

**DALAI LAMA'S MIDDLE WAY APPROACH AND
CHINA'S RESPONSE: 1988-2015**

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Submitted By:

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "*Dalai Lama's Middle Way Approach and China's Response: 1988-2015*" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of *Master of Philosophy* of this University is my own work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

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Dedicated to

My Parents

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ABBREVIATIONS

MWA: Middle Way Approach

CTA: Central Administration of Tibet

PRC: People's Republic of China

CCP: Chinese Communist Party

MMK: Mulmadhayamikakarika

PLA: People's liberation Army

TAR: Tibet Autonomous Region

Tibetan Cultural Area



Chapter-1

Introduction

By studying Dalai Lama's Middle Way Approach, we can get an insight into a method which promotes conflict resolution by peace which is based on the love, compassion, non-violence, friendship, fundamental sense of justice, and reconciliation for the well-being of entire humanity. Middle way approach creates such an atmosphere that problems between nations and problems within families can gradually be overcome and that people can live peacefully and in harmony. In present time when world is facing extreme ideologies which are promoting violence as a method to achieve their goals like IS, Al-Quieda then it became very important to study these alternative methods and promote them as these are necessary to protect human civilization. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama teaches the importance of universal responsibility across the globe and wishes that whatever problems we face should be solved through mutual consent in a friendly atmosphere. He said that we should try to make the present century a new era where conflicts are resolved through dialogue. Dalai Lama's middle way approach is evaluating the impact of Buddhist thought and culture on socio-religious life of Tibetan people and search the realistic and pragmatic solution to Tibet.

The term of the middle way is one of the fundamental principles of the Buddhist philosophy. Gautama Buddha gave teachings on the middle way in his first sermon at *Sarnath* which is situated in Varanasi in India after his enlightenment which is very important aspect for us. The Buddha was born in this pious land of India; he was a divine person, full of great qualities whose life and teachings gave rise to the religion called Buddhism. Buddhism is very fine and practical religion from 2500 years ago.

The Indian at the time of Buddha were already a highly civilized race with sophisticated ideas of religion and salvation. Some Indian sages maintained that salvation could be attained by the careful observance of the rituals prescribed in the Vedas or the sacred literature of the Hindus, as such a performance generated so much magic power that it could persuade even the gods to do the will of man. Others advocated emancipation by intellectual means. For, these, the quest

was for a unity of the impersonal Brahma, the cosmic principle pervading the entire universe, with the atman, the psychic principle or inner essence of man.¹

This was the main teaching of that body of Vedic literature known as the Upanishads. Once this unity was achieved by the seer sitting in the forest immersed in speculations, he was said to have reached enlightenment or release from samsara, the endless round of rebirths. Still other teachers taught that the way to salvation consisted of self-mortification: torture of the body for long periods of time by taking no food or by sitting on thorns or on burning cinders.

Amidst such a confusion of contending beliefs, Sakyamuni established a system that denied the Brahmanical claim of the Vedas to be the divine and infallible source of spiritual truth, rejected the rituals as the sole means to salvation, and disapproved of the intellectual approach of the Upanishads. He welcomed into his community of followers not only the high-caste Brahmins and warriors but also the traders, merchants, artisans, women, and even outcast. His way to salvation was based on a rigorous code of personal spiritual behavior with the emphasis on conduct as the chief means to salvation. Because he steered a middle course between austerities on the one hand and gratification of the senses on the other, he called his teachings the middle path. This concept of middle path attracted a large number of followers because it was easy to follow and people don't have to pay Brahmins for rituals and other religious ceremonies.

He was not only the propounder of Buddhism but also a great reformer of religions. He was a great philosopher also and eliminated the system of Brahman religion through his teachings. He opposed the caste system and established new theories based on moral values. A great philosopher and ex-president of India, Dr. Radha Krishnan has written in the introduction of "Buddha dharma ke 2500 years" that "Buddha dharma did not begin as a new or independent religion. Among the fundamental principles of metaphysics and ethics Gautama Buddha adhered to the views that he inherited. He used Hindu inheritance in the reforming same on the premises. He was there to fill in the blanks not to destroy it."²

We talk about the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., when Gautama Buddha was the son of the king of a tiny state at the foot of the Himalayas and was brought up amidst the luxuries and pleasures

¹ Ch'en, Kenneth K.S. (1972), "*Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*", p.4.

² Bapat, P.V. (1956), "*2500 Years of Buddhism*" foreword by Radha Krishnan, p. xii.

be fitting one of his birth and class. Sakyamuni soon became disenchanted with the life of sensual pleasure he was leading and left the sheltered, comfortable, and luxurious life of the home in order to become a religious mendicant. After years of religious striving, he ultimately attained enlightenment at the age of thirty-five and thenceforth was known as the Buddha. Shortly after Shakyamuni attained enlightenment sitting under the Pipal tree, commonly called the Bodhi tree in Bodh Gaya, he determined not to keep his enlightenment within himself but to share it with others. Already, in that moment of decision, Buddhism may be said to have started upon its path of development as that of a world religion.³The next forty-five years of his life were spent in preaching his message to his fellow men; he died aged eighty.

That time India was ruled by small kingdoms. From these small kingdom emerged the Mauryan Empire. The greatest king of Mauryan dynasty was Asoka. Asoka took teaching of Buddha with enthusiasm and started spreading it to the world. He sent delegations to the different parts of the world to spread Buddhism there. Because of the efforts of Asoka Buddhism became a world religion. Apart from Asoka's effort some other reasons were also responsible for the acceptance of Buddhism in world. The main reason was the simple and universal teachings of Buddhism which were applicable to whole world like truth and non-violence. As Ikeda argued that the Buddhism of Shakyamuni was destined not simply to remain a religion of only the Indian people. It rather possessed characteristics of universal appeal permitting it to transcend national and racial boundaries and present itself as a religion for the entire humankind.⁴

Apart from the surpassing excellence of its philosophical thought, the most important thing about the principles of the Buddhist teaching is that they are not empty theoretical talk. They require each and every person really to put them into practice and test them with body and mind and to work to carry them out. Only by this kind of personal practice can one experience realization of the complete answer. Because of this, from a modern point of view, Buddhist learning itself has a very scientific spirit. It has been able to stand the test of time. Moreover, besides its philosophical thought, it also is very rich in scientific principles. Indeed, Buddhism is a rich treasury that has still not been opened up on any large scale by the world's people.⁵

³ Ikeda Daisaku, *"The Flower of Chinese Buddhism"*, translated by Burton Watson, p. 5.

⁴ Ikeda Daisaku, *"The Flower of Chinese Buddhism,"* translated by Burton Watson, p. 3

⁵ Huai-Chin Nan (1997), *"Basic Buddhism: Exploring Buddhism and Zen,* p. 159.

In the various countries of Asia, Buddhism still retains its traditional prestige. But the times are changing, and Buddhism is also in the midst of changes. It is difficult to anticipate what kind of religion Buddhism will become in the future. Nevertheless, from a religious standpoint, there are still many countries in Asia that are Buddhist lands. This is especially true in Southeast Asia.⁶ Tibet plays important role to spread the Buddhism in the world. Atlast, Tibetan Buddhism is being recognized by the world. Because of its separated location, the Buddhist tradition developed there for fourteen centuries in relative isolation which was unknown or misunderstood by the outside world. Tibet saw a turning point after 1950s, when the China take-over precipitated the migration of Tibetan teachers and scholars to India. Tibetan Buddhist teachers and scholars since then have travelled further abroad and have established centers that are now flourishing in the world like Japan, Australia, Europe, South East Asia, South America and North America.

The light came from India during the 7th Century AD: the roof of the world discovered Buddha's teachings. It was much an important turning point in the history of Tibet. The following period saw a constant flow of Tibetan Lamas, Panditas and Yogis visiting the great Indian Viharas. It seems fascinating to note the changes shaped by the Buddhist faith on the people of Tibet who were amongst the most quarrelsome on earth. After adopting this religion, their powerful empire suddenly turned pacifist, which had spread far and wide. Resulting, it would never recover its past military glory but it would rather, start a different kind of conquest, the conquest of self, and begin to spread its cultural influence over Central Asia and Mongolia.⁷

Tibet is influenced by Buddhism and it does preach peace, brotherhood, tolerance, sympathy, friendliness, compassion, etc. it is also free from the barriers of caste and creed. If it is understood, keeping in view, the motto of "*BahujanahitayaBahujanasukhaya*", it is extremely plain and simple. Coming forward with a spiritual consolation that *Dukha* can be overcome, it also offers a remedial measure in the form of four noble truths and it advises us to take to the noble eight fold path. Such sublime thoughts of Buddha gave birth to an uncommonly altruistic culture. The ethico-spiritual thought and culture of Buddhism left an indelible imprint on the thoughts and minds of the Tibetan people.

⁶ Ibid, p.130.

⁷ Arpi Claude, "*India-Tibet Relations 1947-1949: India Begins to Vacillate*", p.18.

Buddhism has two kinds of school, Hinayana and Mahayana. The term Hinayana and Mahayana appeared in the Saddharampundrika sutra or the sutra of the lotus of the god law. There are many major reasons for the development of different schools within Buddhism that Buddha taught for decades and he had given huge amount of teachings and it is not easy to exactly interpret all of his teachings or how to summarize these teachings logically. Therefore, the explanation would be different and sometimes may seem contradictory.

Hinayana Buddhism is considered the orthodox school. It was the original school of Buddhist philosophy because it is considered to be truer to Gautama Buddha's teachings than Mahayana. Hinayana Buddhism also known as Theravada Buddhism which means 'Lesser Vehicle', its followers prefers the name Theravada or way of the elders. It is emphasized individual strict personal meditation, salvation or liberation. And it is only to the monastic path to enlightenment. Its scriptures are in Pali and the language that Buddha taught in. The ultimate aim of the Hinyana sect is to attain the state of an Arhat, and Arhat is the spiritual master who achieved enlightenment by his own practice.⁸ In present time, Hinyana Buddhism is to be alive and well in Srilanka, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and other part of Southeast Asia. Srilanka has played a central role in preserving the Hinyana scriptures and practices.

Second school of Buddhism, Mahayana rose to prominence in India around 1st century A.D., after splitting from the Hinyana. It is developed in northern India. Mahayana Buddhism took root in the Himalayana countries like Nepal, Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim as well as in China, Japan and Korea. Mahayana meaning 'Greater vehicle' and ultimate aim of the Mahayana Buddhism is to attain the state of Bodhisattva who is a spiritual hero, being divine or human, who endures the endless cycles of life, death and rebirth in for helping all other beings in achieving enlightenment.⁹ Of great influence to the development of the Mahayana, was Acharya Nagarjuna in 2nd century CE who is known for his introduction to the teachings on the philosophy of emptiness. About the 4th century CE, the Acharya Asanga and Vasubandhu wrote giant amount of works on Mahayana. The Mahayana teaching was mainly in Sanskrit which is now being called as the Mahayana Sutras. The main motivation of Mahayana Buddhism is leading all sentient beings to enlightenment.

⁸ Smith F. Harold (2013), *"The Buddhist Way of Life: Its Philosophy and History"*, p. 88.

⁹ Akira Hirakawa, Paul Groner(1993), *"A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna"*, p. 258.

Before going on the spread of Buddhism in Tibet we should understand the situation of Tibet prior to the Buddhism, Tibet had its own religion, Bon. To understand Bon properly we have to understand its origin first. There is a debate between scholars about the origin of Bon religion. Some scholars argued that Bon is not originated in Tibet but it also expanded to Tibet similar to Buddhism. As argued by Kapestian “Bon, in any case, is not thought by its adherents to be an indigenous religion, but is supposed to have been introduced much earlier from a land called Olmolungring, said to be in the Iranian regions of Inner Asia to the west of Tibet.”¹⁰

Bon was first introduced into Tibet by Shen-rab himself when he visited the land of snows. But we are lacking any historical sources about him or his time as argued by Karmay that “He occupies a position very similar to that of Sakyamuni in Buddhism, but in contrast to the Buddha, we have no available sources with which to establish his historicity, his dates, his racial origin, his activities, and the authenticity of the enormous number of books either attributed directly to him or believed to be his word”.¹¹

Some Bon practitioners saw the founder of Bon religion as an early incarnation of Buddha as argued by Farber “According to Bon practitioners, the religion was founded thousands of years before the life of Shakyamuni Buddha by a prince named TonpaShenrabMiwo, whom they believe is an early incarnation of Buddha.”¹²

Before entered the Buddhism in Tibet in seventh century AD., that it was Bon religion which dominating the region. The Tibetan script was formed by Thonmi Sambhota who was the celebrated Tibetan minister and scholar in Seventh century only and there are not have any written documents of Tibetan history before this period. So the historical record of Tibetan religion begins only after the seventh century CE, because of this problem the reconstruction of earlier Tibetan religious viewpoints are mainly depended upon the small but growing body of archaeological artifacts and the given evidences of survivals of prehistoric traditions and practices in later literature and ritual practices. The pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet traditionally, is often referred to as Bon, but one must be careful to distinguish this from Bon of present day, which is very organized, which, with its monastic institutions, scriptural collections, and

¹⁰ Kapstein, Matthew T. (2006), “*The Tibetans*”, p.45.

¹¹ Karmay, Samten G. (ed.) (1972) “*The Treasury of Good Sayings: A Tibetan History of Bon*”, p. 499.

¹² Farber, don (2003), “*Tibetan Buddhist Life*”, p.16.

philosophical systems, embodies aspects of Tibetan Buddhism and began to take shape in about the tenth century.¹³ The spread of Buddhism contributed to enrich the existing the Tibetan culture

In many poetical writings of Tibet, the country is referred to as “Khawachen” or “Gangjong” meaning “The Adobe of Snow” and “Sidanjong” meaning “The Cool climate Land”.¹⁴

Tibet as an ancient country has been source of wonder and mystery to people all over the world for hundreds of years. It has long been known as a ‘forbidden land’ to the world which is situated in the western part of China, north of India and Nepal, east of Persia and southern parts of Russia and Mongolia. The Tibetan people have made their homes in one of the most inhospitable, but also one of the most stunning at the same time, regions in the world. Tibet also does include the highest point on earth. Mount Everest as well as vast tracts of land too cold and wind swept for any vegetation to grow. Cultures of the world: Tibet examines the lives of the Tibetans, their ancient culture, the autonomous region’s astonishing geography, and its economic and political realities today. It also examines the religious beliefs that shape the lives of a people struggling to maintain their traditional way of life.¹⁵

According to Dalai Lama, Tibet is a land of mystery, spirituality and antiquity. They believe in a recite mantra “Om Mani Padme hum”, it means that independence on the practice of a path which is an indivisible union of method and wisdom, one can transform ones impure body, speech and mind into pure exalted body, speech and mind of Buddha. Padma in the mantra means lotus, symbolizing wisdom.¹⁶

The history of Buddhism in Tibet begins in 641 CE during the reign of Naradeva (Mihi-lha) who ascended the throne when he was 13 years old. He was also known as Sron-tsan-gam-po (literary meaning: straightforward, strict and prompy) in Tibet and the founder of Tibetan empire, and credited with the introducing Buddhism to Tibet¹⁷ when King Sron-tsan-gam-pounified Tibet through military conquest and took two Buddhist wives, princess Bhrikuti of Nepal and princess We Cheng of China.

¹³ Kapstein, Matthew T. (2006), “*The Tibetans*”, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴ Thapa Bahadur Deb (2013), “*Tibet: History, Culture and Society*”, p.1.

¹⁵ Patricia Levy, Don Bosco (2006), “*Tibet*”, p.5

¹⁶ Dalai Lama (1984), “*Kindness, Clarity and Insight*”, p.117.

¹⁷ Murti T.R.V. (1989), “*Buddhism in Tibet*”, p. 14.

Sron-tsan-gam-po, the 33rd ruler of the Tubo Regime in Tibet is an important Tibetan king in the Tibetan history and is also considered to be the real founder of the Tibetan Empire. He has contributed to the unity of the Chinese nation and his in creation lines of communication between Tibet and China are part of his great legacy.¹⁸ A Tibetan historian, Bu-ston, states that the original name of king was Khri-lda-sron-btsan and he provides us with an interesting explanation of how the king came to be known as Sron-tsan-gam-po and this change, which like his father warlike spirit and took delight in wars and campaigns. On his accession to the throne, he increased his military powers manifold and laid a mission against King Amsuvarman of Nepal. Fearing defeat at his hands, King Amsuvarman thought it wise to establish matrimonial agreement with the king Sron-tsan-gam-po of Tibet then he offered his daughter princess Bhrikuti in marriage to him. The king of Tibet gladly accepted the princess Bhrikuti as his queen.¹⁹

His first wife, the princess Bhrikuti of Nepal was a devout Buddhist who brought with her as part of her dowry several valuable Buddhist images of Aksobhya Buddha, Maitreya and Tara and the king was influenced by her devout Buddhist and to enshrine these images they built a great temple to house the images, the TsulagKhang, which stands today in the middle of the city of Lhasa that has grown up around it, and the temple is known as the Jo Khang, the House of the Lord. Its original name meant “House of wisdom”. Nepalese architects, builders and craftsman were sent from Nepal to build the first temple in Tibet.²⁰ Thus, Buddhism first came to Tibet from Nepal. Another one is that when Sron-tsan-gam-powanted to propagate this religion in Tibet then he sent for religious works to Nepal and as we shall have occasion to relate farther on, he prepared his representative to translate this sutra before returning to Tibet.²¹

If the primary Tibetan motive was territorial expansion into the western regions and consequent Sino-Tibetan boundary disputes, the secondary motive appears to have been the btsan prestige. Srong-bstan-sgam-po had learnt from a Chinese envoy Feng De Xia that both the Turks and the Tu-Yuhun had received Chinese princess in marriage alliances. He decided to do likewise, but his marriage proposal was turned down. He was “duly offended” and with his huge army

¹⁸ Chloe Xen, “*SongstenGampo- Tibetan king*”, 3 June 2014, <http://www.Tibettravel.org/Tibet-history/Tibet-king-songtsen-gampo.html>.

¹⁹ Norbu J., and Turnbull C (1972), “*Tibet, Its History, Religion and People*”, p.141.

²⁰ Ibid, p.141.

²¹ W. Woodville Rockhill (1901), “*The Life of the Buddha: And the Early History of His Order,*” p. 210.

“attacked and easily defeated” the Tu-Yuhun.²² Two or three years later in 640, princess Wencheng was given in marriage to Srong-bstan-sgam-po. The Tang emperor’s first rejection of the Tibetan King’s marriage proposal was determined by China’s relations with Tu-yuhun. In 634 Tang and Tu-yuhun were at war, and the emperor would have agreed on a matrimonial alliance with Tibet against Tu-yuhun. But from 634-636 the situation had change with the establishment of a pro-Tibetan regime in Tu-yuhun, and the need to ally with Tibet had disappeared. Therefore, it was largely Tibetan fighting power and determination that compelled the Tang ruler to give Princess Wencheng to Sron-btsanSgampo. Once given, the Chinese made best use of the marriage connection.²³ The relations between China and Tibet were invariably called as one between ‘Uncle and Nephew’ after marriage of Princess Wencheng with the Tibetan king Srong-bstan-sgam-po.²⁴

His second wife, princess We Cheng of China was also a worshipper of Buddha. She carried arts and crafts as well as images of Sakyamuni to Tibet which is said to have been taken from Magadha by the Chinese about the 1st century B.C. this also installed in a great temple built by the king in Lahasa.²⁵ She was the most famous and beloved queen of the Tibetan history with Princess Bhrikuti for Nepal. This extremely beautiful and intelligent princess We Cheng of the Tang Dynasty, did leave the capital Chang’an (Xi’an) for the Tubo kingdom (Tibetan kingdom). She brought the Tibetans, many of the scientific and agricultural advances of the Tang dynasty and is also credited with the introduction of Buddhism into the region.²⁶ Both the wives were also further “canonized” as the incarnations of Avalokita’s consorts, Tara, goddess of Mercy and the fact that they bore no children is pointed to as evidence of their divine nature. The Chinese princess was glorified as the white Tara, while the Nepalese princess as the green Tara, which is still very much venerated in Nepal. By the persuasion of these two queens, the king was soon converted to Buddhism. He felt the necessity of introducing Buddhism into his own country and henceforth devoted his attention to its propagation in Tibet. He wished every man to be virtuous and wise. He ruled over the kingdom on the basis of ten Golden Precepts which agree fairly with

²² Christopher I. Beckwith (1987), “*The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*”, p. 22.

²³ Norbu Dawa (2001), “*China’s Tibet Policy*”, p.37.

²⁴ Yihong Pan (1992), “*The Sino-Tibetan Treaties in the Tang Dynasty*,” T’oungPao, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 153-158.

²⁵ Banerjee, A.C. (1984), “*Aspects of Buddhist Culture from Tibetan Sources*,” p.21.

²⁶ Chloe Xen (2014), “*Songsten Gampo- Tibetan king*”, 3 June 2014.

rules of morality as recommended by Buddha for the observances of Buddhist monks and the laity in their daily life.²⁷

Thus, Srong-bstan-sgam-po drew up a code of morals and customs that were quite in harmony with the newly introduced doctrines of Buddhism. At the instance of his queens, he sent many intelligent young men to India, Nepal, and China for Buddhist works and acquiring knowledge of Buddhism.²⁸

Trisong Detsen's role in the first spreading of the Dharma in Tibet, on the other hand, is eminent in Tibetan literature, architecture, painting, opera, folk songs and dozens of myths. After Trisong Detsen sent his army to push out, Chang'an, in 763, he invited two great Indian Buddhist masters 'Padmasambhava and Santarakshita', to spread Buddhism in Tibet. Trisong Detsen founded the first monastery at Samye in Tibet with their help and supported the first Tibetan who took the oaths of Buddhist monks. In 792, the emperor called for a debate between conflicting Indian and Chinese Buddhist schools of thought which were both taught at Samye. The Indian masters defeated the Chinese scholars in a two-year public debate and Indian Buddhist philosophy rather than Chinese Buddhist philosophy became the dominant influence on the development of Tibetan Buddhism.²⁹ The Dalai Lama said that there were some Indian and Chinese monks at the monastery in Samye in Trisong Detsen's period and that each had his own quarters. There were also separate quarters for a team of translators who rendered Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan.³⁰

Tibet indeed is a home of wisdom, spirituality and contentment. Lamaistic order plays a pivotal role in everybody life of the Tibetan people of this region who by nature are against any type of violence. It is an agonising fact that the self-contented natives are being denied to live peacefully as a free and independent nations.³¹ As a Buddhist monk and scholar, Dalai Lama being a religious and political leader of Tibet, also well known in the west for his keen interest in other faiths and in science, particularly nuclear (Quantum) physics, neurobiology and ecology. Tenzin Gyatso, he was the designated the 14th Dalai Lama in 1935. He is the highest ranking Lama of Tibetan Buddhism. He also is considered as an emanation of the Buddhisattva

²⁷ Banerjee, A.C. (1984), "*Aspects of Buddhist Culture from Tibetan Sources*," p.21.

²⁸ Murti T.R.V. (1989), "*Buddhism in Tibet*", p. 16.

²⁹ Laird Thomas (2006), "*The Story of Tibet: conversations with the Dalai Lama*", pp.50-51.

³⁰ Ibid, p.55.

³¹ Chitkara M.G. (1994), "Tibet: A Reality", contributed by Bansri Ram Sharma (1993) in Shimla: Himachal Academy of Arts, Culture and Language, 11. 12. 1993, p. xv.

Avalokiteshvara, an iconic figure who represents boundless compassion. “Dalai Lama- the god king of Tibet and head of Tibetan government bare all the outwards signs of being political were in effect religious, and the loyalty of Tibetans people was not mere political allegiance, but an act of faith, fervent and unbreakable”.³²

In Tibet, there are four sects: Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya, and Gelug. Last sects Gelugpa is best known in the west as the school of Tibetan Buddhism which is associated with the H. H. Dalai Lama. In the 17th century, the Gelug School becomes the most powerful institution in Tibet. There are many big monasteries and training centers for Gelugpas in Tibet. In Mongolia and China also there were Gelugpas monasteries. The Gelugpas are the followers of the Prasanghika school of Madhyamika philosophical system. They follow the practices as laid down by Atisa. They study the Guhyasamaja, Samavara, Vajrabhairava, Hevajra, Kalacakra and Vajrayogini.³³

The Dalai Lama has an amazing capacity to keep his calm and self-possession in spite of the diabolic crime against Tibet and Tibetan peoples. It is not that he does not feel the pain of their suffering but even he look like the lotus leaf remains unaffected by the gloom of the surrounding muddy waters. Thus, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is known as the supreme spiritual leader and god king for the Tibetans. Today Dalai Lama has lived in exile in India since 1959, and leads the Tibetan government, when he flew from Tibet after the failed uprising against the Chinese invasion. Since that while, he has devoted himself to the plight of his people and in promoting world peace, winning the respect and affection of world leaders and millions of people throughout the world.

Now, Tibet is no longer a country, it is a mere geographical expression, part of the ‘Mighty Motherland’. Tibet’s labor and natural resources are exploited for the magnificence of China and the Hans by Chinese government. This can be summarizing as the Chinese communists are milking Tibet as well as the Tibetans.³⁴ China’s invasion of Tibet started in 1949 and in 1959 China had forcibly occupied entire Tibet. Consequently, over 1.2 million Tibetans have died and over 6000 monasteries have been destroyed in Tibet. They ruined the Norbulingka (heart of Tibetan culture) that Dalai Lama was still inside it, so clearly they no longer cared whether they

³² Norbu J., and Turnbull C (1972), “*Tibet, Its History, Religion and People*”, p.319.

³³ Murti T.R.V. (1989), “*Buddhism in Tibet*”, p.38.

³⁴ DawaNorbu, Harper Collins (1997), “*Tibet: The Road Ahead*”, p.216.

killed him or not. After they discovered he was not there, alive or dead, they continued to shell the city and the monasteries.³⁵ Thus, they deliberately killed some thousands of Tibetan people without trial on suspicion of opposing communism because they would not renounce their religion. They have not only been shot but have also been beaten to death, crucified, burnt alive, drowned, starved, strangled, hanged, scolded, disemboweled, and beheaded.³⁶

M.N. Mathur (2012) described that many Chinese think about Tibetan that they are superstitious, uncivilized hostile, ignorant, dirty, unpredictable, lazy and a bit barbarian and regard the Tibetan religion they live in illusions and incorrect thinking. So the Chinese government supposes that Tibetans live in the dark itself then how can development our country. Tibetan would not be able to use natural resources properly and so China wants to make a large area with Tibet, and would be make identity in the Asia and in the world. This is all done to justify why the PLA had to invade Tibet in 1949-50 in order to liberate it. But China's development has not benefitted to the Tibetan people in Tibet. In fact, they lead to Tibetan marginalization in their own land.

During this time, Dalai Lama who is the Tibet's political and spiritual leader was compelled to take refuge in India and over 80,000 Tibetans refugees followed him. Thus, Dalai Lama has made countless attempts to gain some autonomy for Tibet while avoiding all out warfare with China. He has tried hard to steer a middle path in which Tibet would remain a territory of China. The unity and co-existence between the Tibetan and the Chinese people is more important than the political requirements of the Tibetan people. Therefore, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been pursuing a mutually beneficial approach which is called the middle way. If the Tibetan and Chinese can co-exist on an equal footing, this will serve as the basis which guarantees the unity of nationalities, social stability and territorial integrity of the China which are of vital important to China. Thus, the chief characteristics of the Middle way approach of Dalai Lama is that peace can be achieved through non-violence, mutual benefit, unity of nationalities and social ability.

The term of the middle way is one of the fundamental principles of the Buddhist philosophy. Middle way means avoiding of any extremes by trying to stay in the space between extremes. Gautama Buddha gave teaching on the middle way in his first sermon at Sarnath in India after his enlightenment which is very important aspect for us. The middle way was subsequently

³⁵ Dalai Lama (1962), *My Land and My People*, pp. 184-185.

³⁶ Dalai Lama (1962), *My Land and My People*, pp. 198-199

prescribed as the way. If we seek the happiness, pleasures purely through indulgence, we are not free and if we fight against ourselves and the world then we are not free. It is the middle way that brings freedom. This is an universal truth discovered by all those who awaken. Middle way may be understood in many senses like neutral, upright and centered, unbiased attitude. In order to solve the problems we should then locate ourselves on neutral, upright and an unbiased ground. We investigate the problems from various points of views, analyze the findings, understand the truth thoroughly, and find a reasonable conclusion. Gautama Buddha also achieved the knowledge, enlightenment through this middle way. Thus we can say that middle way is the central theme of Buddha or in Buddhism.

Middle way is the central doctrine of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhist philosophy, where it is connected with the emptiness. The middle way of Madhyamika refers to taking a middle way between affirmation and negation. Madhyamika (middle way) school of Mahayana Buddhism founded by the Indian philosopher Acharya Nagarjuna and arguably the most influential Buddhist thinker after Buddha himself. Nagarjuna summed up his philosophy like this: whatever comes up through interdependency is emptiness. However this is a conventional designation. It is the meaning of middle way. In detailing about the Madhyamika philosophy, Nagarjuna presented four positions about the existence of phenomena, he would not take: 1. All things exist, 2. All things do not exist, 3. All things both exist and do not exist, 4. All things neither exist or do not exist, neither affirmation and nor negation. Nagarjuna rejected each of these propositions and took a middle position between being and non being, a middle way. In the key to the middle way (on emptiness), the Dalai Lama explains the middle way between existence (Tibet is a part of China) and non-existence (Tibet is not the part of China). Thus, Dalai Lama's middle way approach became very important in 1988. It can be an alternative solution to this long conflict and can bring an end to atrocities which Tibetans people are facing.

The people of Tibet, who escaped to India during the occupations of China in 1959, are not ordinary refugees. They have taken refuge not as individuals alone, but rather as a national polity that has escaped the destruction taking place in Tibet and has sought and given the protective mantle of a neighboring friendly country. Both a people and cultural institutions have taken refuge in a host setting and have demonstrated both strength and survivability. That is the extraordinary and unique story of the Tibetans in India, a story that demonstrates the vitality of

the Tibetan culture and of the people-the one hundred thousand who fled with their leader, the Dalai Lama, from Tibet across the Himalayas to the safety of a land with its own great religious tradition, a land originally the major source of Tibetan Buddhism. India, the land of Gandhi and the land where the Buddha once lived, was the best preserve Tibetan polity could have found. Clearly, the survival of Tibetan culture in the Indian diaspora is one of the wondrous and hopeful events of our time.³⁷

Dalai Lama influenced very much from Gandhi in term of non –violence to freedom for India. During from the colonial rule in India, Mahatma Gandhi also put the infallible weapons of truth, non-violence, non-cooperation and sacrifices in the hands of our people and ultimately truth succeeded and India emerged as a free nation. Today, the Dalai Lama is not only inspiring his own people with the same ideals but tirelessly going around the world with the message of truth, non-violence, compassion, sacrifice, peace, love and tolerance giving new hope to the suffering humanity the world over.

There is one of the strongest points of comparison between Mahatma Gandhi and Dalai Lama, both of them are seen as both spiritual and political leader, great freedom fighter of 20th century, and two interpreters of peace, harmony, love, compassion and have their own ways of explanations of the problems of peace and harmony. They are both representatives of the idea that political change must be secondary to spiritual evolution. Non- violence plays the important role for both in their struggle to achieve the goals to leading their principles. Gandhi very much influenced by a Sanskrit word '*Ahimsa paramodhamah*' its mean non- violence is the highest virtue.

Thus we can say that India and Tibet always had a unique cultural, spiritual and historical relationship and the Dalai Lama always appreciated this relationship. India also has grateful to the Dalai Lama because as a Buddhist, Dalai Lama has always protected the heritage of India and has promoted and featured it all over the world that was soon disappeared from India under the assault of Muslim hordes from Central Asia. A new culture based on power and brutality replaced the old compassionate wisdom.

³⁷ Michael Franz (1985), "Survival of a Culture: Tibetan Refugees in India", *Asian Survey*, 25(7): 737-744, university of California Press, p. 737.

Thus, India known as a holy land for Tibetans because of the birth of Buddha and the compassion and blessings which Lord Buddha brought to the world. Indian and Tibetan civilization have from ancient times been the two major influences in the Eastern world, each with its own unique thinking, philosophy, and culture. So naturally, when Buddhism was transmitted from India to Tibet, the fundamental principles of Indian Buddhism were kept, but were also colored by elements that made Tibetan Buddhism unique in itself. As argued by Ikeda that the religion of Shakyamuni, when it was transmitted from India to other countries in various different languages and cultures, did not naturally remain unchanged. Though the philosophical core of the religion stayed the same, various adaptations in the issues of custom and procedure and various shifts of doctrinal emphasis took place in the new environments into which it was introduced, so that in time China, for example, developed its own distinctive Tibetan Buddhism.³⁸

The middle way approach that advocated by Dalai Lama for Tibetan issues is a middle path for resolving the conflict between China and Tibet. It is an ultimate solution to the problem and seeks to provide partial autonomy to Tibet. But the Chinese government rejected many times this doctrine of Dalai Lama and saying that it is an intermediary step towards gaining full independence and it can divide in China and stated that Tibet is an integral part of China and cannot be separated from China. JayshreeBajoria explain that (2008) according to Adam Segal who is the CFR's China expert that Tibet is very important to China's sense of nationhood. "There is a fear that if Tibet gets independence, then Uyghur and Taiwan will want independence."

Tibet has applied a strategy to Chinese government at the same time that it unites the exile Tibetans and gains the international support: the demonization of China for its human rights severe violations. Sautman (2012) said that some western leaders who perceive "China as a strategic rival have so far supported claims of cultural genocide and generalized repression in Tibet." In the 58th United Nations commission on Human Rights (2002) several countries like Guatemala, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland and NGO'S were urging China to grant self -determination and satisfactory autonomy to the Tibetan people and to find a solution through dialogue also they claimed for respect to the human rights in Tibet. Sidney (1990) have

³⁸ Daisaku Ikeda (1986), "*The Flower of Chinese Buddhism*", translated by Burton Watson, p. 4

described that supporting the Dalai Lama's middle way approach, the Norwegian Nobel Committee has thus, decided to award the 1989 Nobel Peace prize to the 14th Dalai Lama who is the actual religious and political leader of the Tibetan people. The committee also wants to lay emphasis on the fact that Dalai Lama during his struggle for the liberation of Tibet consistently opposed the use of violence. He instead launched peaceful solutions based on tolerance and mutual respect for preserving the historical and cultural heritage of his people.

Chapter -2

Middle Way in Buddhism

Buddhism occupies the central position in the development of Indian philosophy. Buddhism is the philosophy of Gautama Buddha, it is not a religion but it is the way towards peaceful life. As Sri Dhammananda explains, 'Buddhism teaches us to live and let live it means Buddhism is a way of life but Buddhism has become a religion by some Buddhist scholars. In this world there is no proof to show that Buddhists have interfered or done any damage to any other religions in any part of the world for the purpose of introducing their religion'. Buddhism teaches us to prepare the mind to think rationally and how to change one's inner attitudes toward the outer world. The most important thing is the practice. Dalai Lama described it in his my land and my people that the perfect practice of Buddhism is not attained only through superficial changes, for instance, through leading a monastic life or reciting from holy books.

Dalai Lama gave the story of an old Tibetan. Once, long before, there was a well-known Lama whose name was Drom. One day Drom saw a man making a long circuit round a stupa. Then he said to him that it is quite a good thing that you walk around a stupa. But it would be better to practice the religion. Next time, the man found it better to read a holy book while Drom saw him again and said that there is no doubt that reading holy books are very good but it would be better, still if you practice the religion. And the man thought, if the reading holy book is no good then how about meditation? When Drom saw him again in meditation and repeated same thing that no doubt, meditation is very good but it would really be better if you would practice the religion. Then the tired man asked him that what then did he mean by practicing religion? Then Drom replied, 'that which turns you away from the various forms of this worldly life.'³⁹ Because the world is extreme and we cannot describe it, it is neither existent nor non-existent and the absolute is also indescribable because it is transcendental, mystical and no category of intellect can adequately describe it. Everything is sunyata or empty. The center method for achieving otherworldly brightening was established and taught by Gautama Buddha around 600 years B.C.

Thus, there are talks about emptiness or middle way, the middle way of achieving spiritual brightening was introduced and taught by Gautama Buddha around 600 years B.C. The concept

³⁹ Dalai Lama (1962), "*My Land and My People*", p. 227.

of emptiness or middle way remained central in Indian Buddhism to its last days but from about the 7th century it developed in the direction of Tantrism. After Buddhism was presented into Tibet, the concept of middle way also played a central role in Tibetan Buddhism.

Middle way is the central teaching of the Madhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, where it is connected with emptiness. The middle way of Madhyamika refers to taking a middle way between affirmation and negation. But unfortunately some people may be misunderstood by the literal meaning of middle way or emptiness as equivocal. The word middle means neutral, upright, centered and unbiased. It implies to investigate and penetrate the core of life and all things which exist with an upright, unbiased attitude. We inspect the problem from various points of views, analyze the findings, understand the truth thoroughly, and find a rational conclusion; we should take the position ourselves on the base of neutral, upright and unbiased ground. Middle way is the most useful and important way to support when people swing between two extremes: unsatisfactory and unsustainable. Emptiness (Middle way) is not complete nothingness; it does not mean that nothing exists at all. But it is that which stands right in the middle between affirmation and negation, existence and non-existence, eternity and annihilation. Dalai Lama says that emptiness as the true nature of thing and events and all events and the incidents in their own being are empty.

Gautama Buddha achieves the knowledge through middle way. Thus, we can say that middle way is the central point the philosophy of Buddha or in Buddhism. It is the practical knowledge not ideal because Gautama Buddha had experienced it and advised us to take the middle way rather than either extreme. The middle way is also symbolized in the traditional story of the Buddha's life before he was said to have achieved enlightenment.

Siddhartha Gautama who becomes the Buddha was born as a prince in 563 B.C. in the Lumbini Grove near the ancient town of Kapilvastu, on the lower slopes of Himalayas in the North of India. His father was Suddhodana, a prince of the Sakya clan and his mother Queen Mahamaya. He was brought up in the comfort, luxury and pomp of his father palace. When he was sixteen years old, he was married with princess Yashodhara and after a while, their son was born, and his name was Rahul. Gautama's father tried his best to keep him away from all the pains and miseries of life by marrying him and surrounding him with luxuries. It was about this time when Gautama, who thus far had been carefully protected from all the pains and miseries of life but on

successive occasions, issuing from the palace, he was confronted all the pains and miseries of life by those four things- sickness, old age, death and a monk. These things made a profound impression on him who filled him with amazement and distress and realizing the impermanence of all earthly things. After that when he aged 29, he was determined to renounce the world in order to discover a solution to human suffering and the quest for truth. He left his family, princely life and became an ascetic (Yogi). He wandered far and wide seeking teachers, two teachers Alara Kalama and Uddaka Ramputta taught him how to attain to high meditative states and practicing severe disciplines including the mortification of body through physical control, persisting pain, holding their breath, fasting almost to starvation. He very nearly starved himself to death in the process. But yet he did not satisfy him and he realized that this kind of practice is very extremes.

After six years of this great struggle he realized that the truth (quest for truth and freedom of sufferings) was not to be won by this way of extreme asceticism as a means to liberating and knowledge and wisdom. Undaunted by his failure, Gautama embarked once again on his search for the cause and cessation of suffering, this time he set out to find his own path and he considered a middle way between these extremes. He began a fresh course of self-discipline and self-analysis through concentration and modification, avoiding equally the extreme asceticism and self-mortification on the one hand and that of unrestrained pursuit of pleasure and enjoyment on the other. According to Hirakawa and Groner, once Buddha got up to take a bath in Niranjana River and drank some water, he could not rise then he held onto a branch of tree and supported himself. As he reached his hut he fell down because of weakness. People thought that Buddha had died. A girl name Sujata was passing by and saw Buddha in a very weak position and then she offered him rice and milk like porridge. Buddha looked at Sujata with gratitude, and then he gratefully accepted the offering and ate all the contents of the bowl which was given by her. After eating the porridge his body refreshed and he recovered his strength and realized that severe austerities and making body suffer was not the way to attain enlightenment.⁴⁰

Finally, he sat his concentration deepened under the Bodhi tree (this place now known as Bodh Gaya, Bihar) near Niranjana River. His mind was calm and relaxed and his wisdom grew

⁴⁰ Akira Hirakawa, and Paul Groner (1993), “*A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*”, p. 27.

brighter. He got a handle on exceptional clarity the cause of sufferings and examines the true nature of life. Everything was associated with each other. Nothing happened without any cause or effect and each cause affected everything else.

In his first sermon, the main points of Buddha's teachings, two extremes were to be avoided, what were those two extremes? One is a life of pleasure, devoted to desire and enjoyment which is the base on ignorance, irreligious, illusory and unworthy. The other extreme is a life of mortification which is gloomy, unreal and unworthy. The perfect individual is removed himself from both these extremes and he has discovered the way which lies between them, the middle way which enlightens the eyes, enlightens the mind which leads to rest, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to nirvana.⁴¹

Thus, he became Buddha, attained complete enlightened at the age of thirty five. After attaining the knowledge and enlightenment, he did not spent the rest of his life in the forest in a mood of self-sufficiency, while forty five years of his life he quickly wandered place to place in the Ganges Valley, expounding the doctrine that he had found to all who would listen and establishing the Sangha or order of Buddhist monks and nuns, which still exists in present time.⁴²

Therefore, he had had personal experience of both, one of over attachment and the other being self-torture. Buddhism is consequently the middle path between these extremes furthermore between a fewsets of opposites, such as eternalism and annihilationism, existence and non-existence and self-indulgence and self-mortification. So, middle way becomes the central doctrine of Buddhism. The doctrine of Buddhism is not meant for simple knowledge; it is a means of improving our mind. Today, it must be an integral part of our life.

In a course of time, the message of Gautama Buddha gave rise to Buddhism as philosophy and religion which spread far and wide to Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Tibet, China, Japan, Korea and Mongolia etc. When he reached the age of eighty years, Buddha then realized that time had come to die and then he went into meditation and passing through its successive stages, he achieved Nirvana. His teachings spread broadly in course of time and ultimately developed into a world religion. It is indeed, one of the most incredible developments of Indian thoughts. He is one of

⁴¹ Oldenberg Hermann (1882), "*Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*", p. 127.

⁴² NikayaDigha and Walshe Maurice (1987), "*The Long Discourse of the Buddha*", p. 20.

the greatest figures in the otherworldly history of humankind and his life one of the most motivating in its lessons to humanity.

After the death of Buddha, there developed 18 different types of schools or traditions within Buddhism and they (different types of school) file a claim to signify the original teachings of Gautama Buddha. Buddha taught for decades and he had given huge amounts of teachings and it is not easy to extract interpretations of all his teachings. It should rather, be on how to summarize these teachings logically. The differences between various types of schools or traditions were basically due to many variations of elucidations of the original teachings of the Buddha. Over a period of time these different types of schools were gradually merged into two main and famous schools. The two major schools of Buddhism is Hinayana (Theravada) and Mahayana.

Hinayana Buddhism which also known as the orthodox school was the original school of Buddhist philosophy because it is considered to be truer to original teachings of Gautama Buddha than Mahayana school. Hinayana Buddhism also known as Theravada Buddhism which means ‘Lesser Vehicle’; its followers prefer the name Theravada or way of the elders. It is emphasized individually on strict personal meditation, salvation or liberation. And it is only to the monastic path to enlightenment. Its scriptures are in Pali and the language that Buddha taught in. The ultimate aim of the Hinayana sect is to attain the state of an Arhat, and Arhat is the spiritual master who achieved enlightenment by his own practice.⁴³In present time, Hinayana Buddhism is said to be alive and well in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia. Sri Lanka has played a central role in preserving the Hinayana scriptures and practices.

Second school of Buddhism, Mahayana rose to prominence in India around the 1st century A.D., after splitting from the Hinayana. It is developed in northern India. Mahayana Buddhism took root in the Himalayana countries like Nepal, Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim as well as in China, Japan and Korea. Mahayana meaning ‘Greater vehicle’ and ultimate aim of the Mahayana Buddhism is to attain the state of Bodhisattva who is a spiritual hero, being divine or human, who enduring the endless cycles of life, death and rebirth in order to help all other beings achieve

⁴³ Smith F. Harold (1951), “*The Buddhist Way of Life: Its Philosophy and History*”, p.88.

enlightenment.⁴⁴Of great influence to the development of the Mahayana was Acharya Nagarjunain (2nd century CE) who is known for his introductive teachings on the philosophy of emptiness. About the 4th century CE, the Acharya Asanga and Vasubandhu wrote giant amount of works on Mahayana. The Mahayana teaching was mainly Sanskrit which is now called the Mahayana Sutras. The main motivation of Mahayana Buddhism is to lead all sentient beings to enlightenment. Mahayana Buddhism developed in Tibet and was as famous as the Tibetan Buddhism and spread to neighboring nations of the Himalayas.

There are two systems of Hinayana, Vaibhasika system; this can be called the Abhidharmika system⁴⁵ and Sautrantika system, it is a partial modification of this dogmatic realism⁴⁶.And two system of Mahayana Buddhism, Madhyamika system of Nagarjuna and Yogacara system of Asanga and Vasubandhu and the later Vijnanavada of Dignaga and Dharmakirti.⁴⁷

Here, this chapter focuses on studying and evaluating the impact of Madhyamika Buddhist thought or middle way. Middle way delivers a practical way forward beyond the boundaries of religious and secular styles of thinking. It offers a profound task to modern relativism, since it gives us a technique of seeing how one judgement can be improved than another whether scientific, moral or aesthetic not by making claims that go beyond experience but on the contrary by avoiding permanent beliefs and being open to practical experiences. It makes a balanced life.

In the broadest sense, the Middle Way signifies Buddha's enlightened vision of life as well as the actions or attitudes of him that will create happiness and satisfaction for himself as well as other people, it is found in the progressing, dynamic endeavor to apply Buddhist understanding to the questions and tasks of life and society. In this sense, the pursuit for the middle way can be considered a universal goal for every Buddhist system—the search for a way of life that would give the best dignity to human existence and help to discharge the suffering from the world. It is thus that Buddhism itself is sometimes stated as the “Middle Way.”

The perfect men who avoid both extremes have realized Middle Path. For the reason that this path gives us vision, knowledge, and moves towards peace, to insight, to enlightenment and to

⁴⁴ Akira Hirakawa, and Paul Groner (1993), “*A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*”, p. 258.

⁴⁵ Murti T.R.V. (2006), “*The Central Philosophy of Buddhism: A Study of Madhyamika System*”, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 4.

Nirvana. Middle path is related to the Noble Eightfold path, namely: right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration⁴⁸.

The Noble Eightfold Path is one of the major teachings of Gautama Buddha who define it as the way or approach leading to the end of suffering and the achievement of self-awakening. The Noble eightfold path is used to improve insight into the true nature of reality and to eliminate greed, hatred and delusion. It is the fourth and last noble truth of the Buddha, the first portion of the eightfold path is in turn, is an understanding of the four noble truths. It is also recognized as the middle way. All eight components of the path start with the word 'right' which translates the Sanskrit word *Samyak*. These represent completion, togetherness, inseparability and consistency and can also advise the senses of perfect. It is not meant as a chronological learning process but as eight dimensions of life, all paths are unified in our everyday life. It is known as the heart of middle way which takes turns from extremes and inspires us to search for the simple approach or way. Buddha had never said for blind faith on anything, it seeks to encourage the learning and practice of self-discovery.

In Hinyana Buddhism, the concept of middle way is ascribed to Gautama Buddha himself in his explanation of the noble eightfold path as a path between the extremes of mortification and attachment or indulgence. In Mahayana Buddhism has also used the concept of middle way to mention Buddha's teachings of dependent origination as a view between the extremes of eternalism and annihilationism. Paul Carus described in his book "The four noble truths and the eightfold path" (2012) that eight fold paths is the middle path which the perfect one has found out which makes one, both to see and to know what leads to peace, to discernment, to enlightenment and to nirvana.

To avoid excessiveness in everything and thus to tread the middle path, is the injunction given to him who desires to scale the heights of spiritual realization. Here arises a question that what is excessive and what is not? What is too much and too little? The middle path is indeed a line which has length but no breath. Such a line cannot be defined nor can it be described. To define is to set limits, gives a breath to that line. To describe the middle path is to introduce a space

⁴⁸ Thera Piyadassi (1974), "*The Buddha's Ancient Path*," p.17.

between the opposites of indulgence and denial and with the introduction of space these very opposites begin to function, bringing in their train modification and distortion.⁴⁹

Here can be seen a big example of middle way which was associated with Tibet and Dalai Lama. When China had forcibly occupied entire Tibet, as a result of Chinese occupation, over 1.2 million Tibetans have died and over 6000 monasteries in Tibet have been destroyed. Dalai Lama as a Buddhist monk and scholar, and a religious and political leader of Tibet has worked hard tirelessly to achieve some autonomy for Tibet despite all out warfare with China. He has laid emphasis on middle path in which Tibet would remain a territory of China with its own legal and political systems like Hong-Kong. Then, he also used the middle way to resolve the issues of Tibet between two ends, first is the present situation inside Tibet which is occupied by China violently and second is the separation of ends from China. These are two kinds of ends and both are not perfect in themselves so Dalai Lama has taken middle path between these two ends. Thus, Middle way derived between two ends, and extreme to make the balance (DIIR).

The two key words which happen on every page of the Mahayana literatures are the words 'Boddhisattva' and 'Emptiness'. What then is most importantly a Boddhi-Sattva? Gautama Buddha is one who is enlightened. The exact meaning of Boddhi-Sattva is an enlightenment-being. He is a Buddha-to-be, one who wishes to become a Buddha, that is to say, an enlightened one. Tibetan people interpreted the Bodhisattva as Heroic Being.⁵⁰

There are two things that the sutra tells us, are most needful to the Boddhisattva, and to his practice of wisdom: "Never to abandon all beings and to see into the truth that all things are empty." Now we should try to understand all these important thoughts of emptiness. What we call emptiness in English is Sunyata in Sanskrit. The word of Sunyata derived from the root SVI, to swell. Sunya implies truly identifying with the swollen. In the remote past, our forefathers, with a fine instinct for the dialectical nature of reality, often used the same verbal root to signify the two opposite parts of a situation. There were as distinctly aware of the unity of opposites, as

⁴⁹ Mehta Rohit (1966), *"From Mind to Supermind: A Commentary on the Bhagavad Gita"*, p. 65.

⁵⁰ Conze Edward (2001), *"Buddhism: Its Essence and Development"*, p.125.

of their resistance. In this way, the root SVI, Greek KY, appears to have expressed the idea that something which appearances swollen from the outside is empty inside.⁵¹

It is an incredible compassion that these connotations of the word sunyata are lost when we talk about emptiness. This emptiness will appear as mere nothingness, just as Nirvana did. Despite the fact that in Buddhist art, emptiness is normally symbolized by an empty circle, one must not regard the Buddhist emptiness as a mere 'nought', or a blank. It is a term for the absence of self or for self- destruction. In Buddhist thought, a few thoughts have a place together which we do not usually associate.⁵²

The notion of sunyata or zero seems to have started around 520 AD through the Indian mathematicians Aryabhata. And other Indian mathematician Brahmgupta, who lived in the fifth century, is credited for developing and building up the Hindu-Arabic number system which contains zero. A small ball which we know as zero was known to the Arabs around 950 A.D. as 'shifr', empty. It becomes 'cifra' in Latin, when around 1150 the 'nought' came to Europe. In English we originally had 'cypher' as the name for zero and cypher is nothing but the Sanskrit word 'sunya'.⁵³

How important is zero? It is a number around which the positive numbers to its right stretch into infinity and the negatives numbers to its left stretch likewise. It appears neither positive nor negative, but exists in the middle. In this way, sunyata or emptiness or zero is associated with middle way. According to Robert Cumming (2012), zero or sunyata is possibly one of the most important discoveries of all time and it represents an extremely important step in humankind's intellectual evolution. Zero permitted consideration of math as a concept as opposed to simply a counting system for tangible or semi-tangible issues. It is the opened route for more theoretical ideas, for example: negative numbers; these let us solve the geometric issues and without it, advance physics would not be possible and then there would be no theory of gravity as this

⁵¹ Conze Edward (2001), "*Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*", p.130.

⁵² Ibid, p. 131.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 131.

requires negative potential energy.⁵⁴ Without the discovery of zero our retailers, bankers and statisticians would still be hampered right and left by the clumsiness of the abacus.

In this way, we can see that middle way is associated with zero or sunyata or emptiness and how important it is in the world. According to David J. Kalupahana, Middle Way has been defined into two aspects in Buddhism, one is philosophical aspect and the other is practical aspect but yet both are mutually dependent, established in two discourses, the Kaccayanagotta-sutta and the Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta. The Kaccayanagotta-sutta quoted by almost all the schools of Buddhism, deals with the philosophical middle way placed against the two absolutistic theories in Indian philosophy, namely, permanent existence, advocated in the early Upanishads and annihilistic non-existence advocated by the materialists. The middle position is explained as dependent arising origination or Pratityasamutpada to clarify the way of the human identity and the world of experience, shows up in a formula consisting the twelve components. The practical middle way is articulated in the similarly celebrated Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta, respected by some, mostly Buddhists as the first sermon supplied by the Buddha. Here, the middle way is between the two extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification and consists of the noble eightfold path which is leading to happiness and freedom.⁵⁵

If we talk about the term ‘Middle way’ highlighted in a Buddhist context, the middle way is the central doctrine of the Madhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy. The term ‘Madhyamika’ means middle way and it is a philosophical school of Mahayana Buddhism which is the second tradition of Buddhism that began about 500 years after the death of Buddha. And spread from India to China, Tibet and Japan. Thus, the doctrine of Mahayana sutras was matured and developed in a systematic and philosophical form by the ‘Madhyamikas’ of Nagarjuna. The Madhyamika philosophy however had much before predecessors and is in big part expected in Buddhist texts of the very earliest period as has been noted by knowledgeable scholars.⁵⁶ In this perspective, the Madhyamika philosophy is said to represent the essence of Buddha’s philosophy because it represents the fruition of the critical attitude which creates the real heart of Buddhism.

⁵⁴ Cumming Robert (2012), “*Why is The Concept of Zero So Important in Mathematics*”, Quorious British IP Lawyer, [www. Quora.com/ why-is-The-Concept-of-Zero-So-Important-in-Mathematics](http://www.Quora.com/why-is-The-Concept-of-Zero-So-Important-in-Mathematics).

⁵⁵ David j. kalupahana (1991), “*Mulamadhyamakakarika of Nagarjuna: The philosophy of the Middle Way*”, p.1

⁵⁶ Santina Peter Della (1987), “The Madhyamaka Philosophy”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, p. 173.

Thus, the Madhyamika philosophy is an ancient philosophy which can be traced to the original teachings of Buddha. This school was established by Nagarjuna and Aryadeva probably in 150 A.D. Nagarjuna was one of the most subtle dialecticians of all times. Of Brahmin family, he came from Berar in South India, and was active in Nagarjunakonda near Amarvati and in Northern India. He was the scholar whose name abounds in the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist literatures, and in the Jain lists. Kumarjiva, a Buddhist scholar who translated a biography of Nagarjuna into Chinese in AD 405 and also mentions him as a Brahman from Southern India. He was well versed in the Vedas and several sciences, as well as possessed supernatural powers.⁵⁷

The Sanskrit word Madhyamika is variously translated as intermediate, middlemost, middle path, the mean, midway, and so on and is derived from the Buddha's teachings of middle path. According to M.V. Ram Kumar Ratnam in his project of "Nagarjuna's Contribution to Buddhist philosophy that his great work Madhyamika Karika that contained 400 Karikas in 27 chapters provided the base for the Madhyamika School. This work alone shoes the mastermind of Nagarjuna and how he is shining in solitary splendor among the intellectual of this country. Nagarjuna is said to have recovered the texts of Mahayana Avatamsaka, Prajnaparamita and Saddharmapundarika from Nagaloka. He authored several works of which only 24 are available. Some of these are Prajnaparamita, Prajnamulasastiratika, Prajnrapadipasastrakarika and Mulamadhyamikasastra, sunyasaptati, Madhayatanugamasastra, Dasabhumivibhashasastra, Dwdasanikayasastra, Vivadasamanasastra, Upayakausalahridayasastra and Vighrahavyavartinikarika.⁵⁸

C.D. Sharma reveals the objection that Nagarjuna cannot be called author of Madhyamika philosophy since it was available before him in the Mahayana Sutras, some of which are earlier even to Ashvaghosa and in Ashvaghosa. Nagarjuna is merely the first systematic expounder of Sunyavada. In any case it is to be glory of Nagarjuna that he held these threads and wove them into unity; it is to the greatness of Nagarjuna that he built up these more or less scattered ideas almost to perfection in a thoroughly consistent method.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Chattopadhyaya D.P.(gen. ed.) and Pande G.C.(ed.) (2013), " *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization,*" Vol.vii, part 9, p.432.

⁵⁸ Chattopadhyaya D.P. (gen. ed.) and Pande G.C.(ed.) (2013), " *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization,*" Vol.vii, part 9, p.415.

⁵⁹ Sharma C.D. (2000), " *A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy,*" p. 86.

Dalai Lama said in his book ‘The Middle Way: faith grounded in reason’ that Nagarjuna’s teachings on emptiness is not a form of nihilism but is, in fact, the understanding of reality that enables us to account for conventional reality. Only this explanation of emptiness makes the operations of cause and effect tenable.⁶⁰ Thus, before the understanding of Nagarjuna’s emptiness or middle way, we should know the concept of Ultimate truth and conventional truth because it is the base of Nagarjuna’s philosophy (Madhyamika). And Nagarjuna’s philosophy shows us how these two truths are different and yet in spite of these differences both are critically the same. Nagarjuna’s doctrine of emptiness is imperative on this account.

There are two truths in this world: 1. Absolute truth or ultimate truth or Paramartha Satya (*don dam bden pa*), and 2. Conventional truth or Samvrti Satya (*kunrdzobbdenpa*).⁶¹ Without knowing the differences between these two truths, there is incapability of grasping the deep significance of the teachings of Buddha (Middle way or Emptiness). There are given the view of Nagarjuna on the truths stated in Karikas XXIV, 8 and XXIV, 10:

Dvesatyesamupasritya Buddhanam dharma-desana l

Loka-samvrti-satyam ca satyam ca paramarthatah ll (MMK, XXIV, 8)

Vyavaharamanasrityaparamarthonadesyate l

Paramarthamanagamyanirvanamnadhigamyate ll (MMK, XXIV, 10)

Both truths, ultimate and Conventional are different from each other in everyday life. This can be creating confusion for the common people, for example: they can think, if there is no self (theory of the Buddhism), no body, no mind, then how will one express himself.

The conventional truth involves our everyday life experience and understanding of the way the phenomenal world appears and functions. There are some objects appearing to be permanent and independent. Actually, we know that they are not really permanent and independent because all is flux. Conventionally, we say that ‘I was happy yesterday and now I am sad and self-exist, man exist, devas exist, elephant exist, my head exist. Even, there is no Buddha, no Krishana,

⁶⁰ Dalai Lama (2009), ‘*The Middle Way: Faith Grounded in Reason*’, p. 87.

⁶¹ Newland Guy (1999), ‘*Appearance and Reality: The Two Truths in the Four Buddhist Tenets Systems*’, p. 11.

there are no elephants, there are not pots, and in fact these are only the conventional names. When we say thus, we have no intention of deceiving others. However it is only a hallucination.⁶²This conventional truth is misunderstanding because it leads to suffering. Conventional truth is a kind of covering. It hides the real truth.

According to 'Ultimate truth' in Buddhism, there is no person or no individual in reality. This truth can be realized only by meditation not by theorizing. The land wherein the full vision of all objects is obtained at once has by the Buddha been called the *paramartha* or absolute truth which cannot be preached in words. About the ultimate reality we cannot say anything. The absolute is neither existent nor non-existent, nor both existences and non-existence nor different from both non-existence and existence. Absolute is nothing. While the absolute is free from all modes of limitations and cannot be thought by our finite consciousness.

In Madhyamikakarika,

aparapratyayamshantamprapanchairaprapanchitam/

nirvikalpamananarthametattattvasyalaksanam// (XVIII, 9)

Nagarjuna defines the reality as that which can only be directly realized, that which is calm and blissful, that where all plurality is merged, that where all cries of intellect are satisfied, that which is the non-dual Absolute.

Nagarjuna's absolute is neither the world nor apart from the world. It is the intrinsic nature of the world. But to say it is the intrinsic nature of the world, is to make of it an object, standing in relation, on one hand, to the thinking subject, and on the other hand, to other subjects, and thus to deprive it of its all-encompassing character. The only way in which Nagarjuna can speak of it is to say: 'all things in the world are devoid of an intrinsic nature', i.e., the things in the world are not as they appear to us.⁶³

Therefore, this world as we see it is not truth but we cannot call it entirely false because we live in this world, we experienced the feelings of happiness and sadness in everyday life in this world itself. But yet it is only an illusion. All phenomena are nothing in themselves. Indeed Gautama

⁶² Tien Tran Cong (2004), "*The Buddha and the Way to Happiness*", p. 26.

⁶³ Bhattacharya Kamaleswar (1971), "The Dialectical Method of Nagarjuna", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, P.218.

Buddha too had declared that form, feeling and the like are illusory-mere bubbles. Dependent upon the oil and the wick, the light in the lamp burns. It is not in the one or in the other.⁶⁴ In the same way, every phenomenon is nothing in themselves. All things that appear in the world are ultimately unreal or empty or illusion. The emptiness is the central doctrine of the Mulmadhyamakarikā. Without emptiness there could be no two truths, one is conventional truth and other being ultimate truths (reality). What is important to realize about emptiness is that nothing exists on its own, separated from other things. Therefore everything is interconnected and cannot exist without it. According to Garfield and Priest (2003), Nagarjuna shows that everything is mutually dependent on something else to exist. Nothing can exist without something else exists. This is the meaning of emptiness. And this is dependent origination (Pratītyasamutpāda).

According to the Radhakrishnan, the Madhyamika system of the phenomenal nature of the world follows the doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda*, or dependent origination. A thing (phenomena) is a collection of *dharmas* following one another in continuous or unbroken succession. The individual human being is a collection of material and mental *dharmas*, which constitutes his pseudo-individuality. Aside from the *dharmas*, men have just an ideal existence. Each idea has as its determining cause, even as each moment of the duration of the flame depends upon the oil, the wick etc. the Madhyamika do not dismiss all *dharmas* as well as their collections as unreal, though they look upon them as phenomenal and momentary.⁶⁵

Nagarjuna established the philosophy of emptiness upon the basis of Prajñāpāramitā scriptures. He states that in as much as being dependently co-arise they are said to be empty and he explains dependent co-arising as neither passing away nor arising, neither terminated nor eternal, neither one nor many, neither coming nor going.⁶⁶ Dependent co-arising is the basic truth of Buddhism; it is the substance of Gautama Buddha's awakening. But it was Nagarjuna who first related it directly to emptiness. Dependent co-arising, described as 'if this exists, then that exists, if this arises, then that arises' is the becoming of beings independent on others, the relativity of all beings to each other. For example, the notion of the left depends on the notion of right; they are relative one another. Thus, they do not exist independently and are not realities with their own

⁶⁴ Murti T.R.V. (1955), "*The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*", p. 50.

⁶⁵ Radhakrishnan S. (1923), "*Indian Philosophy*", Vol. I, pp. 646-47.

⁶⁶ Nagao M. Gadjin (1991), "*Madhyamika and Yogacara: A Study of Mahayana Philosophies*", p. 211.

essence (svabhava). The negation and absence of such essence (nihsvabhava) is identical with emptiness.⁶⁷

Emptiness means sunyata of an own being. Sunyata furthermore, is described as inexpressible, inconceivable, devoid of designations which links it directly to the present problem of the silence of Buddha. Of course, Sunyata is not limited to only the negation of language. It is neither a sceptic nor a nihilist. While it represents a much broader aspect, it is originally defined as non-substantiality or as non-perceptibility. However, non-substantiality does not mean that the things do not exist.⁶⁸ Generally, some people may misunderstand the meaning of 'sunyata' as confusing. It means only that things which appear in this world are not true in reality in itself, that they do not possess substantiality and that they exist and are true only in the manner of dependent origination and except it, nothing is true.

In the text of Madhyamakarikā, Nagarjuna explains the meaning of Sunyata that:

Yah pratityasamutpadahsunyatam tam pracaksmāhe /

saprajnaptirupadaya pratipatsaivamadhyama // (MMK, XXIV, 18)

It means: we declare that whatever is relational origination is sunyata. It is a provisional name for the mutuality and indeed, it is the middle path.⁶⁹ Here, the subject is emptiness, provisional names and the middle path are predicate. We can see that it stresses the meaning that emptiness is the middle path because of its provisional name. C.D. Sharma clarifies that it has a double aspect. In the realm of the phenomena, it means Svabhava-shunyata or Nissvabhavata. It means that appearances are devoid of ultimate reality. It is the *Pratitya-samutpada* or relativity or dependent co-arising. It means that everything that can be grasped by the intellect is necessarily relative. It is the middle way between affirmation and negation, a path which ultimately transcends both.⁷⁰ Thus, dependent origination (*Pratitya-samutpada*) is that which we call emptiness, it is only the designation based on something and it is the middle way.

In the MMK, Nagarjuna says that,

⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 212.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 41.

⁶⁹ Inada K. Kenneth (1970), "*Nagarjuna: A Translation of His Mulamadhyamakarikā*," p. 148.

⁷⁰ Sharma C.D. (2000), "*A Critical Survey of Indian Philosophy*", p. 98.

“*Sunyatasarvadrstinamproktanibhsaranamjinaib /*

Yesamtusunyataadrstistanasadhyanabbasire”// (MMK XIII, 8.)

“The victorious ones proclaimed emptiness to be the remedy for all views. But those for whom emptiness is a view were declared to be incurable.” C.D. Sharma clarifies that in the phenomena, relativity reigns supreme. What is not relative is for intellect, as good as nothing. But it does not mean that we should take relativity itself as the final truth. To do so is to refuse, to rise above the phenomenal. Relativity itself is relative. It is related to the absolute without which it loses all meaning. The Buddhists preached Shunyata in order to enable us to raise above all the entangling categories of the intellect. Those who take sunyata in the sense of a category of intellect, in the sense of affirmation or negation or both or neither are incorrigible and hopeless and are destined to doom.

According to M.V. Ram Kumar Ratnam in his project of “Nagarjuna’s Contribution to Buddhist Philosophy”, Nagarjuna states that the phenomenal universe which is but the production of thought is made-up by imagination conditioned. It is a subjective illusion, which is of the nature of a wrong perception. They compare the wrong perception of the phenomenal universe to the perception of a snake in the place of rope under the influence of imperfect lighting. They express the view that phenomena like dreams and illusion are ultimately empty of any objective reality.⁷¹

Nagarjuna’s statement that phenomena are devoid of independence reality and therefore illusory is made from the standpoint of the ultimate truth. It does not contradict the law of causality as it operates in the phenomenal universe. He is extremely specific in declaring that the law of interdependent origination and emptiness are identical in import. Their distinction depends upon the standpoint taken. Not only is emptiness in complete correspondence with the law of interdependent origination but is in fact immediately derived from the latter. Thus, a complete and unbiased picture of the Madhyamika philosophy must include the two indispensable elements of interdependent origination and emptiness which correspond to the two standpoints, phenomenal and ultimate, relied upon by the Madhyamika. Indeed, Nagarjuna declares several times that whatever is interdependent origination is emptiness. All phenomena are empty.

⁷¹ Chattopadhyaya D.P. (gen. ed.) and Pande G.C. (ed.) (2013), “*History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization,*” Vol.vii, part 9, p.419.

Emptiness annihilates the alternatives constructed by imagination like existence and non-existence. It transcends thought and expression and is declared to be the actual nature of all phenomena. This is the ultimate truth for Nagarjuna.⁷² According to Radha Krishanan, “the Madhyamika philosophy consistently dispose of both self and not-self, and leads us to an absolute unity lifted beyond the distinction of self and not-self”.⁷³

Thus, the real nature of things is their being produced by causes and their being produced by effects (*Pratitya-samutpada*). Voidness is neither a principle immanent in things nor it is nothingness; it is the way of middle. Abhaykumarsingh said in his project ‘Nagarjuna and sunyavada’ that “Nagarjuna negated ‘reason’ with reason in order to establish that the doctrine of *Sunyata* (nothingness) is integral to *Pratitya-samutpada*”.⁷⁴ According to Radhakrishana, “*Sunyata* is a positive principle.”⁷⁵ Kumarjiva commenting on Nagarjuna, observes: “it is on account of sunyata that everything becomes possible, without it nothing in the world is possible. It is the basis of all.”⁷⁶

As a result, emptiness is that which take a right position in the mid of affirmation and negation, existence and non-existence, eternity and annihilation. As a spiritual leader of Tibet Dalai Lama explains how, emptiness, the ultimate truth and dependent origination, the relative truth are inseparable intertwined in Nagarjuna’s system. The texts of Nagarjuna cover their profound understanding into the nature of existence. The teachings on emptiness are related to our own experience and bring a more profound understanding of the world around us. As Nagarjuna says that the main aim of the emptiness philosophy is to soothe grasping at an inherent existence of both our own self and all phenomena so that we may obtain genuine independence.

In the ‘*Sunyatasaptati*’ Nagarjuna writes, “Since the own-being of all entities is not in causes and conditions, nor in the aggregation of causes and conditions, nor in any entity whatsoever, i.e. not in all, therefore, all entities are empty in their own being (*Sunyatasaptati*, stanza 3). In *Ratnavali* it is also stated that “when this exists that arises, like short when there is long. When this is

⁷² Ibid, p. 4 19.

⁷³ Radhakrishana S. (1923), “*Indian Philosophy*”, Vol. I, p. 621.

⁷⁴ Chattopadhyaya D.P. (gen. ed.) and Pande G.C. (ed.) (2013), “*History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*,” Vol.vii, part 9, p.432.

⁷⁵ Radhakrishana S. (1923), “*Indian Philosophy*”Vol.I, p. 663.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 663.

produced, so is that, like light from a flame. When there is long there must be short; they exist not through their own nature, just as without a flame light too does not arise (Ratnavali I. 48, 49). Again Nagarjuna points out that Buddha declared that elements are deceptive and unreal.

He has also said in Sunyatasaptati that whatever originates dependently as well as that upon which it depends for its origination does not exist (Sunyatasaptati, 14 commentary). Nagarjuna precisely indicates the standpoint of the Madhyamika in the following stanza found in the MMK. “We declare that whatever is interdependently originated is emptiness. It is a conceptual designation of the relativity of existence and is indeed the middle path (MMK, XXIV, 18). “No elements can exist” he writes, “which does not participate in interdependence. Therefore no element which is not of the nature of emptiness can exist” (MMK, XXIV, 19).

In this process, Nagarjuna had to face many objections. If all things or phenomena are void, nothing exists at all then how can our activities in the world become possible? Even in this way Buddha becomes meaningless. Then, Nagarjuna replies that

“ajatamaniruddham ca kutastham ca bhavisyati /

Vicitrabhiravasthabhihsvabhaverahitam jagat // (MK, XXIV, 38.)

It means, springs from a fundamental misunderstanding of void-ness, i.e. ‘dependent origination’. All our activities are possible only in this relational world of becoming. If ‘void-ness’, i.e. becoming, is denied, then the world itself is assumed to be the absolute ‘not born, not destroyed, immutable, free from the manifold states (of its becoming)’. Shunyata does not demand the non-existence of the various objects of which it is the emptiness. On the contrary, it means that these entities exist as dependent arising. They exist only in dependence upon conditions. Emptiness is the famous Buddhist middle way between eternalism and nihilism. And says again,

Na kartavyambhavetkimcidanarabdhabhavetkriya /

Karakahsyadakurvanahsunyatampratibadhatah // (MMK, XXIV, 37.)

It means, ‘There is nothing to be done, no work is begun and the agent does not do any work’. Thus, Nagarjuna neither denies the world nor affirms it. His is a ‘middle path’ (madhyamapratipad), whence the name of his philosophy, ‘Madhyamika’.

Dalai Lama explains the reality (absolute) with example that I am here and this is not a dream. We cannot say these things as an illusion. It is real. If I pinch myself I feel pain because I have a body. I have a forefinger and thumb and they function. So there is something after all and yet we cannot find it in the ultimate analysis. In other words, emptiness and interdependent nature are two sides of the same coin.⁷⁷

The Vijñanavadins deny the ultimate reality of the empirical self or ego. Pure consciousness or the universal self or *vijnana* is declared to be the only reality. The yogacara urge that all things have their being through relations of consciousness. We do not know of any other medium than a thinking consciousness through which alone things can subsist. Nagarjuna admits that relations constitute the world. The world is mere complex of these relations. The hosts of heaven, the furniture of earth, and all the bodies which compose this mighty frame of the world have no substantial existence. They are hypostatized relations. But the relations themselves are unintelligible. Nagarjuna shows that the whole world of experience is an appearance, a mere a network of unintelligible relations.⁷⁸

If the Yogacara are right, then there are no objects to be known. No objects means no subject. Thus the Madhyamika abolishes the constant *alaya* and sets the stream of ideas adrift. If there are no objective relations discoverable, there is no world at all. External objects as well as internal states are both void, sunya. The Madhyamika says that they are dreaming even when we are awake. Through the pressure of logic, the Madhyamika infers the final inexplicability of subject and object. The explanations of science and common sense which assumes their validity are interesting and valuable, but they are not the final truth.⁷⁹ Before we attempt to define the exact significance of the Madhyamika theory of the phenomenality of the world, let us consider the arguments by which the Madhyamika establishes his view.

⁷⁷ Dalai Lama (2002), “*Live in a Better Way: Reflections on Truth, Love, and Happiness*”, p. 34.

⁷⁸ Radhakrishana S. (1923), “*Indian Philosophy*”, Vol. I, p. 647.

⁷⁹ Radhakrishana S. (1923), “*Indian Philosophy*”, Vol. I, p. 646.

The Madhyamika, as the name implies, adopt a position midway between extreme affirmation and extreme negation. If the world were real, no changes can occur in it at all. Improvement and enlightenment are possible only if the world is plastic and in a state of constant becoming. As Chandrakirti commenting on Nagarjuna, observes: “if everything has its own self-essence, which makes it impossible to pass from one state to another, how could a person desire to ascend, if he ever so desire, higher and higher on the scale of existence? We cannot do anything in a world perfect and real. So it must be unreal. Nagarjuna asks: “if you negate the doctrine of sunya, you negate the causation. If there were such a thing as self- essence, the multitudinousness of things must be regarded as uncreated and imperishable, which is tantamount to eternal nothingness. If there were no emptiness, there would be no attainment, nor would there be the annihilation of pain nor the extinction of all the passions.”⁸⁰

Yogacara argues that external objects are unreal, since we cannot say whether they arise from existence or not. Whether they are simple atoms or complex bodies. Nagarjuna accepts the principle underlying this theory, that the unintelligible is the unreal but he adds that on this showing even consciousness or *Vijnana* is unreal, seeing that we cannot say anything consistent about it.⁸¹ It is in this connection that Nagarjuna develops his theory of relations.

When the Madhyamika claims that even *vijnana* is unreal, since we cannot have consciousness without an object of which we are conscious, the *yogacara* replies: ‘if all is nothing then nothing itself becomes the criterion of truth and the Madhyamika has no right to discuss with others of a different way of thinking. He who accepts nothing as real can neither prove his position nor disprove his opponent’s case.’ When the Madhyamika considers all things to be sunya or void, even this absence of characteristics must designate a something. The Bodhisattvabhumi puts it thus: for sunya to be justifiable position, we must have firstly the existence of that which is empty, and then the non-existence of that by the absence of which it is empty; but if neither exists, how can there be a vacuity? We wrongly super-impose the notion of a serpent on a rope. The rope exists, the serpent does not. Therefore the rope is void of serpent. Similarly, the qualities and characteristics as form, etc. commonly attributed to things may not exist.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 646.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 647.

⁸² Radhakrishana S. (1923), “*Indian Philosophy*”, Vol. I, p. 628.

According to Radhakrishana, since to the madhyamika all thoughts and things are void, they are sometimes called Sarvavainasikas. This view that the world with its suns and stars is nothing more than a baseless appearance.⁸³

His philosophy is seems closer to skepticism. His skepticism is due to his realizing the essential relativity of thought. Yet he has faith in an absolute slandered of reality. His skepticism is Buddhistic, while his absolutism derives from the Upanisads. The Yogacara suggests the relational view of reality from which Nagarjuna develops his skepticism. But the positive part of his philosophy is not different from the Advaitic interpretation of the Upanisad view. It is a serious mistake to suppose that we have in Nagarjuna only a rival of the Upanisads doctrine. He seems to draw his inspiration from the Upanisads, though his philosophy is developed within the shadow of and with special reference to the Buddhistic view.⁸⁴

We need not to say that the Advaita Vedanta philosophy has been very much influenced by the Madhyamika doctrine. The Alatasanti of Gaudapada'skarika is full of Madhyamika tenets. The Nirguna Brahman of Samkara and Nagarjuna's Sunya has much in common. The force of avidya introducing the phenomenal universe is admitted by both.⁸⁵

According to Rohit Mehta (1966), the middle path is not the remarkable of a compromise between the two excesses; it is not a little indulgence and a little of denial that makes up the middle path. Indeed the middle path is not a compromise between two excesses it is the transcending of excesses. It is that negative state of perfect balance which the Gita describes as 'the lamp that flickered not in a windless place'. The flame is so delicately poised that even the slightest movement of the air produces a flicker in it. But when all movement of air has ceased, the flame is absolutely steady. Such steadiness is the characteristic of a Yogi or a mystic. He is perfectly poised showing fourth the beauty and grace of excellent, relaxation. Such a state of poise is free from the excesses of tension and dullness.⁸⁶

After the studying of the middle way, we can say that the whole life of Shakyamuni be an example for basic understanding of the middle way as the path between two extremes which is

⁸³ Ibid, p. 662.

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 644-645.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 668.

⁸⁶ Mehta, Rohit (1966), "From Mind to Super Mind: A Commentary on the Bhagavad Gita", p. 66.

very close to Aristotle's philosophy of the "golden mean" whereby "every virtue is a mean between two extremes, each of which is a vice. "The mind of Nagarjuna was more subtle than such philosophizing. Emptiness is the non-difference between yes and no, and the truth escapes us when we say 'it is' and when we say 'it is not' but it lies somewhere between these two. As a result, middle way is exist between these two.

Chapter-3

Dalai Lama's Middle way Approach

The second chapter describes the concept of middle way in Buddhism, which (Buddhism) has been disappeared from India; the land of Buddha, under the assault of Muslim hordes from Central Asia. But in the present time, the Dalai Lama plays an important role to modernize the Buddhism to the world and considered as the main reason for the second revival of Buddhism in India. India also has been grateful to him because as a Buddhist monk Dalai Lama has always protected the heritage of India and has promoted and featured it all over the world.

Buddhism and the grand lamas of Tibet have played a great role in Tibet, the Himalaya, Central Asia, and the Siberia. The role of the Dalai Lama especially has been unique. The ascendancy of the institution of the Dalai Lama in religion, politics and society of Tibet represented the result of a long process of adjustment between the religious hierarchy and the nobility of the country.⁸⁷

The Dalai Lama as a Buddhist monk is the spiritual and political leader of Tibet who has ruled over Tibet since 1642 without a throne, without a shrine but still regarded as spiritual head of Tibet. They are considered to be signs of an 'Avalokiteshvara' or 'Chenrezi', 'Bodhisattva of compassion' and 'holder of the white lotuses. The life of Dalai Lama is not ordinary like common people as Dalai Lama said that:

“In Tibet, being Dalai Lama meant a great deal. It meant that he lived a life far removed from the toil and discomfort of the vast majority of Tibetan people. Every time when he goes, he is accompanied by a retinue of servants. He is surrounded by ministers and an advisor, clad in sumptuous silk robes, men drawn from the most exalted and aristocratic families of Tibet. His daily companions are brilliant scholars and highly realized religious adepts and spirituals. Every time he leaves the Potala-the magnificent, 100- Chambered winter palace of the Dalai Lamas he is escorted by a procession of hundreds of people.”⁸⁸

From the time, about five centuries ago, when it was declared that the second Dalai Lama was the re-embodiment of the first one, the Tibetans have found their permanent savior, the present

⁸⁷ Sheel R.N. Rahul (1989), “*The Institution of the Dalai Lama*”, The Tibet Journal Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 19-32, published by: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, p. 19.

⁸⁸ Dalai Lama (1990), “Freedom in Exile”, p.2.

one, being the 14th reincarnation and it is the firm conviction of every Tibetan that the reincarnation of Chenrezi, will always be with them (Tibetans) in human form to control and direct them towards as final deliverance.⁸⁹

The concept of reincarnation is very important lineages in Tibet; it was derived from the basis of Buddhist notion of rebirth. According to M. G. Chitkara, “The notion of the re-embodiment of a saintly ancestor’s existence in a reincarnation of the same existence in a new form, search anywhere in a child born at the right time and identified by the leading monks and lamas.”⁹⁰ When a Dalai Lama dies, his spirit is believed to be reborn into a specially- chosen child. Oracles are consulted as to just where this child might be found. Then a search throughout the country begins. When the current Dalai Lama who is 14th reincarnation was found as a child, the oracles had a vision that led searchers to the farmhouse where the child was found.

As a Buddhist monk and scholar, Dalai Lama is known as religious and political leader of Tibet. Tenzin Gyatso, who is the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, was born as Lhamo Dhondup on July 6, 1935 into a peasant family, eighteenth month after the death of his predecessor, in the village of Taktser, in northeastern Tibet. Tibetans call the area of his birth; Amdo, which today is part of the Chinese region of Qinghai. He was discovered at the age of two by some high Lamas in accordance with Tibetan custom. He was recognized by Buddhist holy men as the incarnation of 13th Dalai Lama and to rule Tibet as temporal and spiritual head. Chitkara says that the Dalai Lama is also known as the 14th incarnation of Lord Gautama Buddha and the men of faith who had the revelation that the source of man’s sufferings and the way to eradicate that pain and bring the death -rebirth cycle to a close.⁹¹ When he reached the age of four then he was brought to Lhasa and authoritatively fixed as the Dalai Lama. He received a monastic education from age 6 to 23 and studying with some major Tibetan masters, until he received the title of Geshe Lharampa with honors an equivalent to a doctorate degree in Buddhist philosophy, Tibetan traditional philosophical system.

⁸⁹ Inder L. Malik (1984), “*Dalai Lamas of Tibet Succession of Births*”, p. 7.

⁹⁰ Chitkara , M. G. (1998), “*Buddhism, Reincarnation, and Dalai Lamas of Tibet*”,p.1.

⁹¹ Ibid, pp. 25-26.

Dalai Lama said in his book *Freedom in Exile* that:

“Dalai Lama is always discovered and never elected or selected. The process of searching is based upon the Hindu theory of shifting of the soul, and based upon the Buddhist theory of mind continuum operation. The same person gets born again and again as the Dalai Lama. The same person is repeatedly born as a Dalai Lama according to Tibetans belief. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama confirms that the Tibetans Buddhism admits that certain beings or existence of whom the Dalai Lama is one, can select the way of their rebirth. Such people are called ‘tulkus-incarnations’.”⁹²

On the basis of this belief, there were many lineages of incarnations in Tibet, which formed the apex of the spiritual, political, and social leadership in a hierocracy headed by the Dalai Lama, the religious and temporal head of the Tibetan polity and state. This system is called ‘ruled by reincarnation.’⁹³ Dalai Lama; head of Tibetan government bares all the outward signs of being political were in effect religious and the loyalty of Tibetan people was not mere political allegiance, but an act of faith, fervent and unbreakable.

In Tibet, it is not possible to understand the operation of the Tibetan political process or the events of modern history of Tibetan without knowing summarily the nature of monastic organization. According to Goldstein, “The Tibetan monastic organization was also uncommon in that the overwhelming majority of monks were placed in monasteries by their guardians when they were between the ages of seven and ten, without specific regard to their personality or wishes, and because becoming a monk was a lifelong dedication, and not a provisional undertaking, it was their deep religious faith that becoming a monk was a great privilege and honor.”⁹⁴ All monks were held in the greatest respect, because they were one of the constituents of the Buddhist Trinity (kunchoksum) consisting of Buddha, dharma (the law) and sangha (the religious community).⁹⁵

Monastic system is fundamental to both Mahayana and Hinyana Buddhist school and is found wherever Buddhists exist. During the 11th century, there are four major modern sects or schools

⁹² Dalai Lama (1990), “Freedom in Exile”, p.2.

⁹³ Franz Michael (1982), “*Rule by Incarnation: Tibetan Buddhism and Its Role in Society and State*”, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Goldstein Melvyn C. (1991), “*A History Of Modern Tibet, 1913- 1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*”, p.21

⁹⁵ Norbu Dawa (1997), “*Tibet: The Road Ahead*”, p.5.

or traditions of Buddhism in Tibet started to emerge: Nyingmapa School, Kagyupa School, Sakyapa School, and the Gelugpa School. These schools have distinctive variances in their concrete tantric system, but in spite of these variances there are some similarities in numerous opinions. It has been reported by the Dalai Lama that the philosophical opinion of all sequences is that of the middle way school of Nagarjuna, and in references of exercise all follow the school of Mahayana, as well as, their ways and doctrines inclusive the system of the sutras and tantras completely covered, and therefore Dalai Lama finalized that these schools are having equally effective programs to bring sentient beings to enlightenment. In a 1980 talk, at the Nyingma institute, he said: “In Tibet, due to differences in the time of translation of texts from India and the development of lineages formed by particular teachers, eight distinct schools of Buddhism arose. Nowadays, four which are widely known are Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyu, and Gelugpa. From the point of view of their tenets, they are all Madhyamika. From the point of view of their vehicle, these four schools are all complete systems of unified Sutra and Tantra practice, each having the techniques and quintessential instructions necessary for a person to achieve Buddhahood within one lifetime. Yet each has its own distinguishing features of instruction.”⁹⁶

According to K. Krishna Murthy, Buddhism was introduced in Tibet in phases and not all at once. The sacred Buddhist books were also brought there at different times by different scholars. Those works offered the same fundamental religions and philosophy but scholars differed in their interpretations. As a result, separate groups developed into distinct organization or sects with the very same basic tenets. Thus, there are originated several sects in Tibet like the Nyingmpa, Kagyudpa, Sakyapa, and Geluga along with the pre-Buddhist Bon have survived till the present time.⁹⁷

Nyingma School is the oldest school of Tibetan Buddhism. It means ‘Ancient translation school’. It was founded by the 8th century Indian Tantric adept, Guru Padmasambhava, who was regarded by Tibetans as a second Buddha. His name means ‘Born from a lotus’, for legend says that he emerged from the bud of a lotus flower at birth. Padmasambhava who brought the Buddhism to Tibet from India and many extraordinary legends are also associated with him. The king of

⁹⁶ “Getting to Know the Four Schools of Tibetan Buddhism”, Mandala, October/ November 2007, p. 20.
http://fpmt.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2007/10/getting_to_know_the_four_schools_of_Tibetan_buddhism.pdf.

⁹⁷ Murthy K. Krishna (1989), “*Buddhism in Tibet*”, p. 39.

Tibet, Trisong Detsen was so impressed with Padmasambhava and he adopted Buddhism as state religion and as a result of this, the great monastery of Samye was founded, where many Buddhist texts were first translated from Sanskrit to Tibetan. Buddhist monastic institutions became vibrant with religious, economic and political activities by the mid-ninth century. The Buddhist monks and monasteries became very powerful and these were exempted from taxation and Military training.

The Nyingma School relies on the earliest translation of tantric texts. This school classifies its teachings into three main groups that is the oral, treasures, and visions. Over time, ‘six mother monasteries’ were built in Tibet and dedicated to Nyingmapa practice. These were Kathok, Thupten Dorje Drak, Ugyen Mindrolling, Palyul Namgyal Jangchup Ling, Dzogchen Ugyen Samten Chooling and Zhechen Tenyi Dhargye Ling monasteries. From these, many satellite monasteries were built in Tibet.⁹⁸ Historically, this school is unique amongst the four schools in that its followers never influence any politics and it has no centralized authority. It is exclusively shuffled with no supervisor the school until present times. The China’s occupations in Tibet and the revolt of 1959 are reasons, the heads of the Nyingmapa lineages to renounce Tibet.⁹⁹

Second school of Tibetan Buddhism is the Kagyu School. It is the first school of Tibetan Buddhism to preserve its lineage through recognizing reincarnations. Its believers advocate that the knowledge of this school has been handed down in a continuous succession of enlightened masters. Kagyu means ‘Teaching lineage’. Kagyu school was founded by ‘Tilopa’ (968- 1069), who was a Indian tantric master and his disciple Naropa as well as from the Tibetan Yogis, Marpa, Milarepa, Gampopa, the Karmapas and other great Tibetan masters of all the Kagyu lineage. Tilopa is credited with developing a meditation method which is called Mahamudra that would become a center for basic training of Kagyu School. This school is recognized for its way of meditation and practice called ‘Mahamudra’ which is a realization of emptiness, liberty from samsara and the comprehensibility of these two. The basic practice of Mahamudra is ‘dwelling in peace,’ and it has thus been called the "Tibetan Zen." Also central to the Kagyupa schools are the Six Doctrines of Naropa (NaroChödrug), which are meditation methods that partially coincide with the teachings of the Tibetan Book of the Dead.

⁹⁸ O’Brien Barbara (2015), “Nyingmapa: *Tibetan Buddhist School of the Great Perfection*”, [Online: web] Accessed 2 March, 2016, <http://buddhism.about.com/od/vajrayanabuddhism/a/tiberthist1.htm>

⁹⁹ Ibid, (2016).

The Karmapas who is a young man, played a very important role in the protection of this lineage by some, contributing to the Kagyu lineage scriptures. The latest 17th Karmapa is His Holiness ‘Ogyen Trinley Dorje’ who born in 1985 in the Lhathok region of Tibet.¹⁰⁰ In the 12th century, the Karma Kagyu order began recognizing reincarnations of highly advanced teachers- the Karmapas. The Karmapas were also the first to formally establish the bodhisattva principle in their teachings.

The school of Sakya is one of the four major schools of Tibetan Buddhism including Nyingma, Kagyu, and Gelug. It played a major role in the growth and extent of the new Tantras that came to Tibet in the 11th century. The Sakya School strengthened, succeeded, and created many great and eminent practitioners, saints and scholars. This school lineage is closely connected with the Khon family lineage, which originated from holy beings. This entire family lineage has sustained to present time from Khön Konchog Gyalpo the founder of Sakya tradition. It was established with the first Temple built by Khön Konchog Gyalpo named the Gorum Zimchi Karpo in CE 1073. It developed during the second period of translation of Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the late 11th century. Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, the owners of Sakya school were also the principle political powers that governed over Tibet. Although its political importance gradually declined over the century and stress on its unique religious traditions continued to be nurtured and sustained.

The most central teachings of the Sakya school is the system of “Lam-rim” or “the Path and Its Fruit”, which lead practitioners to the complete comprehension and realization of the Hevajra Tantra. Not at all like different schools, Sakya has two distinct types of teachings. The first for non-specific gathering of people and has sutra as its premise while on the other side; the second is private teaching with tantra as its base. The Lamdre is a standout amongst the most complete and methodically organized meditation paths in Tibetan Vajrayana Buddhism, a synthesis of the whole ways and fruits of teachings of high tantra Vajrayana. The Lamdre tradition originates from Indian teachers Virupa (9th century), Avadhutipa, Gayadhara (994-1043), and Shakyamitra (a follower of Nagarjuna), who passed down the teachings of the lineage to the Tibetan interpreter Drokmi Lotsawa. The unbroken lineage of these Vajra masters continues until today.

¹⁰⁰ Karmapa official website of the 17th Gyalwang Karmapa, [Online : web] Accessed 5 March 2016, <http://kagyuoffice.org/kagyu-lineage/>

The most latest, and the largest of all the Schools, is Gelugpa School. It is famous in the west as the school of Tibetan Buddhism associated with His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. This sect appeared in the 15th century and they were given a big enhancement in the 16th century when the Mongols decided to support them. The sect became famous in the middle of the 17th century through the efforts of the Mongolian and Tibetan supporters inspired by the charismatic 5th Dalai Lama. It became controller of the central plateau and governed entire Tibet until British and China invasions into Tibet in 19th century. Important Gelug Monasteries are Ganden Monastery, Drepung Monastery, Sera Monastery and Tashi Lhunpo Monastery. In this monastery, the monks wear yellow hats thus; they are called the Yellow Hat Sect.

In the seventeenth century, the School of Gelugpa became the most authoritative organization in Tibet. Lama Tsongkhapa, who is the creator of the Gelug School and also the main teacher of the first Dalai Lama, Gelug School also recognized as the yellow school or sect. He did not study in any one place even he stayed in Kagyu monasteries learning Tibetan medicine, the practices of Mahamudra and the Tantra Yoga of Atisha who was Indian master of 11th century and he studied philosophy in Sakya monasteries also. He sought independent teachers with fresh ideas. He was particularly interested in the Madhyamika (emptiness) philosophy of Nagarjuna. Thus, the primary teachings of the Gelug School are the systematic cultivation of the view of emptiness, and Lam-rim, or the "Stages of the Path". This is united with the deity Yogas of Highest Yoga Tantra deities where the main focus is the realization of the indivisible union of bliss and emptiness. The Gelug School focuses on the pure philosophical teachings. There are five main subjects that are highlighted in this school: (1) The *Prajnaparamita*, perfection of wisdom, (2) *Madhyamaka*, middle path, (3) *Pramana*, valid cognition, (4) *Abhidharma*, phenomenology, (5) *Vinaya*, monastic disciplines.¹⁰¹

According to Krishna Murti, "There are many big monasteries and training centers for Gelugpas not only in Tibet but also in Mongolia and China also were Gelugpas monasteries. The Gelugpas are the followers of the Prasanghika school of Madhyamika system. They follow the practices as

¹⁰¹ O'Brien Barbara (2016), "The Gelug School of Buddhism", [Online: web] Accessed 2 march, 2016, <http://buddhism.about.com/od/Schools-of-Tibetan-Buddhism/a/Gelugpa.htm>.

laid down by Atisa. They study the Guhyasamaja, Samavara, Vajrabhairava, Hevajra, Kalacakra and Vajra yogini.¹⁰²

Thus, we can see that the Nyingmpa, Kagyudpa, Sakyapa are designated as the red hat sect whereas the Gelugpa as the yellow hat sect. The meaning of the teachings of four schools of Tibetan Buddhism is the same but they have differences in emphasis. The main emphasis of Nyingma is practice with the most important part of practice being the view. The main emphasis in Kagyupa is the practice of meditation, and the focus is to see your nature. The main emphasis in Sakyapa is on the development and completion stages of practice. And the main emphasis of the Gelugpa school is to study and discipline and then to practice. But the Tibetans regard all temples and monasteries of different sects equally holy and good both for congregation and pilgrimage.

So, in present time, Gelug School is largest of all schools and most powerful organization which is dominating the Tibet because 14th Dalai Lama associated with this school who is the yellow hat sect because of the distinctive headwear of senior monks in this order. Dalai Lama emerges most popular person in this world in 1959 when China totally occupied entire Tibet and during this most difficult period he had escaped in India with his 80,000 followers and live here as refugees.

According to Warren Smith, in the starting of 1950, the Chinese communist party had begun sending his army (PLA) into the Tibet. Chinese armies encountered little resistance in Amdo or Kham which is the part of Tibet since they carefully adhered to the policy of Chinese communist party on treatment of nationalities, which required respectful treatment of local people and local leaders of Tibet were brought off through CCP and gave an offer with new positions and high salaries. They also took advantage of the traditional hostility of Khams people to Lhasa by promising to them the benefit and to make their own Autonomous region independence of Lhasa' control.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Murthy K. Krishna (1989), "*Buddhism in Tibet*", p. 38.

¹⁰³ Smith Warren W. (2008), "*China's Tibet?: Autonomy Or Assimilation*", p. 19

After that in the summer of 1950, the PLA (People's Liberation Army) took a position all along the Yangtze River, the border between Chinese administered eastern Kham and Lhasa administered western Kham. At this point, the Chinese called on the Tibetan government to send delegates to Beijing to discuss the peaceful liberation of Tibet. But the Tibetans did not accept this invitation.¹⁰⁴ Tibetan government sent an appeal to United Nations warning that China was threatening Tibetan independence. When the United Nations decided not to adopt Tibet's appeal then Tibet was bound to send delegates to Beijing to discuss with them and they were finally enforced into signing an agreement which is known as the seventeenth Point Agreement to the peaceful liberation of Tibet. This agreement had not been accepted by the Tibetan government, it required that government's approval. But the Chinese denied this and claiming that Tibetan delegates had full powers to sign the agreement on the behalf of Tibet. Tibetan delegates knew that this was not true but China nevertheless announced to the world that this agreement had been concluded and this issue was now resolved. Thus, Tibetan found it impossible to garner UN support.¹⁰⁵

The 17th Point Agreement promised no changes in the political system of Tibet including the status and powers of the Dalai Lama. There was guarantee to freedom of religions and allowed to keep their traditional resources of income in monasteries and the last promise was sufficient to secure the approval of the monasteries. Tibetan support for the 17th point Agreement came primarily from the monastic establishment. This agreement was contradictory in promising that nothing would change in Tibet, but the Chinese planned that almost everything would change according to this program for democratic reforms and social transformation. The Chinese communists had no intention of allowing the traditional Tibetan social or political system to continue to exist indefinitely. Tibetans had no idea that the democratic reforms meant class warfare or socialist transformation meant communization and they did not know that national regional autonomy actually meant total Chinese control.¹⁰⁶

Thus, we can see that China's assault of Tibet started in 1949 and by 1959 they powerfully occupied the entire Tibet. The Dalai Lama who is known as the Tibet's political and spiritual leader was bound to take shelter in India and over 80,000 Tibetan refugees followed him. As a

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 19

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁰⁶ Warren Smith, "*Origins of the Middle Way Policy*", Radio free Asia, p.390.

outcome of Chinese occupation, over 1.2 million people have died in Tibet and over 6000 monasteries have been destroyed in Tibet. They ruined the Norbulingka (heart of Tibetan culture) that Dalai Lama was still inside it, so obviously they no longer cared whether they killed him or not. After discovering him, they were unable to find him, alive or dead; they continued to explode the whole city and the monasteries.¹⁰⁷ Thus, they intentionally killed some thousands of Tibetan people without trial, on suspicion of opposing communism because they would not abandon their religion or respect for the Dalai Lama. They have not only been shot but also beaten to death, crucified, burnt alive, drowned, starved, strangled, hanged, scalded, disemboweled, and beheaded.¹⁰⁸

According to Piburn Sidney, following the Chinese assault and occupation of Tibet in 1950 and the subsequent large scale popular revolt against the Chinese invaders in 1959, the Dalai Lama along with one hundred thousand Tibetan refugees escaped across the Himalayas to India and other neighboring nations.¹⁰⁹

In India, Dalai Lama drafted a democratic constitution, formed a Tibetan government-in-exile, and started to establish the institutions that would form the basis for a new Tibetan society: schools, hospitals, orphanages, craft co-ops, farming communities, institutions for the preservation of traditional music and drama, and monastic institutions. As a result, in present time, under his leadership, the Tibetans have known one of the best settled refugee groups in the world.¹¹⁰

Both side Tibetans (inside and outside) who have moved towards the Dalai Lama for his good leadership and as the incarnation of their hopes for survival as a people. Due to his amazing power of character and advocacy of basic human values independent of a particular political or religious thought, Sidney said that he is now emerging not only as a leader of the Tibetan people but emerging also as a world leader in the present time from 1988 after adapting MWA. He has worked tirelessly to restructure attitudes for a better society through encouraging the significance

¹⁰⁷ Dalai Lama, *“My Land and My people”*, edited by David Howarth, pp. 184-185.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 198-199

¹⁰⁹ Piburn Sidney (2002), *“Dalai Lama: A Policy of Kindness”*, p. 12.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 12.

of love, kindness and compassion along with the understanding of our common humanity as a basis for negotiation in the resolution of any conflict whatever personal and political.¹¹¹

In this process, the Dalai Lama has lost neither confidence nor his will-power to gain justice for his people. He has fought this giant China which is most powerful in the country not with anger but with his philosophy like love, compassion, kindness, in a non-violent way, armed only with truth. His strategy has been to draw the responsiveness of the world to the plight of the Tibetans in the belief that the justice of their cause will convey about modifications in Chinese policy towards Tibet.¹¹²

The people of Tibet have expressed already that they do not want to continue under the Chinese domination and that they want independence as it is their right. They want a distinct nation. At the same time, the Chinese have already occupied entire Tibet and it is very difficult for them to leave. Chinese propaganda about Tibet has several subjects; it claims that, there are no political issues over Tibet's status because historically, Tibet has always been a part of China. According to the Dalai Lama, "one who is not politically motivated can easily understand that Tibet is a separate country different from China. This thought comes quite naturally because Tibet was and is in fact, different from China: racially, culturally, linguistically, geographically and historically. No knowledgeable person would for a moment think that Tibetans are Chinese."¹¹³

The governments of other countries are not interested, and pay little attention to Tibet. It has been almost 65 years since China occupied Tibet and in spite of the sympathy of people, it is very difficult and challenging to do something. Because first of all, Tibet is already occupied and almost destroyed by China. Second thing is that, the issues of Tibet have become old, and third, China has become powerful and most important country for reasons as well as geo-political reasons. These reasons are sufficient to show the carelessness by other countries to Tibet.

Tibet may have been usually supposed to be as in some way conquered by China, but it was also admitted as having a very strong identity which was based upon its region, culture, and religion, all of which were separate from China's identity like language, culture, race, geography. Tibet is

¹¹¹ Piburn Sidney (2002), "*Dalai Lama: A Policy of Kindness*", p. 13.

¹¹² Ibid, pp. 12-13.

¹¹³ The Dalai Lama, in *The Wall Street Journal* 8 November, 1979, in the Dawa Norbu (2001), "China's Tibet Policy", p. 313.

known as the “Roof of the world” because of its high altitude. And its “Shangri-La” imaged based on the distinctive Tibetan culture and religion was well established. Tibet was also known as one of the most unusual countries on earth due to its aloofness, inaccessibility, and Buddhist culture. It was usually supposed to be a country, a very large country, which was nearby China, India, and Turkestan, perhaps in some way dominated by China, but not a part of China.¹¹⁴ Therefore, under these situations, it would be meaningful to consider of some middle path. When Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader sent a message to the Dalai Lama that except the issue of Tibet’s independence, everything else can be resolved and discussed. During this period, the Dalai Lama responded positively. Many people consider the middle way approach of Dalai Lama as the most pragmatic and realistic course for resolving the Tibet issue on a peaceful way.

Middle way word is used by Gautama Buddha in our first Dharamchakra enforcement. Middle way derived between two ends, and extreme to make the balance. Tibetan Buddhism is within the doctrinal lineage of the Middle Way School (*Madhyamaka*) that is founded by Nagarjuna. This concept of the Middle Way has to do with the insight into emptiness and transcending arguments about being or non-being. However, Nagarjuna based his *Madhyamaka* on the “Middle Way” as taught by the Buddha in the *DhammacakkappavattanaSutta*:

“Avoiding both the extremes, the Perfect man has realized the Middle Path because it gives to us vision, knowledge, and leads to calm, to insight, to enlightenment and to Nirvana. Middle path is related to the Noble Eightfold path, namely: right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.”¹¹⁵

Similarly, His Holiness the Dalai Lama also used the middle way to resolve the issues of Tibet between two ends first is the present situation in inside Tibet which is occupied by China violently and second is the separation of ends from China. These are two kinds of ends and both are not perfect in itself so, the Dalai Lama has taken middle path between these two ends.

The middle way introduced by Dalai Lama and that is the best approach to peacefully resolve the Tibetan issue. The middle way approach was adopted in 1988 which is to bring about stability and co-existence between the Tibetan and Chinese people which is based upon equality and mutual co-operation. They do not seek independence for Tibet but search for genuine autonomy

¹¹⁴ Smith Warren W. (2001), “*China's Tibet?: Autonomy Or Assimilation*”, p. x.

¹¹⁵ Thera Piyadassi (1974), “*The Buddha's Ancient Path*,” p.17, n.4.

within the frame work of the constitution of the People’s Republic of China which is win-win proposition for both parties. Thus, treading the system of middle in between these two lies the approach and means to attain a genuine autonomy for all Tibetans living in the three provinces Central Tibet, Kham and Amdo of Tibet and the protection and preservation of their culture, religion and national identity.

As we know in the Nagarjuna’s middle way or emptiness or sunyata in the second chapter which means nothing can exist independently, everything is interconnected with each other. Without it there is nothing which exists in the world. Thus, Dalai Lama said in his Strasbourg proposal that “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 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 co-operate. I am therefore particularly pleased and honored to address this gathering at the European Parliament strasbourg-proposal-1988”.¹¹⁶

According to Warren Smith, the Dalai Lama’s Strasbourg-proposal-1988 was meant to revive negotiations by formally accepting Deng Xiaoping’s condition that “apart from independence all issues can be discussed”. It was the first time official acknowledgment that he would accept the reality of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet in exchange for well-defined autonomous rights. It elaborated some of the conditions proposed by Tibetan negotiators in the early 1980s and was again based upon the “one country two systems” status that China had offered to Hong-Kong and Taiwan. It also attempted a legal definition of Tibet’s autonomous status within the PRC.¹¹⁷

Firstly, in 1987, the Dalai Lama made a proposal which consist of Five Points Peace Plan and it makes a genuine affirmative environment. He feels the instant Chinese reaction will be very negative and undesirable but in the long run, it will be advantageous. When he visits to United States and included Atlanta, Indiana, and Washington, D.C. in 1987 and this is first political visits of Dalai Lama, during which time the US congress wanted him to inform them what were the aspirations and hopes of the Tibetan people. So, he prepared his Five Point Peace Plan, which

¹¹⁶ European parliament, Strasbourg France, 15 June 1988, parliament, Strasbourg France, 15 June 1988.

¹¹⁷ Smith Warren, “*Origins of the Middle Way Policy*”, Radio free Asia, p.390.

he announced in Washington D.C. and which received an enormous amount of support from other countries mainly from parliamentarians and intellectuals.¹¹⁸

Annette Lantos, executive director of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, during a visit to Nepal, she met the Tibetan community and were exposed for the first time to the tragedy of the Tibetans. She had known about it from what we had read in newspapers, but in meeting with them she saw to what extent they depend on the support, love, and teachings of the Dalai Lama. It became apparent to us that this is a man greater than life, with values that can sustain people under the direct circumstances, so she became very interested in having his voice heard in Washington. She negotiated the invitation for a whole year after her trip to Nepal. That was the first time he had a platform within any official segment of the US government to expound his Five Point Peace Plan.¹¹⁹

These are Five Point Peace Plans:

1. Establishment the peace zone in entire Tibet and removal of Chinese troops and military installations from the country.
2. Stop the massive transfer of Chinese population policy into Tibet.
3. Respect the fundamental Human Rights and democratic freedom of Tibetan people.
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural resources and stopped use Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping nuclear waste in Tibet.
5. Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the friendly relationship between Tibetan and Chinese.¹²⁰

Therefore, according to Nick Megoran, Fiona McConnell, Philippa Williams that September 1987, the Dalai Lama presented his "Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet" to US Congressional Human Rights Caucus. After the Ninth month, His Holiness announced his frame work for 'Sino-Tibetan Negotiations' in Strasbourg whereby he officially abandoned his government's

¹¹⁸ Deborah hart Strobr (2006), "*His Holiness the Dalai Lama: The Oral Biography*", p. 151.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 151.

¹²⁰ Dalai Lama (1987), "Five Point Peace Plans", address to the US Congressional Human Right's Caucus, September 21, 1987.

previous demands for independence and formally launched his “Middle Way Approach”. Premised on the Buddhist description of seeking a path of moderation and wisdom between the extremes of self- discipline and self-indulgence, the transposition of the middle way approach into politics represents a structure in which China would agree to genuine Tibetan autonomy within Tibet without compromising China’s territorial integrity or security.¹²¹

When Strasbourg came many Tibetans were upset. Unprecedentedly, there were open protests against the Strasbourg statement from individuals and groups of Tibetans all over the world. Tibetan society everywhere was rife with speculation and rumors as to how such a disaster could ever have taken place. Nearly everyone was of the opinion that the kashag was largely to blame for not giving better advice to His Holiness. Tashi Rabgey and Tsetan Wangchuk Sharlo point out that Dalai Lama has given the justification for his change in approach was that freedom for Tibet was not possible and difficult to achieve whereas genuine autonomy is possible and capable of preserving Tibetan culture (identity) and economically Tibetans will gain more by staying with China than asking for independence.

As a deeply religious person he feels that hope is something that must always remain fresh. As a religious person he is a firm believer in truth and hope. Hope is the basis of hope. There is no guarantee but it is better to hope and try. Our basic human way is one the basis of hope. In the long run it is hoped that the truth will overcome.¹²²

He said that “within the Buddhist doctrine there are very many powerful techniques capable of advancing the mind with respect to compassion and love. Without spiritual requirements it is difficult to get and to maintain peace of mind. To maintain wisdom it is necessary to have inner strength. Without inner development, sometimes we may not retain self-confidence and courage. The impossible can be possible with will power.¹²³

The unity and co-existence between the Tibetan and Chinese people is more important than the political requirements of the Tibetan people, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has pursued a mutually beneficial Middle Way policy, which is a great political step forward. If the Tibetan

¹²¹ Megoran, Nick, and McConnell, and Fiona (ed.) (2014), “*Geographies of Peace: New Approaches to Boundaries and Diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution*”, p. 139.

¹²² Chopra P.N. (1986), “*The Ocean of Wisdom*”, p. 80.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 80.

and Chinese people can co-exist on an equal footing, this will serve as the basis for guaranteeing the unity of nationalities, social stability and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of China, which are of paramount importance to China. Therefore, the special characteristic of the Middle-Way Approach is that it can achieve peace through non-violence, mutual benefit, unity of nationalities and social stability.

There has taken some interview from 17th Karmapa, OgyenTrinleywho is the present head of Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism in exile by Dipanjan Roy Choudhary of ET Bureau during one of his rare visits to Delhi. He asked to Karmapa that do you support the Dalai Lama's middle way approach to meet the aspirations of the Tibetans? Then Karmapa states that "His Holiness the Dalai Lama is my spiritual and temporal leader and has been like a father figure for me in Dharamshala. I unequivocally support for the 'Middle way Approach' advocated by the Dalai Lama. He is the one and only leader who would provide leadership in this momentous task, not just in this life but in future lives as well. It is the shared responsibility of all Tibetans to preserve the Tibetan religion and culture and uphold the Tibetan identity. I am committed to the wellbeing of the Tibetan people. I regard it as my duty and responsibility to support the religion and culture of Tibet as much and as vigorously as I can. In that sense by supporting Tibetan religion and culture I will assist His Holiness the Dalai Lama as much as I can. It is the hope of all Tibetans to see the Dalai Lama return to Tibet safely and for Tibet to enjoy peace, happiness and the freedom to practice religion and culture."¹²⁴

As the current Kalon Tripa, Lobsang Sangay recently stated: "Guided by his (Lama's) wisdom, my administration will continue the middle way approach. This remains the best opportunity for a durable solution for both the Tibetans and Chinese peoples. We believe in a peaceful resolution for Tibet, which means a peaceful process and peaceful dialogue. We stand ready to negotiate with the Chinese government anytime anywhere."¹²⁵

This approach was not formulated suddenly and forcefully Dalai Lama but this was approved democratically by the Tibetan parliament after through the discussions as well as Chinese

¹²⁴ Chaudhury Dipanjan Roy (2014), "*I support Dalai Lama's 'middle-path approach' for Tibet's meaningful autonomy: OgyenTrinleyDorjee*", in the Economics Times, [Online: web] Accessed by 20 April 2016, http://articles.economictimes.Indiatimes.com/2014-04-03/news/48835117_1_meaningful-autonomy-Tibetan-buddhism-Tibetan-people.

¹²⁵ Megoran, Nick, and McConnell, and Fiona (ed.) (2014), "Geographies of Peace: New Approaches to Boundaries and Diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution", p. 139.

scholars' activists and artist. According to DIIR, "the middle way approach was adopted by a democratic process through unanimous agreement after holding extensive negotiations with the assembly of the Tibetan's deputies, the Kashag, all other organizations and individuals, representing Tibetan people and numerous meetings with the Chinese Government. Therefore, in 1987, His Holiness the Dalai Lama declared his long term vision for Tibet called the Five Point Peace Plan at the U.S. congress and in 1988, while elaborating on the fifth point of the Five Point Peace Plan; he declared the Strasbourg proposal at the European parliament. Since this was the first proposal explaining the middle way approach, a four day special meeting was organized in Dharamshala from 6 to 9 June 1988 before making it public. This conference was presided over by the Kashag and attended by the members of the Assembly of the Tibetan people's deputies, public servants, NGO's autonomous bodies, newly arrived Tibetans, special invitees and other representing the exile Tibetans.¹²⁶

There are some needs to adopt the middle way approach by DIIR (2010) publication in central Tibetan administration, Dharamshala that in this world we should make consistent with reality and should be pragmatic, cannot live in isolation without mutually dependence, they had to rely on its powerful neighbors, Tibet will gain more material benefit with China, particularly it has to be created to save Tibetan culture, atmosphere and national identity and many countries whose has high degree autonomous arrangements which is based on race, culture, language and these are not only well established but they contribute in strengthening.¹²⁷ Rajiv Mahotra (2009) observe that Dalai Lama no longer calls for the independence and separation of Tibet from China but his middle way approach does provided to China that would control Tibet's foreign and defense policies, while internal administration, culture, religious affairs and the economy would be left to the Tibetans which is identity of the Tibetans and to permit them to preserve their specific culture, religion and way of life.

Dalai Lama's Middle Way Approach are facing the challenges by a new generation of Tibet at odds with his willingness to accept even short term autonomy within China rather than push for long term full freedom of a broader territory. Many young Tibetans who born and raised from outside Tibet (in exile) have become increasingly critical of the Dalai Lama's Middle Way

¹²⁶ Kyishong, Gangchen (2010), "Introduction to the Nature, Evolution and achievement of the Middle Way Approach," Dharamshala: DIIR.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

Approach and other exiled leader. Chief among those differing with the Dalai Lama's approach is the Tibetan Youth Congress that claims some 30000 members and advocates for complete independence and they say that its members initiate "to struggle for the total independence of Tibet even at the cost of one's life." The president, Tsewang Rigzin was reelected to a second consecutive term in 2010 that sharpened his teeth on radical techniques.¹²⁸ And he has been outspoken critic of the middle way approach to resolving the issues of Tibet and advocated for complete independence for Tibet. According to Sonam Dorjee who is the executive members of Tibetan Youth Congress that Dalai Lama's strategies of non-violence and negotiations are betraying 'the call of nation'.¹²⁹

Although they remain spiritually devoted and faithful to the Dalai Lama and they believe that protests or even confrontation might be more effective means of securing their rights.¹³⁰ Jonson says that they respect the Dalai Lama as a religious leader of Tibet but as a political leader he has failed, said by Dibyesh Anand at Westminster University in London.¹³¹ Lobsang Sangay who is reelected recently as a prime minister in exile says that there are two thoughts with difference opinion. "One says that we can never trust the Chinese government because they will never negotiate peacefully and so confrontation is the best approach. The one led by Dalai Lama says dialogue is the best approach."¹³²

The middle way approach was rejected by Chinese government many times. Tibetans had lost their tolerance power, the frustration level has reached very high of Tibetans because they are not satisfied with Chinese occupation. During the first half of 2008, in March and April, there are unprecedented and widespread protests broken out across Tibet. These unplanned protests against Chinese rule in Tibet occurred throughout the entire Tibet. In this sense, the Chinese blame the Dalai Lama that these demonstrations had been planned by law-breaking monks and nuns and by the Dalai Lama group to destabilize Tibet. Aides to the Dalai Lama said these

¹²⁸ Jonson Tim (2008), "Dalai Lama Finds Leading Tibetans Harder Than Being Global Peace Icon", *McClatchy Newspapers* (26 March), [Online: web] April 26, 2016.

¹²⁹ Madhur Singh and Simon Robinson (2008), "Uprising Spurns Dalai Lama's Way", *Time Magazine*, [Online: web] Accessed April 15, 2016, 12.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 12.

¹³¹ Jonson Tim (2008), "Dalai Lama Finds Leading Tibetans Harder than Being Global Peace Icon", *McClatchy Newspapers*, (March 26), [online: web] April 26, 2016.

¹³² Madhur Singh and Simon Robinson (2008), "Uprising Spurns Dalai Lama's Way", *Time Magazine*, [Online: web] Accessed April 15, 2016, <http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1722738,00.html>.

accusations were totally baseless also untrue and that the unrest was spontaneous. Earlier last week, the Dalai Lama told his supporters gathered to celebrate the 49th anniversary of his escape to India after a failed anti-China uprising, that repression continues to increase with numerous, unimaginable and gross violations of human rights, denial of religious freedom and politicization of religious issues, but that he would continue to advocate for dialogue with Beijing and a "middle-way' approach".¹³³

D. Tsering, who is the head of the Tibetan Women's Association, told TIME that "her group and four other Tibetan organizations based in India have spent the past year planning a peaceful protest campaign timed to coincide with the buildup to the Olympics". Tsering highlights that "while protests outside Tibet were planned, the revolution in Tibet itself was spontaneous." Tsering says that "They have been entirely without coordination". The legal expert Lobasang Sangay also agrees that the protests in Tibet were spontaneous, but a violent uprising was inevitable. The combination of simmering resentment over the failure of the Dalai Lama's six-year-long negotiations with Beijing, and the influx of Han Chinese settling in Tibet have pushed Tibetans to breaking point, says Sangay, who grew up in exile. The frustration level has reached very, very high and he says. "If you study violent movements, when these reach a threshold when it starts to affect not only political issues but also bread and butter issues, then it crosses a line and the response becomes much more aggressive and violent and that's what's happened here."¹³⁴ Thus, we can say that these uprisings were not only the cause of Tibetan but China also responsible for this uprising. March 2008 uprisings were the result of continual China's negative responses. So, most of the Tibetan's frustration level has reached at the top. Tibet wants cooperation with China through MWA which based upon non-violent, peace, love and compassion but China does not want. If China accepts MWA then both countries enjoy peace, mutual dependents, unity and stability etc.

Dalai Lama has given the message that "I am deeply concerned over the situation that has been developing in Tibet following peaceful protest in many parts of Tibet, including Lhasa, in recent days. These protests are a manifestation of the deep-rooted resentment of the Tibetan people under the present governance. As I have always said, unity and stability under brute force is at

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

best a temporary solution. It is unrealistic to expect unity and stability under such a rule and would therefore not be conducive to finding a peaceful and lasting solution. I therefore appeal to the Chinese leadership to stop using force and address the long-simmering resentment of the Tibetan people through dialogue with the Tibetan people. I also urge my fellow Tibetans not to resort to violence.”¹³⁵ Dalai Lama’s approach reveals expressions of the love, compassion, wisdom, tolerance and teaches us to live with each other not in isolation.

The Dalai Lama’s message to the world about love is an incontrovertible principle. Love is not merely an emotion to be enjoyed and felt qua emotion. It is not a mere feeling or sensation bringing in its wake happiness, bliss, ecstasy and the satisfaction of a physical or even mental character but it has to be cultivated and nurtured with the special purpose of achieving the highest good of humanity. It has to become a mental discipline starting with tolerance and compassion. The Dalai Lama teaches that love is an active human condition. When certain problems arise, you will feel hate, you may feel anger. In order to practice tolerance, first you have to control anger. In our human life tolerance is very important. If you have tolerance you can easily overcome difficulties. Tolerance is something worthwhile to practice in our human society. So who teaches you tolerance? Always your enemy will teach us. So your enemy is really your teacher. If you have respected your enemy instead of anger, your compassion will develop. That type of compassion is real compassion which is based upon sound beliefs. Therefore it is necessary in the beginning to teach these good attitudes.¹³⁶

Then he again says, “Compassion and love are precious things in life...but difficult to practice. Compassion can be put into practice if one recognizes the fact that every human being is a member of humanity and the human family regardless of differences in religion, culture, color or creed. Deep down there is no differences. People make wars through ignorance. Reasoning is needed when the mind is emotional and thoughts of anger, hatred and achievement are strong”¹³⁷.

The present Dalai Lama of Tibet, Tenzin Gyatso’s religion Buddhism has done the most outstanding, significant and amazing service for the world because it has, for at least a thousand

¹³⁵ Dalai Lama (2008), “Messages of Peace from His Holiness the Dalai Lama”, Tibet Press Watch Spring.

¹³⁶ Chopra P.N. (1986), “*The Ocean of Wisdom*”, p.83.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 84.

years, remained against the destruction of life and therefore he stood against oppression and aggression which was one of the main principles established by the Lord Buddha, the enlightened one, the founder of religion.¹³⁸ His Holiness the Dalai Lama's religion is intellectual in the sense that as a master of the philosophy and metaphysics of the religion and of the Buddhist canon, his study of the original Sanskrit and Pali scriptures which he had to perfect being called upon to become the religious head of his country, become part of his intellectual equipment and of his mind together with carrying out its practices, ceremonies and obligations.¹³⁹

But there is another side to his confronting to his religion. He lives to its precepts. He is not only an incarnation of Avlokiteshwara, the Bodhisattva of compassion, the Sympathetic, the protector of mankind but he tries to put into practice as closely as possible, in his personal and everyday life, the main intention of his own teachings is the simple but yet appears most difficult that love your neighbor as yourself.¹⁴⁰

Dalai Lama is very much influenced from Mahatma Gandhi in the term of non-violence to freedom for India. Rakesh Raman Jha (2003) compared with Gandhi that there is one of the strongest points of comparison between Mahatma Gandhi and Dalai Lama, both of them are seen as both spiritual and political leader, great freedom fighter of 20th century, and two interpreters of peace, harmony, love, compassion and have their own ways of explanations of the problems of peace and harmony. They are both representatives of the idea that political change must be secondary to spiritual evolution. Yasmin Khan (2007) examine that Gandhiji's visualization of an independent India based on religious pluralism however was challenged in the early 1940s by a new Muslim Nationalism this was demanding a separate Muslim homeland carved out of India. Gandhi has used their own methods of non-violence like Satyagraha, Salt Satyagraha, Non-Cooperation etc. to independent India and Dalai Lama also have their own method of non-violence like negotiation to resolve the Tibet issues. Non-violence plays the important role for both in their struggle to achieve the goals to leading their principles. Gandhi very much influenced by a Sanskrit word '*Ahimsa paramodhamah*' its mean non-violence is the highest virtue.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 74.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 74.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 74.

Thus, Laurance Brahm (2005) shows that the Dalai Lama has attend the focus of the autonomy he seeks for Tibet by downplaying enhanced political and economic power and pursuing greater power as to religion and culture. Even in those spheres, he no longer claims an exclusive domain but acknowledge a willingness to have the people's republic of China govern and guarantee to preserve our Tibetan culture, spiritually and our environment.

In the eighty-eight years of the Noble Prize's existence, nobody has been more eligible than the Dalai Lama, whose life viewpoint has been established upon the idea of universal responsibility and respect for all living things. His support has included more than human rights. Nature, too, has its rights in his vision of a superior world, one that neither the Chinese, nor some other power, can ethically violate.¹⁴¹

Thus, Dalai Lama appears as a highly realistic man, devoted to the establishment of non-violent solutions to any problems whatever personal, environmental and political. Despite face many problems with Dalai Lama's strategy, the 14th Dalai Lama continuously emphasized that the Middle Way Approach is the best method to resolve the Tibet question. This is simply put in 1988, try to find greater autonomy for Tibet but knows China's sovereignty. The middle way has made a remarkable and beneficial help to maintain a peaceful system between Tibetans and Chinese. He has been the model for innovation, spirituality, kindness and adaptation. Dalai Lama was a perfect exemplification of excellent teacher, as well as a great promoter of peace, morality and humanity. Dalai Lama's middle way approach is the philosophy of himself which based upon love, compassion, wisdom, kindness, non-violent.

¹⁴¹ Piburn Sidney (2002), "Dalai Lama: A Policy of Kindness", pp. 9-10.

Chapter-4

China's response and international support

In third chapter we have discussed about Dalai Lama's "Middle Way Approach". It presents a way to solve the issue of Tibet by which a relationship of dependability, stability, Peace and co-existence and peace can be built between Tibetan and Chinese people. This approach presents a middle way between Chinese and Tibetan demands, which is a genuine autonomy for all Tibetans. Thus, this is an ultimate solution to the problem and seeks to provide partial autonomy to Tibet. But China is not satisfy and happy with this approach, which Dalai Lama introduces to resolve the Tibet issue (MWA). It rejects this doctrine many times saying that it is the intermediary step towards gaining full independence and it can create divide in China. Thus, the fourth chapter will focus on China's response and its behaviors about Tibet and international support.

China is the 3rd largest country in this world and it has been also called 'Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo', "The People's Republic of China". China was and still is essentially an agricultural country. The communist party was already well experienced in most types of agricultural work when it came to power. Agricultural is still the broad base of the national economy in 1967, though industry, practically non-existent then, is now well established.¹⁴² China wants to establish a major socialist industrial power with emphasis on the word socialist.

The Chinese sub-continent the modern Han Empire of the present Communist Dynasty from October 1st, 1949, is much larger than the Indian sub-continent. It is very nearly three times larger than India. This Chinese sub-continent is a political sub-continent, under the authoritarian one party rule of the Chinese communist party and is known since 1949 as the People's Republic of China. The establishment of the People's Republic of China was an epoch-making event for eastern and southern Asia and it is what brought about the geo-political changes and tensions that affected both Tibet and India. The Chinese sub-continent is politically a monolith, despite the regional cultural differences within it in such a large geographic region. Within this political

¹⁴² Suyin Han (1967), "*China: in the Year 2001*", p.4.

monolith, the culturally different regions are Tibet, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, while Manchuria through not China proper is now greatly Sinicised.¹⁴³

Davis and Elizabeth described about China that China is not a simple nation to run the show. It is extending at a fast financial pace, joined by quick social changes. Its urban zones are developing and changing quicker than the rural regions. The coastline is developing and changing quicker than inside. Administration in China implies building a strong society and economy amidst this change and overseeing expanding financial divergence not withstanding new wealth. Two especially unmanageable difficulties in the decision making of China are resources and religion.¹⁴⁴

If we see the China technically it is appear as a secular nation, but various religions exist together inside it. Several Chinese practice Chinese Buddhism to one extent or another. The Chinese administration sponsors Buddhist holy places like shrine and monasteries. Confucianism, constantly present beneath the surface, is gaining new respect as China reclaims its cultural and social legacy. However, there are other most important religions as part of a component of China's enormous size and assorted qualities. Christianity in China, particularly its missionary role from the late 19th century to the early 21st century, gets a decent lot of discourse in the west. However, two religions have raised their perceptibility and prominence in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Tibetan Buddhism, and Islam as it shows in Xinjiang (autonomous region of China) and Central Asia, claim attention, especially in the light of the fact that they have integrated with ethnic identity and separatist agendas of ethnic minorities living in and around China. It is important to highlight that most ethnic minorities in China just need to live their lives. This includes most Tibetan Buddhist and most Chinese Muslims.¹⁴⁵

The PRC which came into being on 1st October 1949 was as Chinese as any other previous Chinese government or imperial dynasty, and led by battle-experienced politico-military leaders with geo-strategic vision, like the chairman, Mao Zedong, the newly appointed Premier, Chou En-lai and other leaders such as Deng Xiaoping. They were quick to consolidate their new empire and to acquire a stable buffer zone for the Han heartland. Having won control of their

¹⁴³ Gautam Das (2009), "China-Tibet-India: The 1962 War and the Strategic Military Future", p.23.

¹⁴⁴ Davis, Van Wie Elizabeth (2012), "Ruling, Resources and Religion in China: Managing the Multiethnic State in the 21st Century", p.1.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p.1.

country through deeds, not words, and at the cost of many thousands killed in battle, they were not the kind of people to be impressed by either the feeble protests of pacifist religious leaders like the Tibetan Dalai Lama and his government, or by the western-educated lawyer leader of India, Jawaharlal Nehru. Thus began Tibet's and India's problems with the Chinese leadership.¹⁴⁶

In 1949, China dispatches its troops to peaceful liberation in Tibet. In order to complete liberation of Tibet Chinese govt. told the Tibetan local govt. to dispatch a delegation to Beijing for negotiations. However Tibet rejects this proposal. It was only after the people's liberation army inflicted in October 1950, in the battle of Chamdo a sizable defeat on the main forces of the Tibetan army, which tried to block the PLA's advance that the Tibetan local govt. agreed to send a delegation to Beijing to negotiate. In April 1951, the Tibet local govt. delegation headed by Ngapoingawang Jigme arrived in Beijing and entered into negotiations with the central govt. On May 23 the central govt. of Chinese and the local govt. of Tibet signed an agreement as the 17th point agreement of the peaceful liberation of Tibet.¹⁴⁷

The seventeenth point agreement guaranteed no adjustments in the political arrangement of Tibet including the status and forces of the Dalai Lama. There was a promise of freedom of religious practices and Tibetans were allowed to keep their traditional resources of income in monasteries. This last guarantee was adequate to secure the support of the religious communities. Tibetan support for the 17th point Agreement came mainly from the monasteries and monastic institution. This agreement was contradictory in promising that nothing would be changes in Tibet, yet Chinese side made strategy that almost everything would be change according to their program for democratic improvements and social change. The Chinese communists had no intentions of permitting the traditional Tibetan social and political system to keep on existing indefinitely. Tibetans had no awareness that the democratic improvement simplified class warfare or socialist transformation meant communization and they did not realize that national territorial autonomy actually implied total Chinese control.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Gautam Das (2009), "*China-Tibet-India: The 1962 War and the Strategic Military Future*", p. 29-30.

¹⁴⁷ Wenming Su (1983), "*Tibet: Today and Yesterday*", p.87.

¹⁴⁸ Smith Warren, "*Origins of the Middle Way Policy*", Radio free Asia, p.390.

We can see that China's invasion of Tibet started in 1949 and by 1959 it forcibly occupied the whole of Tibet. Thus, in 1959, Dalai Lama had to flee to neighbor country, Northern India with his followers. At present, he is living in Dharamshala, India and established an exile community with their followers, and preserved the Tibetan culture, language, religion and Tibetan identity. In 1988, Dalai Lama introduced the Middle Way Approach for Tibetan issues. Middle path is a possible way for resolving the conflict between China and Tibet. MWA is an ultimate solution to the problem and seek to provide partial autonomy, not independence to Tibet which is not accepted by the Chinese government till today.

According to Warren, the middle way approach was but a new trick of the Dalai Lama to seek opportunities for conducting subversive and sabotaging activities. He argued that in exile the Dalai Lama had annually conducted 10 March ceremonies to celebrate Tibetan independence at which the Tibetan national flag was raised and the Tibetan national anthem was sung. In his speech at these 10 march ceremonies the Dalai Lama had from 1960 to 1967 called for Tibetan independence, from 1984 to 1989 he avoided directly using the word independence in favor of independence in disguise via the middle way, in 1990, because of his euphoria over the fall of communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, he again called for Tibetan independence, from 1994 to 2007 he again played down Tibetan independence in favor of his middle way.¹⁴⁹ But Chinese government is not interested in solving the Tibet issue with the solution Dalai Lama proposed. Because, there are some strong reasons behind China's rejection of the MWA of Dalai Lama and for these reasons, China is in no way excited to give up its fight for controlling Tibet.

First of all, China has doubted this approach as a solution for Unrest in Tibet. As Raju Thakkar argued that at the fifth meeting between Chinese and Dalai Lama's representative, the Chinese government realized that the Dalai Lama's side was not looking for freedom. At that point this year, around May or June, at the sixth meeting the Chinese delegation's attitude was greatly toughened.¹⁵⁰ In his White paper (2015), Beijing however has solidly rejected the middle way approach. The recently issued white paper outlined China's objections in great part in a section titled "the essential intent of the middle way is to split China" and argues that "under the middle

¹⁴⁹ Smith Warren W. (2010), "*Tibet's Last Stand?: The Tibetan Uprising of 2008 and China's Response*", p. 99.

¹⁵⁰ Thakkar Raju (2007), "The Dalai Lama, referring to his envoys recent meetings with Chinese officials and the hardening of China's position towards him and the Tibet issue", quoted in the *Japan times (Japan)*, 2 December, 2007.

way approach the Dalai Lama group feigns acceptance of China's sovereignty in Tibet to seize the reins of power and set up a semi-independent political regime. In particular, China takes issue with the Dalai Lama's proposal for a high degree of autonomy in Tibet and saying that this high degree of autonomy is to set up 'a state within state' free of any control from the central government."

Yeshe Dorje (2014) described that the chairman of China's Tibet autonomous region (TAR), Losang Gyaltzen said that "the Dalai Lama's approach is 'a camouflaged approach' that seeks Tibet's independence and said that Tibet cannot be independent neither can it be a semi independent or disguised independent, standing next to China's national flag. He added that China's fight against a western enemy force and the Dalai Lama group is an important political fight for a unity verses separation, democracy verses authoritarianism and progress verses backwardness."

(White paper, 2015) A white paper issued by Chinese government on Tibet titled "Tibet's path of development is driven by an irresistible historical tide" notices that instead of seeking autonomy, the "middle way" of Dalai Lama is appear as cover for gaining full freedom. Xinhua reported that the "middle way" negates a sound developmental path and it is an effort to create a "state within a state" on Chinese region as an interim step towards the ultimate aim of full freedom and added in white paper that the Chinese government rejected this doctrine of Dalai Lama many times, saying that it is an intermediary step towards gaining full independence and it can create divide in China. It strongly stated that Tibet is an integral part of China and cannot be separated from China.

But Tibetan side denies this argument of Chinese side that Tibet is the part of China. It argued with same strength that Tibet is an independent country before Chinese occupation till 1950. There is a conflict of opinions between Tibetan and Chinese side weather Tibet was a part of China or not. Thus, Dalai Lama chooses the middle path and introduces the middle way approach in 1988. Before going in the details of Chinese and International response to MWA we should have a look on the history of Tibet which will be very helpful in understanding Chinese response.

In the early 7th century, Yarlung tribe was controlling Tibetan plateau. Songsten Gampo was the leader of the Yarlung tribe on the Tibetan plateau. He bound together the region under his rule and regulations and he was the founder of the kingdom of Tibet which was known as a state of slave or serfdom system.¹⁵¹

Songsten Gampo made several matrimonial approaches and finally married to the princess of Chinese Imperial family. Songtsen Gampo's aim behind this marriage proposal was to build closer financial, cultural and social relations with the Tang Dynasty (China).

In 641 A.D. the proposal was approved by the emperor of Imperial China and princess Wen Cheng and Songsten Gampo were united in holy marriage. The princess carried with her many books in the Han language and servants including craftsmen and experts in pharmacology and calendrical science as dowry. This had much to do with Tibet's resulting financial and cultural growth. An enormous statue of Gautama Buddha which carried by the princess to Tibet, is cherished in the Jokhan Monastery in Lhasa in present time. Thus, the matrimonial relation between the king of Tibet and the Tang princess brought the Tibetans and the Chinese much closer.¹⁵²

Year later, in 710 another matrimonial alliances was established between Tibet and China. This time another member of the Tang royal family, Princess Jin Cheng, the adopted daughter of emperor Zhongzong, was married to a Tibetan king, Chide Zugzain. A patron of literature and the arts, the princess filled her dowry with books on arts and crafts in addition to tens of thousands of bolts of silk and brocade. She was a vigorous consort, active in sponsoring invitations to monks from western region to spread Buddhist teachings.

She contributed immensely in expanding cultural exchanges between the Tibetans on one hand and the Chinese and the western region nationalities on the other side. This matrimonial did much to cement the political relations between the Chinese and the Tibetans. Her husband Zugzain wrote: "I, your humble nephew, am a descendant of the long time relative of the late emperor and I also have the honor to be married to Princess Jin Cheng. We are thus members of one family. May all our people under heaven live in happiness and prosperity".¹⁵³ Finally it

¹⁵¹ Wenming Su (1983), "*Tibet: Today and Yesterday*", p. 71.

¹⁵² Ibid, p.72.

¹⁵³ Ibid, pp.72-73.

found expression in the Tang-Tibet cooperation, otherwise known as “uncle-nephew alliance”. Thus, After Princess Wencheng’s marriage with Sronbtsan Sgampo, the relations between China and Tibet were invariably called as one between Uncle and Nephew.¹⁵⁴

After that Tibetan ruler Trisong Detsen (755-797) wants to expand the Tibetan empire by defeating local rulers of some parts of China. In his efforts to win new areas in China he defeated Imperial Chinese army and In 763, Changan which is the capital of China was occupied by Trisong Detsen’s forces and China had to pay an annual tribute to Tibet. The borders between Tibet and China were decided by a treaty concluded in 783. This treaty brought effective peace between Tibet and China but this treaty is also important for understanding the nature of relationship between these two great powers of Asia.

This agreement between Tibet and China during the empire period is an indication of the independence of Tibet during that time. These continues struggle between Tibet and China came to an end in 822 with a treaty that clearly defined Tibet and China as distinct countries and delimited the border between them. In this treaty, China and Tibet accepted to “unite their kingdoms”, but this was clearly in the term of a union only in agreement. The treaty expresses of China and Tibet each protecting the borders of their separate zone and notes. It says “All to the east of the boundary is the domain of Great China and all to west of the boundary is surely the domain of Great Tibet.” The treaty also says that “Tibetan shall be happy in the land of Tibet and Chinese shall be happy in the land of China.”¹⁵⁵

Chinese view regarding this is difficult to understand as it says in its white paper that “the Tibetans and Chinese had through marriage between royal families and meetings leading to alliances, cemented political and kinship ties of unity and political friendship and formed close economic and cultural relations, laying a solid foundation for the ultimate founding of a unified nation.”¹⁵⁶ In fact, in the historical records, both Tibet and China, oppose such a stand and refer to separate and powerful empires.

9th century was a time of great trouble for Tibet. In middle of that century The Tibetan kingdom had distorted and collapsed, torn apart by some internal conflict. But historical records of this

¹⁵⁴Yihong Pan (1992), “*The Sino-Tibetan Treaties in the Tang Dynasty*,” T’oungPao, Vol.LXXVIII, pp. 153-158.

¹⁵⁵ Smith Warren W. (2009), “*China's Tibet?: Autonomy Or Assimilation*,” p.5.

¹⁵⁶ Kumar Anand (ed.) (1995), “*Tibet: A Sourcebook*”, foreword by H.H. Dalai Lama, p. 30.

time proves that in spite of these historical ups and down, Tibetan tribes living in areas together to the hinterland still continued varying degrees of political and economic relations with these dynasties.¹⁵⁷

Between 9th and 13th century Tibetan elites were busy in internal fighting among different religious sects. During this time a new actor entered in this complex situation of Tibet-China relations. This new actor was great Mongol Genghis Khan. In 1206, the Mongol rulers Genghis Khan and his successors occupied huge regions in Asia and Europe creating one of the largest empires the world has ever known and stretching from the Pacific to Eastern Europe.

Genghis Khan's grandson Godan Khan sent an invitation to Sakya Pandita who was head of Sakya sect. Sakya sect was very dominant in Tibet that time and Godan Khan wants Sakya pandita to become his personal chaplain. This invitation was not just an invitation but an invitation with threat of invasion if refused. Sakya pandita accepted this invitation and reached to Mongolia in 1247.

Godan Khan was very much impressed by Sakya Pandita and accepted his spiritual supremacies. He adapted Buddhism and made Sakya Pandita the Viceroy of central Tibet.¹⁵⁸

Next important event of Tibetan History is related to Kublai Khan, who was the founder of the Yuan dynasty. Kublai Khan sent an invitation to Drogon Choegyal phagpa, the main pupil of Sakya Pandita in 1253. He invited Phagpa to his imperial court. Phagpa accepted this invitation and visit Kublai Khan. Kublai Khan who was very much impressed with Phagpa gave supreme authority to him over Tibet in 1254 AD.¹⁵⁹

This started the priest-patron relationship that defined Tibet's relations with the Mongols. This relationship was mutually beneficial as lamas provided his spiritual guidance to the Mongol khans and the Mongol khans gave his military protection to the Tibetans.

¹⁵⁷ Wenming Su (1983), "*Tibet: Today and Yesterday*", p. 74.

¹⁵⁸ Tsepan W.D. Shakabpa (1988), "*Tibet: A Political History*", pp. 61-62.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 70.

Though at first sight this relationship appeared like a gift to Tibetan during highly troubled time of their history. It protected Tibetan people from the brutality of direct Mongol rule. But its high political cost would be felt hundreds of years after this pact.¹⁶⁰

Thus, Kublai Khan created a new system of governance in Tibet. He built up the administration division between political and religious affairs. The Phagpa, given the title of imperial Tutor was selected as its religious head while the Yuan Dynasty set up post office and military posts in Tibet and dispatched pacification commissioners. This is the first time in Tibet, when state and religion were integrated in a system by Mongol rulers (Yuan Dynasty) which lasted until 1959.

It can be said that long Mongol rule and its rulers influenced and also leave their deep impression over Tibet and its people. But there is no ground to accept Chinese argument that during the middle of 13th century Tibet was formally integrated into the area of China's ruling Yuan dynasty. Chinese argument is hard to believe as none of the Mongol rulers ever made an attempt to administer Tibet directly.¹⁶¹

In the mid-14 century, the Yuan Dynasty was replaced by the Ming Dynasty. However, the Yuan system remained basically intact in Tibet. This Dynasty sustained their rule over Tibet, with the emperor maintaining the emperor-minister relationship with administrative and religious leaders in the Tibetan areas. Van Praag and Xagabba argued that the Ming Dynasty has no interest in Tibet and the Ming emperor considered Tibet as an independent country toward the west and just tried to maintain harmony between the Chinese peoples and Tibetan peoples through a 'lama-patron' relationship.¹⁶²

The white paper claims that the Ming Dynasty replaced Yuan Dynasty in China and naturally got the privilege to rule over Tibet. Ming Dynasty initiated to appease all the religious traditions in Tibet by conferring titles on their leaders. During the Ming Dynasty, Gelug Sect rose, and the

¹⁶⁰ Jung-Ho-Bae and Jae H. Ku (ed.) (2013), "*China's Internal and external Relations and Lessons for Korea and Asia*" Korea: Korea Institute for National Unification, 2013, p. 68.

¹⁶¹ Kumar Anand (ed.) (1995), "*Tibet: A Sourcebook*", foreword by H.H. Dalai Lama, p. 31.

¹⁶² Wang, Jiawei (1997), "*The Historical Status of China's Tibet*", p. 31.

third Dalai Lama was the head of this sect's monasteries that time. The central government of the Ming Dynasty showed him special favor by permitting him to pay homage.¹⁶³

In Tibetan point of view, Mongolian regime over Tibet ended with Tibet reconstructing independence and its relationship with China thereafter was not one of subservience. In Chinese point of view, Tibet's historically great empire declined starting in the ninth century. And afterward was finally and totally brought down by the Mongols hundreds of years back. Tibet then came under the Chinese suzerainty in the eighteenth century and it continued under the Chinese administration until the late nineteenth century when Great Britain attacked Tibet as it wanted to control Tibet as a buffer zone amongst China and British India.¹⁶⁴

According to Dawa Norbu, in 1890, Indian British Government realized the need to establish trade relations with Tibet, but they were in doubt whether to approach China or Tibet. They were aware that Chinese power stretched out during the 18th century in Tibet so, the British government tried to contact China, and in 1893 signed an agreement of trade with China, without Tibet's awareness. But when Britain applied for her concessions based on this agreement with China, the government of Tibet rejected their demands. The British realized that Chinese had a very little impact over the Tibet in reality. In 1899, the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon was bound to regard Chinese control over Tibet as a 'constitutional fiction- a political affection which has just been maintained because of its convenience to both sides.'¹⁶⁵

In 1904, Lord Curzon, the than Governor General of British India sent a military mission to Tibet under the leadership of Colonel Francis Young husband. Lord Curzon wanted to enforce a trade agreement with Tibet. Tibet was not prepared to face a military mission of such a mighty power. Tibetan troops were defeated by Young Husband very easily and Dalai Lama's Regent accepted British demands and a agreement was signed in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Seals of the Dalai Lama, the Kashag (Ministerial Council), the National Assembly and of the three big monasteries were signed and stamped on the Agreement without Chinese signatories.

¹⁶³White paper (1992), "*Tibet: Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation*", Beijing: Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China,

¹⁶⁴Davis E.V.W. (2009), "Tibetan Separatism in China", *Korean Journal of defence analysis*, 21, no. 2, 155-70, p. 157.

¹⁶⁵Norbu Dawa (1997), "*Tibet: The Road Ahead*", p.59.

The British military expedition and the resulting agreement create a suspicion in China. It realized that its power in Tibet had vanished. To regain its influence in Tibet China attacked Tibet in 1910. Tibet was again defeated and occupied by China. For the first time the Dalai Lama escaped to India. But Chinese control and occupation did not continue for long time. During the revolution of 1912 in China, Tibet took advantage of chaos in China and forced China to withdraw the remaining Chinese militaries from Tibet.

Dalai Lima writes, “With that, Tibet became completely independent, and from 1912 until the Chinese invasion in 1950 neither the Chinese nor any other state had any power whatever in Tibet.”¹⁶⁶

But according to the Chinese view point historically, Chinese Empires had a lot of impact over Tibet. The Yuan dynasty of China which was the descendants of Mongols ruled Tibet for more than a century. During the Qing period about 18th-20th centuries China treated Tibet as its vassal state. An amount of ethnic Han Chinese had established themselves into Tibet especially in Amdo and Kham area in the earlier centuries. Thus, Chinese thought that they have an historical and ancient claim over Tibet.

Chander Suta Dogra (2008) said that Beijing wants that Tibetans surrender the idea which claims they were historically never a part of China. In return China will accept Dalai Lama’s demand of the reunification of all Tibetans. Prof. Samdhong argued that “China wants to demolish history in order to legitimize its occupation of Tibet. While we are ready to forget the past and accept Chinese rule now in the interest of our people, how can we deny the historical fact that Tibet was once an independence country.”

Some scholars have worked on the history of Tibet of this time; Elliot argued that China’s position on Tibetan history neglects to mention that the Yuan Dynasty was a Mongol empire and the Qing were Manchus who had conquered China and other regions. Neither the Mongol Yuan and nor the Manchus Qing ever controlled Tibet as part of China or considered Tibet to be part

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p.60.

of China. When the republic of China was established in 1912, it had no control over Tibet legally or actually and Tibet remained independent in all viewpoints until at least 1951.¹⁶⁷

Tenzin who is a research scholar of the China Tibetology research Centre, condemned the Dalai Lama for his continual pursuit of Tibetan independence in spite of his declared of Tibetan autonomy under Chinese sovereignty. He says that Dalai group and separatist forces had never renounced their position on Tibetan independence or stopped their antagonistic activities against China's Tibet autonomous region. He condemned the Dalai Lama's proposals (middle way of not seeking independence but still demanding) for a 'greater Tibetan area' and a high degree of autonomy as pronounce of separation and independence.¹⁶⁸

China rejected many time the Dalai Lama's MWA from 1988 to 2015. It argued that it rejected Dalai Lama's proposal because China wants to help the Tibetan people and to preserve their culture. It further argued that In 1950s, Tibet was still a society ruled by feudal serfdom under theocracy.

China argued in support of Chinese rule over Tibet that Tibet has no capacity to administer itself as demonstrated by its savage, cruel and barbaric feudal serf system. Smith pointed out that Chinese agenda also maintained that there were no political issues of Tibet or no questions about Tibet's political status or the validity of Chinese rule over Tibet, for the reason that Tibet had always been a part of China. To divert attention from the political question China talk about the problems of old Tibet like feudal system of governance and others. Much of Chinese propaganda focused on the problems of old Tibet, suitably magnified to suit China's purpose. In contrast, China's peaceful liberation of Tibet which is free of the serfs by means of democratic reforms of Tibetan society, and its selfless economic assistance to Tibet was glorified. An associated theme was the Dalai Lama's middle path policy of genuine autonomy and a greater TAR was intended to revoke China's improvements to Tibet's social and political system, to deny China's sovereignty over Tibet and ultimately achieve Tibetan independence.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Sperling Elliot (2004), "The Tibet-China Conflict: History and Polemics", vol. 7 of Policy Studies, Washington: East-West Center.

¹⁶⁸ Smith Warren W. (2010), "*Tibet's Last Stand?: The Tibetan Uprising of 2008 and China's Response*", p. 98.

¹⁶⁹ Smith Warren W. (2010), "*Tibet's Last Stand?: The Tibetan Uprising of 2008 and China's Response*", pp. 79-80.

(White Paper, 2015) In its white paper Chinese government criticized the feudal system of governance existed in Tibet and argued that Having existed for several centuries, this wretched system stifled human rights and destroyed human qualities. It was thus the most backward mode of human society under which the people had no democratic, economic, social, or cultural rights, and their basic human rights were not protected. Old Tibet was a far cry from modern civilization. Under feudal serfdom, serfs suffered cruel political oppression and had no personal freedom or fundamental rights.

This understanding of Tibetan society and culture is not just limited to government as M.N. Mathur (2012) described that many Chinese think about Tibetan that they are superstitious, uncivilized hostile, ignorant, dirty, unpredictable, lazy and a bit barbarian and discard the Tibetan religion saying that they live in illusions and has an incorrect thinking. Based on this understanding the Chinese side argued that as the Tibetans live in the Dark Age and are unaware of development path world is following, they need Chinese help for the development of their country. It further argued that Tibetan would not be able to use natural resources properly if it doesn't get Chinese help. It seems that this is all done to justify why the PLA had to invade Tibet in 1949-50 in order to liberate it.

Of course the Tibetans wanted to develop. But they were also deeply religious, and if they had to choose between their faith and the Chinese plans for development, the Chinese would not stand a chance. The big problem is that the Tibetans were never given a choice. Ever since 1950, the year that the Chinese army invaded Tibet, the Chinese communist party has promised development. The Chinese built roads and schools. The leaders from Beijing claim to have invested three billion dollars in the 'Autonomous Region' over the last 30 years. According to the Chinese press, this investment has paid off and Tibetan GDP has increased tenfold.¹⁷⁰

(White Paper, 2013) This thinking of Chinese authorities is evident in the white paper as it said that the State respects and protects the right of all ethnic groups in Tibet to live and conduct social activities according to their own traditional customs and folkways; it respects and protects their freedom in attending normal religious service, performing sacrificial rituals, and taking part in major religious activities and folk festivals. While maintaining their traditional ways and

¹⁷⁰ Rozeboom Annelie (2011), "*Waiting for the Dalai Lama*", p.2

styles of clothing, diet and housing, people of all ethnic groups in Tibet have absorbed new, modern customs in terms of clothing, food, housing, transportation, and wedding and funeral ceremonies.¹⁷¹

(White Paper, 2013) this white paper further glorified the impact of Chinese rule on Tibet. It said that according to the People's Republic of China's Constitution, Chinese citizens enjoy freedom of religious belief as a basic right. Tibet is also house of many religious traditions. Tibetan Buddhism, Bon, Islam, Catholicism coexisted and flourished in Tibet. Even in these religions there were different sects with different practices like Tibetan Buddhism. Chinese white paper argued that after the democratic reforms, Tibet abolished feudal serfdom which was supported by the theocracy and separated religion from government. This new system removed what had been tarnished by feudal serfdom and restored the true nature of religion, realizing true freedom of religious belief and religious tolerance between different religious beliefs and sects.

(White Paper, 2013) for advancing its agenda Chinese authorities argued that Chinese rule in Tibet helps in improving the condition of environment in Tibet. The white paper describes the environment of Tibet as the third-cleanest area in the world in terms of its environment, after the South and North poles. It has a clean and transparent atmospheric environment, and similar contents of pollutants to the North Pole. Jayshree Bajoria (2008) explains another reason for China's rejection of MWA. She argued that according to Adam Segal who is the CFR's China expert that Tibet is very important to China's sense of nationhood. "There is a fear that if Tibet gets independence, then other countries like Uyghur and Taiwan will want independence." Segal argued that Chinese authorities have frequently suggested that they are just waiting for the Dalai Lama to die, expecting Tibetan nationalism to disappear after his death, but says this may be a miscalculation. He argued that he thinks the more radical Tibetans would direct the movement for independence after Dalai Lama's death."¹⁷² Dalai Lama is playing the important role to

¹⁷¹ White Paper (2013), "*Cultural preservation and freedom of religious belief*," Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, October 22, 2013 (http://www.China.org.cn/government/whitepaper/2013-10/22/content_30367920.html)

¹⁷² Bajoria, Jayshree, (2016) "The Question of Tibet", *Council of Foreign Relations*, January, 2016

rejection of MWA for China because Dalai Lama said that “if my death comes when we are still in refuges status, then logically my reincarnation will come outside Tibet.”¹⁷³

China does not want Dalai Lama, who is a Buddhist monk to rule over Tibet. Simpson Peter described that Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Hong Lei has warned the Dalai Lama that he does not have any legal right to decide to choose his successor through traditional reincarnation as it would break Chinese law. China is likely to appoint its own successor regardless. This raises the prospect of two Tibetan spiritual leaders, with one recognized by Beijing and the other chosen by Tibetan exiles. This scenario is possible as it happened earlier. A similar scenario occurred in 1995 when The Dalai Lama chose Gedhun Choekyi Nyima as Panchen Lama and China did not accept it. It then chose its own reincarnation, Gyaincain Norbu as Panchen Lama. The Chinese-raised Norbu reside in China and publicly backs Beijing’s rule of Tibet. The Dalai Lama chosen Gedhun Choekyi Nyima has not been seen since 1995 when he was imprisoned by Chinese security forces.¹⁷⁴

In March 2008, when there are unprecedented and widespread protests broken out across Tibet. These unplanned protests against Chinese rule in Tibet occurred throughout the entire Tibet. According to Warren Smith, China’s reaction to the uprising in Tibet was a propaganda campaign intended to deny any responsibility for Tibetan discontent and to place all blame on the ‘Dalai clique’ and hostile western forces’. The aim of Dalai Lama was said to be Tibetan independence, the restoration of his rule, and reimposition of the feudal serf system. The aim of the so-called hostile western forces, primary among which was the United States, was to denigrate, divide and the weaken China. Chinese officials claimed to have evidence to prove that the Dalai Lama and his clique had planned, instigated and coordinated all the protests in March.¹⁷⁵

Jigme Ngapo also criticizes Tibetan independence movement and blame the Dalai Lama to uprising in Tibet. Ngawang Jigme Ngapo headed the delegation that had signed the 17th point agreement in with China in 1951. Ngapo now over ninty years of age condemned the rioters, although in a somewhat less than enthusiastic style. Ngapo’s statement reiterated most of the

¹⁷³ Becker Antoaneta (2008), “Tibet: A Burden for China”, in *14 April 2008 Outlook*, vol XLVIII, no. 15.

¹⁷⁴ Simpson Peter (2011), “*China Warns Dalai Lama about Choosing Successor*”, voice of America News/Asia.

¹⁷⁵ Smith Warren W. (2010), “*Tibet’s Last Stand?: The Tibetan Uprising of 2008 and China’s Response*”,p. 79.

themes of China's justification for its control of Tibet, especially those he could testify to from his long personal experience. He concurred that the violent criminal incident of smashing, looting, and burning was obviously organized, planned meticulously and in advance and directed by the democratic and foreign apparatus of the Dalai Lama clique. He repeated the staple Chinese argument that no country in the world had ever recognized Tibetan independence and that Tibet had always been effectively under Chinese control. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, in which he had played a significant role, some people had continued to disregard the will of the people and had not ceased attempting to split Tibet from the motherland.¹⁷⁶

Many Chinese scholars argued that China wants to help the Tibet by rejecting MWA. Yedor said on the middle way of Dalai Lama that As a matter of fact, the "middle way" is a philosophy, according to which one should not take extreme actions. But the Dalai's "middle way" has nothing to do with the "middle way" philosophy. The Central Government has made public its views on the Dalai's "middle way" over the past 20 years, but the Dalai Lama still hates to say bye to his proposals which are "independence of Tibet" in nature. It left no stone unturned to bargain with the Central Government by changing words. This writer holds that the Dalai Lama is in a blind alley. He further said that Tibetans value highly the Sagya Sayings, which says: "One should refrain from thinking to do things one could not do; and eat food which can hardly be digested;" "a fool takes a wrong way, simply because he is a fool; when a wise man takes a wrong way, he needs to find out the right way." If the Dalai Lama is sincere in improving ties with the Central Government, he needs, first and foremost, to have an objective understanding of the political reality in Tibet and, on this basis, re-think his political propositions.¹⁷⁷

These Chinese scholars based their arguments on the constitutional rights of minority. They argued that according to the Chinese constitution, as well as the white paper on regional ethnic autonomy in Tibet the Tibetan people are entitled to the following rights like full political right of autonomy, full decision-making power in economic and social development undertakings; freedom to inherit and develop their traditional culture and to practice their religious belief; and freedom to administer, protect and the first to utilize their natural resources, to independently develop their educational and cultural undertakings.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 95.

¹⁷⁷Yedor (2006), "On the Middle Way of Dalai Lama", *China Tibet Information Center*, July 26, 2006. <http://www.China.org.cn/english/2006/july/175837.html>

Here arise a question that why Tibet become most important for China? Thubten Samphel describe that Tibet's geopolitical importance was highlighted during the days of the British Raj. Tibet is a 1300 foot high plateau overlooking the rest of Asia, with India and China, India to the south and China to the east and north. Tibet is the most important sources of the greatest river system in the world and also known as 'Asia's water tower'. To varying extents, the Indus, Brahmaputra, Mekong, Salween, Yangtze and yellow river all start within the Tibetan plateau. Its rivers supply the fresh water to 85% of Asia's population and approximately 50% of the world population. For instance, India's major rivers originate from the trans-Himalayan region. Among some of the Tibetan rivers also like Brahmaputra which influence the livelihood of the Indian north-eastern region strategically show more importance for India's security north-eastern belt. Just as major rivers have their sources in Tibet, any attack on China to the east and north would be a downhill operation. China wants to domain to supply the water in other countries. And a basic tenet of military strategy is to always hold the high ground. For this reason alone, the Chinese would want to control Tibet, so as to secure China's western flank. And Tibet has rich mineral resources which have not yet been exploited and which China wants to develop. China is already a major sources of rare earth resources used in the development of new energy products and Tibet is likely to play a major role in this.

Due to the 1300 foot high altitude of Tibetan plateau, China can rule and control over the Asia plateau and also the world and become the most powerful country. China is setting up nuclear missiles in the Tibet which is roughly 2000 km away from New Delhi. China's first attempt of nuclear research was made in 1958 at Amdo on the Tibetan plateau and armed in 1971 when Beijing perceived a serious threat from the Soviet Union and India. By the early 1970s China had brought south Asia and the former Soviet Union within their effective nuclear range and reach. The fact that the Maoist strategist had chosen Amdo and Kam for their nuclear sites might have other implications and motives, besides geographical suitability and nuclear safety. By this mighty nuclear act, they might have cemented and concretized their claims over inner Tibet.¹⁷⁸

Thus, Tibet and the development of Tibet, both are most important factor for growing China in the world. For this reasons also China rejected the MWA of Dalai Lama till 2015 and also not interested in resolving the issues.

¹⁷⁸ NorbuDawa (1979), "*Strategic Development in Tibet: Implications for its Neighbors*", p. 146.

But outside China Dalai Lama's middle way policy is supported by international community as a long lasting solution to Tibet problem. Rajiv Mahotra (2009) observe that Dalai Lama no longer calls for the independence and separation of Tibet from China but his middle way approach does provided to China that would control Tibet's foreign and defense policies, while internal administration, culture, religious affairs and the economy would be left to the Tibetans which is identity of the Tibetans and to enable them to preserve their particular culture, religion and way of life.

British Foreign Secretary David Miliband go out of his way to point out that This policy is derives from a mix of Buddhist middle-path doctrine - the avoidance of extremes - and a pragmatic assessment of what can feasibly be achieved, given the overwhelming asymmetry of power and a lack of international support for independence. The conclusion did not surprise anyone: a renewal of support for the middle way, but it was a masterful strategic move. It countered the Chinese government's approach which first reduced the negotiations to the status of the Dalai Lama and then criticized him relentlessly for anti-China intentions.¹⁷⁹

Sidney (1990) have argued while supporting Dalai Lama's middle way approach that the Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided to award the 1989 Nobel Peace prize to the 14th Dalai Lama who is the religious and political leader of the Tibetan people. The committee wants to emphasize the fact that Dalai Lama in his struggle for the liberation of Tibet consistently has opposed the use of violence. He has instead advocated peaceful solutions based upon tolerance and mutual respect in order to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of his people.

When the Chinese government sees the Dalai Lama making efforts to moderate the views of Tibetans on the issue of independence, it will likely be more receptive to the idea of negotiations on issues such as governance reforms in Tibet. Nevertheless, it may be difficult for either side to take the initial steps necessary to move the process forward. For this reason third party mediators have a crucial role to play in the Tibet conflict.

Tibet has adopted dual strategy to counter Chinese government as at one side it tries to unites the exile Tibetans and gains the international support, on the other side it criticize China for its human right's severe violations. Sautman (2012) said that some western leaders who perceive

¹⁷⁹ Dibyesh Anand, "*China and Tibet: Tibet Matters*", p. 31.

“China as a strategic rival have so far supported claims of cultural genocide and generalized repression in Tibet.” In the 58th United Nations commission on Human Rights (2002) several countries like Guatemala, Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland and NGO’S were urging China to grant self -determination and satisfactory autonomy to the Tibetan people and to find a solution through dialogue also they claimed for respect to the human rights in Tibet.

Barak Obama says that “I am deeply disturbed by reports of a crackdown and arrests in the wake of peaceful protests by Tibetan monks. I condemn the use of violence and call on the Chinese government to respect the human rights of the people of Tibet, and to account for the whereabouts of detained Buddhist monks. If Tibetans are to live in harmony with the rest of China’s people, their religion and culture must be respected and protected.”¹⁸⁰

India plays an important role for Dalai Lama and also for Tibetan people. During their most difficult time, India has helped very much to save them from the atrocities of Chinese troops. The Indian government then gave him a place in Dharamshala, a hill station in the north-west of India, in the foothills of the Himalayas and he has been staying there since then.

The Indian people showed their respect and affection for Tibetan people, which they demonstrated where ever Dalai Lama met them as well as their resentment against the Chinese. The Indian newspapers did not hold back in stating that the Indian govt. was not facing the fact of the Chinese having invaded Tibet by force. Nehru sympathized with Tibet and stressed India’s right to be concerned in Tibet’s autonomy and he even declared that China was using “the language of cold war”.¹⁸¹

It goes to credited of Nehru that eventually the govt. made it possible for an elder brother of the Dalai Lama to go to New York to see what could be done in the matter. It was not only self-evidence but was a political and legal fact that any country which had its own frontiers, religion, language, culture, government, ethnic origin had established international agreements, treaties, conventions and trading and commercial settlements was irrevocably an independent country.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Obama Barak (2008) “Barak Obama’s New Hampshire Primary speech”, Jan 8, 2008, The New York Times.

¹⁸¹ Chopra P.N. (1986), “*The Ocean of Wisdom*”, p.59.

¹⁸² Ibid, p. 60.

Buddhism spread to Tibet from India resulting into the relationship of ‘Guru-Shishya’ between the two countries. India as a guru had given Tibetans Buddhism¹⁸³ And Tibet as a ‘Shishya’ follow it (Buddhism) in present time.

Bstan-dzin-rgya-mtsho (1989) described that Tibetans had expressed own emotions with India that they have very good relations with India and they shall always feel very grateful to India. Despite own problems of Indian government, they look after the Tibetans very well.

¹⁸³ Chitkara M. G. (1996), “*Toxic Tibet Under Nuclear China*”, p. 27.

Conclusion

Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet and leader of Tibetan Buddhism, emerges as a highly pragmatic man, dedicated to the establishment of non-violent solutions to human problems in the personal, environmental and political arenas. Middle way approach was adopted by him in 1988 to solve the Tibetan issue with the China. But there is no positive response from the Chinese side till now. As is clear from the name middle way is entirely affected from the Tibet's religion, Buddhism. Buddhism has done the most significant and remarkable service for the Tibet and also world because it has, for at least a thousand years, stood against the destruction of life and consequently against oppression and aggression which was one of the main principles enunciated by the lord Buddha, the enlightenment one, the founder of the religion. Middle way originated from the whole life of Buddha because Buddha achieved the knowledge through this way (middle way) and he experienced both life one is luxuries and other is self-mortification, he did not satisfy with these way of life and then he realized that extremes are not the good things to solving any problem. He argued that we should go with middle path; it gives us calmness, satisfaction, vision, knowledge, etc. The Buddha's teachings are the ultimate truth of the world. Buddhism however, is not a revealed or an organized religion. It is the first example of the purely scientific approach applied to questions concerning the ultimate nature of existence. Buddhism can maintain the truth of the original teaching of the master even under the difficult conditions prevailing in the modern world. A perfect example of working of middle way in practical life can be seen in Tibet. Buddhist term middle way plays very important role in Tibet and in Tibetan people's life.

For centuries Tibet, a high altitude plateau between China and India, remained remote from the rest of the world with a widely dispersed population of nomads, farmers, monks and traders. Tibet had its own national flag, its own currency, a distinct culture and religion, and controlled its own affairs. In 1949, following the foundation of the Chinese Communist state, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) invaded Tibet and soon overpowered its poorly equipped army and guerilla resistance. There are many reasons behind China's occupation of Tibet like historical, cultural, political, Economical (natural resources of Tibet), Strategic, religious and most importantly its desire to become most powerful nation of the world. Historically, China claims that those countries which fell under the imperial influence of various Chinese dynasties

somehow became integral parts of China and by the help of this argument it claim Tibet as its integral part.

But Dalai Lama and many Tibetans who lived in and outside Tibet said that historically, Tibet is never the part of China, it is an independence country before Chinese occupation. It has always maintained a distinct culture, religious, linguistic and ethnic identity, flag and this is proof enough to support its claims to independence. Before 1950, Tibet had lived isolated from the world, without any connection with other countries, enjoyed as distinct nation. But after 1950 Tibetans realized the need to connect with outside world and decided to share their thoughts with world about the common problems all face as human family. Dalai Lama said many times that all people share this small planet earth and then we have to learn to live with harmony and peace with each other and with nature. That is not just a dream, but a necessity. We are dependent on each other in so many ways that we can no longer live in isolated communities and ignore what is happening outside those communities. We need to help each other when we have difficulties, and we must share the good fortune that we enjoy.

Thus, Dalai Lama takes a step forward with China for mutually cooperation and peace. This next step was called Middle Way Approach of Dalai Lama. Middle way is one of the fundamental principles of the Buddhist philosophy, it means avoiding of any extremes by trying to stay in the space between extremes. In middle way both parties' interests were kept in mind, in this way, No side is defeated and it is a win-win proposition. Both of them can enjoy the benefit of mutual cooperation with each other like religious, cultural, political, economic, environmental, military, ethnical, historical etc. China can still follow the one China policy whereby Tibetan people can maintain their identity.

China will also get the support of Tibetan people in its developmental activities in Tibet which can fasten the process many times. Middle path spread peace, love, compassion, friendship not only in China but also in the world.

The teaching of the middle way was given by Buddha for the first time in his first sermon at *Sarnath*. It is further developed in the *Madhyamika* philosophy and became the central doctrine of the *Madhayamika* school of Buddhist philosophy, where it is connected with emptiness. *Madhayamika* philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism was founded by Indian master *Acharya*

Nagarjuna. He was arguably the most influential Buddhist thinker after Buddha himself. *Nagarjuna* summed up his philosophy in these words “whatever arises through interdependency is emptiness.” However this is a conventional understanding. It is also the meaning of middle way. In explaining the *Madhyamika* philosophy, *Nagarjuna* presented four positions about the existence of phenomena, he would not take: 1. All things exist, 2. All things do not exist, 3. All things both exist and do not exist, 4. All things neither exist or do not exist, neither affirmation and nor negation. *Nagarjuna* rejected each of these propositions and took a middle position between being and non being, a middle way. In the key to the middle way (on emptiness), the Dalai Lama explains the middle way between existence (Tibet is a part of China) and non-existence (Tibet is not the part of China) and then he introduces the middle way approach democratically.

Therefore the term middle way has been proposed to resolve the conflict between China and Tibet by Dalai Lama. The middle way approach represents the Dalai Lama’s commitment to look to the future, instead of the past, to find a solution that will provide maximum autonomy for the Tibetan people and bring peace and stability to the people’s republic of China and the entire region. The Dalai Lama would be central to any peace building process in Tibet. This is because he may be the only actor who can simultaneously reassure and moderate hard-liners both in the Chinese government and in Tibet's exile community.

He has become one of the world’s greatest proponents of peaceful resolution to global conflict. The Dalai Lama ceased calling for Tibetan independence more than a decade ago and has since consistently called for genuine autonomy within the PRC constitution. More than ever before, the Dalai Lama now needs the weight of international support to press the Chinese leadership to peacefully resolve the Tibet issue in a mutually acceptable way.

But middle way approach is not agreeable for China; which has not accepted it yet. There are some solid reasons behind China’s refusal to accept MWA. First, China is a complex nation with many small nationalities existing within it like Mongols, Uyghur, Tibet, Hong Kong and others. Accepting any demand of Tibet movement will result in same demands from other groups. So for maintaining one China, it ruthlessly suppresses any demand of separatism or autonomy.

Second China sees this MWA as an intermediary step towards gaining full independence which will create divide in China. It argued that once Tibetan people get the feeling of autonomy slowly and steadily they will move forward in the direction of full independence.

Third, Tibet is very important for China because of its geostrategic position, its huge land mass and altitude. Tibet's height and central position in Asia makes it very important as it share borders with India, Nepal, Bhutan and Myanmar. China doesn't want to lose the upper hand Tibet provides it in the relations with neighbors. Its geostrategic position is also important from the perspective of water. Water is a scarce resource in 21st century and some experts even argued that next world war will be because of water. Tibet is called 'Asia's Water Tower'. The Qinghai-Tibet Plateau is an important water source for China as its own unevenly distributed water resources are said to be in crisis. Tibet plateau is the origin of great rivers of Asia like the Brahmaputra, Mekong, Yangtze, Indus, Yellow and Salween. If the water resources of the Tibetan plateau be blocked or diverted or become polluted then Asia will tumble into chaos

Fourth, within Tibet itself, there is a group of Tibetan people that is not satisfied with the Dalai Lama's MWA, this group does not want to live with China as autonomous state. They want full independence. This can be seen in recent held election in Tibetan exile community. One candidate for the post of Prime Minister, Lukar Jam openly criticized MWA. He was endorsed by Tibetan national congress and got 2557 votes. For this reason also there is no positive impression on China.

Now after understanding China's reasons for refusal of accepting MWA now we can examine possible benefits of MWA if it is accepted by China. First of all, one can say that China will get many benefits if it successfully solves the Tibet issue by MWA. Tibet issue gave a very bad impression about China. It is continuously criticized by human rights organizations for violation of human rights in Tibet. Other than this it has to maintain heavy presence of military in Tibet. If it accepts MWA these problems of China will be solved automatically.

Tibet will be most beneficial if China accepts MWA. Tibet, its people, its language and its unique culture is facing a strong and continues attack of China. Dalai Lama is out of Tibet from 1959. Tibetan people are self-immolating themselves as a protest against Chinese rule. These all problems can be solved by MWA.

Neighboring countries will also be benefitted by MWA. After the Chinese occupation in 1959 Tibetan refugees spread out in other parts of world. This create additional burden on other countries as they have to provide amenities to these new arrival .China's relations with other neighboring countries like India, Nepal had spoiled because of Tibetan refugees and their protest. The 1962 the Indo-China war also had Refugee angel as a reason. When the Norwegian Nobel committee has decided to award the 1989 peace prize to the 14th Dalai Lama for his non-violante approach China's relationship with Norway also became bitter. These all bitterness will perish if China accepts MWA.

As final words one can say that in modern time, Dalai Lama becomes a new face of Peace and non-violence, who follows the philosophy of love, compassion, non-violence which is not a common scenario in today's world. Mostly people and nations are running in the race for development and economic prosperity. There is no time for expressing love and compassion with each other. But Dalai Lama's Middle way approach sent a message to the world that love, non-violence and harmony are very important principle for us. These things are very useful in our daily life and also for the whole of human society these practices can be very important. One should always try to stay away from hatred, anger, jealousy, selfishness because with this it is very difficult to find inner peace and without inner peace it is impossible to have world peace.

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