

# **THE IMPORTANCE OF DALAI LAMA IN INDIA- CHINA RELATIONS, 1989-2017**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial  
fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*  
**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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2017**



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**Date: 24<sup>th</sup> July 2017**

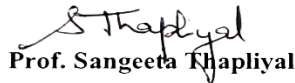
**DECLARATION**

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**The Importance of Dalai Lama in India- China Relations, 1989-2017**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of **Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India** is my own work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other institution of India.

  
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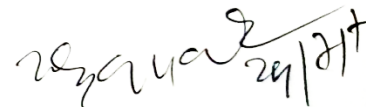
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**Dedicated to:**

**Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar**

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research work is the outcome of support and advice of my supervisor Dr Tsetan Namgyal. He was available whenever I had desired to meet him for his valuable suggestions on my research. At the same time, he has given me the freedom to think and grow innovatively towards performing my work. This work would not have been possible without his mentoring in numerous ways.

My roommate has immensely supported and encouraged me throughout this research process by making me realise several nuances of learning. Our constant engagement and discussion on creative ideas, life philosophy, literature and passion for work were deeply helpful in this process. This piece of work is an outcome of his consistent moral support. Therefore, Thank You goes to Hemant Kumar Dash.

The sphere of my learning and delivering duty (The School of International Studies) has made me realise what research and diplomacy is. Being a Convenor of this school, I have tried my best to complete this piece of work with dedication and discipline. It has made me learn attributes of leadership and diversified knowledge in the acumen of international relations. I am thankful to all my teachers and personnel involved during my whole process of learning till now in JNU. Because of their presence, my words are able to find a way and derive some meaning towards a purposeful piece of work.

Importantly, my association with Students Federation of India and its JNU unit has immensely impacted, encouraged and made me understand the true essence of *Study with Struggle*. This never ending path towards exploring self and contributing for the cause of humanity has equipped me to advocate for my student friends, on several spheres, despite of hurdles on the way. It has inspired me to improve my skills, work harder and be a better person, in every next endeavour.

Ultimately, I am indebted to my institution JNU for this open space of learning without inhibitions. It has shaped my opinion to understand society, politics and life in a purposive dimension. Any error in this work is my sole responsibility and its usefulness in any manner would certainly bring joy.

## **PREFACE**

India and PRC are maintaining cultural relations being neighbors since centuries. These two most populous states on the globe have started their present-day journey towards economic might and prosperity at the same point of time. They have witnessed several twists and turn on their path of progress and often encountered each other due to several reasons. Politically, these two countries have similar concepts of development and ambitious mindset. Economically, these two states are cooperating to improve their respective positions in the global scenario. From the strategical perspective, India and PRC have their own strategies on many issues. They are culturally connected and Buddhism went to China through India. At the same time, India shares boundary line with PRC. Therefore, it becomes essential for both the states to constantly engage with each other despite of differences and external issues of non-agreement.

However, India and PRC have many obstacles in their relations. Long pending border issues, Chinese assistance to Pakistan and its territorial claims over some parts of India are matters of engagement for both the states. India's close relationship with the US through the civil nuclear deal and other strategic defence engagements are contentious for PRC. However, the issue of Tibetan autonomy and Indian asylum to Dalai Lama have amassed enough importance to create tensions between the two countries since more than six decades. Dalai Lama as aspiritual leader is playing a crucial role to create misconceptions and tensions between two countries is opined by PRC. He is seeking for a peaceful resolution of Tibetan freedom through his middle way policy. But PRC has its own opinion and notion on Tibet's prosperity and development. These divergent views and lack of understanding has created several rounds of friction between these two large states.

Claims of China, Indian response in this regard, the cause leading towards Tibetan autonomy, middle path approach and its utility, impression of the global community and actions of Dalai Lama constitutes major strands of this work in the following five chapters. It is expected that, this piece of research will contribute in a little way towards understanding issues of state relations and aspirations of Dalai Lama for Tibet.



## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AP	Arunachal Pradesh
BCIM	Bangladesh- China- India- Myanmar
BCIMC	Bangladesh- China- India- Myanmar Corridor
CBM’S	Confidence Building Measures
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCWC	China- Central Asia- West Asia Corridor
CIPC	China- India Peninsular Corridor
CMRC	China- Mongolia- Russia Corridor
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
CPPCC	Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference
CTA	Central Tibetan Administration
DIIR	Department of Information and International Relations
ECB	Eurasian Continental Bridge
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FE	Financial Express
FFT	Freedom for Tibet
FJT	Freedom and Justice for Tibet
FT	Free Tibet
HHDL	His Holiness The Dalai Lama
ICT	International Campaign for Tibet
Inch	India and China
ITSN	International Tibet Support Network
LAC	Line of Actual Control

LRNA	Law on Regional National Autonomy
Miles	Millennium of Exceptional Synergy
NCR	National Catholic Reporter
NDL	National Defence Law
NDPT	National Democratic Party of Tibet
NPC	National People's Congress
OBOR	One Belt One Road (of China)
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
PT	Peace in Tibet
SFT	Students for a Free Tibet
SREB	Silk Road Economic Belt
ST	Save Tibet
TAR	Tibetan Autonomous Region
TARC	Tibetan Autonomous Region of China
TGIE	Tibetan Government in Exile
TH	The Hindu
TIE	The Indian Express
TPPRC	Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre
TWA	Tibetan Women Association
TYC	Tibetan Youth Congress
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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# CHAPTER-1

## INTRODUCTION

Dalai Lama has a world wide reputation as a Buddhist leader. Tenzin Gyatso has been selected as the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama by his predecessor 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama (Thubten Gyatso). In Tibetan Buddhism Dalai Lama has the highest position. At the same time, he has been given temporal and political responsibilities to protect Tibetan Buddhism in the long run. However, the institution of Dalai Lama has been continuing since a long time. Being the head of a large community, Tenzin Gyatso has gained more popularity around the world. At the same time, He has introduced democratic and transparent methods in Tibetan government in exile. He was also conferred with Nobel Peace Prize for his relentless effort towards humanity and peace as well as religious harmony. He has changed his stand point towards independence in European Parliament in Strasbourg. He has demanded genuine autonomy for Tibetans. On the outset, he has negotiated with PRC for self-rule through his advocacy group. Unfortunately, his goals and aspirations have not materialised till now.

### **1.1 The Institution of Dalai Lama: An Overview**

Gedun Trupa (1391-1474) has started his journey towards Dalai Lama. He has close relations with Narthang monastery. He has started his journey towards central Tibet to gain knowledge. He has written many books. At the same time, his reincarnation was marked by the name of Kunga Gyaltsen. He was renamed as Gedun Gyatso (1475 -1542) in the Tashi Lhonpo monastery. After that, he has continued his activities in Drepung Monastery. He also has contributed greatly towards the development of texts. In this way, the system of Dalai Lama eventually developed in a proper manner. Third and fourth Dalai Lama has been selected to promote Lama's position in a spiritual field. Anyway, Mangole employers have created their own mark in Tibetan politics. At the same time, Sakya sect has maintained their dominant position in Tibetan political scenario. After that, Ngawang Gyatso has started his journey as 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama albeit some difficult situations. He was given utmost spiritual authorities by Gushi Khan. It has strengthened the position of Dalai Lama in a secular manner. He has made Dalai Lama as a strong

institution under his complete control. At the same time, he was recognised by Manchu Emperor. He also has started a strong and unique government in the name of Gadan Phodranig. At the same time, he has started the construction of Potala Palace. Then he was awarded by Manchu rulers. The fifth Dalai Lama has made his strong impact on the system of Dalai Lama. Then the secret talks happened to find 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. However, after talks, Tsangyang Gyatso was selected as 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. He has started to show interest in materialistic life. At the same time, Regent has started suspecting his activities. Lhazang Khan, the grandson of Gushi Khan, has started criticising 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, and he sent him to Mongolia. Anyway, he has declared his own Dalai Lama. But people were not happy with his decision. However, 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama has decreased the position of Dalai Lama by his behaviour. Anyway, Kalsang Gyatso (1708-1757) was elected as the 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. Then he was removed from Potala house subsequently. During this time, Dalai Lama's period was overshadowed by many people. Jampel Gyatso started his functioning as 8<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in 1757. In this period Tibet has started relations with the south Asian region. At the same time, Gorkha invasion took place in 1788. However, amidst a lot of confusion and misconception, Lung Tuk Gyatso was elected as 9<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. But the selection process of the Dalai Lama has changed. Anyway, the new pattern was criticised by many people. Beijing has started claiming its sovereignty in the election of Dalai Lama. In 1996, PRC opposed 11<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama. In 1807 different situation has arrived in the selection process of 9<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. However, 9<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama Lungtok Gyatso died at a very early age in 1815.

Anyway, after a lot of efforts, Tsultrin Gyatso has started his journey as tenth Dalai Lama. Unfortunately, He died in 1837. At the same time, Panchen Lama has started searching for 11<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. Khendup Gyatso was recognised by the Panchen Lama as 11<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. He also died at an early age. Trinley Gyatso was a well-qualified personality. At the same time, He has acquired acceptance by many people. In 1873, he was elected by the Regent as 12<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. He has faced many health problems. Due to that reason, he has died at young age. However, maturity has the only parameter for complete authority for Dalai Lama. Anyway, last four Dalai Lamas have died at the very young age. At the same time, Thupten Gyatso was selected as 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. In 1878, he was recognised by Panchen Lama. 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama has created vibrations in Asia. In

this process, the Great Game has affected Tibet's functioning. Mongols and many other emperors have started losing their grip on Tibet. In this way, This time period has created bench mark in Tibetan history and Dalai Lama's period across the whole Asian region. It had created new dimensions in Tibetan history as a nation. At the same time, this period has provided space for British and Russians in Tibet. At the same time, British India has started playing a role in Tibet. This period has created space for the Anglo-Russian treaty. In 1911, Manch Emperor lost his authority. At the same time, Dalai Lama has tried hard to make Tibet as a full-fledged independent country. The period of 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama has created many signs in Tibetan history. Then Tenzin Gyatso was selected as 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. He belongs to the Amdo region where he was born in 1935. Then he was selected as a temporal and spiritual guru in 1950. However, he has agreed to 17 point approach towards Tibetan liberation. Then only PLA has started its operation in Tibet. The Dalai Lama has discussed with Kashag and opposed 1951 agreement. It has created misconceptions between PRC and Dalai Lama. Anyway, 1959 has created another historical move in Dalai Lama's history. He has started his journey towards India with 80 thousand followers. It has totally changed PRC- India relations. In this way, Stobdan (2010) has explained very briefly about The institution of Dalai Lama. 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama has been trying his best to solve Tibetan problems in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. But his way of decision towards autonomy in 1988 has changed the scenario.

## **1.2 Importance of 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama**

Dalai Lama has started taking his decisions from an early stage. He has got enormous support in Buddhist circle around the world. He has described Xi Jinping as a realistic man those who can think with open mind. At the same time, anybody can easily find out the pragmatic qualities in Xi leadership, as opined by him. From the Dalai Lama's point of view, he has been trying to create space for negotiation with PRC towards Tibetan autonomy. Despite all his efforts, it has not happened yet. Although Dalai Lama's importance to create a peaceful environment in Indian border areas and achieve self-rule for Tibet is still relevant, the actual ground reality is yet to take a concrete shape. Dalai Lama also has stated that Tibetan problem can be the Indian problem. From his point of view, to make border areas peaceful PRC has to agree with his middle approach towards Tibetan genuine self-rule. At the same time, human rights are the fundamental rights of

any human being in this world. He has been actively promoting his way of narration in the international forums. Dalai Lama has been maintaining a balance between his core demand as a Tibetan autonomy and religious beliefs. Anyway, his importance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has relevant to negotiate and solve Tibetan problem in a peaceful manner. Dalai Lama has treated himself as the son of Indian soil. On the other hand, he has stated that he has been staying in India as a long guest. By analysing his point of view, one can understand the importance of Dalai Lama in India-PRC relations. Some times PRC's delegates used to criticise India that state is using Dalai Lama as a card to create vibrations in PRC. Noted writer Shashi Tharoor also has opined, India has many cards to play. At the same time, he has expressed his positive view towards Tibetan Buddhist monk. Environmentally, Tibetan plateau has its own role to play in the world environment.

Dalai Lama also has more particular views about environmental concerns. The World is moving towards rapid globalisation. Dalai Lama has been promoting environmental protection issues in global forums in a rigorous manner. In this way, Dalai Lama has been playing an important role in environmental protection promotion. He has visited many countries to promote religious harmony and humanity as well as environmental protection. Anyway, Dalai Lama has been playing an important role in the global scenario. However, Dalai Lama has been treated God alike by Tibetan Buddhists around the globe. From this point of view, Dalai Lama's role is very important in India-PRC relations as well as to achieve genuine autonomy for Tibetans. Dalai Lama has improved his relations with western countries to achieve human rights and peaceful solutions on several burning issues. In this way, he has shown his importance at the global level. He also has a clear vision towards terrorism and religion as well as human values. In this matter, many countries and people are treating him as a peace beacon having a global following.

However, Dalai Lama has clear opinions about modern education and the value system. He has emphasised more on compassion and humanity. At the same time, he has great clarity about democratic system and secular values. He has received global attention for his effort towards consistent peace building. Anyway, Dalai Lama's role has increased with respect to the 21<sup>st</sup> century necessities to achieve a peaceful solution for Tibet

through proper negotiations. Dalai Lama has written many books towards compassion and happiness and human values. In this process, he has met many people and leaders as well as students around the globe. Although some Tibetans have unhappiness by his standpoint towards Independence, his prime value system is still impacting PRC's strategies towards Tibet. At the same time, he has not declared his successor till now. That's why he has relevance and importance for present PRC- Tibet peaceful solution. Dalai Lama has attracted many countries and people, but still, he has to impact PRC to achieve his long lost ambition towards Tibetan self-rule. He also has to take appropriate steps towards his successor to remove confusions among Tibetans. However, Dalai Lama still has charm in many Buddhist countries. At the same time, he has immediate responsibilities towards solving Tibetan question through proper negotiations with PRC.

### **1.3 India- China Relations and Dalai Lama: Pre 1989 Period**

In the Asian region, India and PRC have been continuing as powerful neighbouring countries since a long time. But two countries have many confrontations like border problems and respective relations with Pakistan and US. PRC has claimed its objections over AP and Aksai chin as well as the McMohan line. India was the first non-socialist country which has recognised communist China as a partner. PRC was formed after two years of Indian independence. But many issues have created hurdles between two countries. Both the states have mutual understandings in some issues like economic cooperation and peaceful coexistence. Many issues have created temporary problems between two countries. These two big populist countries also have enjoyed honeymoon period between 1954-1957, based on the principle of Panchasheel and numerous rounds of peace accords.

However, besides all issues, the mention of Tibet and Dalai Lama have been disturbing two countries relations since more than sixty years. This dissertation is going to analyse all these aspects from a research point of view. Dalai Lama has made 17 point agreement with PRC. But he was not satisfied by those agreement rules. Due to the uprising in 1959 Dalai Lama has fled to India with many followers. It has changed whole India-PRC relations in a new dimension. At the same time, Dalai Lama was invited by Nehru in a cordial manner. India has provided respectful facilities and freedom to Dalai Lama and

his followers. At the same time, Dalai Lama has established his government in Dharamsala. From then onwards, Dalai Lama has become a major point in India-PRC relations. PRC has criticised Dalai Lama in the name of the trouble maker in Tibet. However, 1959 has changed two countries relations in a drastic manner due to Dalai Lama. In this way, Tibetan issues and border related problems have impacted India- PRC relations. India has started supporting Tibetan cause effectively by giving shelter to Dalai Lama. PRC has started criticism and border actions against Dalai Lama and India. Anyway, this situation has led to the 1962 border war. Ramachandra Guha has called this war as Dalai Lama war. According to Guha's analysis, one can easily understand the role of Dalai Lama in 1962 war. At the same time, Tibetan government in exile has started working for independent Tibet under Dalai Lama. It has impacted PRC towards its sovereignty. Dalai Lama has started campaigning against PRC's policies towards Tibet. Moreover, it has impacted India- PRC relations in many fields. PRC started supporting Pakistan against India. Dalai Lama has appealed to the world community to support towards Tibetan freedom. In this way, Tibetan issue has become a major issue between two countries. Dalai Lama has appointed his own group to negotiate with the PRC. But most of those talks became futile. During the 1970s, Mao has tried to establish positive relations with India in the name of Mao smile. In 1976 two countries started positive negotiations through ambassadors. In this period two countries have tried to maintain good relations in the economic field. In 1974-75 India has tested nuclear weapons and PRC has raised voice against Sikkim issue.

Anyway, in 1983 Dalai Lama has visited AP for the first time. It has created tensions between two countries. In this way, first Trans Karakoram Tract (1963) and then, Sikkim (1975) have become controversial issues between two countries. Anyway, Dalai Lama's AP visit (1983) also has become disputed between two countries. In turn, Dalai Lama has become a major controversial factor between two countries. Dalai Lama's fact finding missions also have created misconceptions. In 1980's Dalai Lama's negotiation has become result less. Anyway, 1988 was the turning point in India- PRC relations. Dalai Lama also has started international campaign towards Autonomy. It has effected between two partners negotiation. In the same year, Rajiv Gandhi has visited PRC to avoid misconceptions between two countries. Dalai Lama has made Strasbourg proposal to



achieve genuine self-rule. Anyway, Dalai Lama's position as a spiritual leader is questioned by PRC. It has started calling him as an anti- PRC separatist and political person. However, PRC has implemented its hard policy towards Tibet and Dalai Lama. India has been continuing its positive approach towards Tibetan issue. It has declared Dalai Lama as a spiritual and religious personality. In this way, Dalai Lama has played a major role between the two countries bilateral connections before 1989 in a prominent manner.

#### **1.4 India- China Relations and Dalai Lama: Post 1989 Period**

In 1989, Dalai Lama and his peace efforts were recognised by global community through Nobel Prize. It has created more misunderstandings between PRC and Dalai Lama. In this way, PRC has started observing Dalai Lama's promotion worldwide. In 1988 Dalai Lama has changed his policy towards the middle path. PRC has started following hardline policy towards Dalai Lama. India's PRC policy has improved after the visit of Rajiv Gandhi. Dalai Lama has proposed many negotiation proposals to PRC through his private group. But nothing has happened due to misunderstandings between Dalai Lama and PRC. In 1991, Chinese Premier's Indian visit signalled a positive bridge between two countries after more than 31 years. In the same year, Dalai Lama also has introduced new reforms in his government in exile.

While looking at the larger picture, PRC has implemented its hard policy towards Tibetan problem. At the same time, In 1998, India has tested its nuclear weapons to gain confidence. It has changed the bilateral scenario altogether. Dalai Lama also has started international promotion to achieve global peace and Tibetan autonomy. India has its own viewpoint towards Tibetan problem and Dalai Lama. It has consistently supported Dalai Lama's initiatives towards peace building. India also has followed many peaceful agreements towards global peace. In 2001, once again Dalai Lama had introduced reforms in Tibetan government in exile. Apart from this, Dalai Lama has continued his struggle for Tibetan self-rule. In 2005, both the countries decided to cooperate in a peaceful manner through dialogue. It has created another dimension in bilateral relations. But, Dalai Lama has committed to his goal to achieve meaningful freedom for Tibetans. In 2010, India and PRC had committed to improving trade relations. At the same time,

two countries have decided 2012 as a year of peace. In this way, India and PRC relations have changed according to time. In between, in 2011 Dalai Lama has handed over his political leadership to the elected members. However, Dalai Lama has established his government in Dharamsala. It has remained as a bone of contention between two countries since more than sixty years. In the mean time, Dalai Lama's AP visits have created territorial tensions between two countries. In the recent time, Dalai Lama's 7<sup>th</sup> AP visit during April 2017 has created uneasiness between two countries. PRC also has claimed Aksai chin and Doklam as its territorial parts. In this way, Dalai Lama has been impacting two countries bilateral relations along with border issues and strategic calculations in Asia. Keeping state interests in mind, the creation of stale mate between two larger economies is not only impacting Tibetan cause but also generating ripples across the globe. It's aspired positive impact can bring harmony is a well-known fact for all stake holders involved. Yet, the dynamics of state relations as evolving since centuries has a distinct imprint in this specific case. Interests and impositions are on the path of collision and expected norm of peace is still a mirage for the high aspiring Dalai Lama.

### **1.5 Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study**

The rationale behind this study is driven by three factors; situation, relevance and alternative. The unresolved Tibet question continues to affect the India and PRC as well as Asia in numerous ways. Even the latest development in terms of the Chinese reaction to Dalai Lama's visit to Arunachal Pradesh unquestionably proves the fact that the Chinese insecurity about India Tibet relations is real and intense. The resolution to this problem requires commitment from both the state actors along with Tibet and the institutions comprising international actors. Challenges were inevitable from both internal as well as external dimensions. Amidst all these, alternatives are required when the situation demands so. Therefore, the rationale behind this study becomes multi-layered and analytical in nature and fills a critical research gap. The dynamics of India- China relations and border dispute coupled together offer a political predicament. The approach requires check and bounds to derive a result. Hence, Tibet and Dalai Lama could be considered as stimulants in this whole dynamics of the bilateral relationship between India and China.

The scope of this research work gives emphasis to the Dalai Lama factor between India-PRC relations. However, this dissertation provides the detailed analysis of Dalai Lama's role in India-PRC relations since 1989 to 2017. The major events involving Tibet and Dalai Lama that affected the India-PRC relations form the subject matter of this work. The inter-relation between India and PRC and their relations with Dalai Lama also are assessed. Fundamentally, the research endeavours to understand and substantiate the Dalai Lama in the bilateral relations. Presumably, the scope of this work may prove its relevance for academic understanding as well as policy formulation purposes concerning regional co operations, territorial disputes and movements of self-actualization.

### **1.6 Research Objective and Questions**

The objective of this work is to understand the Dalai Lama influence over India-China relations in the time period of 1989 to 2017. The major events and bilateral relations taking different twists and turns in this time span of close to three decades have often got impacted by external factors (i.e. Tibetan cause and efforts of Dalai Lama towards state autonomy through middle path approach) forms the core aspect of observation while proposing the objective.

The prominent questions that have been addressed in the chapters of this research work could be outlined as follows:

1. What were the political strategies at international levels pursued by the Dalai Lama towards the Tibetan national cause in the period under study?
2. What was China's perception of the Dalai Lama during the specified time period?
3. How has the Dalai Lama factor impacted bilateral relations and the process of dialogue between India and China?
4. How did India perceive the actions of the Dalai Lama at both the Chinese and International levels in the said period?
5. Why it is necessary for Tibetan aspiration of autonomy to expect a neutralised relation between India and China?

## **1.7 Hypothesis**

Dalai Lama's political interventions at multiple forums regarding Tibet have caused friction in India- China relations.

## **1.8 Research Methods**

The research hypothesis for this work shall be tested primarily by adopting inductive reasoning. As this research work deals with state relations and external factors, the discourses of the evolutionary trends and gap areas will be measured from theoretical perspectives as the fundamental basis. Changing parameters and dynamic aspects of progress will be measured through qualitative methods of research. A comparative analysis would be adopted wherever essential to expand existing literature, both in concept study and establishing assumptions.

Review of literature and chapter themes will be largely derived from primary sources like government reports, articles and archives of different ministries/departments of India, PRC and Central Tibetan Administration. Secondary sources like reports of international organisations (both functional within and outside the state), independent policy groups, research organisations and think tanks would be used for the work. Interviews and speeches of policy framing individuals, advocacy groups and narrations of experience will be beneficial while analysing various dimensions of the topic and addressing research questions.

Books, working papers, articles from journals/periodicals, newspaper articles and opinions, media briefings, summary papers and monographs will be extensively used to substantiate statements and arguments for the work. The core purpose for this would be to address the events critically during the specified time period of consideration till present day with a systemic approach.

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## CHAPTER-2

### **DALAI LAMA AND THE GLOBAL PROMOTION OF TIBET CAUSE**

*Ethics is more important than Religion. (His Holiness The Dalai Lama)*

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The global promotion of peace has descended into the psychological framework of human mind since thousand years. The evolution of human civilisation and river valley made of life sustenance has always existed with the mode of human co-operation which valued peace as a primary mode of co-habitation. It has not only propelled the growth of society, but also the pace of progress from all domains of knowledge, including spiritual observations. The western, as well as Eastern connotations of peace building in family, society and furthermore establishing peace on a global form, got formations from texts as well as needs.

The Dalai Lama's meetings with world top leaders are problematic for the China (FE, 2017). As far as Dalai Lama is concerned, he is spreading humanity, ethical values around the World. One important thing is that we are living in a Globalised world where there is a lot of enmity among the Nation States. Central Tibetan Administration, the official Tibetan Government in Exile, is promoting Dalai Lama as a spiritual Leader. Dalai Lama returned his Administrative powers to the Tibetan elected Buddhist Leader in 2011. Dalai Lama treats himself as a simple Buddhist monk. But when it comes to the International Campaign for Tibet issue It is playing a crucial role in International Diplomacy as well as bilateral Relations. It can also be effect Trade Relations to China with other countries. China is considering it's territorial integrity. But in 1988 in Strasbourg, Dalai Lama has proposed Middle Way solution for the Tibet problem. In the following year, he was conferred with Nobel Peace Prize for the cause of "promotion of Peace and Non-violence and commitment to bring out peace and harmony".

In this chapter, emphasise would be given on Dalai Lama's origin and his upbringing as a global spiritual and political leader would be discussed. It will also find the middle way approach relevant to the Tibetan issue. The World's most famous refugee's journey after

getting Nobel Peace Prize. It will also explain about Dalai Lama's standpoints towards Tibetan independence and autonomy as well as the response of the international community. The Dalai Lama's evolution as a world spiritual leader is a crucial aspect of observation of the chapter.

## **2.2 The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama**

The 14th Dalai Lama (Na Wang Lob Sang Eshay Tenzin Gyatso) was born in a family of humble roots. But he belonged to the traditional Amdo province. He was recognised by the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama Thupten Gyatso in 1939. He belonged to the Taktser village where he was born on 06<sup>th</sup> July 1935. From the age of 16 onwards, he was treated as a spiritual leader since the year 1950. Furthermore, Dalai Lama started working for democratic and equitable society for Tibet in a rigorous manner. Unfortunately, Dalai Lama moved to India in 1959 for his future goals towards democratic human rights. His determination was very strong to achieve equitable Tibetan society. However, his passion towards compassion remained unabated. He has been working to build strong Tibetan identity in Exile since 1959. The Tibetan Government in exile has become fully democratic after 2011. The only thing was Tibetan elected leadership has complete political functioning after 2011. Hence, Tibetan society in exile has become very democratic and vibrant in the international scenario. Tibetan refugee community in exile has become most active and democratic community in the World. This is because of His Holiness The Dalai Lama's continuous effort in keeping the issue in a vibrant mood and keeping the concerns alive.

Moreover, Dalai Lama has committed to international harmony and ethical values like compassion and self-discipline. He has travelled approximately 67 countries to promote global harmony among the different religions in the world. At the same time, he has interacted with students from different countries, universities as well as scientists around the World. He has committed to his own human values for the betterment of the Tibetan community in exile and in Tibet. He has met with many political leaders to achieve his basic goal of spreading Tibetan Buddhism as a spiritual leader and ethical values as a human being. He has interacted with many spiritual and local leaders to promote human values and harmony around the World. Dalai Lama has received more than 150 awards and prizes for his enormous effort for the betterment of the human values and promoting

the supreme causes of compassion, peace and basic human dignity. He is the world voice for basic human values and International harmony as well as non-violence. Dalai Lama stated, “As you know, my life is dedicated to the service of all sentient beings, and in particular I try to help my fellow human beings in whatever way I can.”(TB, 2015). The Dalai Lama treats himself as “a monk involved in the national struggle,” but he spends more than 80 percent of his potentiality in the spiritual activities. Dalai Lama has always strived to teach happiness to the troubled World. Dalai Lama has ruled religion and government at a time till 2011.

However, Tibetan Parliament in exile and Tibetan people are not ready for any constitutional and radical changes in the constitution. Dalai Lama is turning old now and has reached age 80. The crucial debate echoing inside the territory of Tibet now is to find a suitable successor to the eminent leader. It also greatly affects the outside world too. Tashi Wangdi assumes, the next Dalai Lama can reincarnate from any one of the Buddhist countries. Most of the Mongolian Mahayana sect Buddhists are happy with the Dalai Lama’s actions in Exile. Dalai Lama is the leader of Tibetan Buddhist Lamaism as well as spiritual leader of most of the Mongolians. China is treating Dalai Lama a threat to its sovereignty. The primary reason is, Dalai Lama is the spiritual and political leader of the Tibetan Government in exile, and he is working on the Tibetan genuine self-rule and freedom (NPS, 20007). The World is changing at much pace, but our problems are remaining the same. While travelling to address different sections around the World, Dalai Lama invariably starts his address, “We are all the same...”. He uses to treat himself as a simple monk who is equal to any other Buddhist monks. His actions are based on his three commitments.

He is committed to the promotion of human values albeit as a humble human being. In the other hand, he is promoting universal values towards achieving inner peace. His Holiness is working for religious harmony to spread his compassion towards universal religious harmony. On the other hand, he is committed to his own Buddhist culture and Tibetan environmental protection. He is accountable to his own Tibetan community in Tibet and in exile. His Holiness is trying his best to protect Tibetan community and its hope and trust(CTA). In this way, Dalai Lama is playing multi-roles as a human being and spiritual leader as well as Tibetan. He has said that we all are same no matter where

we come from and what is our birth status. From the beginning, his fundamental philosophy is for striving independence to the Tibetan community. He has also pointed out that we all have basic emotions, concerns and needs. Dalai Lama pointed out that all our problems are man-made disasters. In a common basis, everybody wants happiness. Our problems can easily be solved with our effort and constant sincerity towards humanity. At the age of 16 onwards Dalai Lama is trying hard to fight for the rights of Tibetan community, democratic space and happiness as well as happiness and peace for the troubled world. He has had much experience with the different people and in China and in exile. Dalai Lama also indicated about his different experiences with China. Dalai Lama has made Tibetan government in exile for his own refugee people. He came to India through highest mountains. He has established Tibetan government in exile without the support of international governments. But every Tibetan is proud for their Tibetan identity. Early in his exile, Indian government have allowed the Tibetans to establish a democratic system of government. Dalai Lama was the spiritual and political head till 2011. Tibetans often said that democracy was achieved through Dalai Lama that's why they used to treat Dalai Lama as the pioneer of the Tibetan government democratic functioning (Hyde, 2016).

However, Dalai Lama was the temporal ruler of Tibet. He was chosen by the Tibetan people to achieve their aspirations and cultural prosperity. Dalai Lama is promoting peace and non-violence with his immense commitment and delight. His effort towards peaceful coexistence did not materialise. Therefore, he was compelled to go to India. Tibetans treated him as a rare and unique leader. His first and foremost priority is to open modern education for future generations to improve intellectual and spiritual capacity. He has arranged stable livelihood for Tibetan refugees in a passionate manner. In his 56 years of wise and committed leadership, he has increased Tibetan's hope and trust towards Tibetan genuine self-rule. He has inspired many ways to the Himalayan region people to pride about their heritage and unique culture. He is the hope and beacon of light for many Buddhists around the world. He is the only important person for the Tibetan people to continue and protect their identity, unity and harmony. He has always appreciated for his wisdom and humanity. His non-violent methods to achieve genuine autonomy was attracted by many people. His tireless effort towards peace and freedom



was admired by many people around the globe. Tibetan issue has gained momentum due to his global stature. The 140 Tibetans have self-immolated for freedom and self-rule for Tibetans. It is a matter of great international concern as well as a step towards seeking global attention. The middle way solution is the only hope for mutual benefit and only option to solve the issue. He has shown the unique path to promote traditional Tibetan values and unique culture (TB, 2015).

### **2.3 Initiatives towards Establishing Peace**

In September 1987, Dalai Lama proposed five-point peace solution to promote Tibet as a zone of peace. China has not responded in a proper manner towards Dalai Lama's proposals. At the end of the day, he proposed peace plan for a viable solution for Tibet. He has emphasised to protect Tibet population and people's fundamental and democratic freedom. In his address, he also pointed out that natural environment protection and negotiations between Tibetan and Chinese people are very much crucial. His Holiness as a spiritual leader promotes international peace and harmony. Dalai Lama made another viable proposal for the peace of Tibetans. In his proposal, he stressed on the 5<sup>th</sup> plan in Strasbourg, France in 1988. In this time he mainly focused on self-rule for three provinces of Tibet. He has given an opportunity to PRC to continue to remain accountable for foreign policy, and defence (CTA, 2017). There was a lot of effort done by Dalai Lama to protect and promote Tibetan people's aspirations. One of the most memorable and a landmark in the Tibetan history and peacemaking initiative was Strasbourg proposal made by Dalai Lama. In this proposal, he has offered to the Chinese government to take a mutual beneficiary decision.

Dalai Lama has proposed peaceful conflict solution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for the troubled world. Many peace initiatives were proposed by His Holiness to find an eternal solution for Tibetan issue. In this matter, China has also treated him as a threat to its own Territorial integrity and sovereignty. Shashi Tharoor has explained Dalai Lama as a famous spiritual leader and a refugee who has been fighting for Tibetan self-rule approximately since five decades. He is inspiring many stars and politicians through his peace and love, but he has been unable to achieve his goals. He has won prestigious Nobel award still facing hurdles from different aspects. Dalai Lama cannot escape from

the political symbolization of the Tibetans. He has decided his efforts towards independence is impossible to attain. He has given up independence in Strasbourg for various reasons. Dalai Lama has proven himself as simplicity personified, more than a Buddhist monk. Dalai Lama has potential to ask right questions. Some new generation of people is not aspiring for Freedom from the world. His mind always thinks about future generations. Tharoor quoted Pico Iyer to explain vitality of spiritual celebrities, their importance to change the things effectively and how to see the world in a crystal clear manner. The transformation is possible only within themselves, which transforms further into the general individuals at large (Tharoor, 2015).

#### **2.4 Achieving Autonomy, Not Independence**

Dalai Lama is creating an awareness and world level campaign to generate worldwide support for Tibetan people and their freedom. There were many support groups who are working for Tibetan cause (CTA, 2017). Dalai Lama has given milestone proposal to the PRC. First time in his campaign, he mentioned about genuine self-rule for Tibetan people. In the international platform, he has given mutually beneficiary proposal to the PRC. Dalai Lama many times pointed out that China needs to listen to the international community for the justice and self-rule for the Tibetan people. According to him, the world is receiving Tibet cause in a genuine manner. Most of the young generation Tibetans are not comfortable with the Dalai Lama's conflict resolution approach unveiled in 1988 in Strasbourg at the European Parliament. Although Dalai Lama has the huge popularity for his tireless struggle towards Tibetan autonomy, most of the Tibetan exiles are not happy with the leadership proposal for autonomy. The largest NGO in Tibet is more critical about Dalai Lama's Middle way solution. It is consistently asking and fighting for independence. Most of the Tibetans in Tibet and in exile are not happy with the Strasbourg proposal made by Dalai Lama. His holiness middle way has left most of the Tibetans in confusion and unhappy well as no use of Tibetan Freedom. The majority of people are aspiring independence rather than genuine autonomy (Dolkar, 2008). After taking his decision towards Tibetan autonomy, everybody is watching in an interesting manner towards Tibetan issue. In one hand, Dalai Lama is not announcing his successor to follow his middle way strategy. In another hand, Dalai Lama is not taking confidence into major Tibetan groups who are fighting for the independence.

In 1988, his holiness proposal was received by the Chinese government. Later on, they have said that the proposal cannot fulfil the need of the hour. That's why till now negotiations are going on. But the Tibetan problems have remained the same. The middle way is the demand for genuine autonomy within the framework of PRC. Dalai Lama wants to solve the problem in a peaceful manner through dialogue (CTA, 2017). In this dialogue, he is asking the support of the international community. But at the end of the day, the problem remains between independence and autonomy. In 1988, in European Parliament Dalai Lama gave up independence for autonomy. In an interview, Tibetan government in exile Prime Minister Dr. Lobsang Sangay has pointed out that middle way is the only viable solution for Tibetan problem. He also described middle way approach as a peaceful conflict solution for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The point is that this solution is not strategically working out in an effective manner. As far as the Tibetan community is concerned in Tibet and in exile, some people are clearly opposing this policy. Anyway, this is a very important issue to resolve in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for the betterment of the world trade and peaceful coexistence. We are in the phase of interdependence and cooperation where we have to maintain a win-win (symbiotic) relationship with other countries. Only dialogue and honesty and willingness is the solution to the Tibetan problem. In Strasbourg, Dalai Lama has also urged European parliamentarians to give their support to the genuine autonomy and expressed full faith in them. In this way, Strasbourg proposal played a major role in China- Tibetan negotiation. It also aspires to promote global and regional peace and stability.

## **2.5 International Promotion for Tibet Cause Post-Nobel Peace Prize**

Dalai Lama was conferred with Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 for his constant effort and passion towards non-violence. Tenzin Gyatso has become one of the world famous refugees. He has opposed violent methods in his Tibetan movement. Dalai Lama believes in a constructive and non-violent method. He considers it as the only possible way to solve international conflicts, human rights and environmental problems. That's why Dalai Lama proposed Middle mutual benefit policy for his struggle to achieve his three main commitments in his lifetime. Dalai Lama has offered an open proposal for the Chinese government and Chinese government also agreed to negotiations. After getting Nobel Peace Prize, Dalai Lama has started moving many western countries to build pressure on

the Chinese government to achieve freedom for Tibetan people. At the same time, Dalai Lama also has started a rigorous international campaign to promote human rights and democratic values around the globe. Nobel Prize has given enormous spirit to the Tibetan community to fight for their rights. On the other side, Dalai Lamas offers to the Chinese Government has become an international topic to discuss. In this way, the Chinese government also has its own propaganda to define its actions in the international scenario.

### **2.5.1 Value System of Dalai Lama**

Dalai Lama has committed to elevating his campaign to strive towards Tibetan genuine self-rule through various and rigorous international campaigns. In this regard, undoubtedly, Nobel Peace Prize has equipped him being a torch bearer to make his voice heard and considered with an urge for change. Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay has remembered Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Nobel Peace Prize. Although he did not get the Nobel Prize, still he is in the hearts of many peace-loving people around the world. Dalai Lama International promotion is his main commitments and achieving freedom for Tibet is only possible through global support. After getting Nobel Peace Prize, His Holiness tirelessly pursued his dedication towards inter-religious harmony and promoting basic human values. In his words, he remembered Martin Luther King for his great work for international peace. Following Gandhi's way of simple living and continuous effort for peace, he found it very important for inner peace, which his Holiness emphasised on. He expressed heartfelt gratitude for fellow Nobel Peace laureates. On this occasion, one of the Nobel Laureate pointed out that his fight towards human rights is very impressive and on this way, he is not alone. He has visited many countries full of hope and trust towards international community to achieve justice for his own people. At the same time, he has visited many places where his aspirations can serve. Many people condemned the refusal to issue a visa for His Holiness to attend the international summit of Nobel Peace Laureates in South Africa in the year 2014 showing solidarity with the peace icon (TB, 2014).

Dalai Lama has visited United States (US) Congress and European Parliament (EP) several times. He has requested world community to support and promote human values for an equal and peaceful society. He also urged international community for constructive

criticism towards China. On many occasions, EU parliament officials have ignored PRC pressure to welcome His Holiness. He has given a lot of speeches on Human threats and global environmental protection as well as the importance of scientific approach. He also has emphasised about the value of peace and peaceful coexistence against terrorism. Ultimately, he is not able to accumulate any substantial result towards achieving Chinese mandate for his commitment to genuine autonomy for Tibetans. Anyway, he is constantly visiting European Parliament and many Western countries to achieve his middle path approach. Nobel Peace Prize has given him utmost international space to fight and promote his main commitments.

### **2.5.2 Towards Global Attention on Tibet Issue**

International Campaign of Dalai Lama on the issue of Tibet is in the limelight since 1989. We have some indirect accounts such as that of Goldstein's paper "Dalai lama's Dilemma" which deals with the international campaign of Dalai Lama in the post-Mao scenario. He had drawn reference to the secret talks held between Dalai Lama and the Beijing administration now under the guidance of Deng Xiao Ping in 1982 and 1984 when there was an initial thaw in the relationship between the Chinese state and the Tibetan dissidents. This informed the background for the launch of the Dalai Lama's international campaign in 1987 when he travelled to the West as a political leader. Goldstein in this paper draws further attention to the content of Dalai Lama's speeches including at Strasbourg wherein he highlighted that Tibet was 'illegally' occupied that it should be constituted as a Western-style liberal democracy. This helped to enlist the support of USA to the Tibetan cause. This paper also highlights how this international campaign was able to bring the Chinese establishment to the bargaining table and soften its stand towards the national question of Tibet. Goldstein, however, concludes that, while evaluating the options in front of the Dalai Lama, that Beijing has since been unable to open a new round of talks with Dalai Lama since he keeps insisting on the conditions laid out in the Strasbourg proposal. Goldstein also highlighted the different strategic options in front of the Dalai Lama. One is conciliatory and compromise, and the other one is an escalation of confrontation. The chief import of this article is that the Dalai Lama notwithstanding the Government in exile is a very important and a central actor to any compromise or escalation with the Chinese establishment. My work attempts

to take forward this insight and explore what strategies were pursued by the Dalai Lama vis-à-vis the Tibetan national question against the Chinese state and what implications it had on India and China relationship. Dalai Lama handed over his political powers to the elected representative in 2011. Then onwards, Beijing is also closely observing his activities very closely. On the other hand, he is not announcing his successor. The International community is also in anticipation to know Dalai Lama's next step. He is trying very passionately to connect common threads of humanity. At the end of the day, his efforts towards genuine autonomy for Tibetans is an important issue for the international community. Conflict resolution is the only viable solution for this problem. He is promoting peace to reduce violence in the international community through his teachings. He always strives to attend every programme around the globe to spread his vision towards promotion of global peace.

Dalai Lama is playing a major role as a spiritual leader. He is trying to overcome prejudices. He has his own vision towards a peaceful world. In that world of his aspirations, equal human rights for every human being is the primary goal. Many people across the world are treating him as a charismatic spiritual leader. There is an opinion about Tenzin Gyatso that he is one of the power symbols for some people. He is powerfully perceived amongst Tibetan exile community. Apart from this, he is not treated powerfully by the outside world. The reason behind that is Tibetan issue has not achieved expected momentum since last 50 years. Dalai Lama is a symbol of national as well as universal peace advocacy. He is a leader not only for the Tibetans but also for the whole Tibetan Buddhist community scattered across the globe. The present Dalai Lama is pushing his actions towards democracy which is, in turn, playing a vital role in the promotion of democratic government in exile (Bentz, 2012).

### **2.5.3 Extended Activities for Achieving Goals**

Dalai Lama's global journey has been described by many people. He has travelled the world to spread compassion and brotherhood. In the early period, His Holiness used to roam openly to grab world attention towards Tibet cause. He has decided that international promotion is the only option to pressurise PRC in a proper manner. Then he started to attend every programme to achieve his own path towards self-rule for Tibetans.

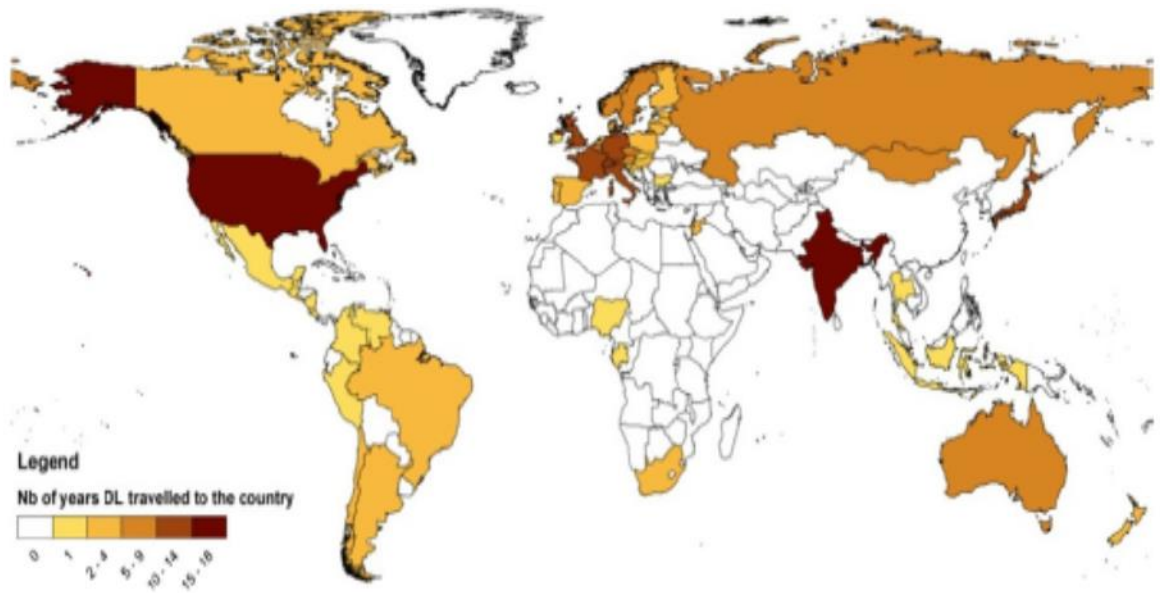
Some people are treating him as a visionary Holy man who is trying hard to strive peace and harmony for the globalised world. Dalai Lama urges people to avoid controversies and to stay with own views. He is a dedicated person towards science. At the same time, he tries to balance between science and religion. He is committed to his own duties as head of the people in exile. To the Tibetan people, he is treated like God and spiritual icon. At the same time outside world is considering him as a secular man and true follower of democratic values.

Whenever Dalai Lama visits foreign countries to deliver his message towards compassion, he has emphasised on his own roots. He is considered as the agent of transformation. He has always tried to promote the cause of environment. He has focussed on protecting Tibetan environmental issues on a regular basis in international forums. Being a Tibetan, he has never failed to promote his own Tibetan Buddhist culture. He attracted global community through his simplicity, humour and dedication towards freedom and autonomy for Tibet. Change is part of the troubled world. He always tried to change the unhappy minds around the globe. Dalai Lama has always said, “anything is possible”. The global journey of His Holiness is to gather maximum support from global leaders and to pressurise Chinese government. He always stressed that being a scientist from the mind is very crucial to achieve human kindness.

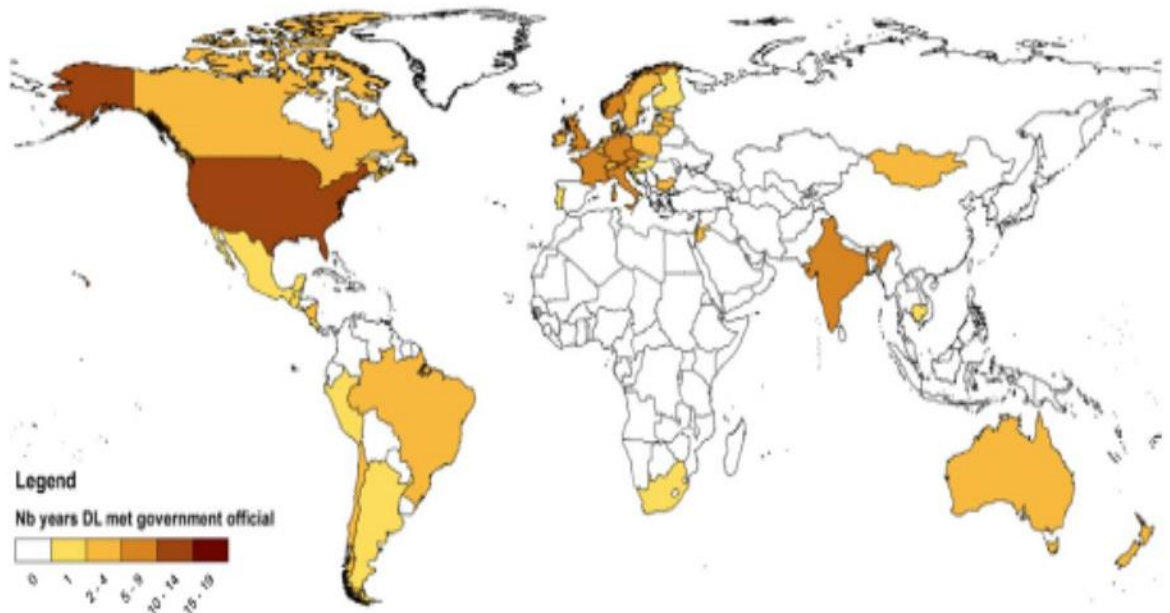
#### **2.5.4 Setting Goals for Future in Harmony and State Perceptions**

Dalai Lama has become a master of the technological sensibility apart from Buddhism and globalism. He is working for religious awareness across the globe having a huge following in scientists, students and world leaders in many countries. He started democratic reforms in three stages. Beginning in the year 1960, it stretched further into 1990 and then, 2011. According to Dalai Lama, democracy is the finest option to achieve constant improvement and humanity. Compassion is the main concept in Buddhism as a religion. However, Dalai Lama considered himself as a compassionate man. He has emphasised the value of compassion on several occasions to promote religious harmony.

**Map-1: Visit of Dalai Lama Across the Globe**



**Map-2: Meeting of Dalai Lama with Government Members Across the Globe**



According to him, compassion is the bridge to build healthy relations between religion and secularism (Tsujiura, 2012). In his global visits, Dalai Lama used to warn different sections of people to maintain religious harmony against violence. In his every visit, he



has maintained an equal balance between religion with international problems like terrorism and environmental protection.

The global political leaders meeting with Dalai Lama is an expression of their responsibility and the international community's concern towards the question of Tibetan problem. Every Tibetan in Tibet and in exile was encouraged by His Holiness to achieve self-rule for their better future. Most Americans think that maintaining good relations with China is very important for their betterment rather than taking a stand on Tibet cause. At the same time, many Americans including their presidents are supporting the cause of Tibet independence. It is very important to understand global support which is always with the Dalai Lama. But some leaders and countries are openly not supporting his cause pertaining to china's pressure. On several occasions, former President of US, Barack Obama has assured Dalai Lama concerning Tibet's unique rights and freedom from PRC. Many American former Presidents have supported his middle way approach and his commitment towards the non-violent struggle for genuine autonomy for Tibetans. In 2010, delivering an address in White House, Dalai Lama praised America "as a champion of democracy, freedom, human value and human creativity". He also criticised PRC for its childish and unsupportive nature towards Tibetan self-rule. President George H.W. Bush was the first American President who has met Dalai Lama in 1991. In 2007, junior Bush urged China for negotiations with Tibet. In this way, Dalai Lama has tried hard to achieve religious freedom and basic human rights. Dalai Lama has been honoured by many NGOs and universities for his tireless effort to basic human values. He practised democracy as a way of life. He has always supported the unique culture of Tibetan people. He pointed out PRC's wrong things as well as a contribution towards stronger China (TR, 2010).

Dalai Lama new initiative for genuine Autonomy has reached international space after his address in Strasbourg proposal. The main problem with the PRC is that leaders perception towards Dalai Lama is negative. Dalai Lama's five-point peace plan and Strasbourg proposal for autonomy are the main focusing issues in front of the global community. He travelled a lot to gain momentum for Tibetan autonomy. Dalai Lama's politics for autonomy was appreciated by many western leaders. But PRC always treated him as a split personality who wants to destroy its territorial integrity and sovereignty. As

a growing power, PRC has gained international community to maintain its territorial boundaries. In 1992 during his campaign, Bill Clinton supported the Tibetan exile problem. It immediately changed his policy and opinion towards Tibet cause. In 2003 India recognised Tibetan Autonomous Regions (TAR) as an internal part of China. In return, PRC recognised Sikkim as an internal part of India. But our officials did not change their opinion on Tibet. Many Tibetans want His Holiness to die in Tibet. The reason behind this according to public perception is that, if he dies on another country's soil, his body and head will be separated. At the end of the day, he has to hand over his responsibilities to his successor. That's why he speeded up a dialogue with PRC (Sautman, 2005).

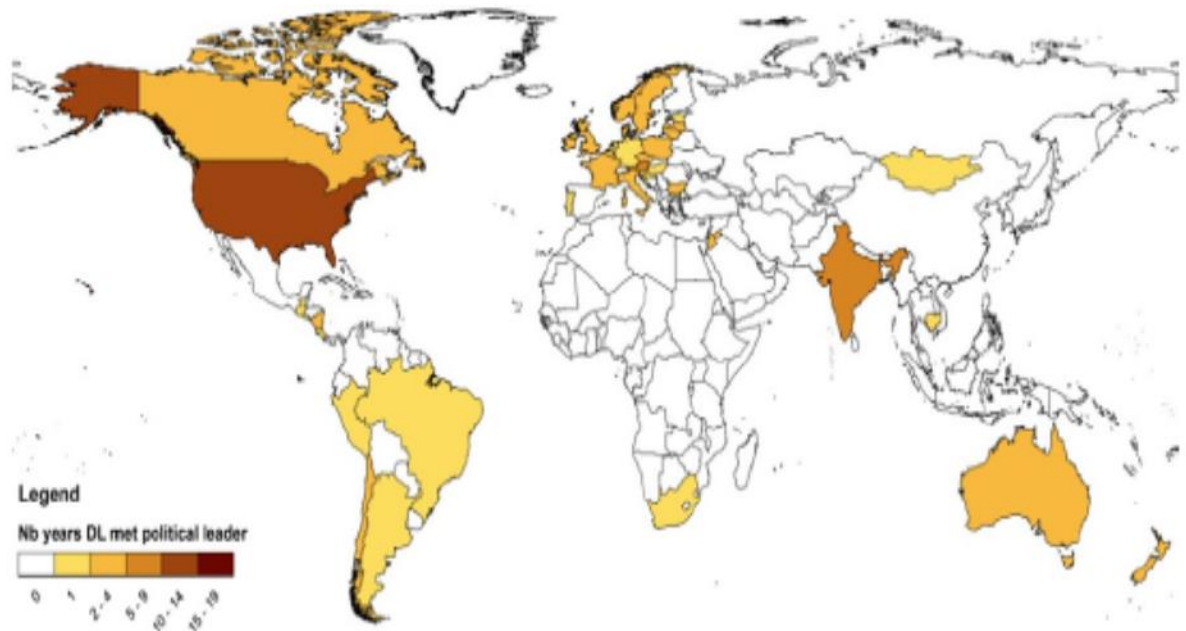
In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the hopes are really not comfortable between Dalai Lama and PRC. US Tibet specialist Gold Stein points out three main options in this regard. One is maintaining status quo and the second one escalates the conflict. The third option is the way towards mutual compromise. The autonomy proposal of 1988 demanded a zone of peace (Sautman, 2005). In this connection, Dalai Lama visited European Parliament and many western countries to gather momentum for his commitment. Most of the countries are considering Tibet issue as a crucial one to resolve. But Dalai Lama has to choose his own path to protect his community rights, promote religious harmony, culture as well as identity. He has always sought for humanity and basic human rights. The International community observing keenly towards an amicable Tibetan solution could be considered as a positive sign in this aspect.

## **2.6 Dalai Lama and Meeting with Political Leaders**

Dalai Lama has gained genuine interest and sympathy from political leaders around the world while working for a cause. He has visited many countries to spread his view of Tibetan identity and mobilise support from different sections. He has said that his main aim is to spread Tibetan Buddhist culture and spirituality. He has also said that after meeting US President in 2003, it would take more time to negotiations. But our main effort should be to build confidence and remove suspicion. Dalai Lama's multi-city tours have been criticised by PRC as meddling (NCR, 2003). 1989 onwards, he has visited more than 67 different countries and met many leaders to ask for their sympathy towards

Tibetan cause. Over the last sixty years, Tibetan people are aspiring to regain their lost culture, freedom and self-dignity. Dalai Lama is treated as the only hope for the Tibetan people. In the globalised world of present time, every country has its own diplomacy. Dalai Lama's international visit and Tibet support groups have helped in creating worldwide awareness about Tibetans. Dalai Lama has also tried his best efforts to generate worldwide sympathy among the world leaders. In the present time, the situation is critical in Tibet. He has met several Tibet support groups and inspired them with his grace and leadership to achieve freedom and dignity for Tibet. The growing support for Tibet movement shows the relevance of Tibetan autonomy around the globe.

**Map-3: Dalai Lama Meeting with Political Leaders Across the Globe**



Source: (Map-1, 2 and 3) The Journal of International Economics (2013), 164-177;  
 Travel Pattern of Dalai Lama Between 1991-2008.

Global Tibet movement is gaining support from different sections of the people across the world. He is trying to solve the issue through negotiations. Dalai Lama's middle way policy is the better solution for Tibetan genuine autonomy (CTA, 2017). In this regard, European Union (EU) can play a major role to avoid discomforts between PRC-Tibetan relations. Recently, EU representatives have visited Tibet Autonomous Region to oversee

the situation. In this way, Dalai Lama and EU relations are in a cohesion continuing actively since Strasbourg proposal (TB, 2015).

### **2.6.1 Response of States and PRC**

Dalai Lama has successfully generated support from most of the countries through his tireless international visits and promotion for Tibet. Former US President Barack Obama has supported and showed his genuine concern towards Tibetan issue. The Scottish Parliament has discussed Tibetan problems and self-immolations. US ambassador to China has asked for Sino-Tibetan dialogue. These are all positive steps towards Tibetan problem and results of Dalai Lama's rigorous international campaigning for Tibetan Genuine autonomy. On February 2014, Obama met Dalai Lama in the White House, and he reiterated his support for the unique cultural-linguistic Tibetan identity. The US President also extended his support for Dalai Lama's middle way solution for Tibetan issue. Obama showed vigoured interest regarding present Tibetan situation while interacting with Dalai Lama. Just after, US government appointed a coordinator for understanding the Tibetan issue. In this context, after observation, Obama gave an impression on Tibet being part of PRC and US does not support for Tibetan independence. Dalai Lama then confirmed that he is also not seeking independence (TB, 2014). Rather, he affirmed on resorting towards the middle path approach. At present exile, Tibetans are aspiring for middle path solution for Tibetan issue under the noble leadership of Dalai Lama. On the other hand, Some Tibetans are aspiring only for independence. Most of the countries including the US also are not in favour of complete Tibetan independence from PRC. They are supporting Dalai Lama's middle path approach for Tibetan issue, as examined through different sources of observation. PRC is working in an open and realistic way to resolve the current situation. In addition to this, European Parliament is playing a crucial role in solving Tibetan question. The International community is also encouraging PRC to take possible measures. The elected Tibetan authority has also reflected keenness and positivity towards middle way policy.

Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay has stated that the middle way policy is supported by international community. He has also started an international campaign for middle approach under the noble guidance of Dalai Lama. In September 2016, Dalai Lama has

visited the European Parliament. They have welcomed Dalai Lama as an advocate of freedom, rights and protection of the environment. He has also reiterated that Tibetans are not seeking separation from PRC. At the same time, he pointed out that Tibetans are not splitters. They are asking for rights and striving for the genuine self-rule. He appreciated the spirit of EU and aspired for such a spirit in Africa and Asia as well. He repeated his belief against the statement of Buddhist terrorists and Muslim terrorists. He expressed his views on this issue and asked for the establishment of peace with unconditionality in approach towards life and living (TB, 2016). In this way, Dalai Lama and his government in exile are spreading peaceful conflict resolution for Tibetan issue in the international arena. Dalai Lama is also promoting basic human values like compassion and self-discipline for the inner peace of human beings in international spaces. He also emphasises the value of education for the improvement of humanity on international stages. He and his government have implemented modern and traditional education system in the Tibetan government in exile running schools. Most recently, Tibetan exile government schools have performed very well in board exams.

Dalai Lama has demanded one country two systems approach to solve the Tibetan cause. Under it, Beijing would be accountable for foreign affairs and defence. He has compared Tibetan cause with Hong Kong model. He is also aware of its implications. Beijing has appointed an observing group to look at this matter. But the set up is fundamentally against the original autonomy proposal of Dalai Lama.

Tibetan autonomy is mainly focussed on the basis of culture and religion. There was a lot of misconceptions and distrust between PRC and Dalai Lama in this aspect. At the same time, there were fundamental differences towards the proposed autonomy proposal. Some PRC hardliners believe that Dalai Lama's death outside of PRC may create religious divisions. Most of the Tibetans in exile are also not denying that Dalai Lama's passing will damage their cause. One of the pro-independent members in exile has also stated that Dalai Lama is the only motivating factor for Tibetan cause.

PRC always had cultural and ideological differences with the 1988 Strasbourg proposal. One of the PRC officials has stated that Dalai Lama's come back will certainly create instability in China. At the same time, most of the Tibetan Communists also desire to see

Dalai Lama's return to their homeland. Most of the Tibetans are aspiring for Tibetan independence. Dalai Lama's middle way approach can create conflict between these two sections. Tibetan government in exile has acknowledged its opinion on the de facto state of Tibet. But they have also mentioned their position on Genuine autonomy for Tibetan community. Some pro-Dalai Lama western scholars are opposing PRC opinion on Dalai Lama. Tibetan exile perspective is very clear about its middle way approach and its consequences. According to them, Dalai Lama needs to reconsider his own strategy. Tibetan government in exile has enjoyed global successes. But it will only invite suspicion is their belief. Dalai Lama should adopt the practical progressive strategy according to them. He can ask for cultural autonomy before moving towards genuine autonomy.

In 2004, Dalai Lama stated that Tibetan cultural heritage and spirituality coupled with environmental protection are the main objectives for his aspiration for genuine autonomy. He has also recognised that most of the Tibetans want prosperity and material development (Sautman, 2005). International community response is changing according to their requirements with PRC towards Tibetan issue. The important issue is that Dalai Lama's negotiations with PRC are not going well without international interference. In this matter, PRC's trade relations are also changing day by day. Dalai Lama's international visits to achieve genuine autonomy for Tibet is not changing PRC policies towards Tibetan issue. But it is impacting PRC's trade and bilateral relations with other countries. In this way, Dalai Lama and his activities have gained a relation with global trade as well.

## **2.7 Belief System of Dalai Lama and Democratic Order**

Since 1959, Dalai Lama has tried to implement his view of democracy. At the same time, he has shaped Tibetan political system towards democracy and secularism. At present, the Tibetan government in exile has also started electing representatives in a democratic manner through elections. He followed the traditional Buddhist concept, the union of Dharma and its connection with policy. He is trying to implement this Buddhist concept with modern Tibetan democracy. The relation between religion and secularism is very vital in this case. Dalai Lama as a simple Buddhist monk visited many countries to

promote his secular and spiritual ethos. The political retirement of Dalai Lama has also changed Tibetan politics in a drastic manner. Tibetan people are electing their political head through the democratic process. At the same time, exile government is also following the same method to elect their Sikyong and representatives for Tibetan parliament in exile. Dalai Lama thought that 300-year-old political system is not suitable for the present scenario. He has changed the old political system into the modern democratic system. He is also visiting around the globe to spread his views on democracy peace and secular ethos. Dalai Lama has stated in the preface of the Tibetan constitution that, the elected representatives are very important to change the social and economic situations in the state. Dalai Lama has also said that “Democracy is common to Buddhism preached by Buddha, and never contradicts Buddhism.”

The democratisation by Dalai Lama has resulted towards modernisation and Buddhist logic. Dalai Lama had issued the guidelines for the future polity in 1992. He has also aspired for freedom, democracy and social welfare as well as environmental protection through nonviolence. He has said that compassion is the purest form of nonviolence. On the other hand, he has pointed out that a sense of responsibility towards others is also part of compassion. According to him, nonviolence and showing compassion to the others are the most important things in human behaviour. Compassion was also treated as a basic concept in Buddhism. Dalai Lama has also stated that compassion is a secular concept. Mutual tolerance and respect will play a major role in this concept. By using the concept of compassion, he has interrelated secularism and religion. He has used Compassion as a political tool to reform Tibetan political system towards democracy (Tsujimura, 2014).

The International community has received Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader in a proper manner. But his middle way approach towards peaceful conflict resolution is not achieving any momentum. Dalai Lama’s compassion concept is also playing a crucial role to achieve support from international community. Dalai Lama defines himself as a simple monk and spends more than 80 percent of his effort in spiritual activities. He has visited many countries as a spiritual leader. In the name of compassion and global peace, he is spreading middle way approach to achieve genuine autonomy for Tibet. He has ruled religion and government at a time till 2011. Then he has shifted his political powers to the elected representative in Tibet. After that, he has visited globe as a spiritual icon.

In this process, he has met many government officials and political leaders to spread Buddhist culture around the world. Dalai Lama has visited Mongolia several times to find his own space as a Buddhist monk. Mongolia may be the next home for Dalai Lama was a popular perception too. He feels very joyful and enjoys popular respect in Mongolia. (Sarlagtay, 2007). Dalai Lama used to celebrate his birthday's in multiple cities across the world as a spiritual leader. He has delivered speeches on current world issues and religious issues as well as human values like compassion, humanity and happiness. He has visited 67 countries as a spiritual leader and also met many spiritual leaders and politicians. He has promoted inter-religious understanding. He has become the global voice and spiritual icon to achieve Tibetan genuine autonomy. Dalai Lama has also campaigned for basic human values and harmony among world religions. Dalai Lama has inspired millions of people across the globe (Shonu, 2015).

## **2.8 International Trade Relations: Dalai Lama Factor**

Dalai Lama has travelled and visited many political and government officials around the world. International trade always depends upon international relations. He has met with many political persons. Whenever he meets the government officials, PRC used to warn that particular country. Ultimately the trade ties get affected. The impact of Dalai Lama on international trade is a very crucial issue to discuss in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In particular, we can easily understand the trade ups and downs in Dalai Lama travelled countries. Globally, PRC is the second largest economy after the US. Dalai Lama visited countries are punished through a reduction in their exports to PRC. However, Hu Jintao period was very crucial to observe fluctuations in international trade with PRC.

However, PRC's economy is rapidly expanding day by day. It will shift international trade in PRC's favour. The political tensions and trade are interlinked in the globalisation world. The economic diplomacy between US and Japan have not changed their bilateral trade in the mentioned period. But PRC's trade drastically changed with Dalai Lama visited countries, particularly in recent years. The PRC argument states that Dalai Lama visits can harm its territorial integrity and that also counts as an interference in internal affairs. Beijing economic pressure on Dalai Lama's visited countries is very clear in recent years. In 1989, Dalai Lama received Nobel Peace Prize from Norway. PRC



immediately warned Norwegian government and its king present in the award ceremony. PRC also warned Italy in 1995 and Germany in 2007 in the similar fashion. Dalai Lama travelled Europe more than other countries. In this connection, the trade figures of those countries with PRC have reflected remarkable aberrations. It is an amazing as well as crucial thing to observe.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

Dalai Lama as a simple Buddhist monk has a commitment towards Tibetan people and Buddhist culture as well as global humanity. He has promoted Tibetan cause internationally in a passionate manner. At the same time, he has also promoted basic ethical values to achieve happiness around the world. In this chapter, Dalai Lama's activities, efforts and vision as well as international promotion towards genuine autonomy for Tibetan issue finds prominence. Dalai Lama's spiritual journey was also emphasised in a greater sense. He has visited many countries to spread his message. His visits impacting inter-state trade relations is a crucial aspect of understanding.

Dalai Lama's passion towards compassion is impressive from several dimensions. At the same time, he has tried his best to implement Strasbourg proposal for Tibetan self-rule. He has tried to introduce a democratic form of government in exile. The International community has received Dalai Lama in a mixed manner. In 1987, Dalai Lama announced a middle way policy towards peaceful conflict resolution. Tibet no longer calls for independence from PRC and merely aspires for autonomy within the Chinese state. In 2011, Dalai Lama hands over the political leadership of Tibet to Lobsang Sangay, the elected Prime Minister of the government in exile in a free ballot process was a very promising step towards democratic value and order. Dalai Lama proclaims his desire to live as an "ordinary monk in a monastery". But many Tibetans still accord him something akin to divine status. This rare combination of trust, divinity and popular command over people has cemented not only his place as a spiritual leader but also an icon of democratic value establishment. Despite all the criticism, the ongoing process for Tibetan autonomy and identity is a matter of deeper realisation and compulsive consideration for both PRC and the global community at large.

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## **CHAPTER-3**

### **PERCEPTION ON DALAI LAMA BY INDIA AND CHINA:**

#### **A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

##### **3.1 Introduction**

Being the most prominent refugee and spiritual icon in the world, it is a strong possibility that, Dalai Lama can resolve the Tibetan issue in a peaceful manner. PRC and Dalai Lama are trying for peaceful conflict resolution towards Tibetan cause. But, there is a lot of misconception in the international community regarding Dalai Lama as well as PRC. However, Strasbourg proposal has created hope to resolve Tibetan issue through middle way approach. The Indian perception regarding Dalai Lama is clear in its own way. The state considers him primarily as a spiritual and religious leader. Therefore, India has provided shelter to Dalai Lama and encouraged him towards promotion of democratic reforms. At the same time, on the other front, Dalai Lama has also reflected inclination towards Indian values and has promoted ancient Indian philosophy.

The current political reality is that Tibetan government in exile is pushing its agenda towards PRC and international community to achieve genuine autonomy as early as possible. Mythical ideas can harm Asian continent as well as international community. Meanwhile, the transition period is also important for India to maintain peace and stability with neighbouring countries. When it comes to the reality, the wariness has to be solved between Dalai Lama and PRC. The International community particularly EU is also playing a major role in tackling Tibetan issue. The point is that the perception of India and PRC towards Dalai Lama have to change according to the circumstances. It will promote peace and stability in the Asian continent despite divergent views exhibited by PRC and India on him.

On the other hand, Dalai Lama also has his own narration to solve problems and promote Tibetan autonomy. Therefore, this chapter analyses the perception of both India and China on Dalai Lama and vice versa. It will also throw light on the views of Dalai Lama regarding both these neighbouring states. The comparative perspectives will draw

inferences between the state relations of India and China apart from the assessment made by the global community and its commitment towards resolving Tibetan issue.

### **3.2 The Connect between Roots, Identity and Aspirations**

PRC is an atheist country with a socialistic approach. It is ruled by the communist party of China to achieve world power having socialism as a base. But Tibetan culture and religious belief have rich roots from ancient times. In India, we are strong believers of secularism and religious freedom giving priority to individual wish. When it comes to the PRC, It has its own idea towards religion with Chinese characteristics. Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism has strong roots in India. It propagated into Tibet through Chinese route. However, PRC was more affected by socialism. But India has strong secular belief because of our written constitution lead by Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. He has immensely contributed for conceptualising the biggest written constitution for independent India through enormous clarity and vision. The secular ethics of India, democratic values and diversity have also greatly impacted global leaders including Dalai Lama.

Dalai Lama's spiritual journey as a simple monk has raised some questions amongst Tibetans and outsiders. When it comes to the Tibetan autonomy, he has fixed opinions, but it is always important to consider young generation. He has introduced traditional and modern education in exile Tibetan schools. At the same time, he has to concentrate more on the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Tibetan youth aspirations. Most of the people are considering him as a strong follower of non-violence. At the same time, some people are criticising his attachment with the western world. But he has tackled all obstacles in a peaceful manner. According to Iyer, Dalai Lama's spiritual journey starts at early morning and follows meditation and reading Buddhist philosophy. As far as Buddhist philosophy is concerned, he has the highest degree in Tibetan Buddhism. At the young age, he has started his journey in Potala Palace. He used to suggest western supporters towards genuine Buddhism. He has great command over science and governance towards the greater world. He has a universal approach towards humanity and Buddhism. Above all, most of the people are treating him as an intellectual teacher who is working relentlessly towards establishing world peace and harmony. However, Dalai Lama's effort to achieve mutual understanding is not effective and hopeful also forms a counter opinion (Mishra, 2008).

### **3.3 Projections for a Solution**

Melvyn C. Goldstein has explained clearly about the relations between PRC, Tibet and Dalai Lama. India and PRC are emerging as a major economic and political powers in Asia. It is very important to cooperate with each other to build and share a peaceful Asia. Dalai Lama is also sending compromising signals through his middle path approach to solve Tibetan question. On the global front, the US and particularly the Nobel Peace Prize Winner EU policies towards Tibetan cause is quite appreciable.

The enmity between PRC and Tibet towards genuine self-rule is changing through Dalai Lama's middle way solution. Dalai Lama has said that if we respect our enemies some day, they can become our friends. In this way, it is essential to change strategy according to 21<sup>st</sup> century necessities to make our world a better place for living. Then we have a good chance of making the 21<sup>st</sup> century a century of peace, dialogue and compassion towards humanity. Dalai Lama is confident about his way of struggle to change PRC's opinion towards genuine autonomy for Tibet. PRC alleges the actions of His Holiness is causing problems in Tibet. PRC uses all its efforts to own Tibet by building roads and enhancing rail linkages (Ghosh, 2015).

### **3.4 Beijing's Hard Line Policy vs. Dalai Lama's Middle Path Policy**

In 1988, PRC had given the opportunity to Dalai Lama to give up his demand for Tibetan independence. PRC also had offered him to live in Tibet. He gave up independence for autonomy. But he has offered back to PRC only to have control over Tibetan foreign policy and defence. He has emphasised more on Tibetan people's individual freedom. He also pointed out the importance of religion towards Tibetan national identity. He remembered spiritual values to promote Tibetan's rich culture. Dalai Lama has asked for Peace conference to make Tibet as a zone of peace without the military. He indicated his positivity towards PRC's proposal. He has elected a Dutch person as a legal advisor in his negotiation team to talk with PRC. He was not ready for either genuine independence or limited autonomy. In 1984 talks PRC did not represent anything new towards a solution. But Strasbourg proposal cleared international community doubts towards Dalai Lama. It has also created many divisions among Tibetans in exile and in Tibet. Some people also criticised Dalai Lamas's courageous initiative as a sellout. PRC has said that except

independence they are ready to discuss anything. But Dalai Lama's political tactic has made PRC into confusion. Ultimately, Dalai Lama's compromised peace proposal was rejected by PRC. It has created confusion status in the international community. At the beginning of 1989, the Panchen Lama unexpectedly died. PRC has offered to Dalai Lama to visit Beijing to attend memorial ceremony. But due to his own limitations, he did not attend that ceremony (Goldstein, 1997).

In 1989, Dalai Lama got awarded with Nobel Peace Prize. PRC has treated this global popularity status as well as recognition of Dalai Lama as a dramatic setback. Tibetans celebrated this occasion around the world. In the same year, Tiananmen debacle happened. PRC has started focussing more on Dalai Lama. Beijing has changed its strategy towards Dalai Lama and Tibet. PRC has tried to appoint non-Tibetans to be moderators and attracted young Tibetan cadre to decrease Dalai Lamas influence. Beijing also has started economic and modernisation policy to develop Tibet rapidly. In this way, Beijing realises and started open door policy to increase its popularity over Dalai Lama's and achieving long-term benefit for Tibetans (Goldstein, 1997).

Beijing's hardline policy has created a different experience for Tibetans. It also has introduced new initiatives to ignore Dalai Lama effect on Tibetan's improvement. But PRC has its own interpretation towards Dalai Lama and Tibet's development. It has published many white papers on Tibet. PRC has also explained its strategy and opinion towards Dalai Lama and his middle way solution through these papers. Tibetan parliament in exile also reiterated on many occasions to PRC to change its hardline policy. But PRC is following hardline policy to tackle Dalai Lama's peaceful middle path policy. Tibetan parliament in exile has criticised PRC for its wrong information about Tibetan development and Dalai Lama through the white paper. It has also reiterated PRC to understand Tibet's real problems in a positive manner and to solve it in a mutually beneficial way (TPIE, 2015).

In the PRC white paper of 2015, it is stated that Dalai Lama and his supporters have failed to create violence. Due to this, they have chosen the middle way policy. It also criticised middle path as an indirect demand towards independence. At the same time, it has also criticised Dalai Lama and his supporters as anti-development seekers. In this

way, it has suspected Dalai Lama's anti-state and sovereignty as well as development activities. Dalai Lama and his followers are not ready to accept the reality towards Tibetan progress. However, they have little faith in Tibetan people's achievements and development. The White paper describes Dalai Lama's middle peaceful path as a medium to split PRC. It has criticised Dalai Lama's middle way as a manipulative tactic to confuse Tibetans and the international community. It claimed Tibet as an integral part of PRC since ancient period. It has remembered PRC's constitutional values towards ethnic groups. At the same time, it also has recognised Taiwanese One Country Two Systems Policy as a viable path to protect country's sovereignty and unity.

Dalai Lama has got support from the US since 1951 towards Tibetan independence. At the same time, his forces have trained with CIA. Dalai Lama encouraged separatists to create violence in Tibet to achieve his goal. He also has encouraged Lamas towards self-immolation. In this way, he has tried to achieve independence for Tibet. PRC has criticised Dalai Lama's exile leaders for encouraging self-sacrifices as modes of non-violence to achieve Tibetan independence. It has condemned Dalai Lama's leadership promotion to achieve independence through violence. It has criticised Tibetan youth congress actions to create violence to achieve independence under Dalai Lama's supervision.

### **3.5 PRC's Policy towards Dalai Lama**

PRC has tried for peaceful support from Dalai Lama for 60 years. But he has countered and fled to India in 1959 with the support of the US. PRC has tried its best to create a healthy environment in the country towards solving the Tibetan issue in a peaceful manner. But he has deviated from his plan of actions. At the same time, he has contributed towards a peaceful solution for Tibet. The Institute of Dalai Lama has its close links with central government since a long period. In 1949 onwards PRC has started actions towards Tibetan peaceful liberation. In 1950 Dalai Lama has got wishes from PRC for his election as a Tibetan temporal and spiritual leader. The Central government has respected and encouraged Dalai Lama to support and build the country. The 17-Article Agreement stipulates, "The central authorities will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama". Dalai Lama has attended the constitutional

meeting and supported the rules of regional ethnic groups autonomy. In 1959 he rejected 17-Article Agreement and aspired for Tibetan independence. Then onwards he has taken anti-Chinese steps to achieve his goal. He also established his government in exile in Dharamsala and started to support India. He has started a campaign against PRC's sovereignty. In 1979 PRC has started discussions with Dalai Lama's private legislatures. In 1989 he started his own strategy to achieve independence for Tibet. At the same time, he did not attend the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen memorial ceremony. He rejected PRC's invitation to Beijing. In 1993, Dalai Lama decided to maintain distance from central government. However, PRC has always tried to talk with Dalai Lama and solve Tibetan issue. In 1997, the central authorities stated,

“The central government is willing to contact and negotiate with the 14th Dalai Lama over his own future as long as he genuinely abandons separatism and any activities likely to divide the country, and openly admits that Tibet and Taiwan are inalienable parts of China and that the government of the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate government representing China.”

PRC has offered Dalai Lama to negotiate with his private representatives about his future rather than Tibet issue. The Central government has talked 13 times with Dalai Lama's private persons between 1979-2002 and ten visits between 2002-2010. But Dalai Lama has committed to his middle way approach over PRC's future aspirations. Dalai Lama has also tried to boycott 2008 Olympic Games held in Beijing. In 2011, after his political retirement, his private persons also resigned. Dalai Lama has changed his strategies according to international community situation. He has always tried for separate Tibet from PRC and broken negotiations on many occasions. However, Central Government has always shown trust towards Dalai Lama's rational thinking. He has to change his elusive attitude to talk with central authorities was also the apprehension at the same time. He has to maintain a practically oriented approach to adopt his position. In this way, he can achieve minimum benefits for Tibetans those who are living in exile is the assumption.

Dalai Lama 's middle way solution is indirectly aspiring for independence. It is not suitable for the reality. He is aspiring Tibetan independence at the cost of China's Constitution and its state systems. He has to agree that Tibet as an Integral part of PRC and focus towards Tibetan development and the country at large. PRC will try to build united and democratic Tibet on the path of socialism with PRC's characteristics (PRC White Paper, 2015).

In this regard, President Xi Jinping has reiterated,

“The central government has followed a clear and consistent policy towards the 14th Dalai Lama. Only when he makes a public statement acknowledging that Tibet has been an integral part of China since antiquity, and abandons his stance on independence and his attempts to divide China, can he improve his relationship with the central government in any real sense.”

Tibetan government in exile has observed this as a debate between ultra-nationalists and hardline followers. Dalai Lama has also tried very hard to promote his ideas towards self-rule through his international supporters. At the same time, PRC is also promoting its development path to change Tibetan backwardness. In this way, PRC has been continuing its relations with Dalai Lama to resolve the Tibetan issue through dialogue and proper negotiation. PRC's spokesperson has said that Tibet-related issues are considered as core interests to China. That's why PRC has opposed Dalai Lama's Tawang visit in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. It is imperative to mention here that, PRC has always tried to claim Arunachal Pradesh as a part of its territory. On the other front, it is a constitutionally accorded state of the Republic of India. Therefore, Dalai Lama's visit to Tawang and statements towards his visit has always made PRC uncomfortable. Beijing has issued a number of warnings to Dalai Lama in this connection time and again (Narayanan, 2017).

In this way, Beijing is continuing its sound path policy to improve Tibetan conditions. However, Dalai Lama's middle path policy has remained same towards Tibetan cause. PRC is considering Dalai Lama as their core priority to tackle ethnic issues in Tibet. PRC's foreign ministry has opposed Dalai Lama's actions as a threat to the ethnic unity



in Tibet. It has also reiterated Dalai Lama as a separatist. At the same time, PRC has prohibited Dalai Lama's public veneration since 1959. Tibetans those who are part in 56 minority groups in PRC are expecting protection for their language and culture. But they are called as separatists and marginalised by Beijing. Some local communist leaders are committed towards the decline of Dalai Lama's influence on Tibetans. At the same time, they have remembered their contribution towards the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1950. However, they have treated Nobel winner Dalai Lama as a *splittist* (splitter + separatist) (Reuters, 2016).

### **3.6 Perception of Indian state on Dalai Lama**

India has provided shelter and space to Dalai Lama to form a democratic style of Government in Dharamsala. He is spreading ancient Indian philosophy across the world. At the same time, Indian standpoints towards Dalai Lama has not changed over the period. India has its own diplomacy and foreign policy to explain these issue to the international community. Indian policy towards Tibet and Dalai Lama has started since Nehru period. India also has provided shelter to 90,000 Tibetans along with Dalai Lama, which is the accumulated largest number of Tibetans outside the territory of Tibet. India always has positivity towards Tibet issue and Dalai Lama. On the one hand, India is respecting PRC's One-China policy. On the other hand, it is supporting Dalai Lama's spiritual and religious activities. At the same time, it is also supporting Tibetan government in exile and its political activities to achieve genuine Tibetan autonomy through democratic means only. India has always had a push towards a peaceful solution for Tibet cause. It has created sufficient facilities to the Buddhist monks and Tibetan refugees as well as Tibetan government in exile. India has shown religious tolerance and secular ethics to the rest of the world as well as Tibetans. India is considering Dalai Lama as a revered spiritual and Buddhist leader. Dalai Lama is also promoting ancient Indian values to achieve humanity and ethical values. On the contrary, some people are criticising that, India is using Dalai Lama as a political tool to oppose PRC's actions against India.

In recent years, India is openly supporting the promotion of human and secular ethos by Dalai Lama. At the same time, Tibet has a crucial role to play in both countries. From the

PRC's point of view, Tibet and Dalai Lama will remain most important issues to deal with India. It would not be appropriate to give up on Tibetan issue without a proper diplomatic strategy. PRC is treating Tibet and Dalai Lama related issues as core points of consideration. India has provided facilities and created democratic space to promote Tibetan culture, language and values across the world. It is only because of Indian support that, Tibetan values have reached a global stage to showcase its vivid forms. In the meantime, the younger generations are questioning Dalai Lama's middle path policy towards genuine autonomy. But India has created a safe environment for the Tibetan people to follow their own values. However, if PRC will choose his own Dalai Lama in the future, it will definitely create problems for India (Sikri, 2011).

### **3.7 Indian Connection with Dalai Lama and Tibet**

Tibet was known for its spiritual heritage and philosophical approach. Tibet has its direct links with India through Buddhism. Tibetan culture, philosophy and religious aspects were greatly influenced by India. At the same time, India has shown reincarnation path to Tibet. We can see the Indian spirit in Tibetans. The Indian attitude towards Tibet has always remained appreciable and meritorious since Nehru's period. India and Tibet's relations was also greatly affected by 1962 Sino-Indian war (Mehrotra, 2000).

In recent years, India has seen Dalai Lama as an asset to promote ancient Indian philosophy around the world. At the same time, Dalai Lama is also spreading the rich Indian history and thoughts through the medium of Buddhism. India has its connection with Dalai Lama since a long time. India has always reflected clear ideas about Tibetan political status. India has a positive approach towards Dalai Lama and Tibetans those who are living in exile. In this way, India has supported Dalai Lama nationally and internationally. Dalai Lama has committed to achieving his goal through non-violent method. India always has supported and maintained its ancient principle of non-violence. Dalai Lama is deeply inspired by Gandhian way of struggle. Nehru, considered as the architect of Indian external policy has never considered Tibet issue as a conflict between India and China. However, Tibetan issue has created some tensions in both the countries. India has always demanded self-rule for Tibet. It has suggested to PRC to solve Tibetan issue through negotiations. PRC has ignored India's suggestion and described it as an

interference in the internal matters of the state. India has also maintained its clear opinion that Tibet is not part of PRC. Consequently, India has advocated on several instances in favour of Tibet. But PRC ignored protests and claimed Tibet as an integral part of China. Dalai Lama has tried to raise this issue in highest forums like UN, but India did not oppose PRC. India suggested solving the issue in an amicable way by both Tibet and PRC without any external intervention. Dalai Lama also failed to get support towards his goal from other states of the world. He has signed an agreement with PRC. In this way, India changed its viewpoint towards Dalai Lama and Tibet (Chander & Arora, 2012).

### **3.8 India Matters Dalai Lama Matters China**

Dalai Lama has got Nobel Peace Prize and global limelight which could largely be attributed to the Indian soil. At the same time, India has also had extreme faith on Dalai Lama. India encouraged him through its support to provide democratic space. Dalai Lama is also giving a significant contribution to Indian soil and values as well as ancient philosophy. He has represented Indian spirit on many national and international platforms. Dalai Lama has his own interpretation towards Indian thought and spirituality. He has visited many places across the country. Dalai Lama used to attend many Buddhist conferences to spread Buddhist perspective and orientation to tackle present-day world problems. India has never opposed Dalai Lama to promote Buddhist tradition and values as well as philosophy. It always has respected constitutional values particularly democratic and secular ethos. Recently, His Holiness has guided his own schools to introduce secular ethics into their curriculum. He was also awarded 'ML Sondhi Prize for World Politics' for his extraordinary performance in improving international relations. Dalai Lama has aspired that young generation can make a change in India towards better and peaceful development. Ultimately, he is a renowned visionary and a Buddhist leader (Shonu, 2017).

Dalai Lama has expressed his gratitude towards India for creating peaceful space and protection. India has given its utmost respect and encouragement to Dalai Lama to implement and impart his human and ethical values. At the same time international community has also supported him in a wider manner. He has his exile government branches in many countries. India has the history of allowing any secular person to

spread his message through democratic platforms. Tibetan government in exile is also eventually imbibing democratic and secular ethics. Nobel Peace Prize has created worldwide reputation to Dalai Lama for promoting his values of spirituality and prosperity. India has created the ground for his international reputation. He has also headed Tibetan government in exile till 2011. He has chosen a democratic method to select candidates for the political position. India has fully supported and encouraged him to follow the democratic way of functioning.

PRC is in haste to elect its own Dalai Lama after 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. It would be problematic for Tibetan exile Buddhists. At the same time, it can also create problems if next Dalai Lama gets chosen from the outer world. It can also create violence in PRC. That's why everyone is waiting for Dalai Lama's reincarnation. PRC foreign ministry has warned India not to encourage Dalai Lama to visit and spread separatist middle way approach. At the same time, Dalai Lama is criticising PRC's sound path policy towards Tibet development. PRC is criticising his activities as anti-China in nature. However, Dalai Lama is following his own strategy towards genuine autonomy for Tibet. Shashi Tharoor has said that Dalai Lama always thinks about future rather than the past. Dalai Lama's recent Arunachal visit has proved and signalled a change towards Indian diplomatic stand. Some people are of the view that, India is playing a Tibet card to fulfil its policy stance. PRC also has many cards to play against India is the opinion. It is imperative to mention here that, PRC has stopped diplomatic and trade ties with Mongolia due to Dalai Lama's visit to the state (Rina & Krishnan, 2017).

India matters for Dalai Lama to a great extent. At the same time Dalai Lama matters for PRC. India is Dalai Lama's strongest base to build his own government and protect Tibetans religious and cultural freedom. At the same time, India is encouraging Dalai Lama to spread his message around the world. The International community has a positive stance towards India due to its democratic style of functioning. The spiritual leader has also reiterated himself as 'son like' for the Indian state. He has clarity about his actions to achieve genuine autonomy and restore freedom as well as rights for Tibetans. At the same time, Dalai Lama has mattered to PRC for stabilising the situation in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). On some occasions, Dalai Lama matters for India to handle PRC's over attention towards Kashmir issue. He is also important to achieve

Truthful path towards peaceful future of Tibet and PRC as well as rest of the world (Thurman, 2011). Tibet and Taiwan are very important issues for PRC. It will definitely concentrate Dalai Lama's future actions to avoid tensions in TAR. It also has an alternative plan over Dalai Lama. In this way, Dalai Lama matters for PRC and India matters for Dalai Lama. We can find the thin layer between these dimensions to understand the tripartite corollary very much fascinating in nature.

### **3.9 Dalai Lama On India**

In the last few years, Dalai Lama is focusing more on the ethical part than religion. The movement with which he entered India he was welcomed with great Indian spirit. He also has imbibed the nature and values of multi-culturalism in India. He has extreme positivity towards happiness and desire to change the instinct of unhappiness in all human beings. He has given more emphasis on inner values to solve the troubles in the society. Dalai Lama has warned holy wars in the name of knowledge and religion. He has said that religion is becoming more intolerant day by day. He aspired for creative brain and new ethical values in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Dalai Lama focussed on basic human spirituality. In India, there are many religions which are spreading secular ethics. Ultimately, inner values and happiness are more important than religious values. India is a land of secular spirit and ethical values as well as democratic functioning. In this aspect, Dalai Lama has inscribed Gandhi as his role model for his religious acceptance and tolerance. In the same tune, he has appreciated Indian roots towards tolerance. However, he has appreciated that anybody can live in India peacefully and can pursue their own cultural and religious value system.

Dalai Lama refused to generalise local violence in Indian society. Moreover, He has appreciated Indian values which emphasise on peace and harmony. In India, all religions are following ancient basic values of *ahimsa* and secular as well as nonviolence. India's nonviolence is founding principle for peaceful cooperation. This spirit will promote secular ethics of Indian society is the belief which he possessed. The present day international community has to take this forward in a vibrant way. Dalai Lama has admired India's democratic, secular and ethical philosophy. According to him, it will create positive vibrations in a diversified society like India. He has recognised education

as an important tool to change society. To achieve these objectives, he has visited many states to promote Buddhist philosophy and basic human ethics across the country. He has also received Indian government support for his religious and political activities with a purpose. Dalai Lama has established Tibetan government in exile to promote his middle path policy around the globe. PRC has opposed India for supporting Dalai Lama on national and international platforms (Franz Alt, 2015).

Dalai Lama has aspired more on internal peace rather than outer peace. He has pointed out religious fundamentalism as a factor of war. He has suggested practising altruist behaviour to alleviate violence and egoism. Dalai Lama has emphasised on the role of compassion for the well-being of humanity. In this way, His Holiness has encouraged the global community to achieve, cultivate and apply inner values in every sphere of life. Dalai Lama has re-emphasized his three commitments for the international community to achieve human values and inter-religious cooperation in the European Union Parliament in 2008.

On the other hand, India has provided all kind of support and encouragement for the exiled Tibetan people since 57 years. It is like a second home for Tibetans. In addition to this, India has great Buddhist monasteries across the country. Dalai Lama has visited all those places to disseminate the message of peaceful and positive religious harmony. He has also attended many *Kalachakra* programmes and promoted rich Indian history and heritage. The positive vibe in this regard is, the people of India and Centre, as well as state governments, have created a comfortable and protective environment to promote Tibetan culture around the world (TPIE, 2016).

### **3.10 Dalai Lama on China**

PRC has published white papers on Tibetan way of development and economic enrichment. But on the other hand, Tibetan people are worrying about the organisation and their own identity. At the same time, Dalai Lama is also raising his voice on international stages to achieve genuine self-rule for Tibetans. He has visited EP on many occasions. His address of 2001 inside the premises of European Parliament and again giving emphasis on the same aspirations in 2008 states that,

“Despite some development and economic progress, Tibet continues to face fundamental problems of survival. Serious violations of human rights are widespread throughout Tibet and are often the result of policies of racial and cultural discrimination. Yet, they are only the symptoms and consequences of a deeper problem. The Chinese authorities view Tibet's distinct culture and religion as the source of threat of separation. Hence as a result of deliberate policies, an entire people with its unique culture and identity are facing the threat of extinction.”

Dalai Lama has achieved popularity in West after winning Nobel Peace Prize (Mishra, 2011). He has utilized global stages to promote his views and vision on Tibet. He has emphasized more on gathering support from various platforms towards Tibetan cause. PRC reiterated its tremendous achievements and peaceful administration process in Tibet through its white paper in 2011. It has also mentioned 17 Article Agreement and its importance towards Tibetan liberation. But His Holiness has another version of opinion on Tibetan growth and genuine self-rule. Dalai Lama has criticised PRC's policies in everyday life and fundamental problems of Tibet. PRC has a blind eye on Tibetan culture and great spirit. At the same time, proper negotiation is essential to avoid Tibetan problems. At the end of the day, a thorough investigation is required to solve Tibetans obstacles. PRC has followed violent methods to tackle the situation in Tibet. At the same time, many Tibetans are suffering by strenuous security restrictions by military law. Tibetan's are not getting proper freedom, and they are living with fear under restrictions. Dalai Lama has also pointed out PRC's wrong dealing with international delegations. PRC has a complete grip on TAR, and it has every tactic to use against Tibetans Through police and military. Tibetan's are surviving with full of anxiety. It is expected that dialogue and discussion can solve the Tibetan problems.

Dalai Lama proposed a mutually beneficial solution for Tibetan cause through Strasbourg proposal in EP in 1988. The negotiations between PRC and private representatives have taken many twists. Anyway, middle way solution for Tibetan problem is always represented Tibetan people aspiration under the PRC Constitution. The commitment and confidence to resolve the Tibetan problems is an essential part of genuine autonomy. Unfortunately, PRC has rejected peaceful dialogue in 2008 and blamed Dalai Lama's

self-rule initiative in the name of semi-independence. In addition to this, demographic change in Tibet is problematic for Tibetan people's identity. At the same time, it leads towards migration.

Protection of the environment is crucial for the survival of Tibetans in a peaceful manner. PRC has to take initiatives towards the common good for both sides. However, the meeting was conducted under democratic spirit to discuss various Tibetan problems in Dharamsala. PRC's failure towards Tibetan problems shows their disinterest to solve the Tibetan cause through dialogue. Tibetan government in exile is following democratic values to promote Tibetan heritage and Buddhist culture around the globe. Tibetan people have the ultimate power to take an appropriate decision towards the future of Tibet. Nehru has also reiterated on Tibetan people's ultimate decision making authority in Indian parliament in 1950. Dalai Lama also has expressed his views on Tibetan culture towards compassion. At the same time, he has remembered the role of non-violence in Buddhist culture. However, preparation towards worst is always good for human peace, as he has observed.

On the other hand, we have to be very optimistic towards our bright future. The EP can do better negotiation to solve this mistrust between both sides. PRC has to respect people's aspirations towards their rights and freedom. It has to follow the global phenomena towards brighter future of Tibetan people. PRC has to follow the openness and the rule of law. The International community can impact on PRC's policies towards Tibetan issue. Fortunately, there is sympathy for Tibetan struggle among PRC's educated and informed circle. According to Dalai Lama, people of PRC can make a change rather than leadership. However, We can hope and trust for better understanding between PRC and Tibet based on mutual respect and the common good (Dalai Lama, 2008).

### **3.11 Narratives of PRC on Tibet in Recent Time**

The western countries have a strong emotional bonding with Tibet for several reasons. According to their perspective, in the name of sound path and nationalism, PRC is disturbing Tibetan way of life. But Tibetans have emotional bonding towards PRC. Tibet needs to work with the other nationalities in PRC (Dreyer, 2011). Recently, PRC has appointed village-level groups to solve social disputes and problems. In TAR



fundamental rights has been restricted. According to official sources, these groups are supporting the communist party and openly opposing Dalai Lama. HRW opines that “the new normal is one of permanent surveillance of Tibetans.” In the name of five duties, these village groups are trying to build villages towards social stability and economic prosperity. They also encourage education under the guidance of the communist party. Promotion of cultural activities and spreading socialism for village enrichment are duties of the village groups (HRW, 2016). In this respect, Richardson (2016) argues that,

“China’s surveillance scheme openly and massively infringes upon the basic rights of Tibetans protected under Chinese and international law. China’s central and regional authorities should end the repressive aspects of this scheme immediately.”

In this way, PRC is working hard to build stability and reduce social tensions in the TAR. At the same time, it has to respect local people's aspirations and practices according to PRC's constitution and international laws. Dalai Lama is trying and asking for genuine self-rule under these laws. It is also substantial that, the international community has to respect Tibetan sovereignty. Tibetan government in exile has clarity over Tibetan history and solutions for its problems. The middle path approach is the most viable way to find solutions to the issues is not only the belief but an established notion of the Tibetan government in exile (CTA, 2015).

### **3.12 Genuine Appeal for Genuine Autonomy to the People of Tibet and China**

Wisdom and peaceful negotiation are always expected to resolve any problem in this world. These are the words of Dalai Lama which have motivated global community to look upon Tibetan issue as a matter of utmost priority. The destiny of Dalai Lama is interlinked with spirituality and peace of mind for a strengthened great Tibetan culture. Through his words, Dalai Lama has appealed to the Tibetan people to work with self-discipline and humanity. He has also appreciated Chinese people for their kind cooperation towards Tibetan people particularly those who are attached with Gautam Buddha on the basis of faith system. Chinese and Tibetans are very much connected with *Mahayana Buddhist Culture*. Unfortunately, on the contrary, PRC has invoked harsh methods towards Tibetans. At the same time, there is no permission for international

tourists and delegates in Tibet. Many Tibetans are living with fear and without proper food and shelter. The only solution is a negotiation between Tibetans and PRC leadership. Dalai Lama is insisting on meaningful freedom and autonomy to protect Buddhist culture, unique heritage and distinct identity for the Tibetans. He has tried to establish links between roots of Tibetan Buddhist traditions and cultural heritage of China (Dalai Lama, 2008).

The counter-narrative of China expresses that, Tibetan society was conservative and retrograde since ancient times. But PRC has made tremendous development in their livelihood. Tibet has become a role Model and economically enriched with the support of PRC. At present Tibetans are masters of their destiny and prosperity. Tibet has become advanced in cultural and economic domains following the sound path towards modernity (PRC White Paper, 2015).

The world community is constantly supporting Tibetans to resist against anti-Tibetan policies. The mutually beneficial approach is a viable answer for Tibetan issue. PRC government is constantly making false allegations against Dalai Lama and exiled Tibetan government without any evidence. Tibetans have every right to take decisions according to their own wish towards the future of Tibet. At the same time, Dalai Lama has already offered middle path solution to PRC for the betterment of Tibet's unique culture and future. Every Tibetan have the right to protest for their rights. Tibetan people have problems with some of the leaders but not with the PRC's people. However, non-violence and human values should be the driving force for all Tibetans, which should not be compromised. Success is definite on this path of non-violence is the strong message advocated by the spiritual icon (Dalai Lama, 2008).

On the contrary, the Chinese narrative has a different version of the story. According to it, Tibet is tremendously performing in the field of economy and open to the world community. However, the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and his followers are trying to establish "a state within a state" through the method of nonviolence. But in the name of nonviolence, they are seeking independence from PRC's territorial control. It alleges Dalai Lama and Tibetan government in exile opposing common people's progress and the sound path

towards development. It further argues that the middle path is an interim step towards independence (PRC White Paper, 2015).

PRC has its own strategy for Dalai Lama and his plan of action towards Tibetan self-rule. At the same time Dalai Lama also have vision and clarity to promote and achieve his goals. Dalai Lama is utilising international sympathy and support to promote his way of actions. In this process, some young Tibetans are seeking complete independence from PRC. Many Tibetan support groups are working for Tibetan freedom and human rights. Tibetan government in exile is also working under the motto of restoring freedom for Tibet. However, the Tibetan problem remains unresolved in the 21<sup>st</sup> century under the leadership of Dalai Lama. At the fragile age of 82, he is still performing tirelessly to achieve his life ambitions. Doing justice to the Nobel Peace Prize conferred on him is a tremendous responsibility. Actualisation of his aspirations on the trajectory of peace and harmony is a dubious task. Yet, hopes of Tibetans and Dalai Lama are still unfazed in this regard.

### **3.13 Indian and Chinese Perspective on Dalai Lama**

PRC has the constitutional commitment, socialistic approach and extreme economic and military base to gain momentum in 21<sup>st</sup> century politics. The white paper of PRC mentions it as a multi-ethnic country. At the same time, India is also a unified country with diversity and strong secular values. When it comes to Buddhism, Dalai Lama's role is crucial to observe in Mahayana sect. The three provinces in Tibet are treating Dalai Lama as their Spiritual icon. But approximately since last 60 years, he is being protected by India for many reasons. India is Buddha's birthplace as well as the originating place of the religion. However, for several reasons, India and China have misconceptions towards Dalai Lama and his activities towards genuine autonomy for Tibet. In realist view, PRC has its own problems with Tibetan spiritual guru. It is assuming him as a separatist and anti-China leader. But India is providing spiritual support to the Buddhist monk to promote his views on the basis of nonviolence method through a democratic manner. On the other hand, Dalai Lama has projected himself as an advocate for the promotion of human rights and nonviolence towards the achievement of world peace.

PRC has a strong commitment towards national objectives like sovereignty and national security. It has asserted uncompromised policy towards national integrity, much more than international relations. People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Communist Party of China (CPC) have a bigger role to play in national issues of the state. At the same time, they have some limitations towards national issues. At present nationalism is the main driving force for CPC. On the external front, PRC always has sensitivity towards India-China territorial matter. PRC has blamed Dalai Lama and actions of his exile government as a threat to diplomatic relations. PRC treats Dalai Lama as a threat to Sino-Indian bilateral relations. At the same time, it has many doubts about Tibetan government in exile. At present, Chinese Premier Xi Jinping is concentrating more on Tibetan boundary issue. PRC is treating Dalai Lama related issues as sensitive towards their boundary problems.

Dalai Lama's future actions can decide PRC's plan of action towards Tibet. But it has its own preparation for Tibet and future issues related to Dalai Lama's death. However, Tibet-related boundary issues are making PRC uncomfortable. PRC is also considering Dalai Lama as a sensitive matter in their diplomatic relations with India. Nationalism has always remained core interest in PRC's strategy for survival. India has right opportunity to take a right decision towards the boundary and Dalai Lama related issues under NDA governance. At the same time, nationalism is expected to remain core interest in both countries internal matters. But India has to pursue these issues in a consistent manner under strong statesmanship of Prime Minister Modi (Panda, 2015).

PRC has its own commitment towards territory and development for Tibet. In the name of genuine autonomy for Tibet, His Holiness has visited many forums to gather support. India has created democratic space for Dalai Lama to run his activities and government in Dharamsala. Considering PRC, it has provided many economic opportunities to the Tibetan people through its sound path policy. But some Tibetans are still unhappy with CPC's village level teams. In this way, Dalai Lama is also not satisfied with PRC policies towards Tibetan people. At the same time, PRC is criticising India on Dalai Lama issue. International community's mixed response towards Tibetan issue has failed to generate any space for a solution.

India has to realise about PRC's ambitious behaviour towards future. PRC has its own stands towards Dalai Lama and boundary issues. At the same time, India has to focus on PRC's way of dealing things in a contextual manner. PRC policy makers have clarity over Dalai Lama related issues. On the other hand, PRC is moving away from Deng Xiaoping's principles. However, PRC is not ready to obey international norms anyway. PRC had already warned that India has to make its clear choice towards Dalai Lama. At this point of time, India has to realise PRC's aspirations and strategic approach (Narayanan, 2017). Dalai Lama has reiterated his position in India and its contribution towards Tibetan people on many occasions. He also has suggested to India to promote its unique culture and harmony. Tibetan government in exile also expressed its gratitude towards India for providing democratic space to spread Tibetan culture and identity. The International community has appreciated Dalai Lama's consistent struggle towards Tibetan genuine autonomy. At the same time, PRC has objections for this appreciation by the international community. However, India is maintaining its commitment towards democratic values and spiritual harmony advocated by Dalai Lama.

### **3.14 The Way Ahead for Autonomy of Tibet**

Dalai Lama and his government's motto is peaceful conflict resolution for self-rule through middle way. But many independent working groups are demanding independence for Tibet from PRC. For example, Tibetan youth congress is aspiring for complete independence for Tibet. Some people are questioning PRC's confusional expression on Tibet as China's Tibet. Tibetan government in exile has clarity over Tibetan history and present scenario as well as a future course of action under Dalai Lama's guideline. But many radical Tibetan organisations are unhappy with the middle path. They are full heartedly aspiring independence for Tibet. TYC (Tibetan Youth Congress) and SFT (Students for Free Tibet) are ready to give up their life for the cause of Tibetan independence. They think independence can only protect their language and unique identity. At the same time, they are ready to fight with politically and economically stronger PRC for independence. TYC has condemned PRC terrorist allegations as baseless and foolish. At the same time, they are not ready to create any violent activities for independence. They don't have faith in the middle path, but they have respect towards Dalai Lama's contribution towards Tibetan cause.

On the other hand, many Indians think the presence of Dalai Lama in India is a block between India-China bilateral relations. As far as Dalai Lama is concerned, Indians are treating him as a political leader. But most of the Tibetans have their view on Dalai Lama as a political and spiritual leader. At the same time, many Tibetans are aspiring to go Tibet and stay there only. PRC's official sources criticised Dalai Lama's dual method to grab single-handed power. They also pointed out his actions towards independence in the mask of peace and middle path. They have also said that he wants to throw the socialist approach and maintain the direct relations with international community. When it comes to the India side, after 1962 war, it had a blind eye on Tibetan government in exile activities. We have already agreed on Tibet as part of PRC. However, India has supported Tibetan exiles irrespective of problems like unemployment and overpopulation. Ultimately, Indian people have positivity towards Dalai Lama, and the government is seeing Tibetan issue as an internal matter between PRC and Tibet (Deepak, 2011).

### **3.15 Conclusion**

India has a positive vision towards Dalai Lama and his government in exile. At the same time, it is important to see from PRC's perspective to solve Tibetan issue in a peaceful manner. Dalai Lama is also following Indian values and promoting ancient Indian philosophy. But we have to see consequences after the death of Dalai Lama. In this matter, PRC has a future plan of action and alternative towards Tibet. It has already started economic development programmes in Tibetan Autonomous Region. However, in recent time, PRC has reacted more than before on Dalai Lama's Arunachal visit.

From an Indian perspective, Dalai Lama is a spiritual leader. But PRC is considering him as a splittist. At the same time, the international community is welcoming him as a promoter of global peace and harmony. Tibetan government in exile is blindly following his way of democratic governance and modern education in exile schools. Some individual Tibetan groups are only aspiring independence for Tibet. However, Tibetan issue will generate tensions in the future also. The only viable solution would be a genuine tripartite negotiation between India, China and Dalai Lama through the support of international community.

## CHAPTER-4

### DALAI LAMA AS A FACTOR IN INDIA- CHINA RELATIONS

#### **4.1 Introduction**

India-China opinions on Dalai Lama related issues have varied from time to time. But as a host Dalai Lama is playing a major role in diplomatic relations with PRC. He is trying to solve the Tibetan problem in his life term, but that could not happen for different reasons. Recently he visited Arunachal Pradesh (AP) to visit monasteries and being a spiritual leader, had a long interaction with Tibetan Buddhists. But PRC has treated that issue as a political trip to separate its territory. PRC is treating AP as southern Tibet. However, India, as well as the state of PRC, have different opinions on AP and Dalai Lama.

India's position on *One China Approach* is clear, but PRC is trying to isolate India by opposing India's activities in the Asian region. At the same time, India has healthy relations with the US and unhealthy relations with Pakistan. PRC's mouth piece media has also warned Dalai Lama visit as a threat to its territory. Indian media has considered Dalai Lama Visit as a normal one. Indian actions towards PRC are very clear in terms of investments and economic issues. But, PRC is taking it in a different manner. PRC has rejected to put Masood Azhar in blacklist and India's long-term demand for membership of NSG (Nuclear Suppliers Group). At this juncture, PRC has talked about sovereignty in the South China issue. In a realist view, territorial integrity matters for the state to achieve greater power. In this way, PRC is trying very hard to protect national interests where India is also committed to its territorial integrity.

Dalai Lama is genuinely promoting his view on PRC towards Tibetan cause for self-rule. Here, The State will play a major role to resolve Dalai Lama's aspiration. At the same time, PRC is not considering him as a spiritual leader but considering as a political leader who is trying to split its state. As far as India is concerned, he is a spiritual leader. But the fact that he is working on Tibetan Buddhism ground as a Dalai Lama. This chapter analyses state and religion relations in a broader way. At the same time, it will throw light

on border problem in a realist view. India and PRC have many issues to solve in the near future. Both countries are competing with each other to gain momentum in the Asian region. This chapter also focuses on historical relations of India-China. Monasteries are playing a key role in the promotion of Buddhism. This chapter discusses the role of monasteries in India in general and AP in particular. In this way, it will focus on Dalai Lama's seven visits to AP and discusses its influence on India-China relations. It will also discuss on Buddhism as a connection between Dalai Lama and India to achieve greater peace. Finally, it will analyse Dalai Lama's role in India PRC relations in the discussed period.

According to CCP mouthpiece (Global Times), Dalai Lama has a bigger role to play in PRC's diplomacy with other countries. Anyway, there are many misconceptions between India-China bilateral Foundation. Indian foreign policy designer, Jawaharlal Nehru has created democratic space for Dalai Lama in India. He has also provided support to spread Tibetan Buddhism around the world. Dalai Lama has been treated as a host and spiritual leader by India on many international occasions. But PRC objections are always creating tensions and disturbing India's relations with China. However, the international community is observing dragon's every movement towards global leadership. At the same time, India has to understand Dragon's aspirations and pragmatic steps towards discovering the world.

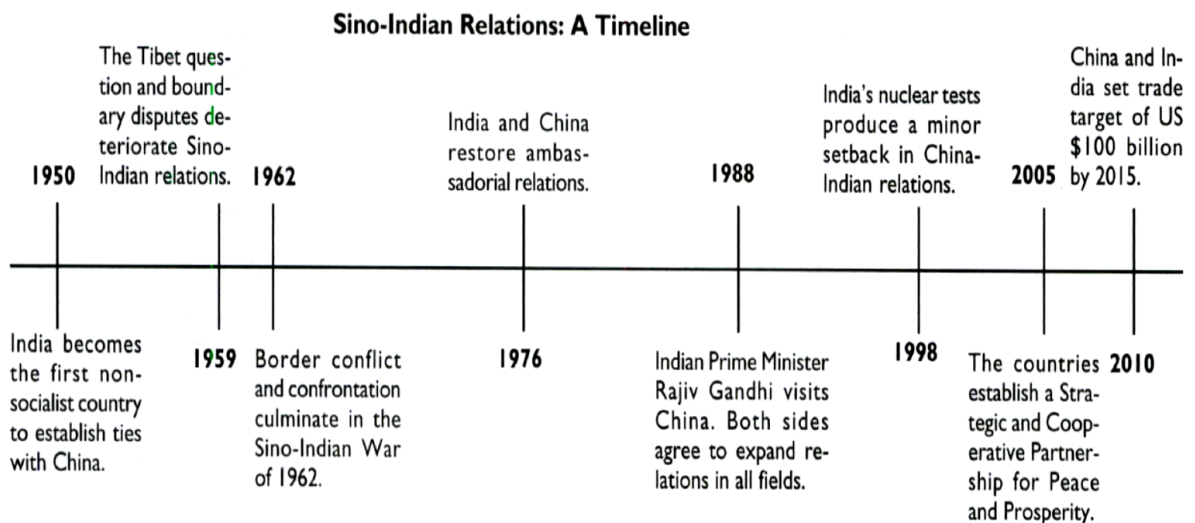
#### **4.2 India- China Relations: A Historical Overview**

Asia is the biggest continent in the world. It comprises most populous nations like India and China. Since last sixty-seven years, Sino-Indian relations have been continuing in a fluctuating manner. When it comes to the border issue, these two countries have major problems. But economically two countries are cooperating each other to achieve leadership in Asia and the world. PRC's vision towards Tibet and Dalai Lama is changing according to varied situations. As far as PRC is concerned, it has the futuristic vision to achieve world leadership through economic diplomacy. At the same time, India is also trying to make its stamp on the global stage. In this way, India and PRC are maintaining economic cooperation and fighting for Asian leadership through political diplomacy. Tibet has its own importance in two countries bilateral relations, particularly in a border



dispute. However, Dalai Lama factor is playing a vital role to create temporary tensions between the two countries. India has tried to avoid tensions through diplomatic relations. But PRC has its own strategy towards Tibetan problem. Tibetan issue has become controversy between human rights and sovereignty. India has said that Dalai Lama has his freedom to visit and spread the message across all parts of India. At the same time, The 1962 war has disturbed healthy relations between the two countries. Bilateral relations have severely damaged, and mutual trust has reduced by the war. India and PRC have problems in two issues. First one is the border issue and the second one is the issue of Tibet.

**Figure 4.1: Sixty Years of Conflict and Co-operation between India and China**



Source: International Peace and Conflict Studies; 2010 and Embassy of India in Beijing; 2012

In 1988, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Deng had tried best to remove mistrust between two countries. At the same time, economic relations have improved through proper negotiations. It has reduced war tension and improved healthy relations between neighbouring countries. In 1988, Rajiv Gandhi had declared Tibetan matter as an internal matter of PRC. At the same time, he maintained balanced approach with Deng through his decisions. However, 1954 commitments have died with 1962 war. Gandhi has tried to solve Tibetan issue in 1988 which turned futile. PRC has been trying to blame Dalai Lama and his group as a threat to integrity. On the other hand, PRC has been consistently

raising its voice against Indian territory. Particularly, It ha raised voice against AP and Tawang. PRC's Tibet approach definitely influence India- PRC border issue and Tibetan demands. PRC has been implementing its power on Tibet through the economic and military approach to protect its sovereignty. PRC has been trying to undermine Indian interests in South Asia and rest of the world by escalated means of tension in the border regions.

In 1996, India and PRC had committed to follow confidence-building measures to avoid unnecessary tensions near the border. Ultimately, CBM's had failed to gain confidence between two countries. PRC is not ready to solve border issue in earlier manner. It has opposed loan for India by Asian Development Bank (ADB) for improvement of AP hydropower conditions. PRC has been trying to maintain the contradictory position of AP in front of the international community. PRC is also opposing India's candidature for NSG membership since a long time. In this way, PRC has many doubts about US interference in the Asian region. Particularly it is uncomfortable with US and Indian healthy relations. PRC is trying to decrease Indian influence and development in Asia. PRC has its own regional strategy to create a problematic environment for India through economic means. On the similar lines, PRC is trying to establish PRC's subcontinent through its economic strength and military power as well as membership in UN security council. Recently India and PRC are fighting in the water field. Tibetan Plateau has many rivers to create water for Asia. At the same time, India's interaction with the US is creating fluctuations between Both the countries. From PRC's perspective, India is using Tibet issue as a card to create problems in Tibet. At the same time, It is also suspecting India for protecting and providing a facility for Dalai Lama. PRC is following Confucian approach to dominate Asian region. However, PRC will try to decrease India's position in Asia to achieve top position in the world (Bhattacharya, 2010).

India and PRC relations mainly depend upon principles of Panchsheel. India has great diversity where PRC has fundamental socialism. Two countries have bad experiences after 1962 war till late 1980's. In 1998, India tested Nuclear weapons. At the same time, India and PRC relations have maintained momentum in United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government period. Political visitings and economic understanding and strategic dependency were clearly observable between two countries. It is important to maintain

interactions between two countries to achieve economic and political understanding. India and PRC have its peak understanding in UPA period under Singh leadership. To avoid tensions between India and PRC meaningful interaction is important through a proper mechanism (Narayanan, 2012).

From the year 1988 onwards PRC-India relations had turned into another face by the conversation between Gandhi and Deng in Beijing. In the meeting, they discussed future rather than the past. In 1991 India's new prime minister Narasimha Rao and Peng decided to open new consulate branches in different parts of India and PRC to avoid border tensions and establish developmental programmes. At this point of time, India's Nuclear testing created problems between two countries. PRC has raised voice against India for tests. In 1999 India and PRC relations has turned into the positive path by External Affairs Minister's Beijing visit. At the same time, Both the leaders have decided to cooperate each other. In 2003, Vajpayee had agreed PRC's legitimacy over Tibet. PRC also has raised voice against India's sovereignty over AP. It has created mistrust and tensions between two countries. India has refused to recognise PRC's one China approach to avoid India's territorial tensions with China. However, PLA has created continuous obstacles in the borderline. In 2013, India signed many deals with PRC to resolve border issues. In this way, India and PRC have mixed cooperation till 2014. PRC has a clear vision towards its economic ambitions in Asia. Then, In 2015 Modi visit to PRC has created economic vibrations between two countries. In this way, PRC has been trying to undermine India's interests and ambitions towards big power status. Looking at the larger context, PRC is trying to overpower the US in the future towards global power goals (Indurthy, 2016).

India and PRC had played a major role in the international politics to achieve the notion of Asian Century. Western countries started observing Asia due to the political and economic growth of these two countries. Anyway, two countries are aspiring to achieve the status of supremacy in the near future in Asia. At the same time, there was a lot of misunderstandings about border between India and Tibet. That's why PRC is claiming Aksaichin as part of its territorial border. PRC has a problem with MacMahon line and its guidelines. 1962 war has totally changed Indian diplomacy towards PRC. PRC supported Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 wars. It has changed Indian mindset which started testing

nuclear weapons in 1974. At the same time, India has tilted towards the Soviet Union through friendship to avoid threat from PRC. PRC has started to maintain good relations with US and Pakistan. However, the big change in PRC-Soviet friendship had changed Indian politics in a broader manner. The result was Janata government formation. India has restored its relationship with PRC in 1976 under the new leadership.

Since 2006, PRC is trying hard to own AP through negotiations. It has been creating problems between two countries. Cold war termination has created a positive path for Sino-Pak relations. It has created mistrust between two countries. However, Tibetan government in exile has created permanent mistrust between two countries. PRC is trying to maintain good relations with India's neighbouring countries through a string of pearls. Anyway, PRC is trying to stop Indian membership in the security council and claiming territorial authority over AP. Two countries had better opportunities to grow and built their presence in Asia in a peaceful manner. In 2011, the economy did not perform well in both countries. However, India and PRC have fair chances to avoid border tensions and develop its relation towards Asian century through meaningful dialogue and economic diplomacy (Guha, 2012).

In this way, India- PRC has maintained relations for sixty-seven years. Now, Tibetan issue is in its peak stage due to Dalai Lama's government in exile activities throughout the world. Dalai Lama has been affecting Indian diplomacy towards PRC since 1959. He has his importance in Indian scenario as a spiritual and religious leader as well as a promoter of ancient philosophy around the world. PRC is treating him as a threat to its territorial integrity.

#### **4.3 The Troika of India, China & Dalai Lama**

India has a very cordial relationship with PRC since a long time. Asian countries are sharing borders with neighbouring countries in a conflicting manner. Two countries have strategic equations and economic needs as well as border disputes. Dalai Lama is playing a strategic role between two countries. When it comes to the sovereignty, both countries have clear-cut opinions. In international scenario, every country has its own diplomacy in the globalised world to achieve superpower status. In this way, 21<sup>st</sup> century has significance to avoid tensions and create peaceful Asian century. But Dalai Lama also has

a significant role to play between two big Asian nations. At the same time, India has its own standpoints towards Tibet and Dalai Lama as well as its own democratic inferences. As a Buddhist leader Dalai Lama has a prominent role to spread his own standpoints around the world. As far as sovereignty is concerned, every country has right to claim their position under international law.

India always has left PRC Tibet issue for its own negotiation. India has taken a middle step to solve the issue in a peaceful manner between PRC and Tibet. PRC also has promised for Religious autonomy and leadership to Dalai Lama through 1951 agreement. The situation has changed over the period. Panchsheel has played a major role to reduce tensions between two countries. But boundary problems has created mistrust between PRC and Dalai Lama. PRC has claimed Indian places its own, and in turn, it has created problems between two countries (Chander & Arora, 2011).

Dalai Lama has been provided shelter by India as a spiritual leader. PRC has reacted in an aggressive manner towards Indian decisions in favour of Dalai Lama. PRC has tried to attack Indian territory for border reasons. In this way, Dalai Lama has crucial importance between two countries. PRC's Buddhism has its roots in Indian Buddhism. At the same time, Buddhism has spread from PRC to Tibetan region. PRC has its healthy relationship with India at the time of Independence. It has also had Panchsheel relationship with India to achieve healthy relations. In 1988, Rajiv Gandhi visited PRC to reopen better bilateral relationship with PRC. At the same time, Dalai Lama also has addressed in AP to achieve a concrete solution for his Tibetan self-rule. In the following year, Dalai Lama was encouraged by global community through Nobel Peace Prize. At the same time, India has its own share of transformation towards economic reforms to achieve financial stability. But PRC and its opinion on Tibetan issue have not improved much since then. Dalai Lama has proposed middle path approach to solve Tibetan problem in a mutually beneficial manner. But Tibetan long demand for self-rule has remained fruitless. The war has created a gap and hollowness between two neighbouring countries for approximately one and half decade. In 1988, Rajiv's visit to PRC had changed the scenario completely. Then onwards India and PRC are cooperating in economic platforms in a peaceful manner. But two countries have decided to protect sovereignty to protect state legitimacy.

India has committed to introducing the Chinese language in educational platforms to handle PRC's issues in a better manner in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Dingli, 2010).

However, India and PRC have different opinions about Dalai Lama and his actions towards Tibetan self-rule. In Indian view, Dalai Lama has every right to visit and promote his values in independent India. As a simple monk, he has right to protect his own philosophy and identity. But PRC has severe objections on his visits and actions in India and outside India. At the same time, PRC has been treating AP as a part of southern Tibet and Dalai Lama as a separatist. PRC's official media has given utmost importance to Dalai Lama's visit to AP. It has condemned Dalai Lama actions as a deliberate attempt to separate Tibet from PRC's mainland. PRC has its own interpretation towards Dalai Lama and AP as well as border problems. It has been trying to gain momentum in a global scenario with its arrogance approach. But India also has enough cards to play against PRC to establish a peaceful environment in border areas (Tharoor, 2017).

PRC's actions to select alternative Dalai Lama is not acceptable by Tibetan people. Dalai Lama is the ultimate leader of Tibetans. He has every right to take a decision about 15<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. India has supported Dalai Lama and Tibetan cause in every situation. At the same time, PRC's hope to rule Tibet without Dalai Lama is not acceptable by Tibetans. CCP has been trying to blame Dalai Lama for its own faults. Dalai Lama has utmost respect in Tibetan community and the international community. In this way, every Tibetan have aspiration towards Tibetan self-rule and Dalai Lama's actions. Ultimately Dalai Lama is a peacemaker, not a separatist (CTA, 2015).

#### **4.4 Situating Tibet in between India and China**

India has been maintaining cultural relations with China and Tibet for a long time. Buddhism has its importance to maintain relations in a cordial manner. At the same time, It has created a positive environment to promote nonviolence in a root level. India has sympathy towards Tibetan issue for a long time. It also has suggested PRC solve the matter in a peaceful manner through negotiations. But PRC has neglected India's approach towards Tibet. At the same time, it has criticised Nehru and his support to the Tibet. PRC has blamed Nehru's actions as imperialistic actions. Anyway, India has changed its strategy towards Tibet. It has remained silent in UN. The Dalai Lama has

tried for international community confidence. He has failed to get support, and he has agreed to sign an agreement with PRC (Chander & Arora, 2011). Dalai Lama has been provided protection and shelter by India. Then onwards India and PRC relations has been fluctuating concerning Dalai Lama.

Tibet has its own culture and identity for a long time. CTA has condemned PRC's claim on Tibet. Tibet has deep relations with Mongol, Ming and Manchu rulers as well as Republican China. But PRC has been trying to manipulate Tibetan history through its white papers. It also has blamed Dalai Lama's middle solution as a separatist initiative. PRC has sound path action plan for Tibet over the middle path. But human rights initiatives are not in proper shape. The International community has to take immediate action against it. Rural Tibetans are facing problems on a daily basis. PRC is trying to maintain status quo in Tibetan region through its economic propaganda. At the same time, Dalai Lama has potential to avoid tensions between two countries. Middle path has the power to restore trust between Asian powers. It will be helpful for a peaceful environment in the Himalayan belt. However, the middle solution would be the best initiative for PRC to achieve global soft power status (DIIR, 2017).

Tibetan community has played an important role in Chinese national development. Tibetans share blood relation with other ethnic groups in China. Tibetan separatist activities are encouraged by imperialists to split the nation. PRC has created liberation for Tibet through 17 Article proposal. At this juncture, Tibetans are the masters of their fate. It has achieved tremendous improvement in various fields, particularly in economic prosperity in 60 years of history. Tibet has been moving consistently towards socialist approach. It is also attracting world's attention as an economically developed tourist destination under PRC's leadership. At the same time, people are enjoying standard livelihood through economic prosperity (PRC White Paper, 2011).

#### **4.5 The Concept of State and Theory Formation**

The state can establish authority within the limited borders. It has its own characteristics to rule the defined territory. It also has responsibility for each and every activity within the territory. It gets affected by globalisation in a reasonable manner. The state has a correlation with civil society. At the same time, It has its own characteristics in the

international system. Globalisation has changed state role in a complete manner. However, the state has started evolving as a nation state in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the state was largely influenced by social and economic means. State have different versions like welfare and competition and pro-economic states. At the same time, there is another concept of it called as failed state. For example, Liberia and Somalia can't handle its domestic issues in a proper manner with sufficient mechanisms. These countries might come under failed state list.

The state has many problems to face within the limited space. It has to overcome ethnic problems and effective leadership as well as the balance between traditional and western models of governance building. Some people are criticising state's role in the globalised world. At the same time, 21<sup>st</sup> century has a strong place for the state to avoid Terrorist activities. According to Bobbitt, "state exists to master violence". Therefore, it is a war-making institution. The state has many opinions in the international system. According to realists, it has unit level importance in the international scenario. They used to see State from outside. It has a dominant position in the international field. At the same time, it's the only aim is to wish to survive in the world system. Neo-realists have a different opinion on states capabilities. Realists have positive corner towards globalisation and its effects. The phenomenon of globalisation is created by the state to fulfil its own interests. Liberals believe that states role mainly depended upon the interests of common people. Liberal opinion on state's global activity is not considerable. Individuals and groups have a major role to play in the state. At the same time, Liberals have a negative corner on globalisation and its effects. Critical view rejects both the above opinions. Marxists believe that class is the driving force for the state. Social constructivists have a negative opinion about the fixed establishment of the state. At the same time, liberal and radical feminists have different opinions about state structure. In this way, the state has different characteristics. These aspects are quite important to understand the dynamics between modern states while considering the cases of Tibet, India and China.

#### **4.6 State and the Objective of Sovereignty**

In international scenario, the state is playing an important role to protect citizens aspirations and livelihood. The 21<sup>st</sup> century is going to be a competitive century for



global power conflicts. However, states are facing problems through phases of globalisation. It has its own characteristics in an international system. At the same time, it has a grip on its land, population and government as well as sovereignty. Many scholars have different opinions on the nature of the state. The state approach has started from Europe and swung towards free colonial countries. The 21<sup>st</sup> century has the better opportunity for the state system. The Montevideo Convention has created a proper structure for the state. It has explained about state duties in article one to create proper guidelines for defined borders. In this way, the state has its own territory, people and proper functioning. State and its total functioning fully depend upon sovereignty. It is a very important characteristic of the state.

The state emerged as an institution of prominence apart from the prominent religious strand (church) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Europe. It got affected by the peace of Westphalia towards the modern path. At the same time, it has dualistic framework constituting both internal and outer periphery. According to Max Weber, the state has a violent characteristic with monopoly approach. Joseph Schumpeter has a tax-oriented approach towards the state. Anyway, the state has only one important element like sovereignty. According to Jean Bodin, sovereignty has the ultimate power to decide the law. It is very important to establish stability in the state. In Thomas Hobbs opinion, sovereignty has close links with power seeking human nature. At the same time, sovereignty has two dimensions like internal and external. In this way, sovereignty has command over state citizens and Territory. However, In the globalised politics, there are many new developments towards sovereignty (Heywood, 2013).

In light of the above analysis, focusing on the aspects of this work, PRC has its own interpretation towards Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity. Based on this, PRC has been trying to operate its relations with India and other countries. Dalai Lama has been asking for a genuine self-rule for Tibet. But PRC has problems towards his demand as a spiritual and political leader. At the same time, PRC has considered him as a threat to its state and sovereignty. Being a religious figure Dalai Lama has enjoyed political powers till 2011. PRC has an atheist approach with a socialist nature. However, The state and religion are conflicting towards each other. PRC also has stated in its white paper that Dalai Lama has been trying to establish a state within a state. On the other hand, Tibetan government in

exile opposing PRC for the oppression of religious beliefs in TAR. Here, we have to find the relation between State and religion in a proper manner.

#### **4.7 State Character, Religion and Initiatives**

The state has certain characteristics as a global actor. It has a defined mechanism to handle issues of internal and external importance. Religion has a great impact on citizens inherent faith system. As far as state and religion are concerned some states have positivity towards religion, and some have balanced approach towards the state. In this way, the state has core element like sovereignty. At the same time, sovereignty has some restrictions on citizens beliefs. When it comes to the religion, It has greater acceptance on people.

PRC has a socialistic approach towards citizens. Tibetan people have deep religious beliefs. At the same time, Tibetan government in exile has been promoting religious beliefs under His Holiness. When it comes to India, it bears the secular type of ethos towards religion and its implementation. In this way, religion has different dimensions in various situations. The state has authority over people's actions and beliefs under its own rules and international law. From PRC's point of view, it has created enough space for Tibetan people to follow their own religious beliefs. Dalai Lama and his supporters in exile government are not agreeing by this narration. At the same time, India has created proper religious freedom for Dalai Lama to protect and promote his own spiritual beliefs around the world. On 58<sup>th</sup> uprising day occasion, Tibetan Parliament in exile deputy speaker opines that PRC has tried hard to annihilate religious practices and unique culture from Tibetan region. Everyone is facing problems to follow their own beliefs in Tibet. PRC has implemented severe restrictions on Religious practices in the name of economic development. It has created hurdles for Tibetans those who have tried to attend 34<sup>th</sup> Kalachakra teaching at Gaya in India. In this way, PRC has been creating a negative environment in Tibetan religious environment (TPIE, 2017).

Tibetan government in exile president Dr Lobsang Sangay has stated that he has criticised CCP leaders for their opinion on religion. CCP leaders have compared religion with opium. He has reiterated Mao Zedong's opinion on religion to Dalai Lama is that religion is equal to poison. Dr Sangay has also criticised PRC's actions towards

reincarnation of next Dalai Lama. PRC has to recognise Tibetan Buddhism as an important part of their way of life. Dalai Lama used to treat him as a simple Buddhist monk (CTA, 2017).

He also has to visit global stages to promote peace and harmony as a spiritual leader. Dalai Lama has a prominent role in Tibetan Buddhism as a god. In turn, PRC has its own socialistic approach towards religion. It has many doubts about Dalai Lama and his actions towards genuine autonomy. Buddhist values are very important to maintain peace and harmony in the world. At the same time, compassion and nonviolence are also beneficial for every human being including Chinese people (Dalai Lama, 2010).

PRC has different versions towards religion. The state has been implementing and protecting as well as respecting religious beliefs of the people. At the same, it has its own rules to protect its sovereignty and integrity. Religion is a personal Choice towards humanity. However, the state has to protect people's aspirations and beliefs as well as sovereignty. PRC has been implementing ethnic and religious autonomy through socialist perspective. PRC developed Tibetan ethnic community confidence after democratic reforms in 1959. It has created a healthy environment to follow and implement people's own spiritual culture in Tibet. Tibet has changed drastically in economic sector towards golden period under the central government. At the same time, it has respected Tibetan traditional values.

PRC's constitution guarantees individual religious beliefs and practices. Tibet has different religions and sects in daily life. Democratic changes have separated religion from political activities. At the same time, PRC has committed to protecting religious practices of every individual based on law. In this way, every religion has enough space in PRC. The state has implemented proper rules towards religious beliefs protection. Now, Tibet has many religious sites and associations with approximately 46000 monks. China's Buddhist Association is also maintaining healthy relations with Tibetan religious groups. Tibet has the Tibetan language information system to promote religious practices. Native culture has been encouraged by PRC according to people's aspirations.

At the same time, Tibetans have the freedom to celebrate their own Buddhist festivals and traditions. Tibetans have the liberty to celebrate approximately 40 religious

occasions. PRC guarantees religious freedom for Tibetans and other ethnic groups in the Tibet and rest of the country. Law has a positive approach towards religious practices. It protects every individual and their personal belief. At the same time, Tibet has many places of worship. PRC has equal respect towards Chinese and Tibetan traditions. Everybody has enough religious space to find their own destiny under the state. Tibetan people have sufficient literature about their culture. PRC has tried hard to encourage spiritual beliefs of every ethnic community in the country. Tibetan Buddhist philosophy has been published by many ways to protect ancient religious traditions. Temples also have proper protection and freedom to promote religious practices. The state has created a lot of facilities for temples to continue its traditions in a fair manner. State also has established many publishing houses to print religious activities on a daily basis. At the same time, the state has supported and released a lot of funds for Tibetan cultural promotion. From 1980 onwards state has been trying to reshape temples with sufficient facilities. Ganden monastery was protected and renovated by the state in 1994. At the same time state has provided many facilities to all monasteries.

The state has extreme respect and responsibility towards Buddhists. It has released some parameters for living Buddha reincarnation. Tibet has the proper freedom to follow their own culture. At present TAR has many living Buddhas. The state was shown commitment towards 11<sup>th</sup> Panchen selection in 1995. The state has been issuing merit ranks to the Tibetan institutes to maintain the proper structure. The state has established Buddhist institutions to encourage Tibetan Buddhism in Beijing and many other places. Lhasa has also had many institutions. At present, approximately 60 different monasteries are promoting its own traditions in TAR. The state has provided academic titles for many monks in Lhasa and Beijing to promote religious harmony (PRC White Paper, 2015). The state has extreme respect towards people's fundamental rights. At the same time, it has to implement its socialistic approach to make PRC great in the global platform. Tibetan Buddhism has many divisions and state has equal responsibility for every sect. The Central government has supported local authority to protect and maintain religious faiths in a proper manner.

#### **4.8 The Common Thread of Buddhism between Tibet, India and China**

Buddhism has its roots in 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. It was established by Gautam Buddha to avoid domination of Brahmanical forces in Hindu Varna hierarchy. It has promoted nonviolence and humanity in a greater sensitivity towards an equal society. Ashoka has promoted Buddhism in a dedicated manner after Buddha. It has spread around the world through Indian land. But very few people are following Buddhism in India. In the words of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, “Buddhism in its material form has disappeared...but as a spiritual force it still exists”.

Buddhism went to China from India to Tibet. It has shaped on different forms according to local situations. Tibetan Buddhism has its own interpretations towards Buddha. Dalai Lama has created Mahayana Dhamma to promote peace around the world. But, Ambedkar Buddhism has gained momentum in Indian land than Mahayana Dhamma. In this way, Dalai Lama and Ambedkar has created positive vibrations towards modern Buddhism. At the same time, Buddhism has created space for common people in the hierarchical society. Ambedkar and Dalai Lama have created an equal position for every individual in modern India.

#### **4.9 The Premises of Buddhism: Ambedkar and Dalai Lama**

Ambedkar has generated hope for Indian society to achieve equality and destroy caste through Buddhism. He has clarity about Hinduism and its oppression attitude. At the same time, he has great faith on the Buddhist path to annihilate inequality and caste system from Indian society. Dalai Lama is inspired by Buddha and his middle approach to achieve peace in the global community. Tenzin Gyatso has the highest position in Tibetan Buddhism as a Dalai Lama. He has established Mahayana Dhamma to create peace in the world.

Ambedkar and Dalai Lama has some commonalities with many views. They have tried for equality against oppression in the hierarchical society. They have negativity towards violence and positivity towards science. Ambedkarism has a purposeful militant attitude over Dalai Lama’s complete peaceful attitude. Both of them have great clarity towards Buddhism and Marxism. Ambedkar has supported human values and equal opportunities for everyone in the society like Dalai Lama. They have treated education and politics as

great weapons of change and served the society completely. At the same time, They had some disagreements on some issues. Dalai Lama has great faith in religious unity to achieve world peace. At the same time, Ambedkar has differed from this version of religion. He has not treated God as an essential part of religion. However, both of them have tried best to modernise Buddhism in India. Undoubtedly, both of them have created another chapter in the religious sphere of Buddhism (Kenadi, 1995).

#### **4.10 Dalai Lama and Indian Buddhist Cult**

Dalai Lama is often invited by the Indian government and different state governments to attend conferences on a regular basis. He has attended all Indian states programmes and delivered his message towards humanity and equality. At the same time, he has implemented Indian values and Buddhist culture on international stages. The Indian government is also promoting Buddhist perspective to modernise ancient values through international conferences. Dalai Lama has been recognised and respected by many Buddhists around the world. He has extreme popularity in many Buddhist countries as a spiritual leader.

In India, many places have rich Buddhist history. At the same time, monasteries are playing an important role in spreading Tibetan Buddhism around the world. In India, Arunachal Pradesh has historical relations with Buddhist monasteries. Tawang has close relations with Tibetan culture and people. However, Tawang has its rich Buddhist roots from ancient times. It has historic links with Dalai Lama and his practices. It has created spiritual space for Dalai Lama from day one onwards. More importantly, Dalai Lama also has great affection towards Tawang. Dalai Lama's connection with Tawang has been continuing since 1959. At the same time, he has delivered his first speech in Tawang. It reflects that Tawang has created a free environment for Dalai Lama (Shonu, 2017).

India has secular and democratic characteristics towards religion. In this way, Dalai Lama is also spreading secular and democratic values through Tibetan government in exile. He has great affection and relation towards Gandhi's nonviolent methods and ancient Indian values. At the same time, India is the birth place of Buddhism. It has created an equal position to the many downtrodden people in India. Ambedkar has contributed immensely towards equality. Dalai Lama also has contributed towards humanity through Tibetan

Buddhism. Dalai Lama's spirit towards India and Buddhism has created positive vibrations between India and Tibet.

#### **4.11 Border Conflict and Tibet**

India has eight north eastern states. Arunachal Pradesh is one of the north eastern hill states. PRC has been claiming AP as southern Tibet. According to international law, India has every right on AP. But on many occasions, PRC has created an artificial claim on AP. Dalai Lama also has clarified on AP border issue on many stages. Tibet has unique culture and identity since a long period of time. But PRC has been trying to develop Tibetan Autonomous Region through sound path policy. In this way, Dalai Lama has become one of the causes for border dispute between two countries. Tibet has its own history and religious identity since a long time. India has maintained cordial relations with Tibet and Dalai Lama. In this context, border issue has not been resolved since a long time. Arunachal Pradesh has its own history towards Buddhism. It has many monasteries and Buddhist spiritual places.

In 1951, Tibet was liberated in a peaceful manner. PRC has established sound path mechanism in Tibetan autonomous region. Tibet has started modern way of life since 1949. PRC has created and facilitated positive approach for multi ethnic groups. In this way, Tibet has a long history within the Chinese nation. Tibetan destiny has a very close attachment with PRC. However, Tibet has been maintaining its territorial attachment with China since a long time. Ultimately, Tibet is an integral part of China (PRC White paper, 2015).

However, there are many factors behind the border disputes. Realist perspective has been relevant to explain border issue in a proper manner. Nehru has tried to solve border problems through his policies. But PRC has committed towards its national integrity and sovereignty. In 1962 border dispute has confirmed PRC's committed position towards borders. In this way, India and PRC have its own standpoint towards border line. Realist perspective is the appropriate theory to understand two countries interests and opinion on border issues. Arunachal Pradesh is one of the disputed pieces on many issues. Arunachal Pradesh has belonged to the Assam Himalayan region. AP has borders between India and Tibet. At the same time, it has important recognition as a Buddhist state. In this way, AP

has claimed by PRC as a southern Tibet where India used to call it an integral part of India. It has created many disputes between two countries.

Recently, Dalai Lama has visited AP to deliver lectures on Buddhist philosophy. But PRC has created another dimension on this trip. It has claimed AP as an integral part of PRC and particularly in southern Tibet. India also has clear cut idea about its territorial integrity under international law. At the same time, another disputed area is Aksai Chin which is on the western part. It has very close links with Tibet. PRC has been claiming it as a part of Its territory. Apart from it, there are many factors behind Tibetan border problem between two countries (Hoffmann, 2016).

Most recently Dookham in Sikkim has become border matter between two countries. In this matter, PRC has claimed Dookham as a very sensitive issue between two countries. It has created another tension between India and PRC. India has responded very diplomatically towards this issue. In this way, Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai Chin, as well as Sikkim, have become disputed areas between two countries since a long time. Therefore, it is appropriate to discuss this disputed matter in a realist perspective.

#### **4.12 Border Issue in a Realist Perspective**

Realism has its roots in global issues since Thucydides period. Morgenthau has created wider space for realism in world affairs. At the same time, both have described the relations between leaders and their interests. Morgenthau also has explained about peace seeking countries aspirations towards territorial commitment. He has great clarity over realistic ideas and its applications towards global politics. Neorealism has explained about core points and interests of the state. It has described the state as a working force towards power and security. In this way, realism has indicated states interests and motives in a proper manner. Structural realism also has explained the interlink between security and power. It has given a clear idea about states relation with power through security. Kenneth Waltz has emphasised more on the importance of security for the state survival. It has created another debate in realist theory towards the state. Realism has a greater focus on cooperation and balance of power in a larger sense. In this way, it has related to state border problems. However, Realist perspective is very useful to examine



Tibetan border issue. It is also useful to understand PRC, India and Tibet border issues (Hoffmann, 2006).

In this Way, PRC has security and sovereignty problem towards Tibetan issue. According to structural realists, security plays a major role in state affairs. But PRC has been treating Dalai Lama as a separatist. It has objections towards his middle path approach. At the same time, it has been blaming him as an indirect independent seeker in the name of the self-rule. It also has a problem with his government in exile. India has been maintaining its territorial security through diplomacy. Tibetan government in exile wants its own autonomous Tibet under Dalai Lama leadership. Dalai Lama does not want to make independence from PRC. He is only asking reasonable self-rule with in the state. It has been creating problems in bilateral relations in an effective manner. Tibet has been playing a crucial role between two countries. At the same time, it has to create border problems in a frequent manner. According to realistic perspective, it is very important to understand the role of security and power in state affairs.

#### **4.13 Dalai Lama and Visits to Arunachal Pradesh**

Dalai Lama has first visited AP in 1983 as a spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism. After that, he has visited six times to spread his message to the people. He has a clear vision towards his visits. But PRC has expressed deep opposition to the Dalai Lama presence in AP. Recently he has visited AP as a Tibetan Buddhist monk for the seventh occasion. The Indian state has supported his visit. India has been seeing him as a spiritual leader. But, PRC has severe problems with Dalai Lama's actions. It has been treating him as a political leader. PRC also has an objection to his middle path approach. It has described his approach as a separatist modus operandi. In this way, Dalai Lama's AP visits have created many tensions between two countries. AP has become disputed area between two countries since a long time. He has been promoting Tibetan Buddhist culture and humanity to achieve self-rule for Tibetans. Dalai Lama has created space for the government in exile in Dharamsala. But PRC has objections towards his government in exile.

In 1991, His Holiness established new norms to the elected representatives. He has fixed the tenure of parliament. In 2001 he had created a new system for the election of the

executive of CTA. In 2011 Dalai Lama gave up his powers and started the new procedure to elect political head for Tibetans. It is very important to pressurise PRC and gather international community support towards Tibetan cause. In this way, Tibetan Government in exile has played a major role in promoting Tibetan issue (TB, 2016). But PRC has a problem with Dalai Lama and his government. It has warned India many times on his visits to AP. But India has its own stand points towards Tibetan cause and Dalai Lama. When it comes to the AP, Dalai Lama's every visit has created unnecessary tensions between two countries. PRC's severe response towards Dalai Lama AP visits has complicated bilateral relations.

India has clarity over AP position till 2003. Vajpayee's PRC visit has changed Indian stand point. He has agreed on Tibet as part of PRC. At the same time, PRC has stated Sikkim as part of India. But it has not cleared its position on AP. In between 1954 to 2003 Indian position has been clear towards Tibetan position. In 2003 Indian prime minister has created space to the PRC to protect one China policy. At the same time, PRC has denied visas for AP residents and officials. However, it has been treating AP as an integral part of southern Tibet. PRC has been trying to build its territorial space by claiming AP as part of southern Tibet. From 1999 onwards, India PRC relations has changed towards another dimension after Nuclear tests. In 2003 Vajpayee visit has created a positive environment between two countries diplomacy. Tawang has become the main issue between both the countries (Dutta, 2008).

#### **4.14 The Tawang Factor**

Tawang has historical links with Tibetan Buddhism and its practices. It has many Buddhist monasteries. Dalai Lama has visited many times to deliver his message to the Tibetan people and monks. But, It has become conflict area between India and PRC's relations. On several occasions, PRC ambassadors have reiterated Tawang as part of PRC. Many PRC diplomats used to treat Tawang as the birth place of 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. At the same time, PRC has claimed Dalai Lama as China's Dalai Lama. In this way, Tawang has become a disputed area between two countries. Tawang has links with 6<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. At the same time, It has become a first speaking platform for Dalai Lama. It also has many famous Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. It has close links with Tibet since

ancient times. It has an attraction for Buddhist monks as an ancient hill place. Most of the population belongs to the Buddhism in this town. In this way, Dalai Lama has maintained his affection towards Tawang. However, Tawang has its own mark in the acumen of Tibetan Buddhism in India.

India has a clear vision towards its territorial integrity and diplomacy. It has remained proactive towards PRC's claims on AP and Tawang. It also has a concern about its sovereignty. It has opposed the confrontation between two countries. At the same time, India's response has been changing according to PRC's stand points. PM Manmohan Singh announced packages to the Tawang in 2008. Indian officials also have visited Tawang to gain momentum against PRC's claims. Tawang has its unique nature between India and Tibet. Recently, AP chief minister, Phema Khandu has reiterated his position on AP. He has said that AP has not border relations with PRC. Recently, PRC ambassador to India has stated that AP has a part of PRC. It has created another black between two countries relations. In this way, Tawang monasteries have to maintain a major role in escalating problems between two countries. Dalai Lama used to visit Tawang as a spiritual leader. But PRC has treated those visits as a political and separatist oriented. India has cleared its position on Dalai Lama's visits as a spiritual vision. India also has opposed PRC's artificial claiming in AP. PRC had been showing AP as its territory in maps. It also has denied visa's for AP people on many occasions.

In between 1995 and 2005 India has made confidence building measures with PRC. India has bad relations with PRC since 1962 border war. At the same time, it has continued status quo till 1988. In 1988 Rajiv visit to PRC has changed bilateral relations in a new dimension. PRC has changed its mechanism according to globalisation. It has decided to maintain peaceful relations with other countries. PRC has more ambitious towards AP. PRC also has a maritime dispute with Taiwan. Ultimately, PRC's peace theory will decide solution for its border disputes. PLA has a greater role to play in PRC's disputed matters. The Indian military has to discuss with PLA on territorial matters in a peaceful manner. India's engagement strategy can change PRC's mechanism towards AP (Dutta, 2008).

#### **4.15 An Impression on Dalai Lama Visits**

Dalai Lama has drawn clear opposition from PRC. Whenever he visited AP, PRC has criticised his act as a separatist activity. There were warnings before his every visit. Dalai Lama has visited AP on April 2017 by government official request. At the same time, Dalai Lama has a quest for Indian land, and he has a deep connection with Buddhism. He has many followers in Buddhism and AP has a long history of Buddhism. In 2009 Dalai Lama also has visited AP. PRC has been claiming Tawang as an integral part of PRC. It has also opposed former Indian president's Tawang visit (Mirchandani, 2016). AP comprises of 11.76 percent Buddhist people. Sixth Dalai Lama has taken birth in Tawang region. That is why PRC claims Tawang as a part of PRC. On the other hand, PRC has criticised the US for its interference in border matters. PRC has to treat Dalai Lama as an anti-PRC active political leader and splittist (Govindarajan, 2016). In a secular country like India, anybody can go anywhere. NDA government has been maintaining good rapport with Dalai Lama. It has created comfort for PRC. PRC has been influencing India's neighbouring countries through its investments. India also can play Dalai Lama card with PRC (Wilkes, 2017). Dalai Lama visit has created unhealthy relations between two countries. He has visited AP for seven times. Every time tensions damaged two populous countries relations in Asia. Two Asian countries have border disputes since its independence. PRC has blamed India in the international scenario. At the same time, it has rejected Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader. PRC is treating AP as a previous part in Lhasa. Anyway, PRC has issued stapled visas for AP people. It has created another debate between two countries relationships. ULFA also has opposed Dalai Lama's negative comments on PRC. On the other hand, PRC's spokes person has warned Indian authority to avoid unnecessary tensions in border areas by supporting Dalai Lama. He also has said that it will spoil peaceful environment and stability in the Asian region.

PRC has been claiming AP as a southern Tibet. At the same time, it created problems in Aksai chin in 1962 (PTI, 2017). Recently, it has started its type of diplomacy in Sikkim. However, these three places are mainly in controversy in border areas. India has cleared its position on Dalai Lama's visit. At the same time, it has clear idea about PRC's stand points towards Dalai Lama. In 2009 Dalai Lama AP trip has not created many tensions between two countries. In 2017 it has overreacted than before. Dalai Lama every time has

expressed his gratitude towards Tawang. He has first visited Tawang immediately after 1959. According to structural realism perspective, security has played a major role in every state internal affairs. AP has remained problematic between Two big countries in Asia since 50 years. Anyway, many times negotiations happened between two countries on this issue. Although, it has been creating tensions between populous countries (AP, 2017).

PRC has its own interpretation towards AP and Sikkim as well as Aksaichin. As far as Indian sovereignty is concerned, it is clear that PRC has been trying to grab the attention of international community on these issues. It has to show its strength in the Asian region. At the same time, India also has many ways to tackle the PRC's diplomacy in a proper manner. Anyway, border dispute has not been solved yet since many years. It has been creating mistrust between two major powers in Asia. At the same time, it is also problematic for peace and stability. However, Dalai Lama has implemented and promoting Indian values and secular ethics through his visits like AP visit.

Dalai Lama has expressed his gratitude towards the guard. He also has immense respect towards Tawang town where he has delivered his first speech in free and democratic manner. He has created his own stamp on Tibetan Buddhism in India particularly Tawang and Ladakh regions. Dalai Lama also has condemned the word of Muslim terrorists. He has expressed his uneasiness towards terrorism. He has reiterated his faith in genuine Islam practices and their commitment towards Koran. He has criticised Myanmar Buddhists for their actions towards Muslims (APNA, 2017).

India has been maintaining strong trade relations with PRC. Two countries have clear understandings towards diplomatic relations. But Territorial problems and border fear are still continuing for many years. AP has created many twists in two countries bilateral relations. At the same time, Dalai Lama has generated hope in many Buddhists through his AP visit. He also has indicated clear signals to the PRC about his successor. But PRC has been trying to implement its own rules towards Dalai Lama. He has cleared his way of functioning towards next Dalai Lama by following leaders through his visit (RFA, 2017). In this way, Dalai Lama has been trying to implement his way of approach towards Tibetan self-rule. PRC and Tibet have many occasions to solve Tibetan problem.

Ultimately, Dalai Lama has a grip on Buddhists in the modern period in exile and in Tibet.

Dalai Lama has visited Bomdila and many other monasteries to spread his message towards peace and humanity. He has blessed many people. At the same time, He met AP Chief Minister who invited Dalai Lama to AP. Most of the people have compared PRC's aggression towards AP with south china sea. On the other hand, many Tibetans opine that Dalai Lama only can fight with PRC towards Tibetan self-rule. However, 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama has been enjoying more popularity than previous Dalai Lamas since the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Bennett, 2017).

Dalai Lama has reacted very normally towards PRC's opposition. He has been visiting AP since 1983. But PRC has treated him as a constant supporter of Tibetan independence in the name of Self rule. At the same time, Dalai Lama has devoted his most of the time in the spiritual field. But PRC has blamed him as a political separatist. Dalai Lama has visited Assam along with AP. He has expressed no fear for PRC's objections towards his visits. Anyway, he has blessed many Buddhist followers and created hope for their future. Dalai Lama has said that he has been staying for a long time as a guest in Indian soil. He has also expressed joy to visit north eastern part of India. During his visit, he has expressed his views on Terrorism and secularism. At the same time, He has reiterated his faith in democratic values and the importance of human rights. Dalai Lama has praised Indian way of development and compassion. He has opposed the connection between religion and terrorism. He also has pointed out Indian secular ethics towards intolerance. On the other hand, In Assam ULFA separatist group has stated its support towards PRC by appealing to Dalai Lama (Choudhury, 2017).

However, some PRC people have suggested towards a military action against India. PRC also has warned India that Dalai Lama visit would be damaging for bilateral relations. In this way, PRC has reacted openly towards Dalai Lama's AP visit. On the other hand, Dalai Lama has described Xi Jinping as more realistic than others. In this way, Dalai Lama has created space for negotiations. Unfortunately, it has not happened till now. He has got an invitation from Taiwan. But due to PRC's diplomacy, it has not materialised. PRC has another opinion on Dalai Lama's visit to Tawang. It has feared Dalai Lama's

actions towards his successor. It has been trying to elect its own Dalai Lama in the future. Anyway, Dalai Lama visit cannot be seen as a card between two countries. India has every right to protect its own interests (Bhushan, 2017).

However, He has expressed his strong support towards secular values in the 21<sup>st</sup> century education system. He has emphasised more on humanity in present day education mechanism. He has appreciated Indian belief system to create the 21<sup>st</sup> century new generation. In this way, Dalai Lama has reiterated his faith in Indian philosophy and values (NT, 2017). Dalai Lama visit has generated many miscalculations between two countries. It is important to maintain proper negotiations to achieve peace in the Asian region. In this way, Dalai Lama has visited seven times to AP to continue his relations with Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and his followers. A Recent visit has got limelight due to its importance in 21<sup>st</sup> century Asian politics. Dalai Lama has made many statements towards his reincarnation. It has created some misunderstandings in his followers and believers as well as international community. In the new global order, PRC has been trying to gain momentum as a global power. It has maintained good relations with neighbours in Asia and isolating Indian interests. Dalai Lama also has a crucial role to play in between two countries. He has been preparing mutual beneficial decision towards Tibetan problem. But PRC has its own priorities to solve Tibetan problem under its socialistic approach.

India has responded in a clear manner towards PRC's statements against India and Dalai Lama. It has appealed to PRC to see Dalai Lama visit from a spiritual perspective. At the same time, Dalai Lama has also pointed out that, he has no tensions and confusions about his actions and journey. India has its own interpretation towards Tibet and Dalai Lama. It has seen Dalai Lama as a spiritual icon who have extreme popularity across the globe. Tawang monastery has its own historical importance in AP. It has been treated as India's biggest and world's largest monastery. Dalai Lama has an emotional relationship with this monastery since 1959. Anyway, Dalai Lama's AP visit has created temporary tensions between two countries. Although, He has provided tight security by Indian authority to avoid unnecessary problems (ANI, 2017). In this way, Dalai Lama's AP visit has created some misconceptions between India and PRC's bilateral relations.

#### **4.16 Conclusion**

PRC has been claiming AP as southern Tibet. India has its sovereignty over AP under international law. At the same time, AP people have negativity towards PRC's claims on AP as a southern Tibet. The International community has been observing this issue very closely. Dalai Lama has expressed his views on AP as an integral part of India. He has objections over PRC's claims on Tibet. He opines that from ancient times Tibet has its own history and state territory. Dalai Lama also has blamed PRC for its invasion of Tibet. In this way, AP has its own Tibet Buddhist history. But, It has been continuing as a part of India. However, PRC has been claiming AP as part of southern Tibet. It has denied visas for AP officials and people. The state has its own priorities as a global actor in the world system. It has to maintain sovereignty and protect people's aspirations. People have to follow their own religions under state rules and mechanisms. PRC has a socialistic approach towards people's aspirations. Dalai Lama has been continuing as a highest spiritual leader in Tibetan Buddhism. Here, state and religion have to conflict each other despite PRC's stand which expresses that, it has respect towards religious practices. But Tibetan government in exile has been blaming PRC for its oppression towards Tibetan religion and culture. But India has provided enough religious space for Dalai Lama and his government in exile.

However, border issue should be analysed in a realistic perspective. According to structural realists, national security has become a more realistic way for many countries. But power also plays a major role in this theory. In this way, Dalai Lama visit to AP has created tensions between two countries. It has its own importance in bilateral relations. Synonymously, Dalai Lama has been playing a controversial role since six decades. India has a guest opinion on Dalai Lama. Dalai Lama also has stated that he has been continuing as a longest guest in India. PRC has been criticising Dalai Lama as an anti-PRC separatist and independent seeker. However, Dalai Lama changed his standpoints in Strasbourg in 1988. He gave up the call towards independence for achieving autonomy. But PRC has treated him as a serious factor between India and PRC relations. It also has warned India on many occasions on this issue. In this way, Dalai Lama has become a crucial factor between the two countries for more than six decades.



## **CHAPTER-5**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Divergent Faces of State Relations and Dalai Lama**

Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader has worldwide recognition. He is striving for middle path approach to achieve genuine self-rule for Tibet in a nonviolent manner. At the same time as a follower of Buddha, he has extreme faith in a mutually beneficial solution. Apart from this, PRC has been treating his way of Tibetan autonomy as problematic for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. PRC has raised its voice on many occasions. It also has published multiple white papers on Tibet to explain its way of functioning in Tibet. At the same time, Tibetan government in exile is promoting its own version of Tibetan autonomy under the guidance of His Holiness. After Dalai Lama's asylum inside Indian territory, he has been trying hard to put his autonomy agenda in front of the international community. In 1988, he changed his way of struggle towards the achievement of Tibetan autonomy. Nobel Peace Prize gave him recognition and made his points stronger in the immediate next year. In the meanwhile, PRC has criticised western and imperialists forces for encouraging Dalai Lama against its territorial integrity.

In this way, Dalai Lama's reputation has increased in Buddhist countries and many other countries. Dalai Lama has immediately started reforming Tibetan government in exile towards democracy and secular values as well as modern education. In this process, he has handed over his political responsibilities to the elected representative. It has shocked entire world along with Tibetan community. He has also stated that he is the son of India and the longest guest of the state. Dalai Lama's way of struggle was criticised by PRC on many occasions. That is why Dalai Lama's ways of negotiation have not fulfilled his long lost Tibetan goal. Besides this, India has been supporting Dalai Lama in a consistent manner to encourage his goal in the Gandhian way of peace. But it has resulted in a verbal conflict between two large neighbouring states.

Dalai Lama has visited AP as a Buddhist leader. In this regard, India and China have reacted in a different manner. It had shown its power struggle in the Asian region. In a

realistic perspective, PRC and India have been trying for national security and integrity as well as power in the globalised world, particularly in Asia. In this juncture, Dalai Lama has been playing a major role inside the acumen of bilateral relations between two large states.

## **5.2 India, PRC and Dalai Lama Approaches: Impact on 21<sup>st</sup> Century Politics**

India has been followed peaceful approach to strive its goals in international politics. It has followed the non-aligned path towards its self-sustained goals in global politics. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, every country has to try to gain momentum under international law. But recently PRC has claimed its rights on the South China Sea. At the same time, it has been claiming AP as an integral part of southern Tibet. But state and sovereignty theory have relevance for explanation in this situation in a proper manner. Dalai Lama has visited AP seven times to promote his way of spirituality. But, his middle path approach is constantly being encapsulated by hard line approach of the communist state.

Recently, PRC has explained its sound path approach towards Tibetan economic prosperity. On the other hand, PRC has published white papers on Tibet superseded by other issues. It shows PRC's importance on Tibetan issue. However, Dalai Lama and his government have been opposing and criticizing PRC's activities in Tibet. At the same time, Tibetan government in exile has to criticize PRC's role in Tibetan people's self-immolations. It has been strongly promoting middle path approach on a regular basis under Dalai Lama's guidance. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, every country is facing a multitude of problems. But India and PRC have co-operated in economic front seemingly not impacted by any other issue. Dalai Lama has visited many Indian states to spread His spiritual values and humanity as well as ancient Indian values. PRC has to oppose Dalai Lana's activities as anti-PRC separatist activities.

However, Dalai Lama has to decide about his successor as early as possible to resolve anxiety amongst Tibetans and the international community as well as PRC. India has very soft corner towards Dalai Lama. But he is now 82 years old. PRC has already started searching for its own Dalai Lama. It would be problematic for the two countries to maintain bilateral relations amidst the interference of two Dalai Lamas. In this way, words and actions of Dalai Lama are going to impact relations between two big Asian

countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At this juncture, Dalai Lama has optimism towards PRC's realistic decision towards Tibetan autonomy under Xi leadership. But, many Tibetans are still aspiring for Tibetan independence from PRC. At the same time, Dalai Lama would be the less interesting topic for PRC. Although it has been severely responding his AP visits as anti-PRC actions, PRC has a clear vision towards Tibetan future. On the other hand, it has been rapidly implementing its economic policies to develop Tibetan state infrastructure. India also has its own understanding towards Tibetan issue and Dalai Lama in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. But it has to solve many border conflicts with PRC along with Dalai Lama matter. India's improving relations with Trump would be problematic for PRC's super power ambition in global politics particularly in the Asian region. Recently the US, Japan and India have started joint military activities to tackle Asian issues properly and unitedly. At the same time, PRC's policy towards Pakistan is going to change two countries bilateral relations in an effective manner. On the outset, Dalai Lama has his own role to play between two countries bilateral relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **5.3 Recent Developments and Gap Areas: The State Connect and a Monk**

PRC has been following development path towards Tibet. Dalai Lama has maintained his promotion to achieve genuine autonomy to protect Tibetan culture and religious beliefs. Besides this, India has been implementing its peaceful coexistence policy towards PRC's reaction towards Dalai Lama. PRC has been trying to become global power through its economic diplomacy. It has already implemented a string of pearls approach to isolate India. At the same time, it is using economic investment as a tool to capture space in Asia and many other countries. PRC is implementing same policy in Tibetan autonomous region. It is also implementing sound path policy towards Tibetan prosperity. But Dalai Lana has to take a decision about his successor. It would be essential for two neighbouring countries to maintain peaceful relations to establish order in the whole neighbourhood.

PRC has improved its exports from 5 percent to 14 percent with India in the last 10 years. In this juncture, India has to think alternatively towards its economic opportunities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. At the same time, It has to maintain its sovereignty and territorial integrity. PRC has started providing infrastructure for many countries through investments.

Besides, a string of pearls would be a matter of consideration for India as well as states of Asia at large. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, India is evolving with its foreign policy in a realistic manner. It is certainly going to impact ambitions of China towards achieving a global power status. Dalai Lama's future will also depend on two countries bilateral relations. In this way, India has to implement its own strategies towards PRC's opposition towards Dalai Lama through proper negotiations with the support of international community. However, Dalai Lama's AP visits have raised PRC's territorial claims at the international levels. It has to be resolved in a proper manner through the adoption of precautionary diplomatic channels.

#### **5.4 Addressing Research Questions**

Dalai Lama has been following middle path policy to achieve self-rule for Tibetans. He has visited many countries to implement his plan of action through international community's support. India has provided enormous support through its asylum to Dalai Lama. He also has been promoting ancient Indian philosophy and democratic as well as secular values. PRC has criticised him as an anti-PRC separatist. In this juncture, two countries policies towards Dalai Lama has changed equations in neighbouring countries. However, Dalai Lama has started his international promotion of Tibetan autonomy. From 1988 onwards he has started asking for full autonomy for Tibetans. Albeit, this strategy has not improved his relations with PRC. PRC has started implementing hard line policy towards Dalai Lama and Tibetan problem. At the same time, it has been improving infrastructure in TAR. It has opposed India's encouragement for Dalai Lama against PRC territorial sovereignty. PRC also has criticised western forces for their support to Dalai Lama against its Territorial integrity. Dalai Lama has been asking for Tibetan genuine culture and identity as well as religious freedom through his middle path approach.

However, PRC has implemented its own strategy against Dalai Lama's middle path approach. From 1989 till recent time, PRC has followed to implement its socialistic approach to improve TAR with Chinese characteristics. After Dalai Lama's handing over of political leadership in 2011, the situation has not improved much regarding his acceptance level with the PRC. The state is still treating him as an anti-China separatist. In between, Dalai Lama's visits to AP has created tensions between two countries. PRC

has been claiming AP, Aksaichin and Sikkim as its own territories. It is certainly impacting its bilateral relations with India. Except for economic front, all other aspects of bilateral relations between the two states have stumbled up to an extent.

On the other side, India has its clarity over Dalai Lama and his activities. It has supported him as a spiritual and religious leader. It has invited him to many state activities and has given liberty to organise programmes for promotion of his values and peace measures. Being a secular country, it has accorded desired freedom and facilities to Dalai Lama in Dharamsala. The Buddhist leader himself also has stated that he is the son of India and the longest guest in India. On the outset, the international community also has its stand points according to the situation. Moreover, India's relation with PRC had a certain impact because of the actions of Dalai Lama in the region as well as on the global front. Therefore, the need of the hour is to develop a proper dialogue mechanism between the two large states with pre negotiation rounds at a higher diplomatic level. The case of Tibet and advocacy of Dalai Lama must be considered without any prejudices and hypens marked before hand. It is the only way to establish peace and order in the region, largely having ramifications for the Asian continent and global community at large.

### **5.5 Evaluation of Hypothesis**

In chapter two of this work, Dalai Lama's international promotion for Tibet cause through middle path policy is discussed. The third chapter is focusing on a comparative analysis between India and PRC's stand points towards Tibetan cause, particularly considering Dalai Lama's position and existence in the process. The fourth chapter has tried to focus on Dalai Lama's role as a factor between India and PRC. It gives clarity on the relationship between state and religion in a proper manner. It also has explained the border issue in a realistic perspective. At the same time, the whole work talks about Dalai Lama's international campaign in different political forums in a rigorous manner since the 1980s. His Strasbourg proposal speech towards autonomy was a remarkable one which has created some vibrations in PRC. It was also criticised in the similar fashion as an indirect demand for Tibetan independence. It was certain to create misconceptions between PRC and Dalai Lama. By hosting Dalai Lama will a full fledged asylum, India has also invited some amount of dichotomy in mutual relations with China.

In the mean while, Dalai Lama has attended many countries parliaments and has met political persons to fulfil his objective in a mutually beneficial manner. But it was largely seen as an anti-China activity towards promotion of Tibetan independence. PRC has responded negatively towards India in Dalai Lama matter on many occasions. Dalai Lama has visited AP as a Buddhist monk. PRC has opposed his visit in the presence of political leaders e.g. a junior home minister and AP chief minister. On the other hand Dalai Lama has attended many government programmes as a spiritual leader. But, PRC has been considering him as an anti-China separatist. Recently, Dalai Lama also has attended world Buddhist meeting conducted by one of the state government. On the outset, Tibetan government in exile has established its parliament and functioning just like any other democratic government under the supervision of Dalai Lama.

Till 2011 Dalai Lama has delivered his responsibilities as an apolitical leader. He has introduced many political reforms in Tibetan government in exile. PRC has a severe problem with his exile government and political promotion of Tibetan autonomy. PRC has considered these activities as a threat to PRC's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Dalai Lama's actions have also created friction between India and PRC on many occasions. His visits have raised problems like border conflicts between the two states and created a bundle of mistrust between India and China. While evaluating the hypothesis of this research work, it could be clearly concluded that Dalai Lama's political interventions at multiple forums regarding the Tibetan cause have largely impacted relations between India and China. Initiating from regional till international platforms, the propagation and advocacy for Tibet by Dalai Lama has generated deep ripples for PRC. It has directly evoked bilateral and border issues with the Indian state, which is a certain kind of undesired friction between the two large neighbouring states.

Therefore, the statement of the hypothesis for this research works stands valid in totality.

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