CHAPTER - 1

TIBET ISSUE AND ITS INTERNATIONALIZATION

Tibet issue has attracted lot of international attention in the last few years. This issue has many aspects. Most important among them is the historical status of Tibet till 1949-50. Other important aspects are: geographical area of Tibet, human rights situation, socio-economic development, environmental condition, population transfer and control, religious freedom and civil liberties. But the most important aspect of the issue of Tibet is the issue of six million Tibetan’s struggle for their inalienable right to self-determination. As long as the Chinese occupy Tibet there will be human rights violations. Chinese and Tibetan have different and opposite views on these issues. A number of issues in particular have implications for Tibet’s future, as well as political implications for US-China relations. These issues are described below.

TIBET ISSUE: CHINESE AND TIBETAN VIEWPOINT

a) Historical status of Tibet:

The Tibetan government in exile, headed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, has consistently held that Tibet has been under illegal Chinese occupation since China invaded the independent state in 1949. People’s Republic of China on the other hand insists that its relation with Tibet is a purely internal affair and Tibet is and has for centuries been an integral part of China. People’s Republic of China bases its claim to Tibet solely on the
theory that Tibet became an integral part of China seven hundred years ago. The question of Tibet’s status is actually a legal question, albeit one of immediate political relevance.

Although the history of the Tibetan state starts from 127 BC with the establishment of the Yarlung Dynasty, the country was founded in the 7th Century AD under King Sontsen Gampo and his successors.

Chinese sources claim that in mid of 13th Century Tibet was incorporated into the territory of the Mongol emperor. 1 China became an administrative region directly under the administration of the central government of China’s Yuan Dynasty. 2 Tibetan sources call the relationship between Mongol Dynasty and Tibetan as Cho-Yon relationship. An essential part of this relationship was that the patron provided protection to his priest in return of religious teachings and blessings. Tibet broke its relationship with the Mongols in 1350 AD.

In 1368, the Chinese Ming Dynasty replaced the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. 3 According the Chinese sources the Chinese Ming and Qing dynasty inherited to rule the Tibet and further strengthened it. Any official of the Tibetan local government who offended the law was punished by the central

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2 Wang Jiawei and Nyima Gyaincan, The Historical Status of China’s Tibet. (Beijing: China International Press, "n.d."). P. 20
3 Ibid, p. 31
government. On the other hand Tibetan sources claim that Tibet developed no ties with the Chinese Ming Dynasty. Cho-Yon relationship was the only tie between the Tibetans and the Manchus during the Qing Dynasty. On the political level, some powerful Manchu emperors succeeded in exerting a degree of influence over Tibet. But this influence did not last long. Following the 1911 revolution in China and the overthrow of the Manchu Empire, the troops surrendered to the Tibetan army and were repatriated under a Sino-Tibetan peace accord. The Dalai Lama reasserted Tibet's full independence internally, by issuing a proclamation, and externally, in communications to foreign rulers and in a treaty with Mongolia.

Tibet's status following the expulsion of Manchu troops is not subject to serious dispute. From 1911 to 1950, Tibet successfully avoided undue foreign influence and behaved, in every respect as a fully independent state. The Chinese waged a border war with Tibet while formally urging Tibet to join the Chinese Republic, claiming all along to the rest of the world that Tibet already was one of China's "five races".

In an effort to reduce Sino-Tibetan tensions, the British convened a tripartite conference in Simla in 1913 where the three states met on equal terms. However, the conference was unsuccessful to resolve the differences between Tibet and China.

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4 Tibet—Its Ownership And Human Rights Situation, n. 1, p. 6
In 1949 communist revolution took place in China. The Chinese Communist Party maintained that its primary objectives included the recovery of Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet. In November 1949 the Peoples Liberation Army of the People’s Republic of China first crossed into Tibet. After defeating the small Tibetan army and occupying half of the country, the Chinese government concluded the controversial “17-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet” with the Tibetan government in May 1951 which fully established the Chinese rule over Tibet. Tibetans claim that this treaty was signed under duress and lack validity in international law.

In 1959 Tibetan uprising took place which was ruthlessly suppressed by the Chinese authority. Dalai Lama fled to India where he now resides with the Tibetan government in exile. Since then China has effective control over Tibet and claims it to be an integral part of China.

b) Human Rights:

Chinese sources claim that before 1959 Tibet had been a society of exploitative feudal serfdom. Central government conducted Democratic Reform in Tibet and abolished the extremely decadent and dark feudal serfdom. The Democratic Reform in 1959 put an end to the political system of combining religious with political rule and introduced the new political system of people’s democracy. Tibet practices regional national autonomy in accordance with the Constitution of People’s Republic of China. Tibetan

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5 Ibid, p. 42
6 Ibid, p. 44
people have also been granted special rights stipulated in the Law of the People’s Republic of China Governing Regional National Autonomy.\(^7\) Thus China refutes allegation of human rights abuses by Chinese authorities in Tibet. According to Chinese claims people of Tibet enjoy complete personal and political freedom.

Tibetans challenge such claims made by Chinese. According to Tibetan sources over 1.2 million Tibetans have died as a result of the Chinese invasion and occupation of Tibet.\(^8\) Chinese authorities commit widespread human rights abuses, with instances of death in detention, torture, arbitrary arrest, detention without public trial, long sentences for Tibetan nationalists for peacefully expressing their religious and political views, and intensified controls on religion and on freedom of speech and the press. A compilation of figures based on testimonies of survivors of prisons and labor camps show that throughout Tibet seventy percent of the inmates died.\(^9\) Liberalization and openness brought by Deng after the death of Mao in 1976 did not signal a change of attitude towards political freedom in Tibet. Cases of Human rights violations in Tibet are well documented. Reports of international organizations like International Court of Justice (1960 ICJ Report) United Nations (UNGA Res. 1353, 1959; UNGA Res. 1723, 1961; UNGA Res. 2079, 1965) Amnesty International, Asia watch, and Tibet Support Groups have confirmed Chinese

\(^7\) Ibid, p. 48

\(^8\) Tibet: Proving Truth From Facts, (Dharmsala: Department of Information and International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration, 1996), p. 46

\(^9\) Ibid, p. 47
human rights abuses in Tibet. A number of countries have indicted China in their reports and their parliaments have passed resolutions calling China to respect human rights of the Tibetan people (West Germany, 15th October 1987; Italy, 12th April 1989; Australia 6th December 1990; Belgium 29th March 1994; Canada 14th June 1995). The United States Congress has passed more than ten resolutions calling on China to respect the political and human rights of the Tibetan people. Annual reports on human rights published by the State Department of United States have invariably reported cases of gross human rights violations in Tibet.

c) Socio-Economic Development:

Chinese argue that the economy in Tibet was in a state of backwardness for a long time. The Democratic Reform has greatly fired the enthusiasm of farmers and herdsmen for production. Development of agriculture and animal husbandry has been given top priority in the Tibetan economy. Introduction of science and technology has boosted overall production. Modern industry started after the Democratic Reform of Tibet. In 1965 alone, 80 industrial enterprises were established in Tibet. The government of People’s Republic of China has paid close attention to the development of the national handicrafts. Tibet had no regular highways in the past. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet many highways have been constructed. According to Chinese sources due to efforts made in the past four decades the living standards of the Tibetan people have improved markedly.

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10 Ibid, p. 55
Most farmers and herdsmen have adequate food and clothing and some have attained relative affluence. Over the last four decades, state financial subsidies to the region reached 15.27 million-Yuan. Education in old Tibet was very backward. To develop education in Tibet, the government has invested more than 1.1 billion Yuan and introduced a series of special policies over the past four decades. Education is free. All the study cost of Tibetan students, from primary to university, are covered by the government. After the Democratic Reform in 1959, the autonomous region gradually established a medical and health network throughout Tibet. In 1991, the region boasted 1,997 medical establishments, 401 times as many as in 1951. The government provides free medical care for all Tibetans. Average life expectancy has risen from 36 years before liberation to 65 years at present.

But according to Tibetan sources the price Tibetan paid for this development was higher than the gains. Chinese figures are often incorrect and the primary beneficiaries of China’s new open economic policy are the Chinese settlers in Tibet, their government and military, and their business enterprises. With an estimated per capita income of $80 in 1990, an adult literacy rate or 21.7 percent and an average life expectancy of forty years, Tibet “Autonomous Region” scores just 0.087 on the UNDP’s Human

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11 Tibet -Its Ownership And Human Rights Situation, n. 1, pp. 49-53
12 Ibid, p. 78
13 Ibid, p. 69
Development Index for 1991. The health service is not only urban-biased, but serves the rich better than the poor. Most of the primary schools in Tibet do not have a sound foundation and are not properly equipped. Only 45 percent of the children of school-going age go to primary schools. Chinese students residing in Tibet are the chief beneficiaries of educational grants.

d) Environmental condition:

According to Chinese sources while vigorously developing Tibetan economy, the people’s government attaches great importance to environmental protection in Tibet. In 1990, the Environmental Protection Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region was established. The region has made considerable headway in improving ecological environment. Work has proceeded on tree planting, the safeguarding of forests and the prevention of forest fires. In accordance with local conditions, Tibet has steadfastly pressed ahead with construction of hydropower stations and worked hard to exploit geothermal energy resources and popularize the use of solar and wind energy. For all the projects that might affect the environment, the region follows the "environmental impact assessment" system and the system of designing, building and putting into operation pollution treatment facilities and construction projects at the same time. Generally speaking, there is no pollution of the atmosphere or water. No acid rain has fallen in the region.

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14 Tibet: Proving Truth From Facts, n. 8, pp. 59-60
15 Ibid, p. 65
16 Tibet –Its Ownership And Human Rights Situation, n. 1, p. 74
Apart from slight pollution in several sections of rivers, the water quality of the region’s rivers and lakes is good. Radioactive elements are at the normal background level. Dalai Lama’s accusations that China has stored its nuclear wastes in Tibet are therefore fiction.\textsuperscript{17}

Tibetans disapprove these claims made by Chinese authorities. Over the last four decades there has been widespread degradation of vital pastures in Tibet. The conversion of marginal lands to agriculture for Chinese settlers has become the greatest threat to Tibet’s grasslands. As new roads penetrate remote areas of Tibet the rate of deforestation increases. Deforestation is a major employer in Tibet. Regeneration and afforestation have been minimal due to the extreme degree of land slope, soil and moisture, including high diurnal temperatures. With such natural conditions, the destructive effects of clear felling are irreversible. China has constructed huge dam for hydropower generation. These dams have little benefit for local Tibetans. Chinese population and industries both in Tibet and China get most of the benefits. But the environmental, human and cultural toll will be borne only by Tibetans. The Chinese government indiscriminately exploits forests and mineral reserves of Tibet. Environmental safeguards are virtually non-existent in Tibet’s mines leading to slope destabilization, land degradation, and hazards to human health and life. Many wild animals and birds have vanished through destruction of their habitat and hunting for sport or illicit trade in wildlife products.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, p. 77
China is reported to have stationed approximately ninety nuclear warheads in Tibet. According to a report released by International Campaign for Tibet (a Tibet Support Group): “waste disposal methods were reported to be casual in the extreme.” Official Chinese pronouncements have confirmed the existence in Tibet of the biggest uranium reserves in the world. Reports say that uranium is processed in Tibet itself and that many local Tibetans died after drinking contaminated water near a uranium mine in Ngapa, Amdo. The local Tibetans have also reported birth of deformed humans and animals.

e) Religious freedom:

According to the Chinese sources Tibetan people enjoy full freedom to participate in normal religious activities. Although they accept that during the period of “Cultural Revolution”, freedom of religious belief was curtailed and sites and facilities for religious activities were seriously damaged, respect for and protection of freedom or religious belief is a basic policy of the Chinese government now. Over the past decade and more, the Chinese government has appropriated more than 200 million Yuan in special funds to implement the religious policy in Tibet.

Tibetan sources do not approve these claims. According to them soon after the occupation Chinese began to undermine the traditional social system.

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19 Tibet: Proving Truth From Facts, n. 8, p. 97
20 Tibet - Its Ownership And Human Rights Situation, n. 1, pp. 56-57
and religion of Tibet. Monasteries, temples, and cultural centers were systematically looted of all articles of value and then dismantled. The much-heralded program or “liberalization” since 1979 included limited and selective renovation of places of worship and permission to a degree of ritual practices. But propagation of the teachings of the Buddha is either banned or, when permitted, strictly controlled. At present, Chinese policy is aimed at bringing about a gradual and natural death of Tibetan culture and religion. In its reports of 1959 and 1960, the Legal Inquiry Committee of the International Commission of Jurists said: “The Committee found that acts of Genocide had been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group, and that such acts are acts of genocide independent of any conventional obligation.”

**g) Population transfer and control:**

Chinese sources refute the Tibetan allegation that a large number of Hans have migrated to Tibet, turning the ethnic Tibetans into a minority. In Tibet, the natural conditions are harsh, the air is oxygen-poor and the climate is bitterly cold and people from interior can hardly adapt to them. The figures from various national censuses have thoroughly exploded the lie that Han population in Tibet has already surpassed that of the Tibetans.

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21 Tibet: Proving Truth From Facts, n. 8, p. 82

22 Tibet –Its Ownership And Human Rights Situation, n. 1, p. 73
However, according to Tibetan sources there is ample evidence to confirm such transfer of Han population into Tibet. In 1952, the “Directive of the Central Committee of the CPC on Policies for Work in Tibet”, issued by Mao Zedong proposed five-fold increase in the population of the western half of Tibet (Renmin Ribao, November 22, 1952). In February 1985 the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi announced its Government’s policy: “Chinese migration should be welcomed by the local population, and should result in a population increase of sixty million over the next thirty years”.23 Two years later, in June 1987, Deng Xiaoping admitted during his meeting with ex-US President Jimmy Carter that the Chinese were being encouraged to move to Tibet.24 As a result of Chinese population transfer, Tibetans find themselves marginalized in economic, political, educational and social spheres. From 1984 China imposed its policy allowing Tibetan couples to have only two children.25 The enforcement of birth control measures is forceful and highly erratic. There have been many cases of forced abortion and sterilization.

h) Right to self-determination:

Tibetan sources claim that the People’s Republic of China has illegally occupied Tibet and people of Tibet should be given back their right to self-determination. Many authors and international agencies have recognized this


24 Reuters report, Beijing, June 30, 1987

25 Tibet: Proving Truth From Facts, n.8, p. 87
right of the Tibetans. ICJ declared in 1960 "Tibet demonstrated from 1912 to 1950 the condition of Statehood as generally accepted under international law."\textsuperscript{26} Another claim of self-determination is based on the will of people. Tibetans want freedom from Chinese rule. "Will of the people and not merely historical facts must constitute the criterion to judge a community’s claims to self-determination."\textsuperscript{27}

Chinese on the other hand says that Tibet institutes regional autonomy and needs no self-determination. In 1965, the Tibet Autonomous Region was founded. All these years Tibetans have lived in a big family of an independent and united multinational country and enjoyed regional national autonomy.\textsuperscript{28} China refutes the Tibetan claim of self-determination also on the basis that Tibetans are happy under Chinese rule and that they have progressed considerably after the former took hold of Tibet.

i) The “patriotic education” campaign:

In 1991, two years after the Tiananmen Square crackdown, China launched a “patriotic education” campaign in an effort to resuscitate loyalty to the communist regime.\textsuperscript{29} In the mid-1990s, the campaign became a government tool in efforts to control monastic activity in Tibet and discredit

\textsuperscript{26} Report of ICJ, \textit{Tibet and the Chinese People’s Republic}, Geneva, 1960, p. 165


\textsuperscript{28} Jiawei and Gyaincain, n. 2, p. 282

the Dalai Lama among Tibetans. Under the guise of “patriotic education”, teams of Chinese officials visit Tibetan monasteries and subject Tibetan monks to “patriotic” education and training. The campaign requires monks to sign a declaration attesting to a number of patriotic statements, including rejection and denunciation of the Dalai Lama; acceptance of China’s choice for the Panchen Lama; recognition that Tibet is part of China; and a promise not to listen to Voice of America broadcasts. According to some reports, monks refusing to accept “patriotic education” or sign the corresponding declaration have been expelled from their monasteries.

j) The Panchen Lama Succession:

In May 1995, the Dalai Lama announced that after years of searching Gedhun Choeki Nyima, a 6-year-old boy living in Tibet, had been found to be the legitimate reincarnation of the deceased Panchen Lama. Chinese communist officials were furious that the Dalai Lama made his announcement unilaterally. They regarded it as a challenge to Beijing’s authority to have a final say in this important decision. Consequently, in November 1995, Chinese leaders rejected the Dalai Lama’s choice and announced they had discovered the “real” Panchen Lama- 5 year-old Gyaltsen Norbu. On November 29, 1995, he was officially enthroned as the 11th Panchen Lama. Immediately thereafter, the People’s Republic of China took both boys and their families into custody. The boy selected by the Dalai Lama, apparently remains under house arrest and has not been seen since then. The monk who headed the official search
party, Chadrel Rinpoche, was arrested and is serving 6 years in jail, allegedly for collaborating with the Dalai Lama.

The decision of the Chinese government to become a direct in the ancient spiritual rites of Tibetan Buddhism has several implications for Tibet’s political future and for US-China relations. First, it has complicated the political and religious environment by presenting Tibetans with potential rival centers of spiritual authority in the two Panchen Lama, thus burdening the private religious decisions of Tibetans with possibly serious loyalties. In addition, the Chinese government’s involvement in the Panchen Lama succession has led many observers to speculate that Beijing is positioning itself to choose the next Dalai Lama. In the eyes of Chinese leaders, such an option might improve Beijing’s prospects for co-opting Tibet’s religious leaders and marginalizing the Tibetan independence movement. But it also could create a long-term religious succession crisis in Tibet and cause serious rifts among Tibetans that could ultimately prove divisive and destabilizing for Chinese rule.

k) Status of the Dalai Lama’s Negotiations with China:

Relations between China and the Dalai Lama and his exiled followers have remained stalled for years, with no negotiations currently scheduled or even planned. In the past, both China and the Dalai Lama maintained that they were willing to hold discussions about Tibet’s future. The Dalai Lama himself—generally speaks of Tibetan interests within the context of rule by China. He has spoken of a future Tibet that is part of China, but which also has
“cultural autonomy” within the Chinese system. But the Dalai Lama also has insisted that there should be no preconditions for any discussions he has with Beijing; instead, the negotiators should be able to address every issue in contention.

In recent years, Chinese have been highly critical of the Dalai Lama, going so far as to describe him as a “criminal” intent on splitting Tibet from China, and at times intimating that dialogue with him is impossible.30 In June 1998, during President Clinton’s summit trip to China, President Jiang Zemin appeared to take a more moderate position, indicating that the door to dialogue with the Dalai Lama was open. Since then, however, Beijing’s position has hardened, with some speculation that Jiang had little support for his more moderate stance among hard-liners in Beijing. China continues to insist that discussions with the Dalai Lama should have several preconditions, including: an absolute ban on the subject of independence for Tibet; and the Dalai Lama’s public acknowledgement that Tibet and Taiwan are both part of China.

Some speculate that the Dalai Lama may have grown increasingly pessimistic about his ability to achieve a solution to Tibet’s situation. He has implied that the moderate approach he has been pursuing has failed because of China’s unwillingness to hold free-ranging talks, and has hinted that time may be running out for a negotiated settlement. Some are concerned that traditional

Tibetan culture and values increasingly are being overwhelmed by the growing Chinese presence in Tibet. They worry about some of the educated and bilingual Tibetan elite, trained by Chinese communists, who are now serving in government positions in Tibet and who therefore have more of a vested interest in the status quo. And, he has suggested that continued delay in achieving a negotiated settlement increases the possibility that frustrated Tibetans may resort to violence as an alternative to his own peaceful approach.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE TIBET ISSUE

Tibetan issue was internationalized to a limited extent from the beginning. It was first raised in UN on November 17, 1950 by El Salvador soon after the People’s Liberation Army marched into Tibet for its forcible ‘liberation’. But the issue was adjourned on the advice of the UK and India. Both these countries hoped that Tibet and China would be able to settle the matter through bilateral talks. Issue of Tibet was raised in General Assembly adopted a draft resolutions recalling the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedoms set forth in UN Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights expressed its grave concern on the violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet. It recognized as the most important fundamental human rights. There was no specific mention of the right to self-determination of Tibetans in this resolution. However China turned a deaf ear to the appeal of General Assembly. In the 16th Session of General Assembly, issue of Tibet was again brought up. On December 20,

31 U. N. G. A. Resolution 1353 (XIV), 834th Plenary meeting, October 12, 1959
1961 UN Resolution 1723 (XVI) was passed reaffirming earlier resolution. The resolution renewed its called its call for the cessation of practices which deprived the Tibetan people of their fundamental rights and freedoms including their right to self-determination. It also expressed the hope that member states will make all possible efforts, as appropriate, towards achieving the purposes of this resolution. However, this resolution met with the same fate as that of 1959 resolution. It brought change neither in China’s Tibet policies nor in the policies of individual nations towards China or Tibet. The General Assembly passed another Resolution on Tibet on December 18, 1965 reaffirming previous Resolution of December 1961. But China again turned a deaf ear towards this resolution. Though the three G. A. resolutions could bring any change in the fate of Tibetan people, they helped in forming a world public opinion in their favor. The majority of the world nations considered the claim to self-determination of Tibetans justified. However, individually they failed to take any action that could ensure directly or indirectly the implementation of the UN resolutions, apparently due to their national interests.

In recent years, an increasing number of States and international organizations are expressing concern about the violation of human rights in Tibet. China considers such expression of concern as interference in its internal affairs. Despite Chinese prohibitions and protestations, the internationalization of the Tibet issue had been inevitable once Tibet was opened to the outside world. International opinion on Tibet before 1980 was characterized by benign neglect or unquestioning acceptance of the Chinese
version of reality about Tibet. With the opening of Tibet, however, the climate of opinion began to shift in favor of the Tibetan exile’s claims that China’s “peaceful liberation” of Tibet had been an armed conquest, and that Chinese rule in Tibet since that time had been colonialist, oppressive and destructive of Tibetan civilization. Exposed to the reality of Tibet, outside observers did not accept Chinese characterizations of pre-1950 Tibet as a ‘hell on earth’ and were not impressed with Chinese ‘improvements’ in Tibet since that time. The immediate impression gained by most of the foreign visitors to Tibet was the obvious destruction of Tibetan civilization and the colonialist nature of the Chinese occupation.

Western fascination with the religion and culture of Tibet, involvement of issues like human rights, democracy, environment and David versus Goliath nature of the Tibetan freedom struggle, all made a considerable impact on the world. It is also the reflection of a global momentum of the new political climate that has seen the end of cold war and the restoration of independence and the freedom in many parts of the world.

The opening of Tibet was accompanied by international tours by the Dalai Lama and activities by supporters of the Tibetan cause, which contributed to an alteration of international opinion on the issue. By 1987, the Tibetan government in exile’s strategy had shifted to a campaign for international political support because negotiations with China had been entirely stalemated since the last negotiating team’s visit in 1984. In addition, the People’s Republic of China’s relatively liberal policies of 1985 and 1986
had given way by 1987 to a new leftist wind. In January 1987 Hu Yaobang was purged from his position as CCP general secretary, partly, it was rumored because of the conservative’s dissatisfaction with his Tibet policy.

Aim of this new strategy was to secure increased political support from the United States and Europe in order to exert new and effective leverage on China. A key element in this strategy was that the Dalai Lama for the first time would make political speeches in the West. In September 1987, he initiated this strategy in Washington, DC with a major speech before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. The following June, he made another important address at the Strasbourg in which for the first time he expressed his willingness to accept something less than independence for Tibet, namely, complete political autonomy.

The Dalai Lama expected United States to play a greater role towards solving the Tibet issue. In an interview granted during 1987-88, he said “I have a firm belief that the United States highly regards human dignity and self-respect and should take more notice about basic human rights. I think this is very important. If a country is to have some development, the individuals who have some sort of creative must be utilized fully. Without this the country cannot develop properly. Thus, for China to develop, the Chinese who have this creative ability should be let free instead of being suppressed. The outside world’s moral support and concern is highly necessary for the emergence of

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Chinese who have this ability. In the long run it will be very helpful for the development of the Chinese."\textsuperscript{33}

Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama's initiative achieved considerable success in the United States and rest of the world. The United States Congress passed many legislation supporting Tibet, the Dalai Lama and his envoys gained access to top leaders in the United States, and in 1989, the Dalai Lama was awarded the Noble Prize for Peace.\textsuperscript{34}

Thus we see that Tibet issue has many aspects and Chinese and Tibetan viewpoints on these aspects differ with each other. Internationalization of Tibet issue due to international situation and efforts by Tibetans in exile and their supporters has led to greater Western interest in Tibet issue. United States, which was specially targeted by the Dalai Lama and Tibet supporters, too started taking interest in this issue.

Tibet issue, which was largely ignored by the United States till the Second World War, has become one of the major issues between the United States and China. In the following chapter, involvement of the United States in the Tibet issue will be analyzed starting from the first contact to the end of year 1988.


\textsuperscript{34} Melvyn C Goldstein, "Tibet, China and the US- reflections on the Tibet Question", pp. 2-3