Preface

As is well known China’s claim to Indian territory on the eastern sector is premised on a negation of the validity of the McMahon line as a settled international boundary on the ground that India has no persuasive evidence of possession and administration of the disputed territory, and that the Simla Convention of 1914, on the basis of which the McMahon line was drawn, is not valid because it was never rectified by China and because Tibet, not being a Sovereign state at the time of Simla convention has no *locus standi* in the determination of her frontier by agreement, convention, treaty or otherwise. Situated between India and China, Tibet has been and will continue to be an inevitable factor in India-China relations throughout history and will acquire a prominent position in the frontier policies of these two countries regardless of the nature of government in control in these areas.

In this study I have studied the role of Tibet in India-China relations prior to 1914 and how the two Agreements of 1914 and 1954 played a role in defining the status of Tibet, and also in defining the boundaries between India and Tibet. In the *Panchsheel Agreement* of 1954, the Indian Government ratified that Tibet is a part of China, with an effort to define the kind of suzerainty, which China exercised over Tibet, how it came into existence and how long it lasted and was again taken over by China. It had also tried to properly assess the nature of the *Panchsheel Agreement* in relation to the Simla Agreement of 1914 and find out the loopholes that led to its failure. In this study, I have tried to make a futuristic assessment of these two agreements and its functional ability in the recent growing Sino-Indian relations.

Tibet is one of the contentious issues on which lot of time and energy has been spent. The consensus that emerged during *Panchsheel Agreement* of 1954, that Tibet is a part of China, leaves lot of scope for research. While during Simla Agreement of 1914 the consensus was on the buffer status of Tibet between India and China, in *Panchsheel Agreement* India accepted China’s full sovereignty over the buffer zone. Thus, the study had focus on the causes of India’s changed mind set and compulsions, which propelled New Delhi to budge from its earlier stand. Even after settling the status of Tibet, India
and China fought a war on the border issue in 1962 that left a black hole to demystify i.e. what was the real causes and Chinese intention behind attack. The paradox is that on one hand India recognized China's integrity and in the other hand it gave asylum to the spiritual leader of Tibet who campaign for its separate identity.

The study has also enquired into the stand of global powers on Sino-Indian border issue, specifically the Tibetan claims and the support they provided for escalating and de-escalating the tensions. The study has also examined Sino-Myanmar border agreements which are helpful to resolve in Indian border issues.

Further, the perpetual frontier tensions that have remained uninfluenced of all agreements on the both sides of the border provide ample scope to enquire into. Whether there is any move on both sides to attain the frontier issues for an amicable solution was a part of this piece of research. Lastly how far we have reached on border settlements after 1988, 1993 and 2005 talks and results of the joint working groups and also on the trade front as of 2006 and 2008 trade agreements.

The first chapter of the thesis deals with the theories of borders, boundaries and frontiers that they emerge. The second chapter deals, Tibet and provides a rapid historical overview of the India-Tibet-China relations, since it continues to have a significant influence on India-China relations. Chapter third, refers to Simla Agreement of 1914, what were the situations which lead British Indian Government to go for such an agreement and how McMahon line was created to define Tibet-Indian Boundaries. It also discusses the frontier approaches of the two newly independent states of India and China, and the Panchsheel agreement and why India went for the agreement and other border agreements of 1993 and 2005. Fourth chapter deals on trade agreements between India and China. Fifth Chapter The concluding chapter would focus on how far both the countries can solve their border issues and would go for a long term and peaceful trade with the sprit of Panchsheel, it makes some suggestions and findings.
In my thesis, I have tried honestly to put forward and undiluted expression of the whole truth about India-China boundary dispute. While going ahead with the study, I have been assisted by numerous friends of mine. The valuable assistance provided by Prof Mahendra P. Lama, and Dr. Sanjay Bhardwaj my supervisor makes me wholly indebted to them. Still, I remain fully responsible for the opinion suggested in the thesis and apologize for mistakes that have skipped the usual editing.