future of Tibet is the welfare of Tibetans in terms of political, religious, and socio-economic. Political Tibet may refers under the concept of Greater Autonomous Tibet as explained by His Holiness or something change in the province and its area. This differentiating arguments could be held under the negotiation and interaction by two conflicted parties, Beijing and government in exile or the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet. In case of need, they can ask help to worldwide recognized body like United Nations, and other international communities (USA, UK, Russia or Norway) or may be with the help of newly

elected Indian head of executive, Narendra Modi who is going to establish new relationship with the Chinese government in the upcoming days. If Chinese are interested on solving the Tibet issues with the help of India, then hopefully it will bring the possibility of establishing peace and harmony in the Asia Pacific. So, the Tibetans who are living as the status of stateless nationals outside the Tibet and the Tibetans who are living inside Tibet facing lots of injustice from the communist rulers and hoping for the better future of Tibet will be benefitted by this possibility of new Indo-China relationship. Then the Chinese Dream will fulfil by the face of the happy Tibetans.

Appendix 1

THE AGREEMENT OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT AND THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF TIBET ON MEASURES FOR THE PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF TIBET

23 MAY, 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 hundred years and 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 KMT [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 imperialist deception and provocations, but adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards the great motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan nationality and people were plunged into the depths of enslavement and suffering. In 1949, basic victory was achieved on a nation-wide scale in the Chinese people's war of liberation; the common domestic enemy of all nationalities--the KMT 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 and of the Central People's Government was announced. In accordance with the Common Programme passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Central People's Government declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal, and that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China may become one big family of fraternity and cooperation, composed of all its nationalities. Within this big family of nationalities of the People's Republic of China, national regional autonomy is to be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated, and all national minorities are to have freedom to develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their customs, habits, and religious beliefs, and the Central People's Government will 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 Central People's Government and the direct leadership of the 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 may be successfully eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished, and national defence safeguarded; in order that the Tibetan nationality and people may be freed and return to the big family of the People's Republic of China 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 Central People's Government, when it ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the local government of Tibet to send delegates to the Central Authorities to hold 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 from the Local Government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates of the Local Government of Tibet. The result of the talks is that both parties have agreed to establish this agreement and ensure that it be carried into effect.

1. The Tibetan people shall be united and drive out the imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; that 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 People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defences.
3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 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. 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 Lama (Ngoerhthehni) shall be maintained.
6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ngoerhthehni is meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Ngoerhthehni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.
7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference will be protected. The Central Authorities will not effect any change in the income of the monasteries.
8. The Tibetan troops will be reorganised step by step into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the Central People's Government.
9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality will be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.
10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce will be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions 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 must be settled through consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.
12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-KMT officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the KMT and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.
13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet will abide by the above-mentioned policies and will also be fair in all buying and selling and will not arbitrarily take even a needle or a thread from the people.
14. The Central People's Government will handle all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighboring countries and the establishment and

development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government will set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government it will 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 district and various principal monasteries; the name list is to be prepared after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and various quarters concerned, and is to be submitted to the Central People's Government for approval.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet will be provided by the Central People's Government. The Local Government of Tibet should assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchases and transportation of food, fodder, and other daily necessities.

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

Signed and sealed by delegates of the Central People's Government with full powers:

Chief Delegate: Li Wei-han (Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs);

Delegates: Chang Ching-wu, Chang Kuo-hua, Sun Chih-yuan

Delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet:

Chief Delegate: Kaloon Ngabou Ngawang Jigme (Ngabo Shape)

Delegates: Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdi, Khentrung Thuptan, Tenthar, Khenchung Thuptan Lekmuun Rimshi, Samposey Tenzin Thondup

(Source: 17 Point Agreement, available at

<http://www.tibetjustice.org/materials/china/china3.html>)

Appendix 2

Hu YaoBang's 5 Points Regarding the Dalai Lama's Return

28July, 1981

1. The Dalai Lama should recognize that China has now entered a new period of stability and economic change. If he doubts the reforms, he should observe the changes for the next few years.
2. The Dalai Lama should not raise the history of repression that followed the suppression of the 1959 rebellion.
3. The Chinese government sincerely welcomes the Dalai Lama and his followers to return to the motherland. China hopes that the Dalai Lama would contribute to upholding China's unity and promote solidarity between Han and Tibetan nationalities.
4. The Dalai Lama would have the same status as he had enjoyed before 1959. He may be appointed Vice-Chairman of the NPC. But it would be necessary that he should not live in Tibet or hold any position in Tibet as there are younger Tibetans who have taken office and are doing their jobs well. He may visit Tibet as often as he likes.
5. When the Dalai Lama returns he may make press statements, and arrangements would be made to receive him by a suitable minister.

Source:

Topgyal, Tsering (2011). Ph. D. Dissertation on: *The Insecurity Dilemma and the Sino-Tibetan Conflict*. London School of Economics and Political Science; pp297.

Appendix-3

Strasbourg Proposal 1988

Address to the Members of the European Parliament

Strasbourg, France

June 15, 1988

We are living today in a very interdependent world. One nation's problem can no longer be solved by itself. Without a sense of universal responsibility our very survival is in danger. I have, therefore, always believed in the need for better understanding, closer co-operation, and greater respect among the various nations of the world. The European Parliament is an inspiring example. Out of the chaos of war, those who were once enemies have, in a single generation, learned to co-exist and to co-operate. I am, therefore, particularly pleased and honoured to address this gathering at the European Parliament.

As you know, my own country - Tibet - is undergoing a very difficult period. The Tibetans - particularly those who live under Chinese occupation - yearn for freedom and justice and a self-determined future, so that they are able to fully preserve their unique identity and live in peace with their neighbours. For over a thousand years, we Tibetans have adhered to spiritual and environmental values in order to maintain the delicate balance of life across the high plateau on which we live, inspired by Buddha's message of non-violence and compassion and protected by our mountains, we sought to respect every form of life and to abandon war as an instrument of national policy.

Our history, dating back more than two thousand years, has been one of independence. At no time, since the founding of our nation in 127 B.C., have we Tibetans conceded our sovereignty to a foreign power. As with all nations, Tibet experienced periods in which our neighbours -Mongol, Manchu, Chinese, British and the Gorkhas of Nepal - sought to establish influence over us. These eras have been brief and the Tibetan people have never accepted them as constituting a loss of national sovereignty. In fact, there have been occasions when Tibetans rulers conquered vast areas of China and other neighbouring states. This, however, does not mean that we Tibetans can lay claim to these territories.

In 1949 the People's Republic of China forcibly invaded Tibet. Since that time, Tibet has

endured the darkest period in its history. More than a million of our people have died as a result of the occupation. Thousands of monasteries were reduced to ruins. A generation has grown up deprived of education, economic opportunities and a sense of its own national character. Though the current Chinese leadership has implemented certain reforms it is also promoting a massive population transfer onto the Tibetan plateau. This policy has already reduced the six million Tibetans to a minority. Speaking for all Tibetans, I must sadly inform you, our tragedy continues.

I have always urged my people not to resort to violence in their efforts to redress their sufferings. Yet I believe all people have a moral right to fully protest injustice. Unfortunately, the demonstrations in Tibet have been violently suppressed by the Chinese police and military. I will continue to counsel for non-violence, but unless China forsakes the brutal methods it employs, the Tibetans cannot be responsible for a further deterioration in the situation.

Every Tibetan hopes and prays for the full restoration of our nation's independence. Thousands of our people have sacrificed their lives and our whole nation has suffered in this struggle. Even in recent months, Tibetans have bravely sacrificed their lives to achieve this precious goal. On the other hand, the Chinese totally fail to recognize the Tibetan people's aspirations and continue to pursue a policy of brutal suppression.

I have thought for a long time on how to achieve a realistic solution to my nation's plight. My cabinet and I solicited the opinions of many friends and concerned persons. As a result, on September 21, 1987, at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in Washington, D.C., I announced a Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet. In it I called for a conversion of Tibet into a zone of peace, a sanctuary in which humanity and nature can live together in harmony. I also called for respect of human rights, democratic ideals, environmental protection, and a halt to the Chinese population transfer into Tibet.

The fifth point of the peace plan called for earnest negotiations between the Tibetans and the Chinese. We, have therefore, taken the initiative to formulate some thoughts which, we hope, may serve as a basis for resolving the issue of Tibet. I would like to take this opportunity to inform the distinguished gathering here on the main points of our thinking.

The whole of Tibet known as Cholka-Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) should become a self-governing democratic political entity founded on law by agreement of the people for the common good and the protection of themselves and their environment, in association with the People's Republic of China.

The Government of the People's Republic of China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy. The Government of Tibet should, however, develop and maintain relations, through its own foreign affairs bureau, in the field of commerce, education, culture, religion, tourism, science, sports and other non-political activities. Tibet should join international organizations concerned with such activities.

The Government of Tibet should be founded on a constitution or basic law. The basic law should provide for a democratic system of government entrusted with the task of ensuring economic equality, social justice, and protection of the environment. This means that the Government of Tibet will have the rights to decide on all affairs relating to Tibet and the Tibetans.

As individual freedom is the real source and potential of any society's development, the Government of Tibet would seek to ensure this freedom by full adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the rights to speech, assembly and religion. Because religion constitutes the source of Tibet's national identity and spiritual values lie at the very heart of Tibet's rich culture, it would be the special duty of the Government of Tibet to safeguard and develop its practice.

The Government should be comprised of a popularly elected Chief Executive, a bi-cameral legislative branch, and an independent judicial system. Its seat should be in Lhasa.

The social and economic system of Tibet should be determined in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, bearing in mind especially the need to raise the standard of living of the entire population.

The Government of Tibet would pass strict laws to protect wildlife and plantlife. The

exploitation of natural resources would be carefully regulated. The manufacture, testing, stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other armaments must be prohibited, as well as use of nuclear power and other technologies which produce hazardous waste. It would be the Government of Tibet's goal to transform Tibet into our planet's largest natural preserve.

A regional peace conference should be called to ensure that Tibet becomes a genuine sanctuary of peace through demilitarization. Until such a peace conference can be convened and demilitarization and neutralization achieved, China could have the right to maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet. These must be solely for defence purposes.

In order to create an atmosphere of trust conducive to fruitful negotiations, the Chinese Government should cease its human rights violations in Tibet and abandon its policy of transferring Chinese to Tibet.

These are thoughts we have in mind. I am aware that many Tibetans will be disappointed by the moderate stand they represent. Undoubtedly, there will be much discussion in the coming months within our own community, both in Tibet and in exile. This, however, is an essential and invaluable part of any process of change. I believe these thoughts represent the most realistic means by which to re-establish Tibet's separate identity and restore the fundamental rights of Tibetan people while accommodating China's own interest. I would like to emphasize, however, that whatever the outcome of the negotiations with the Chinese may be, the Tibetan people themselves must be the ultimate deciding authority. Therefore, any proposal will contain a comprehensive procedural plan to ascertain the wishes of the Tibetan people in a nationwide referendum.

I would like to take this opportunity to state that I do not wish to take active part in the Government of Tibet. Nevertheless, I will continue to work as much as I can for the well-being and happiness of the Tibetan people as long as it is necessary.

We are ready to present a proposal to the Government of the People's Republic of China based on the thoughts I have presented. A negotiating team representing the Tibetan Government has been selected. We are prepared to meet with the Chinese to discuss details

of such a proposal aimed at achieving an equitable solution.

We are encouraged by the keen interest being shown in our situation by a growing number of governments and political leaders, including former President Jimmy Carter of the United States. We are encouraged by the recent changes in China which have brought about a new group of leadership, more pragmatic and liberal.

We urge the Chinese Government and leadership to give serious and substantive consideration to the ideas I have described. Only dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead to a viable solution. We wish to conduct discussion with the Chinese Government bearing in mind the larger interests of humanity. Our proposal will therefore be made in a spirit of conciliation and we hope that the Chinese will respond accordingly.

My country's unique history and profound spiritual heritage render it ideally suited for fulfilling the role of a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia. Its historic status as a neutral buffer state, contributing to the stability of the entire continent, can be restored. Peace and security for Asia as well as for the world at large can be enhanced. In the future, Tibet need no longer be an occupied land, oppressed by force, unproductive and scarred by suffering. It can become a free haven where humanity and nature live in harmonious balance; a creative model for the resolution of tensions afflicting many areas throughout the world.

The Chinese leadership need to realize that colonial rule over occupied territories is today anachronistic. A large genuine union of association can only come about voluntarily, when there is satisfactory benefit to all the parties concerned. The European Community is a clear example of this. On the other hand, even one country or community can break into two or more entities where there is lack of trust or benefit, and when force is used as the principal means of rule.

I would like to end by making a special appeal to the honourable members of the European Parliament and through them to their respective constituencies to extend their support to our efforts. A resolution of the Tibetan problem within the framework that we proposed will not only be for the mutual benefit of the Tibetans and Chinese people but will contribute to

regional and global peace and stability. I thank you for providing the opportunity to share my thoughts with you.

Thank you.

The Dalai Lama

Source:-

(Lama, Dalai (1988). *Strasbourg Proposal, 1988: Address to the Members of European Parliament*. Accessed on 15/09/2011 and available at

<http://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/strasbourg-proposal-1988>)

Appendix: 4

Five Point Peace Plan

Address to the U.S. Congressional Human Right's Caucus

September 21, 1987

The world is increasingly interdependent, so that lasting peace - national, regional and global - can only be achieved if we think in terms of broader interest rather than parochial needs. At this time, it is crucial that all of us, the strong and the weak, contribute in our own way. I speak to you today as the leader of the Tibetan people and as a Buddhist monk devoted to the principles of a religion based on love and compassion. Above all, I am here as a human being who is destined to share this planet with you and all others as brothers and sisters. As the world grows smaller, we need each other more than in the past. This is true in all parts of the world, including the continent I come from.

At present in Asia, as elsewhere, tensions are high. There are open conflicts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in my own country, Tibet. To a large extent, these problems are symptoms of the underlying tensions that exist among the area's great powers. In order to resolve regional conflicts, an approach is required that takes into account the interests of all relevant countries and peoples, large and small. Unless comprehensive solutions are formulated that take into account the aspirations of the people most directly concerned, piecemeal or merely expedient measures will only create new problems.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace loving and non-violent people. Since Buddhism was introduced to Tibet over one thousand years ago, Tibetans have practiced non-violence with respect to all forms of life. This attitude has also been extended to our country's international relations. Tibet's highly strategic position in the heart of Asia, separating the continent's great powers - India, China and the USSR - has throughout history endowed it with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability. This is precisely why, in the past, Asia's empires went to great lengths to keep one another out of Tibet. Tibet's value as an independent buffer state was integral to the region's stability.

When the newly formed People's Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949/50, it created a new source of conflict. This was highlighted when, following the Tibetan national uprising against the Chinese and my flight to India in 1959, tensions between China and India escalated into the border war in 1962. Today large numbers of troops are again massed on both sides of the Himalayan border and tension is once more dangerously high.

The real issue, of course, is not the Indo-Tibetan border demarcation. It is China's illegal occupation of Tibet, which has given it direct access to the Indian sub-continent. The Chinese authorities have attempted to confuse the issue by claiming that Tibet has always been a part of China. This is untrue. Tibet was a fully independent state when the People's Liberation Army invaded the country in 1949/50.

Since Tibetan emperors unified Tibet, over a thousand years ago, our country was able to maintain its independence until the middle of this century. At times Tibet extended its influence over neighbouring countries and peoples and, in other periods, came itself under the influence of powerful foreign rulers - the Mongol Khans, the Gorkhas of Nepal, the Manchu Emperors and the British in India.

It is, of course, not uncommon for states to be subjected to foreign influence or interference. Although so-called satellite relationships are perhaps the clearest examples of this, most major powers exert influence over less powerful allies or neighbours. As the most authoritative legal studies have shown, in Tibet's case, the country's occasional subjection to foreign influence never entailed a loss of independence. And there can be no doubt that when Peking's communist armies entered Tibet, Tibet was in all respects an independent state.

China's aggression, condemned by virtually all nations of the free world, was a flagrant violation of international law. As China's military occupation of Tibet continues, the world should remember that though Tibetans have lost their freedom, under international law Tibet today is still an independent state under illegal occupation.

It is not my purpose to enter into a political/legal discussion here concerning Tibet's status. I just wish to emphasise the obvious and undisputed fact that we Tibetans are a distinct people

with our own culture, language, religion and history. But for China's occupation, Tibet would still, today, fulfill its natural role as a buffer state maintaining and promoting peace in Asia.

It is my sincere desire, as well as that of the Tibetan people, to restore to Tibet her invaluable role, by converting the entire country - comprising the three provinces of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo - once more into a place of stability, peace and harmony. In the best of Buddhist tradition, Tibet would extend its services and hospitality to all who further the cause of world peace and the well-being of mankind and the natural environment we share.

Despite the holocaust inflicted upon our people in the past decades of occupation, I have always strived to find a solution through direct and honest discussions with the Chinese. In 1982, following the change of leadership in China and the establishment of direct contacts with the government in Peking, I sent my representatives to Peking to open talks concerning the future of my country and people.

We entered the dialogue with the sincere and positive attitude and with the willingness to take into account the legitimate needs of the People's Republic of China. I hoped that this attitude would be reciprocated and that a solution could eventually be found which would satisfy and safeguard the aspirations and interests of both parties. Unfortunately, China has consistently responded to our efforts in a defensive manner, as though our detailing of Tibet's very real difficulties was criticism for its own sake.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.

It is against this background and in response to the tremendous support and encouragement I have been given by you and other persons I have met during this trip 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.

This peace plan contains five basic components:

Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace;

Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;

Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;

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;

Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Let me explain these five components.

1. I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of "Ahimsa", a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and non-violence.

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent's great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China's declared support for such a proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal would have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighbouring areas.

The establishment of a peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the country, which would enable India also to withdraw troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China's legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and other peoples of the region. This is in everyone's best interest particularly that of China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troop concentrations on the disputed Himalayan border.

Historically, relations between China and India were never strained. It was only when Chinese armies marched into Tibet, creating for the first time a common border that tensions

arose between these two powers, ultimately leading to the 1962 war. Since then numerous dangerous incidents have continued to occur. A restoration of good relations between the world's two most populous countries would be greatly facilitated if they were separated - as they were throughout history - by a large and friendly buffer region.

To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust. After the holocaust of the last decades in which over one million Tibetans - one sixth of the population - lost their lives and at least as many lingered in prison camps because of their religious beliefs and love of freedom, only a withdrawal of Chinese troops could start a genuine process of reconciliation. The vast occupation force in Tibet is a daily reminder to the Tibetans of the oppression and suffering they have all experienced. A troop withdrawal would be an essential signal that in future a meaningful relationship might be established with the Chinese, based on friendship and trust.

2. The population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, which the government in Peking pursues in order to force a "final solution" to the Tibetan problem by reducing the Tibetan population to an insignificant and disenfranchised minority in Tibet itself, must be stopped.

The massive transfer of Chinese civilians into Tibet in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people. In the eastern parts of our country, the Chinese now greatly outnumber Tibetans. In the Amdo province, for example, where I was born, there are, according to the Chinese statistics, 2.5 million Chinese and only 750,000 Tibetans. Even in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (i.e., central and western Tibet), Chinese government sources now confirm that Chinese outnumber Tibetans.

The Chinese population transfer policy is not new. It has been systematically applied to other areas before. Earlier in this century, the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only two to three million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where 75 million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkestan, which the Chinese now call Sinkiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to 7 million, more than half of the total population of 13 million. In the wake of the Chinese colonization of Inner Mongolia, Chinese number 8.5 million, Mongols 2.5 million.

Today, in the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already been sent, outnumbering the Tibetan population of 6 million. In central and western Tibet, now referred to by the Chinese as the "Tibet Autonomous Region", Chinese sources admit the 1.9 million Tibetans already constitute a minority of the region's population. These numbers do not take the estimated 300,000-500,000 troops in Tibet into account - 250,000 of them in so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

For the Tibetans to survive as a people, it is imperative that the population transfer is stopped and Chinese settlers return to China. Otherwise, Tibetans will soon be no more than a tourist attraction and relic of a noble past.

3. Fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms must be respected in Tibet. The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually and to exercise basic democratic freedoms.

Human rights violations in Tibet are among the most serious in the world. Discrimination is practiced in Tibet under a policy of "apartheid" which the Chinese call "segregation and assimilation". Tibetans are, at best, second class citizens in their own country. Deprived of all basic democratic rights and freedoms, they exist under a colonial administration in which all real power is wielded by Chinese officials of the Communist Party and the army.

Although the Chinese government allows Tibetans to rebuild some Buddhist monasteries and to worship in them, it still forbids serious study and teaching of religion. Only a small number of people, approved by the Communist Party, are permitted to join the monasteries.

While Tibetans in exile exercise their democratic rights under a constitution promulgated by me in 1963, thousands of our countrymen suffer in prisons and labour camps in Tibet for their religious or political convictions.

4. Serious efforts must be made to restore the natural environment in Tibet. Tibet should not be used for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.

Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by the Buddhist faith, which prohibits the harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. Sadly, in the past decades the wildlife and the forests of Tibet have been almost totally destroyed by the Chinese. The effects on Tibet's delicate environment have been devastating. What little is left in Tibet must be protected and efforts must be made to restore the environment to its balanced state.

China uses Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and may also have started dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. Not only does China plan to dispose of its own nuclear waste but also that of other countries, who have already agreed to pay Peking to dispose of their toxic materials.

The dangers this presents are obvious. Not only living generations, but future generations are threatened by China's lack of concern for Tibet's unique and delicate environment.

5. Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples should be started in earnest.

We wish to approach this subject in a reasonable and realistic way, in a spirit of frankness and conciliation and with a view to finding a solution that is in the long term interest of all: the Tibetans, the Chinese, and all other peoples concerned. Tibetans and Chinese are distinct peoples, each with their own country, history, culture, language, and way of life. Differences among peoples must be recognized and respected. They need not, however, form obstacles to genuine cooperation where this is in the mutual benefit of both peoples. It is my sincere belief that if the concerned parties were to meet and discuss their future with an open mind and a sincere desire to find a satisfactory and just solution, a breakthrough could be achieved. We must all exert ourselves to be reasonable and wise, and to meet in a spirit of frankness and understanding.

Let me end on the personal note. I wish to thank you for the concern and support which you and so many of your colleagues and fellow citizens have expressed for the plight of oppressed people everywhere. The fact that you have publicly shown your sympathy for us

Tibetans, has already had a positive impact on the lives of our people inside Tibet. I ask for your continued support in this critical time in our country's history.

Thank you.

The Dalai Lama

(Official Webpage of His Holiness, the 14th Dalai Lama, available at

<http://www.dalailama.com/messages/tibet/five-point-peace-plan>)

Appendix: 5

Interview: The Dalai Lama on Tibet

By: Melinda Liu on News Week

Filed: 03/19/08 at 8:00 pm and Updated: 03/13/10 at 6:34 pm

As news spread of massive Chinese troop movements into Tibet, and of hundreds of arrests, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao told British Prime Minister Gordon Brown he was willing to talk with the exiled Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama if he renounced violence and gave up the idea of an independent Tibet—conditions the Dalai Lama has met with past statements.

During an exclusive, wide-ranging 45-minute interview with NEWSWEEK's Melinda Liu and Sudip Mazumdar at the headquarters of the Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamsala, India, the Dalai Lama talked about his willingness to negotiate with Beijing, his fears for the future, and how some government officials in China have sent him private messages of sympathy. **Excerpts:**

NEWSWEEK: Do you think Chinese officials still hope their problems in Tibet will disappear after you pass away?

The Dalai Lama: I don't know. I totally disagree with the view that the Tibet struggle will die, and there will be no hope for Tibet, after the Dalai Lama passes away. Both inside and outside [Tibet], the older generation may go away, but the newer generations carry the same spirit. Sometimes it's even stronger. So after my death a younger generation will come up.

If Wen Jiabao or [China's President] Hu Jintao were sitting in this room in front of you, what would say to them?

I always like to quote Deng Xiaoping and say, Please, seek truth from facts. It is very important. I would urge them to find out what is really going on in Tibetan minds and what is happening on the ground. This I want to tell the prime minister, Wen Jiabao, if he were to come here. Of course, I have great respect for both, particularly Wen Jiabao. He seems very gentle. I would also ask him, "Please prove your recent accusations [that the Dalai Lama instigated the unrest in Tibet.]" [*Laughs*]

Do you have back channels of communication to the Chinese leadership?

Not serious [ones]. The usual channels are still there.

Do new technologies—cell phones, digital photography, e-mail, and so on—make it harder for authorities to control the unrest?

Oh, yes.

Do they make it impossible?

Now authorities are trying to control [things] by shutting down these services. But it is very difficult to control everything.

What's the difference between what's happening now and the turmoil of the late '80s in Lhasa?

At that time it was mainly in Lhasa areas. And, yes, it is a factor that images can be seen elsewhere. But it is mainly the [extent of Tibetan] grievances. Today even Tibetan monks in Chinese areas carry Tibetan flags. I am quite surprised [by the prevalence of Tibetan dissatisfaction in areas far from Lhasa]. Now the entire Tibetan people have strong feelings. If [Chinese authorities] truly treated the Tibetans as brothers and sisters and as equals, giving them trust, then this would not happen.

Even privileged Tibetans who are in elite minority universities in Chinese cities such as Beijing and Lanzhou have organized vigils and peaceful protests. Why?

Yes, yes—if they're not satisfied you can imagine how nomads feel. I occasionally meet affluent Tibetans who are economically sound, who have good housing. I met one such person who first told me he had no worries. Then he confessed [he felt] mental anguish, and then he began to cry. As Tibetans they feel some kind of subtle discrimination by the Chinese.

Are you worried about the possibility of greater violence after you pass away?

Yes, I worry about that. As long as I am alive, I am fully committed to amity between Tibetans and Chinese. Otherwise there's no use. More importantly, the Tibetan Buddhist cultural heritage can eventually help bring some deeper values to the millions of Chinese youth who are lost in a [moral] vacuum. After all, China is traditionally a Buddhist country.

What more do you think the Chinese leadership wants you to do to prove your sincerity? Wen Jiabao wants you to accept two conditions—that you renounce Tibet's independence and renounce violence—before dialogue can take place.

Last year in Washington we had a meeting with some Chinese scholars, including some from mainland China, who asked me, "What guarantee is there that Tibet will not be separate from China ever [in the future]?" I told them that my statements won't help, my signature won't help. The real guarantee is that the Tibetan people should be satisfied. Eventually they should feel they would get greater benefit if they remain with China. Once that feeling develops, that

will be the real guarantee that Tibet will forever remain part of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese government wants me to say that for many centuries Tibet has been part of China. Even if I make that statement, many people would just laugh. And my statement will not change past history. History is history.

So my approach is, don't talk about the past. The past is past, irrespective of whether Tibet was a part of China or not. We are looking to the future. I truly believe that a new reality has emerged. The times are different. Today different ethnic groups and different nations come together due to common sense. Look at the European Union ... really great. What is the use of small, small nations fighting each other? Today it's much better for Tibetans to join [China]. That is my firm belief.

You've said that two government officials sent private messages of support to you. Is there a significant number of officials in Tibet or other areas of mainland China who have shown sympathy to you in private?

Yes.

How many?

I am not sure, but many ordinary Chinese, thousands, have come here. And several senior officials have sent messages. I feel very strongly that there will be a change [in the attitude of the Chinese leadership]. Now the important thing is the Chinese public should get to know the reality. They should have more information about Tibet.

Will that be difficult? The Internet is heavily censored inside China. As a result, people tend to develop very polarized, often very nationalistic views.

Yes, yes. You know, till 1959 the Tibetan attitude toward the Han Chinese was affectionate, very close, something normal. Chinese traders in Lhasa used to be referred to with affectionate respect. But, of course, the name of communism is feared in Tibet because of what happened in Mongolia, and to part of the Buddhist community in the Soviet Union. Then the Chinese communists entrenched themselves; more soldiers came and their attitude became more aggressive, more -harsh. Even at that time we complained about these "bad communists," but we never said "bad Chinese." Never.

During the last 20 years I have met a lot of Tibetans from Tibet—students, government officials and businessmen. They express great dissatisfaction. Now some of them refer to

Chinese people in a derogatory manner. Even in prison there is a division between Chinese and Tibetan inmates. This I think is very bad. This must change. Not through harsh [measures]—that would just harden the stands—but by developing trust. I think real autonomy can restore that trust. As far I am concerned, I'm totally dedicated toward this goal. It is not just politics. My aim is to create a happy society with genuine friendship. Friendship between Tibetan and Chinese peoples is very essential.

Some images of the recent casualties have been graphic and disturbing. Have you seen them? What was your reaction? We heard you wept.

Yes, I cried once. One advantage of belonging to the Tibetan Buddhist culture is that at the intellectual level there is a lot of turmoil, a lot of anxiety and worries, but at the deeper, emotional level there is calm. Every night in my Buddhist practice I give and take. I take in Chinese suspicion. I give back trust and compassion. I take their negative feeling and give them positive feeling. I do that every day. This practice helps tremendously in keeping the emotional level stable and steady. So during the last few days, despite a lot of worries and anxiety, there is no disturbance in my sleep. [*Laughs*]

Source:-

(Liu, Melinda (2008). NewsWeek, available at <http://www.newsweek.com/interview-dalai-lama-tibet-83609>)

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