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FRYSHITAP SPECIAL-2



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Mukhya Mantri Parivar Samridhi Yojana

Samridh Parivar - Surakshit Parivar - Sashakt Parivar

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schemes for beneficiary's family
and balance is being invested
in Family Provident Fund or
is being given as cash

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- Life Insurance amount payable

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Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Suraksha Bima Yojana

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Pradhan Mantri Gram Mahasam Yojana
Pradhan Mantri Laghu Udyam Mahasam Yojana**

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Pradhan Mantri
Fasal Bima Yojana



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Vijay Kranti

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Manthan

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Trivishtap Special-2

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*Cover Photo: Potala Palace in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet.
It had been the residence of the Dalai Lama.*

Contributors' profile

Vijay Kranti is a senior Indian journalist, a Tibetologist and an accomplished photographer. Over past nearly five decades, he has worked on the staff of prominent Indian and international media groups. His 47 year long photography of exile Tibetan community and life inside Chinese occupied Tibet is considered to be the largest one man photo work on Tibet.

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Claude Arpi is French-born author, journalist, historian and tibetologist born in 1949 in Angoulême, who lives in Auroville, India.

Isht Deo Sankrityaayan Senior journalist and author, associated with the Research and Development Foundation for Integral Humanism, writing and translation of several books goes to his credit. Contact: idsankrityaayan@gmail.com

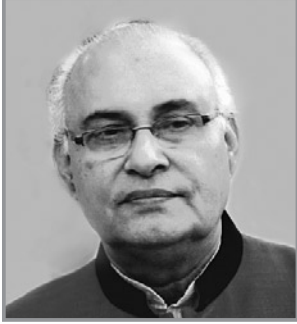
K. Dhondup (1952-1995) was born in Rupin Gang of upper Dromo, Southern Tibet. He was a poet, historian and journalist. His works include *Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, *The Water-Horse and Other Years: A History of 17th and 18th century Tibet*, *The Water-Birds and other Years: A History of the 13th Dalai Lama* and *Mystery of Tibetan Medicine*. He established the Tibetan Communist Party in exile (TCP) while Chinese cycle of oppression on Tibetan people was on its full swing. Later on May 1, 1979 Dhondup along with his friends Namgyal and Kelsung Tenzing openly declared his position and working. It brought a massive rage for his party. He passed away on May 7, 1995 in New Delhi.

Dr. Javeed Ahmed worked as a Lecturer in Government College at Bandipura in Jammu and Kashmir. He has studied on exiled Tibetan community as well as refugees. Contact: parrayjaveed@gmail.com

“Wherever I live, I shall feel homesick for Tibet. I often think I can still hear the cries of wild geese and cranes and the beating of their wings as they fly over Lhasa in the clear, cold moonlight. My heartfelt wish is that my story may create some understanding for a people whose will to live in peace and freedom has won so little sympathy from an indifferent world.

Heinrich Harrer, Seven Years in Tibet

”



Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma

Editorial

The issue of Trivishtapa Part 2 is in your hands. This region known as Tibet, which borders cultural India, is a junction where India's Mount Kailash and Lake Manasarovar are located. There is little information about the original state of existence of Tibet. In Part 1 of this special issue, we had tried to research and know about this entity on our frontiers. This is the highway through which Indian culture intensively traversed East Asia.

An exceptional offspring of this cultural and spiritual conjoining is His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He is the representative of Lord Buddha's compassion and intellect. The nature of contemporary world politics is imperialistic. Communist China is the most heartless living example of this inhuman imperialism. It is this barbarism that has engulfed the entire identity and leadership of Trivishtapa or Tibet. This issue explores this tragedy, and tries to articulate the voice of the great statesmen of India. In pursuance of this, in this issue, statements, letters or articles written from time to time by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Deendayal Upadhyaya, Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Acharya J.B. Kripalani, Acharya Rajneesh and Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee have been included.

The people of Tibet have been struggling since the very first day of the Chinese occupation of their country, which is now in front of the whole world. Dr. Anand Kumar's article 'The Endeavour to Liberate Tibet—Endangered Himalayas and Chinese Dominance' introduces to Tibet's liberation struggle. The first part of Prof. Bhagwati Prakash's article 'Trivishtap or Tibet : The World's Roof and Nehru-era Lapses-I', was published in the previous issue. You will be able to read the second part of the article in this issue. The first part of this article had focused on the geographical peculiarities of Trivishtap, while the second part explains the diplomatic blunders committed in the case of Tibet.

Panchsheel has held a very important role in Indo-China relations since the beginning and Tibet is its most prominent aspect. A neutral analysis of the status of Panchsheel is presented in a consolidated form in two articles by Claude Arpi, "Panchsheel: Is it right or Born in Sin?". India has a reputation as a gurudesh (the land of teachers) in Tibet, but the kind of

gurudakshinā that Tibet has returned to India is greater than any gift in the world. Details of this can be gleaned in the article of the issue's guest editor, senior journalist and Tibetologist Vijay Kranti "Rebirth of Lost Scripts of Ancient India" as well as the circumstances in which His Holiness the Dalai Lama had to leave his native country and go into exile.

The name of Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan is notable among the scholars of modern India who tried to delve deep into the world of Tibet. "Indian Influence on Tibetan Society : Rahul Sankrityayan's Opinion" is aptly analysed in an article by Isht Deo Sankrityayan. K. Dhondup has analysed the "Tibet's Influence in Ladakh and Bhutan". Truly, the pain of any society driven out from its native land is something that cannot be expressed in words. An attempt though, has been made by Javeed Ahmed and in this issue of Manthan. Like the previous issue, for this issue too we have received adequate support from The Tibet Journal. We are grateful to them for this.

The Kashmir and Gāndhāra special issues have had a distinct vision. The Trivishtapa special issue is a continuation of this. The topic of the next special issue is somewhat different. The July-September Manthan will be a special issue dedicated to women and their abilities.

Manthan is overwhelmed by the affection of its readers. Through you we can make Manthan a platform for dialogue. The editorial department will strive for it, and your participation is essential for the same. My heartiest wishes to everyone for the Chaitra Pratipada (Chaitra Shukla Ekam, Vikram Samvat 2077, i.e. 25th of March 2020). Shubham.



mahesh.chandra.sharma@live.com

Guest Editorial

A Saint Defying a Heartless Superpower



Vijay Kranti

The previous issue of Manthan, the “Trivishṭapa Special Issue 1”, focused on the historical and cultural ties between India and Tibet that have been steadily strengthening over the centuries. The “Trivishṭapa Special Issue-2” is presented in this series, which is dedicated to today’s Tibet. It also discusses the importance of Tibet in the context of India’s interests; the national slavery and existential crisis created by the Chinese occupation and also how deeply the personality and thinking of the leader of a country can influence its history during the crisis.

Formally, the Dalai Lama’s status is that of an exiled head of state and a religious leader, which has neither any existence on the political map of the world, nor any government in the international fraternity that would have the fortitude to accord recognition to him or his country. After the act of China’s colonial occupation of Tibet in 1959 was sealed, the Dalai Lama’s legal identity for the past 61 years is solely that of an individual who lives in India as a refugee. With this very identity as an exile, this diplomatic saint travels the countries of the world to deliver a message of non-violence, compassion and shared human responsibility that still wields such influence over governments and peoples that despite Chinese opposition and bigotry, they continue to demonstrate courage to allow him to travel to their countries.

But it must be admitted that it is a miracle of the Dalai Lama’s personality that despite these personal and political restrictions, he has attained such heights on international stage today which only figures such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela have in current history. It is on the basis of this persona that the Dalai Lama is showing the world a new path and also providing a direction to the national liberation endeavour of about one and a half million Tibetans who like him are living in exile.

In an era when violence has become the most prevalent currency in the world to settle scores as well as to advance interests at both the individual level and in national politics and international affairs, the impressive achievements of the Dalai Lama’s non-violent movement have played a major role in the credo of nonviolence of Buddha, Mahavira and Mahatma Gandhi and their effectiveness and eternity becoming a conscious force in the world once again. Incidentally, it is during the same period that there has also been the movement for Palestinian liberation, which is based on outright violence instead of non-violence. In the context of these two longest-running political movements of our times, it has become essential to analyse the way of working of the Dalai Lama on the strength of which these weaponless Buddhist monks are confronting a powerful and heartless regime like China.

Two such political events occurred towards the culmination of the first half of the twentieth century, which deeply influenced Asia’s politics. Even after

seven decades, both of these issues remain unresolved and more than ever before, are pregnant with the possibility of shake the peace of not only Asia but the whole world. The first event was the reestablishment of Israel as a Jewish state in the Palestinian territory of West Asia by the Western bloc and the beginning of the Palestinian struggle in response. The second event also occurred at about the same time as the Communist Party of Mao Tse Tung overthrew the rule of the Kuo Min Tang in China in 1949, and within two years, captured two of China's neighboring countries Eastern Turkestan (today's Xinjiang province) and Tibet.

The Palestinian struggle in West Asia was led by the militant leader Yasser Arafat. On the other hand, the responsibility of leading the freedom struggle of Tibet fell upon its spiritual ruler the Dalai Lama, who was just fifteen years old at the time of the first Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1949-50. His courtiers at the time of such a national crisis, instead of standing up to it themselves, had coronated this child monk and sent him into the arena to face this unprecedented calamity. Since then the struggle for freedom of these two peoples has proceeded along parallel lines—but in styles totally opposite of each other and with completely different results. If a comparative study of the progress and achievements of these two freedom movements and its two leaders during this period is made, then the difference is quite astonishing.

The conflict between Israel and Palestine in West Asia is much more religious in nature than it is political. In this struggle, on the one hand, the Jewish nation of Israel stands firm with the support of the Christian countries of the West and the Jews from all over the world. On the other hand, the Palestinian Muslim society with the direct and indirect support of the Islamic countries in the world is engaged in its struggle for the liberation of Palestine but is waging that struggle as an Islamic jihad. In the war being fought in the name of religion, every form of violence has been deployed during the last seventy years. These include direct military warfare between Israel and neighboring countries supporting Palestine and also Israel's occupation of parts of these countries. Also, there has hardly been a quarter in the last seven decades when Palestinian extremist organizations or suicide jihadists have not killed innocent civilians in a town or city in Israel, or when the Israeli military has not bombed the settlements of unarmed Palestinian civilians.

However, in the last few years, with America's initiative, some important steps have been taken to initiate dialogue and halt the violence between these two sides. But despite these steps, there has been no reduction in mistrust between the two sides, neither has the violence and retaliatory violence stopped, nor has an atmosphere of unanimous and honourable consensus through the path of peace instead of war been created.

Rather, those who advocated freeing Palestine from the path of violence and Yasser Arafat, the biggest Palestinian leader had all but lost the confidence of their own people during Arafat's final days. He was replaced by his adversaries, the Hamas faction, only on the grounds that they believed in inflicting far greater violence than he did. Yasser Arafat's situation had reached such a state that he was made a prisoner in his own house in an ailing condition. His followers had to beg Israel to not bomb his ambulance and let them transport their leader to the hospital in an emergency-like situation. Even today, there is no indication that based on the existing terms and methodology of the two sides, any acceptable or honourable solution will be found in the future.

On the other hand, the history of the military invasion of Tibet and the eventual forcible absorption of Tibet into China in 1951 is different and more interesting in many ways. On one side in this struggle for the freedom of Tibet is the Communist system of China which neither believes in religion nor accepts any moral rules or

principles that do not suit the political interests of China and its communist rulers. In pursuit of her policies and objectives, China holds a declared belief in adopting any form of violence. These policies of Chinese rule in the last seventy years have resulted in the deaths of 1.2 million people in Tibet; these have been unnatural deaths due to Chinese violence upon the Tibetan people.

When compared to the Chinese system which has a deep-rooted faith in violence, the status of Tibet would amount to nothing. Today, China's population is more than 1.4 billion. Tibet had a population of only 6 million in the 1950s. The Tibetan army was so small and weak compared to China's large and modern army that it was almost completely destroyed in the first wave of the Chinese attack of 1949. Similarly, in comparison to China's regime that is utterly devoid of any concept of virtue and morality, Tibet was a religious country that had kept itself completely aloof from the rest of the world.

It is true that in the few years after China occupied Tibet, the people there waged a mass movement as well as a guerrilla war against the Chinese army. After Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959 and obtained political asylum here, the US intelligence agency CIA assisted the Tibetans in this covert guerrilla war. But the Dalai Lama's faith in liberating Tibet through the path of violence underwent a change right in its early stages when he decided to keep his freedom struggle completely non-violent and peaceful in the way of Mahatma Gandhi's movement. Despite the fascist reign and tight grip of the Communist Party of China within Tibet, the freedom movement there has been going on silently. There are reports that suggest that this freedom movement against the colonial occupation of China is also on in those Tibetan regions that were cut off from Tibet by the Chinese regime and merged with its four neighbouring provinces Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai. Due to the harshness of Chinese control, the stringent restrictions on travel by Tibetan citizens and electronic surveillance, no organized movement at the national level could ever be organised throughout Tibet. But over the years, over 150 Tibetan citizens have committed self-immolation demanding the end of Chinese colonialism.

All Tibetans who shed their lives in this manner were youth, many of whom were educated in Chinese government schools and universities under Chinese Communist propaganda. It is indeed a shame when we look at one ironical fact. The world which today calls itself an advocate of democratic values and human rights, and its human rights organizations around the globe shed tears when the 'Arab Spring' movement sparked off in a dozen countries following a shopkeeper's self-immolation in Tunisia. But the white elephant by the name of the United Nations Organisation could not shed even a single tear for those Tibetan youths who committed self-immolation sitting in a posture of prayer as part of their nonviolent struggle against Chinese colonialism.

There is no doubt that this non-violent movement of the Dalai Lama has always been confined to smaller headlines in the world's newspapers and media in comparison to the violent jihad of Yasser Arafat. But what this non-violent movement of the Dalai Lama has achieved over the past seven decades not only shows the power of his unique personality but also the effectiveness and timelessness of the principle of non-violence propounded by Buddha, Mahavira and Gandhi.

Following the path of non-violence, the Dalai Lama has come a long way in the last sixty years. Due to the affection, help in resettlement and supported by only a handful of refugees who arrived in India, the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader has revived the culture and national identity of Tibet that China has ruthlessly destroyed within that country. Today he runs his government-in-exile in Dharamshala, which may not have received diplomatic recognition from other governments but dozens of governments and national parliaments, overwhelmed by the Dalai Lama's national struggle based on peace and brotherhood, take pride in inviting him to their respective domains. Humanitarian organisations around the world, ranging from international stars to Hollywood stars and the world of pop music, take pride in openly supporting his movement. More than 300 pro-Tibet organisations have come up in more than a hundred countries to actively support the peaceful Tibetan struggle. The scale of the worldwide protest against the honour accorded to the dictatorial regime of China in awarding it the Beijing Olympics in 2008 was a symbol of the popularity of the Dalai Lama's pacifist movement. Before that, in March 2008, as anti-China protests in Tibetan areas hundreds of miles away from the Tibet Autonomous Region lasted for two months, it showed the Chinese government and the whole world that the aura of the Dalai Lama, who has lived outside Tibet for six decades, influences even those generations of Tibetan who have never seen him in person.

Anyone would be surprised to see that this saintly soldier who is spreading the message of peace and universal responsibility can be seen at the top of every popularity survey in the world today. At least 20 parliaments, including the US Congress (its parliament), the European Parliament and German Parliament have passed more than 50 resolutions in support of Tibet. The mayors of more than a thousand cities in the US, Europe and other countries place the flag of Tibet on their municipal buildings on 10 March each year despite China's diplomatic abuse and threats. But it is the decency of the Dalai Lama, the devotee of peace, who while receiving the Nobel Peace Prize declared that, "My enemy too has the right to my compassion".

Another important aspect of the Dalai Lama's personality is his faith in democracy, which he has developed in contact with the rest of the world over the last six decades. Despite growing up in a religion-based political and feudal social system, the Dalai Lama recognized the importance and strength of democracy in his early phase of exile. The tradition that he initiated in 1960, to incorporate democratic values into Tibet's governance system based on religion has reached those heights today where Tibet's refugee masses not only elect the members of the parliament of their 'government-in-exile' by secret ballot, but for the last 19 years have also begun to elect their own 'Prime Minister' through direct vote.

Another example of this democratic persona of the Dalai Lama was seen in 2012, when he broke the tradition of the last five hundred years and handed over his political and governmental authority as the head of Tibet to the elected Prime Minister and Parliament. After this change, the role of Dalai Lama will now be limited only to that of a spiritual leader. This one step of his has given a new direction to the liberation endeavour of Tibet. The Chinese regime, which is in colonial occupation of Tibet, has been hoping for the past several decades that after the current Dalai Lama passes away, it can solve the problem of Tibet forever by declaring the boy-monk of its choice the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama. But by handing over his political rights to the elected representatives of Tibet, the Dalai Lama has given the Tibetan liberation quest an eternal life. The Chinese plans to appoint a new Dalai Lama have also suffered a mighty setback.

Nowadays the Dalai Lama and the community of his fellow exiles are facing a serious internal crisis. Concerned with the rapid progress that the Chinese government is making to destroy the Tibetan identity within that country, the Dalai Lama proposed to the Chinese government that if the Chinese leadership maintains the Tibetan identity and is ready to give the Tibetan people real autonomy, he is willing to accept Chinese rule over Tibet within the Chinese constitution and system. His move has been welcomed by some Western governments and leaders. But differences among the Tibetan people on this issue have not yet ended. A large and thinking section of the Tibetan community has full faith in the understanding and magnanimity of the Dalai Lama. But given the hundreds of years of history of Chinese regimes, the Tibetan community is not ready to believe that the Chinese government in future will also show the same honesty that the Dalai Lama shows now. There is a deep fear in this segment that the Chinese regime might give all kinds of assurances today to rid itself of the Tibetan headache, but there is no guarantee that the Chinese rulers will not refuse to honour this agreement in the future. Dealing with this national dilemma is a challenge for the Dalai Lama.

According to Tibetan tradition, the Dalai Lama and most other high lamas are chosen on the basis of rebirth. Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism holds that every living being is reborn and it is determined by the person's actions that he or she will be born again in the next life as a human being or as some other creature. But it is believed about lamas who are at a higher level and scholarly that they can determine their own rebirth. In the Tibetan language such reincarnating lamas are called tulku and are addressed as 'Rinpoche' along with their names to accord honour to them. Such reincarnating lamas are called 'Living Buddhas' in China. The Dalai Lama is considered an avatar or reincarnation of Avalokiteshwara, the compassionate form of Lord Buddha. In the Tibetan language, Avalokiteshwara is named 'Chen Rezi'. It is believed that before his death every avatar lama leaves indications that suggest where and how he will take his next birth and in which kind of family. A council of senior lamas uses a prescribed Tibetan process to discover and identify this child. After the death of the 13th Dalai Lama, the present Dalai Lama was about four years old when he was discovered in a peasant family in the village of Taktaser in Amdo province, northeast of Tibet. After that, the child was brought up and educated under the supervision of senior lamas in the capital Lhasa.

As the Dalai Lama gets on in age (he is currently 84), the frustration of the Chinese communist regime is also increasing. Every other day, the regime declares that neither the Dalai Lama himself nor the Tibetan people but only the Communist Party of China has the right to elect the next Dalai Lama. In 2007, the

Chinese government order termed ‘Order-5’ was issued, announcing a new law according to which “no avatar lama would be allowed to be born and obtain recognition” until he and his monastery obtained written permission from the Chinese Communist Party and the Buddhist Association under its control. According to this order, the next incarnation of the Dalai Lama will be chosen in the same manner.

The main reason for Chinese government’s frustration is that even after occupying Tibet for 70 years, it has failed to win the hearts of the Tibetan people. In the early years of its illegal occupation, the Chinese regime hoped that it could wipe out the influence of religion and spiritualism on the Tibetan people by destroying their religious monasteries and temples inside Tibet, erasing their monastic tradition, carrying out malicious propaganda against the Dalai Lama and through anti-religious campaigns against the Tibetan people. China really believed that it could end the hold of spiritualism on Tibetans and convert them into ‘patriotic’ Chinese citizens. But the anti-China protests and independence movements that took place repeatedly in 1987, 1989 and 2008 came as a shock to the Chinese communist rulers who saw that this movement was organised and conducted by a generation that was born after the Dalai Lama left the country and whose parents and even grandparents too had not seen the Dalai Lama or his governance. Therefore, in the hope of acquiring control over the minds of the Tibetan people, China is now engaged in exercising its control over Tibet’s religious system and the anointment of senior avatar lamas.

At the time of writing this article, the House of Representatives—the lower house of the US Parliament—passed a bill (HR-4331) on 28 January 2020 with an overwhelming majority of 392-22 votes, setting aside bipartisan differences. The bill directly warns the Chinese regime that only the current Dalai Lama and Tibetan institutions shall have the right to elect the next Dalai Lama and the Chinese government or Communist Party will have no right to interfere in this process. Observers are quite hopeful that the US Senate will pass this bill and make it a law.

In the case of India-China relations, the Government of India is well aware of the fact that China forcibly annexed Tibet in 1951 and overnight transformed the world’s quietest border, the Indo-Tibetan into a dangerous Indo-China border. China invaded India in 1962, using occupied Tibet as a base. Citing its annexation of China, China is now claiming even Arunachal Pradesh as ‘Southern Tibet’. After gifting Pakistan nuclear weapons in order to counter India, China is now parroting the Pakistani tune on Kashmir and. There is a campaign against the Government of India on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir in many international forums, including the United Nations. But the world is surprised to see the Government of India maintaining a strange silence on the question of Tibet.

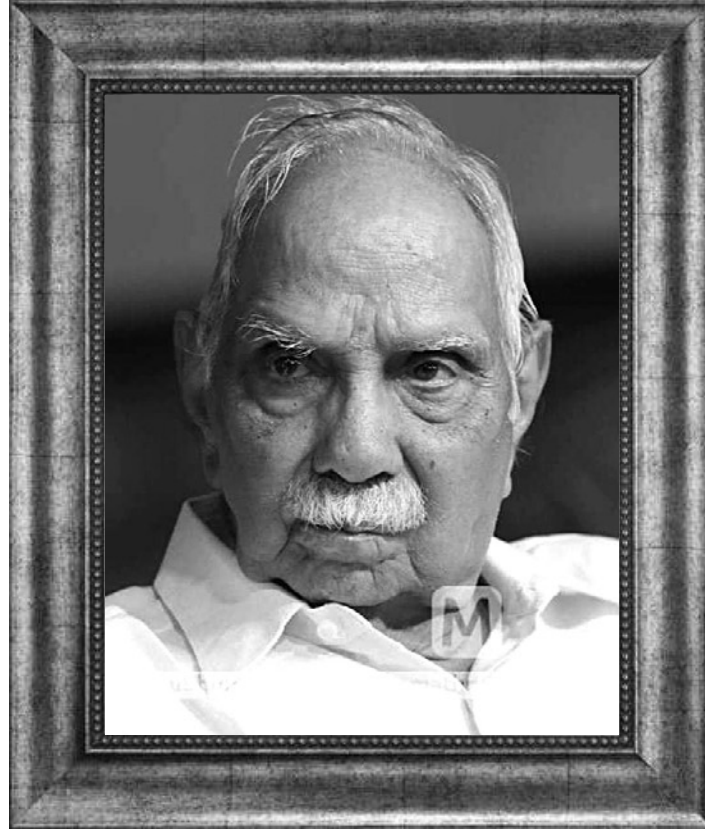
Even though the Indian government might not be in a position to directly challenge the Chinese regime like the US government does, the people of India expect their government to counter Chinese intransigence over Tibet. Perhaps the Indian government may not be keen on any major moves on the military and diplomatic fronts, but it can certainly take some steps in a calm but strong way that would show the Chinese regime its place. Awarding the Dalai Lama the Bharat Ratna would be one such step. This would also be very appropriate in the context of the way the Dalai Lama has propagated India’s humanitarian and democratic stand in his travels around the world and at international forums and in his interactions with various heads of states. As such, if the Indian government can honour foreign celebrities like Nelson Mandela, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mother Teresa with the Bharat Ratna, then bestowing this honour to a man like the Dalai, one of the greatest individuals of our era, will also enhance India’s own standing in the global community and will also be a befitting reply to China’s bully-like behaviour. And it would also be the proper honour for this saintly soldier, who is firm in his posture of peace in the face of an intransigent and inhuman superpower.

In presenting this second issue of Manthan, which focuses on Tibet, we hope that it will inspire us and provide us fresh enthusiasm to renew our thinking about the present crisis of India’s oldest and dear neighbour, with whom India’s own security is also very deeply connected.



Vijay Kranti

In Memory of
Shri P. Parameshwaran



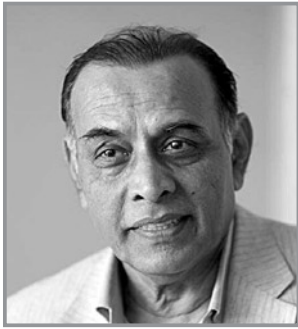
(27 September, 1926 & 9 February, 2020)

On February 9, 2020, Shri P. Parameshwaran, a pioneering representative of Indian intellectual thought, passed into the ages. Parameshwaranji was the founding editor of the *Manthan* quarterly. He was one of those who, along with the revered Nanaji Deshmukh left the party and power politics and stepped forward for constructive work. He became the first academic director of Deendayal Research Institute.

Parameshwaran underwent imprisonment as a satyagrahi upholding democracy during the Emergency (1975–77). He was then the national vice-president of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. Parameshwaranji was one of the first *pracharaks* coming from Kerala. He had a decisive role in establishing the work of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in south India. He was primarily an intellectual genius. After serving for five years at the Deendayal Research Institute, he moved back to Kerala and established the Bharatiya Vichar Kendram there. The role of the Bharatiya Vichar Kendram will always be remembered for its intellectual counter to Marxism in Kerala and the positive exposition of Hindutva.

Shri Parameshwaran was also the chairman of the Vivekananda Kendra which was active along with the Vivekananda Rock Memorial in Kanyakumari established by Mananeeya Eknath Ranade. His dedicated and meaningful life became the standard of a complete swayamsewak and pracharak. Such a soul has today left us.

It was Parameshwaranji who would determine the direction of research and the quarterly focus of *Manthan*. On behalf of the Integral Humanism Research and Development Foundation and *Manthan*, we accord our tribute to his memory and our heartfelt condolences. Om Shanti!!!



Anand Kumar

The Endeavour to Liberate Tibet—Endangered Himalayas and Chinese Dominance

Tibetan struggle against Chinese imperialism and for the endeavour for its own freedom both are going hand in hand. Particularly the issue of Tibet's freedom is much significant for us than the others. A comprehensive account of Chinese occupation over Tibet, Tibetans' struggle against this invasion and estimation of India's Foreign Policy in this regard

The Tibetan issue is far more important for India than it is for the rest of the world. However, we have been trapped in a state of confusion on this issue right from 1949. Has this in any way promoted our interests, or those of Tibet, China and the rest of Asia, or has it proven debilitating? The shastras say “Sanśayātmā Vinaṣyati” (those mired in confusion eventually beget destruction). Why then do we continue to be mired in confusion?

This article explores the endeavour for the liberation of Tibet, the plight of the Himalayas and Sino-Indian relations. After a brief introduction of the subject, the article lays out the courage and incessant effort of the Tibetans to keep their culture alive, China's misconceptions, India's experience, the genesis of China's expansionism and the increasing tempo of the zeal for Tibet's liberation, and lays stress on the need for clarity in India's policy.

Features of the India-Tibet-China Triangle

While it is true that India's anti-imperialist freedom movement was a beacon to a number of subjugated countries in the 20th century, it is also equally true that when in the immediate post-Independence period of 1949-59, Tibet's existence

as a free nation was annihilated by the Communist regime of China, we were guilty of turning a blind eye to this crime of the strangling of this weak and near-defenceless neighbour of ours¹. Why did this happen? There is no doubting the fact that the post-Independence Indian leadership was rather overawed by the victory of the Chinese Communists in that country's internal power struggle. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru dreamt of a 'new world' through the medium of a 'unity' between India and China, one that would be free of Western domination, i.e., Europe and America. Nehru and his foreign minister Krishna Menon and nearly all of India's Communists were trying to conjure up an environment of 'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai'². That was why we signed the Panchsheel Treaty with China in 1954. The period of the treaty was fixed to only eight years on China's adamant insistence, and overriding the objections of India's ambassador in China Trilokinath Kaul, although most international treaties are either of 10 or 20 years. Then, in order to ensure the success of the Panchsheel Treaty, India unilaterally surrendered the geopolitical advantages she had gained as a result of the lengthy tripartite dialogue in 1914 between Britain, China and Tibet and the

Simla Accord signed between Britain and Tibet, squandering them instead to enhance China's interests. Along with that, India also began creating an environment in favour of Communist China among the nonaligned countries. Going even further, India also carried on a diplomatic campaign to include China among the Permanent Members of the United Nations Organisation Security Council³. Two years after the signing of the Panchsheel Treaty, the Dalai Lama visited India as a guest on the occasion of the ceremony to commemorate the 2,500th birth anniversary of the Buddha. It was on this very occasion that he revealed the worsening situation in Tibet and requested India for both help and refuge. But all that our government did was to counsel him to keep restraint and send him back. China's imperialist stranglehold on Tibet only became more unbridled and suffocating. Doubtlessly, the mysterious silence of Britain, the USA, Soviet Union, France, Japan and the entire United Nations Organisation contributed to this crime. India began atoning somewhat for its share of this sin by granting refuge to the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetan men and women in 1959, and by rehabilitating them in the country. We then had to lose a substantial portion of our territory and thousands of our soldiers in 1962. But in this period, the free land

of Tibet had been forcibly made a part of the Chinese regime, and India in the eyes of the world had to endure the status of a humiliated nation.

Is the Dalai Lama's analysis, that India's foreign policy establishment for some reason was more sensitive to China than was necessary, and negligent towards Tibet? Whereas the need has been for us to be more attentive towards Tibet, as this country has since time immemorial been a zone of peace between India and China, which the British termed a buffer state. It should have been a matter of common sense that only a free Tibet could ensure accord and dialogue between India and China.

On the other hand, China imposed a 17-point agreement for grabbing Tibet in 1950, soon after the Communist takeover. It then began building a network of roads in the Himalayan region and setting up military bases. It then committed aggression on Tibet in 1959 and forced the Dalai Lama to flee the country. This led to a popular uprising in Lhasa, which was brutally crushed by the Chinese army. The Dalai Lama along with thousands of his followers escaped to refuge and safety in India and China installed a puppet Panchen Lama, as a figurehead in Tibet. The anger and mistrust this aroused has never died down in Tibet over the last 60 years, but in fact has been continually on the rise. For

example, when in his final years the Panchen Lama also became disillusioned with China, the Chinese regime did hesitate to visit their customary atrocities on him too. After the Panchen Lama's death, the young boy successor whom the Tibetan people had accepted as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama was taken captiva along with his parents and religious teachers, and a new Panchen Lama was announced by the Communist regime. This led to a "free the Panchen Lama" campaign in the entire world. The Tibetan people built up effective global public opinion for the release of this boy political prisoner.

Chief Aspects of Tibet's Suffering⁴

There are many sad dimensions of Tibet's suffering. Among them, the growing imbalance of population, destruction of culture and religion, lack of education, distortions in the environment, and increasing size of army are worrying in every way. In 1951, Tibetans were 96 per cent of the population of Tibet. Non-Tibetans were 4 percent. According to the 2000 census, the total population of Tibetans was 54 lakhs and the population of non-Tibetans had increased to 78 lakhs. The policy of encouraging the growth of the non-Tibetan population in Tibet has continued apace in the two decades of the 21st century, and it has become imbalanced as well as anti-Tibetan.

After completely occupying Tibet militarily in 1959, the Chinese regime has worked systematically to destroy the country's culture and religious order. According to a 2005 report, the Tibet Autonomous

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Region had illiteracy to the extent of 45 per cent. In many areas outside this region, the percentage of illiteracy was less than 7. 80 per cent of the schools teaching Tibetan language have been regularly closed down since 2008. A 10-year plan of education was also prepared in 2010. Similarly, textbooks have been replaced in all universities in the Tibet Autonomous Region and only Chinese has begun to be used as a medium of instruction in schools and universities.

Two shameful actions have been carried out to weaken Tibet's religious base. Firstly around 6,000 monasteries and viharas have been destroyed. Similarly, the number of monks and nuns in all the remaining monasteries and monasteries has been restricted. As a result, after 1994, there has been a rapid decrease in the number of monks and nuns in all the *viharas*.

The Chinese military regime is altering Tibet's religious base and language as well as its way of living. The way of living of at least 35 per cent Tibetans, whose life was dependent on animal husbandry, has been directly assaulted. People who used to lead life in a nomadic way, along with domesticated animals, i.e., mostly cattle, have been restricted to their places of residence and/or particular areas. The number of animals needed for livelihood has also been fixed. A policy of chemical farming and uniformity in crops has been implemented in the agricultural sector. Chinese has been made the language of dominance in the administration of villages.

The ecological destruction of Tibet has taken place too, as a result of Chinese occupation.

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Tibet is the origin of ten important rivers flowing through Asian countries. These rivers meet the water needs of more than 3 billion women and men of our planet. It is these rivers that irrigate and enrich India, Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and China, enabling them to thrive. According to a 2007 study conducted by environmental scientists, four of these rivers are drying up and disappearing due to barriers in the flow of their water created by the Chinese. The other six rivers are either polluted or are enduring a crisis in the flow of their waters. In 1950 there were a total of 22 dams on these ten rivers. According to Chinese documents, by 2000, 22,000 small or large dams or power generation projects had been set up on them. Tibet has had such a large reservoir of glaciers that it was said to be the earth's third pole. There were 46,000 identified glaciers there, which were spread over 1.5 lakh square kilometers. Of these, about 9,000 have melted and become ponds and lakes. Out of these, more than 200 lakes have taken on a dangerous form and the possibility of severe destruction emanating from them is increasing. The Chinese, Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi regions adjacent to Tibet may be caught up in such destruction. There is a danger of temperatures rising from 22° centigrade to 24°

centigrade by 2030. In such a situation, about 60 per cent of the glaciers might be wiped out. The apprehension of most grasslands plains in this region becoming deserts is increasing.

Tibet has been renowned in the world owing to its dense forest areas. But 50 per cent of its forests had been cut down by 1998. When it comes to natural resources, Tibet has been a storehouse of 126 types of minerals. According to a geological survey of 1907, Tibet was estimated to have 70 million tonnes of copper and 60 million tonnes of zinc. Over the past sixty years, China has carried out rampant mining of Tibet's underground resources. Some areas of Tibet have been covered with nuclear waste.

China has heavily militarized Tibet. About six lakh of its military personnel are deployed in the Tibet region. The number of its paramilitary forces keeps on increasing. Railway lines have been laid from Beijing to India's border areas, Nepal and Pakistan. Pakistan, Myanmar and Nepal have been connected by road. There are 16 airports operating in the Tibetan region, which can be put to military use. In such an environment, there is no scope for civil liberties and human rights to exist. There is no authentic information about people — from Panchen Lama to ordinary Tibetan monks, bhiksunis

and citizens— languishing in Chinese jails. Yet according to information pertaining to 2012, at least 1,392 political prisoners were imprisoned in Tibet's jails.

Tibetan's Admirable Perserverance

While China might have been successful in persecuting the Tibetans with its military might, it has failed in weakening their commitment to freedom. Even today, on March 10 every year migrant Tibetans demonstrate peacefully outside the headquarters of the United Nations Organisation and in the capitals of the world's prominent countries, demanding their country's freedom from Chinese rule. An annual message is brought out and disseminated in the world's major languages explaining the background and context of the various programmes held to commemorate Tibet Day⁵.

The number of committees of the supporters of Tibet's freedom is increasing in various countries. Students' Forum supporting

Tibet's freedom has similarly become a global movement. A global parliamentary forum supporting the Tibetan cause has been established with the help of many parliamentarians from across the world. This tradition is maintained in the Parliament of India as well, in the form of the Pro-Tibetan Parliamentary Forum. It is also important that Tibet's quest for freedom is constantly turning towards more courage and sacrifice, despite not obtaining any immediate success and other than increasing international public support. Till now, peaceful processions, picketing and long serial fasts have been organized to demonstrate their resistance. In reaction to their protests and opposition, more arrests, punishments, disappearance of people, and tortures have been carried out by the Chinese rulers.

But in recent years, i.e., between 2009 and 2015, there have been 141 incidents of self-immolation in various regions of Tibet by Tibetan monks and nuns as

the supreme sacrifice for the liberation of Tibet and Dalai Lama's return to the country. The High Commissioner of the United Nations Human Rights Division too cautioned China against turning a blind eye to the reasons behind this kind of unprecedented and extraordinary sacrifices being made by the people of Tibet. It has been suggested that in the light of the recommendations made by various observers of the United Nations 12 times till now, neutral observers should be allowed at least a visit to Tibet and study the ground realities⁶. But Chinese oppression continues unabated. Will this incredulous non-violent valour and incredible supreme sacrifice go in vain? At least India, which is renowned for its concern about and support against colonialism all over the world, being silent in this matter is worrying.

During the Vietnam War, there were some incidents of self-immolation by Buddhist bhikshus (monks) opposed to the war, which generated pressure on the US throughout the world to halt the war. But self-immolation on such a large scale for the sake of Tibet's freedom is unprecedented. This reflects the deep agony prevalent in Tibetan society. It has become impossible to dismiss this as "China's internal matter". Tibetan Buddhist monks have truly astonished the world by their supreme nonviolent response to Chinese cruelty. China's rulers though, refusing to accept their failure, have tried to portray the peaceful opposition to their rule as a "conspiracy by the Dalai Lama, who is engaged in a conspiracy to split China" and made shameful attempts to



A demonstration of Tibetans in Dharmshala on completion of 60 years of the Tibet uprising

cover up these incidents. But this only served to further inflame the situation and all at once, there were acts of self-immolation by many lamas and bhikshunis (female monks) all over again. The Dalai Lama was deeply agitated at this and had to come forward to issue an appeal against acts of self-immolation. Although, incidents of self-immolation came to halt following his appeal, but the Tibetan freedom movement has only gained in intensity both within and outside Tibet. One reflection of this was a plan of action named 'Five and Fifty Years' announced during a global meet organised in 2018 by migrant Tibetans, through which they presented their case before the world. This is a more well-planned programme of action on the dual levels of both an immediate basis of work and over a period of three generations, to which the world must turn its attention to⁷.

Expansionist China's Misconception

Like every imperialist country, China's rulers since 1959 have been living in the delusion that they had made their hold over Tibet permanent by sending the Dalai Lama into exile and that the Tibetan movement would fade into obscurity over time. The Chinese also have tried to swamp Tibet with ethnic Chinese population, forcibly push Sinisation everywhere, particularly by making the Chinese language compulsory in education in place of Tibetan, and by 'encouraging' the local Tibetans to marry Chinese and thereby produce a hybrid community. What would the freedom of Tibet mean for those Tibetan young men and

women who have never seen the Dalai Lama and have thrown up in an education system not of Buddhist teaching but communist propaganda? And can the Dalai Lama, who is already 85 now, live on beyond a hundred years? When His Holiness passes away, the Chinese regime will pick a puppet successor to him like the earlier Panchen Lama. After that, there will be no trace left of the Tibetan freedom struggle and its movement for liberation.

Is this a correct appraisal? The question becomes important because it would be impossible for the Tibetan people to accept the violation of the centuries old traditional procedure of choosing the Dalai Lama's successor by the anti-religious Chinese ruling establishment. According to tradition, every Dalai Lama himself leaves behind directions regarding his rebirth. Parallel to that, despite the central importance of the Dalai Lama in the Tibetan identity, the Buddhist faith, Tibet's geography and history, its language, culture and social system have a great role to play in shaping Tibet's character. That is the reason the Tibetan people, under the guidance of the Dalai Lama, despite the long period of his exile, have preserved and enhanced all dimensions of their identity as an organised and well structured cultural and religious group.

First of all, the Tibetan exile community has changed the traditional basis of its political system to make it democratic. The Dalai Lama since quite a number of years has relinquished all his authority and responsibilities to a parliament or representative council of Tibetans in exile. This 'parliament' has representation

of all communities and regions of Tibet. Just as in any newly emergent democratic polity, Tibetans have learnt to institutionalise the autonomy of the executive, legislature and judiciary.

Second, the monasteries and centres of learning existing in Tibet from times immemorial till 1959 have been relocated to India, where they are safeguarded and have also been enhanced. These monasteries are meant to preserve the continual journey of the faith, its study and learning. The three monastic universities of Sera, Gaden and Drepung have been re-established in Karnataka. The Sakya Centre and Mindroling monastery have been relocated to Rajpur and Clement Town in Uttarakhand. The headquarters of Karmapa is at Rumtek in Sikkim. A centre has been built at Dolanji in Himachal Pradesh in order to continue the adherence to the Bon tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. World class centres of Buddhist learning have been set up in Sarnath (Uttar Pradesh) and Leh (Ladakh), in which there are libraries of Tibetan books and publications with translation too are going on at these centres.

Also, there is a well managed organisation of Tibetan children's schools for the conservation of Tibetan history, literature and language. Which is why, over a period of time, i.e., 60 years between 1959 and 2019, men and women of the Tibetan migrant community within a span of just four generations have become the most educated exiles and refugees anywhere in the world, all due to the dint of their effort. Children from Tibet too come to these schools for obtaining their education. The Tibetan Diaspora

uses the Tibetan language not only in its family and community life, but His Holiness the Dalai Lama accords priority to the mother tongue of Tibetans in all his public events, especially the one week-long religious discourse in conjunction with the Kalachakra consecration ceremony. Radio and television daily programs in the Tibetan language have preserved the language and maintained its flow.

Fourth, there are facilities for treatment based on Tibetan medicine and astrology centres (Men-tse-khang) in every Tibetan migrant zone. Also, the learning centres at Dharmashala and Sarnath are engaged in the teaching of the Tibetan mode of medicinal treatment and healing. This system of treatment has begun to be welcomed in India and the world, thanks to the lifelong efforts of Tibetan friends. With the help of Tibetan friends, Tibetan medical practice has begun being welcomed in India and the world. The Tibetan system of medicine has enjoyed acceptance in all Himalayan regions. The process of making Tibetan medicine accessible in many important cities, including the capital of India, has become extremely popular.

Fifth, a special training centre in Dharmashala for the preservation of Tibetan culture, art, dance and music has continuously been extended. There is also an attractive Tibet House in Delhi, where they organise lectures about Tibetan history, politics, environment and culture on a regular basis. Education of Tibetan language is also imparted there. There is a rich library and literary centre.

For China's Buddhist seekers, India has always been the land of enlightenment. Repeated pilgrimages of Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Kushinagar, Nalanda, Takshashila, etc., has been a mandatory duty for Chinese religious scholars. There is also a long history of trade. But contemporary Chinese leaders have regarded nationalism of their own kind, which is imperialism in actuality, to be above all. This is why Mao Tse Tung targeted India in 1962, as soon as the period of eight year Panchsheel Treaty expired

India's Experience

What has been India's experience with China and Tibet? For India, its holiest centre of pilgrimage Kailas-Manasarovar lies in Tibet. That is why Tibet and Tibetans are very close to India. From the seventh century onwards, Tibetans have regarded India as their "guru nation". From the seventh century till the year 1959, India's role in Tibet's religion, language, script, trade and conflict-resolution has been historical. The Dalai Lama and the Tibetans along with him living in exile go to the extent of admitting that much of their body and soul has been preserved and enhanced only because of India's hospitality. For China's Buddhist seekers, India has always been the land of enlightenment. Repeated pilgrimages of Bodh Gaya, Sarnath, Kushinagar, Nalanda, Takshashila, etc., has been a mandatory duty for Chinese religious scholars. There is also a long history of trade. But contemporary Chinese leaders have regarded nationalism of their own kind, which is imperialism in actuality, to be above all. This is why Mao Tse Tung targeted India in 1962, as soon as the period of eight-year Panchsheel Treaty expired. China committed aggression against

India, damaging its national self-confidence and became a claimant for supremacy in Asia⁸.

There are adherents of communism even today who blame Nehru and the Congress and also the Dalai Lama for the India-China war of 1962 and China's occupation of our territory. But they have no answer as to why China continues to make attempts to encircle India even after its unilateral ceasefire in 1962. China's unceasing attempts to create tension for India by courting Pakistan and wooing Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Nepal are well known. A string of Chinese naval bases have been set up in the Indian Ocean. China has entrapped all the small countries in the neighbourhood in its enticing web of 'One Belt One Road' and India seems to be enduring its isolation.

Most important is the fact that even today, China continues to occupy Tibet and most countries of the world remain silent on this. The desire to benefit from trade, diplomatic, military and intellectual ties with China is everywhere. Many civil organisations and university research centres link this to the terminology of human rights violation, cultural genocide and

protection of the environment, and not an outright case of invasion and forcible occupation of a country by an alien power. This is tantamount to covering up the inhuman reality of the forced enslavement of a centuries' old nation even in the twenty-first century, owing to the exigencies of the politics of modern nation-states and the vested interests of industrialised countries. One the one hand we see the brutal suppression of a nationhood, while on the other hand, this is sought to be explained away under the rubric of human rights, environment and cultural injustice! Whereas China itself has been unable to ignore the indomitable Tibetan nationalism, which is why during the decade 1980-90, it established contact with the representatives of the Dalai Lama and has called them for talks eight times. It is another matter that the silence on the part of India and the world has not made any difference to Chinese arrogance.

Some dates and details of

geography are indelible in Tibetans' memory. Tibetans know that to the east of their country lies Sinkiang, Kashmir to the west, the Himalayas to the north and the Kunloon mountains to the south. Tibet's geographical area is more than 47,000 miles. It is the world's third snow-clad country and a large perennial water reservoir of Asia. From its plateau emanate rivers that irrigate east and north India, among which the Brahmaputra, Indus, Sutlej, Karnali, Sankosi and Manas are the prominent ones. In the distant past, during the reign of Tibetan emperor Songtsen Gampo (604-650 AD), Buddhism began being accorded royal patronage upon the initiative taken by the emperor's Nepali wife Queen Bhrikuti. In order to meet the needs of script, grammar and alphabet of the Tibetan language, Emperor Gampo dispatched Thomi Sambhota to India, who learnt Indian languages under the tutelage of Dev Vidyasingh. After his return to Tibet, Sambhota began giving

shape to the present Tibetan alphabet based on the Indian system of alphabets. This was the beginning of the Indo-Tibetan relationship. The translation into Tibetan of timeless Indian works from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Amarakosha to those of Buddhist philosophers Nāgārjuna and Kamalsīla lent continuity to this relationship. This was accorded the recognition and respect akin to two branches of the Bodhi tree. Within a just century of its introduction to Buddhism, the period of rise of Tibet began in 780 AD.

In the contemporary age, when China's military pressure became stifling, thousands of Tibetans along with their spiritual leader and head of government the Dalai Lama fled Tibet and obtained refuge in India in 1959. But Tibetans also remember that the Chinese Government, after the collapse of the Ming Dynasty in 1911 had apologised for the atrocities committed on Tibet and accepted Tibet's independence. Tibet too had, as a sovereign country, concluded treaties with Mongolia in 1913 and Britain in 1914. Due to the unfortunate loss of Tibet's freedom, these refugees who were a few thousand when they arrived in India have today grown to more than one and a half lakh people. Enduring the loss of their political freedom, Tibetan men and women have along with India and Nepal, proliferated to many other countries of the world. The year 2019 marked the sixtieth year of life in exile for Tibetans, with no end in sight to their suffering, as Chinese repression of the Tibetan people continues. Tibet, which has been struck by the calamity of becoming a Chinese colony,



A protest in front of Potala Palace in Lhasa against Chinese occupation of Tibet and its repression by the Chinese Army.

is suffering the steady erosion of its national independence, the Buddhist religion, Tibetan culture, the Himalayan ecology and Asia's water resources. But India and the rest of the world has not been able to come up with any plan of action. But even during this long period of suffering and sorrow, Tibetans living in exile do not forget to organise "Thank you, India!" events to express gratitude for the support and help our government and citizens have given them.

After invading Tibet, in 1962 China made India's Himalayan region the target of its expansionism. Beginning from October 20, 1962, China's armies attacked and advanced into Indian Territory from Ladakh to Arunachal Pradesh and Assam for 32 days. India's then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in an address to the nation voiced his apprehension that Assam could slip out of India's hands, as Chinese forces had reached up to Tezpur. From then till today, the entire India-China border of nearly 4,000 kilometres has become disputed and tense. Both countries dispute a territory of 1,35,000 square kilometres. Moreover, China has encroached 800 square kilometres of Indian Territory in Pak-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and created a linking zone to Pakistan. The Sino-Pak military nexus has further widened this dispute. Many experienced people who have served in India's ruling establishment, political parties, military, foreign and administrative services have examined facts from various perspectives and criticised our policies and lack of direction. But despite many changes in

It was hoped that China in its new capitalist rebirth would understand the importance of profits and would alter its nationalist priorities of its communist era and reciprocate India's goodwill. It was expected to pay more attention to the boundary dispute and cooperate with us in the development of our Himalayan region. But there was no place in China's priority for anyone else other than America. In fact, China considers India to be its rival even in Africa

governments, it is China's side in the India-China-Tibet triangle that keeps getting longer⁹.

There was a fresh attempt to woo China during the tenure of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, wherein our government in a joint statement accepted the "Tibetan Autonomous Region" as an "integral part of China". In return for this gesture, China merely accorded recognition to Sikkim's merger with India in 1976. There was no discussion on Tibet's autonomy or the one lakh square miles of Indian Territory under Chinese occupation since 1962. The two sides did not even exchange maps related to territorial claims.

Then during the ten-year tenure of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, we opened our markets for Chinese goods under the pretext of liberalisation. We also sealed our lips on the boundary issue and ignored China's reluctance to address the issue of the trade route via Sikkim. The Communists filly backed the Manmohan regime's soft approach to China. It was hoped that China in its new capitalist rebirth would understand the importance of profits and would alter its nationalist priorities of its communist era and reciprocate India's goodwill. It was expected to pay more attention to the boundary dispute and cooperate

with us in the development of our Himalayan region. But there was no place in China's priority for anyone else other than America. In fact, China considers India to be its rival even in Africa.

Since 2014, a non-Congress and non-Communist government has come to power under the leadership of Narendra Modi, which again won a mandate in 2019. This government has recognised the need to be much more sensitive to the shameful reality of the brutal suppression of freedom in Tibet and the Chinese occupation of our territory for more than half a century. This government has shown a new resolve from Arunachal Pradesh to Ladakh. A former Foreign Service official with professional and specialised knowledge and experience of dealing with China has been made our external affairs minister. Prime Minister Modi also invited the elected representatives of the Tibetan government-in-exile to his swearing-in ceremony. On the other hand, a continuing dialogue with China has been accorded the highest priority. However, there has been no improvement in China's attitude in the imbalance of trade, its Himalayan policy, behaviour in the Indian Ocean, or its assertiveness in the Asia-Pacific region. During the Doklam standoff with China, we

were also saddled with the 'gift' of the Sino-Bhutanese dispute. The BRICS platform has turned out to be a failure, while SAARC has remained only on paper. Not only that, we have been forced to exit the Free Trade Organisation of 18 countries in order to steer clear of China's machinations.

Perhaps time has come to know that there is no other way than to recognise the truth of India-China relations. Neither the unilateral gifting away of border territory like Nehru-Indira, neglect of Tibet like Vajpayee, unilateral opening of India's markets like Manmohan Singh did, nor the hot and cold policy of Narendra Modi will be the correct response. The truth is that though Tibet may hold no importance for India's ruling class, for India's common people and those living in the Himalayan regions, Tibet's freedom and India's strategic and economic security are synonymous. It is therefore time to examine whether the pathway to good relations between India and China can pass only through self-rule for Tibet, i.e., real autonomy. Or else not? This is what the Dalai Lama and those connected with Tibet's endeavour for freedom suggest. Can we become free of the knot of 'over cautiousness?' Can we, without damaging the interests of our neighbours, big or small, take the initiative for meaningful dialogue with the rest of the world along with China, in order to protect our national interests as well as fulfil our yugadharma (contemporary duty)?

How China Remains Constantly Expansionist

India and China are the world's two very ancient civilisations in

Let us not forget that China's rulers employed tanks to crush their own new generation for the crime of dreaming of bringing democracy to their country. Sinkiang, or Eastern Turkestan as it is alternatively known, and a part of Mongolia are also under the unjust occupation of China, just like Tibet and India's Himalayan border region. The people of Eastern Turkestan are known as Uighurs whose faith is Islam

which about 40 per cent of the world's population resides. Both are also the world's prominent economic powers in the 21st century. China chose the Maoist version of communism to rebuild itself, in which the Communist Party and the Chinese military occupy the central place and role. India on the other hand chose parliamentary democracy and a mixed economy. But owing to the presence of the large territory of a free Tibet between these two countries, the memories of the centuries before the period of 1951-62 are one of peaceful coexistence. There was no political or military tension between the two, only limited cultural, religious and trade contact. One would therefore be naturally surprised looking at today's highly complex situation. How did it turn worse?

The reality is that ever since Tibet, which two-thirds of Europe's area in size, became a victim of Chinese imperialism between 1949-59, not only have the Himalayas become disturbed, an undeclared arms race in the entire Asia-Pacific region was set off. China first built nuclear weapons and then swarmed Tibet with missiles, military bases and thousands of Chinese soldiers, grossly disfiguring a peaceful country and society that had for centuries adhered to the pursuit

of Buddhist spiritualism. China thus raised a mighty challenge for all of its neighbouring countries. India had to invest in nuclear weapons for its own defence. Pakistan, emulating India, soon followed suit and stockpiled nuclear warheads. In the process, we are slipping in the fight against disease, illiteracy and poverty in our endeavour to safeguard ourselves from our neighbours, particularly the Sino-Pak nexus.

It is often claimed that after World War II, the world moved towards liberty and democracy under the guidance and initiative of the US and Western Europe. There was an opposing bloc too, in the form of the Communist countries under the leadership of the Soviet Union, which however, owing to its own internal contradictions and the pressure of global capitalism. However, the fact cannot be ignored that it is during this very period of history that Chinese nationalism rose and has become a continuing and growing menace to the world. The relationship between both tendencies is a matter of study. There is silence in the world over China's economic might and growing military challenge. Why do the United Nations Organisation, the European Union, the Organisation of Islamic Countries or the Commonwealth not say

anything about the immoral and expansionist behaviour of China? The results of this mysterious global silence will be devastating. Let us not forget that China's rulers employed tanks to crush their own new generation for the crime of dreaming of bringing democracy to their country. Sinkiang, or Eastern Turkestan as it is alternatively known, and a part of Mongolia are also under the unjust occupation of China, just like Tibet and India's Himalayan border region. The people of Eastern Turkestan are known as Uighurs whose faith is Islam. Due to their unending hostility to China, the Chinese regime has imposed martial law on this region and cut it off from the rest of the world. It shows Tibet and Sinkiang on its maps as provinces of China, with no historical basis whatsoever. It does not even publish maps of the Indian Territory it occupied in 1962. In all, there are 18 neighbours whose land or sea borders touch China. Riding on its growing economic and military might, China disregards the world and has border disputes with each one of its neighbours. China has colonised some of these and has resorted to armed clash with India, Russia and Vietnam. Apart from these, its disputes with Bhutan, Myanmar,

Indonesia and Taiwan too are on the increase.

The Astonishing Reality of Tibet's Self-Preservation

However, it is highly admirable that despite enduring China's dominance, the Tibetans even today hold their dream of freedom from China's clutches. Thousands of Tibetans over the last six decades, adhering to their Buddhist faith and preserving their identity, both in Tibet and elsewhere in the world have been engaged in the endeavour for Tibet's liberation under the guidance of the Dalai Lama. Five salient features contribute to this incessant quest of theirs: 1) The Dalai Lama's benign and gentle persona 2) The deep roots of Tibetan culture 3) The active unity of Tibetan society 4) China's brutal cultural repression of Tibet and the exploitation of its ecology and resources and 5) The increasing affinity with Tibet of freedom-loving people in India and throughout the world.

It is widely known that the men and women of that generation of Tibetans who chose a life of exile rather than living under the slavery of China have now grown very old. The Dalai Lama has himself turned 85. The Dalai, who till 1959 was revered only in Tibet today is accepted as

the most important beacon of peace and compassion, despite six decades of life in exile. He encompasses and balances three roles together: love for the Tibetan homeland, that of a Buddhist monk and a global citizen. Therefore, under him, the endeavour for Tibet's freedom is active on a global scale coupled with global responsibility. The Dalai does desire that Tibet's interests must be secured but does not want to harm China, nor does he want India-China relations to turn sour¹⁰.

It is this commitment, which despite the veracity of complete freedom based on historicity, has led to the development of a 'Middle Path Policy' under the leadership of the Dalai Lama since 1974 to achieve "equitable autonomy" to adapt to the changing world situation. Based on this, in 1979, welcoming Chinese President Deng Xiao Peng's proposal for talks, a beginning in negotiations became possible. But the cycle of repression went into motion once again in Tibet between 1987-89. The process peace talks broke down in 1993, and no outcome could emerge. Dialogue was resumed later in 2002. Again in 2008, the people of Tibet became agitated and were made victims of yet another cycle of repression. A total of nine rounds of talks have been held. In spite of the absence of any notable progress, the Tibetan diaspora between 2008-2010 approved the continuance of the endeavour to follow this path in a comprehensive manner. What is the essence of this policy? While not tolerating its current plight, it does not seek complete political independence from China. There is a dispute over the evaluation

There is a dispute over the evaluation of the results of the Middle Path approach. The Tibetan leadership lists out at least 12 benefits. It cites example of the European Union where rather than nationalism, identities and shared interests are being simultaneously fostered through the establishment of a federation of national entities based on national autonomy. Whereas many committed Tibetan youth consider 'Rangzen' (freedom) as the only means to fulfill the quest of the liberation of Tibet

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Conclusion

Before becoming a victim of Chinese imperialism, Tibet was almost an unknown country. Thanks to the worldwide campaign of the last sixty years, the lack of attention towards Tibetan culture has ended. Tibet has gained not only the world's admiration but also respect. The world's interest in Tibet is rising, ranging from its spirituality to its ancient techniques of healing and enhancing longevity. Tibet's history, language, philosophy, geography, ecology, society and culture have now begun to be studied and researched in many countries of the world including India.

The success of Tibetans in keeping up unrelenting activism in maintaining their identity and existence and also forging an effective solidarity, even while living in exile, is indeed a stupendous achievement. They have also gradually established a democratic administration for themselves and the necessary

The success of Tibetans in keeping up unrelenting activism in maintaining their identity and existence and also forging an effective solidarity, even while living in exile, is indeed a stupendous achievement. They have also gradually established a democratic administration for themselves and the necessary discipline that comes with it. The Tibetan government-in-exile has a representative stationed in every major country

discipline that comes with it. The Tibetan government-in-exile has a representative stationed in every major country. In order to bring out the truth of the reality inside Tibet before the rest of the world, the Tibetan information network is active in Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese as well. The activism of the Tibetan parliament, the Tibetan Women's Association, Tibetan Youth Congress and four generations of Tibetan men and women is the fountainhead of this.

The increasing affinity of India and all freedom-loving citizens of the world with Tibet is indeed a welcome change. This endeavour was commenced by Lokanayak Jayprakash Narayan by organising a public conference in Calcutta in 1959. A national conference was held in Kolkata by the Tibet-India Coordination Center upon the completion of its sixty years. It obtained a widespread base through the support it obtained from the various campaigns to safeguard the Himalayan frontiers held in the decade of the sixties with the inspiration of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. A compilation of Lohia's works about the Himalayas and Tibet has been republished with Tibetan cooperation during the year of his birth centenary. Later, George Fernandes assumed command of the movement in

the eighties. After this, under the chairmanship of former Speaker of the Lok Sabha Rabi Rai, the movement in the form of the Indo-Tibet Friendship Association spread to more than a hundred districts of the country. With the advent of the new century, under the guidance of Indresh Kumar, a remarkable new stream of public support has been created in the form of Himalayan family¹². Due to their increasing plurality, those who seek the liberation of Tibet have also brought about a proper system of management in the form of the Indo-Tibet Coordination Centre.

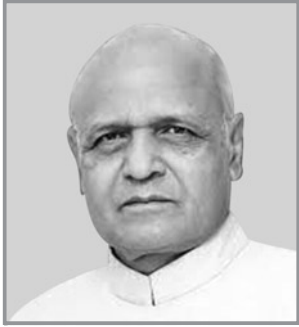
Despite China's economic might and military brutality, the quest for Tibet's liberation has received the support and contribution of thousands of men and women including some Nobel peace laureates on the initiation of Bishop Tutu. National organisations of Tibet supporters are active in all five continents including America, Canada and European Union.

But alas, the world rests on international relations of the governments of nations and silence of the world is not going to break due to the fear and greed from China and there seems to be no end to the silence of the countries of the world on this issue. Will Tibetans be unable to resolve this crisis due to

excessive optimism and China's excessive scepticism? Is India's foreign policy establishment also sitting on this issue because of excessive caution? Who can answer this?

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Prof. Bhagwati Prakash

Trivishtap or Tibet

The World's Roof and Nehru-era Lapses - II

...Continued from previous issue

If India would have offered support in the United Nations for Tibet's independence in November 1950 on invasion of Tibet by China, Tibet could survive as an independent Buffer State between India and China. Then, our northern border would have been completely safe. India was a member of the U.N. Security Council as well for two years, 1950 and 1951. So, India was well capable to play an effective role in restoring Tibet's autonomy. China was not even an ordinary member of the United Nations then. Moreover, outside the communist countries, India was alone to support China for U.N. Membership. Besides, the U.S. too was then eager to actively defend and liberate Tibet from China at every cost. But, Jawaharlal Nehru seemed unduly committed, probably under the influence of Russia to support China in capturing Tibet. Therefore, on the instructions of the P.M. Nehru, Indian representative in the United Nation opposed for any discussion on restoring Tibet's independence. At India's insistence alone the discussions were deferred on the petition of Tibet as well as the proposal of Al Salvador scheduled to be discussed on 24th November. As a result, Tibet had to lose its

independence by signing the 1951 treaty with China. It would not be out of place to mention that like Tibet, the South Korea had also reached on the brink of defeat at that time on 25th June 1950, after it was attacked by the North Korea with the active cooperation of Russia and China. United States had then intervened and proposed before the UN Security Council, for a UN-backed multi-country military intervention. So, restoration of independence of the South Korea had become possible at that time and only due to the multi-country military intervention after a U.N. Resolution was passed for this. India too was then a member (though non-permanent) of the Security Council, but had very conspicuously abstained from voting to declare China as an aggressor in the United Nations Security Council. The resolution was also aimed at restraining the North Korean and Chinese aggression. The resolution was still passed, inspite of India's abstention. The United States-led joint military intervention could then become possible after that resolution was passed under the leadership of the US for the defense of South Korea and consequently the restoration independence of South Korea could become possible.¹ Like in the case of South Korea, United

You knew about geographical and social features of Tibet along with its significance in spreading civilization all over the world in the last issue of Manthan. This the second part of the same article is about its strategic importance to India

States was equally willing and supportive of UN-supported military intervention in Tibet as well. Since, South Korea was located on the Sea Coast, direct US military intervention could become possible. But, Tibet was a land lock between India and China. So, India's consent for liberation of Tibet and willingness was necessary or rather crucial. Indeed Jawaharlal Nehru had earlier promised to the Tibetan leaders that as and when the issue would figure in the UN. India would fully support. Nehru had only shown his inability to raise the issue at its own. But, After this sudden volte face by the then P.M. Nehru, India even asked the US also to stay away from criticizing China in the Matter of Tibet.² Otherwise, if Nehru would have stuck to his words Tibet would have been an

independent nation in the same way as the South Korea is today. The Tibetan Lamas were rather keen to make Tibet a protectorate of India, just like Bhutan, with which we had signed a treaty in 1949 and to take up their defense and foreign affairs.

Most of the Ministers and Foreign Affairs Departments Against Nehru's Stand

Ever since Chinese invasion of Tibet in October, most of the Union ministers including, Sardar Patel, many socialist leaders in Congress like Jayaprakash Narayan and most of the officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Girija Shankar Bajpayee—the Secretary General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were against Nehru's stand and fully in favor

of supporting Tibet in the United Nations.³ Therefore, when the Prime Minister Nehru shifted his stand and begun favoring China, all of them were shocked as it was detrimental to our national interests. To rule out the any influence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prime Minister Nehru started bypassing the officials, including the Secretary General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sir Bajpai. He then directly started instructing the pro-left and pro China Indian Ambassador to China K.M. Pannikar. Concerned over the Prime Minister's move against the nation's interests, Sir Bajpayee brought the whole issue into the notice of the then Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel. On hearing this, Sardar Patel got irked and wrote a long letter to the Prime Minister Nehru on November 7, 1950.⁴ The Governor of Assam also warned the Prime Minister. Patel turned too anxious, when Prime Minister Nehru suddenly changed his stand and, along with Pannikar, begun stating Tibet as China's internal problem. Sardar Patel then had a long discussion with Chakravarti Raj Gopalachari, who had been the Governor-General of the country till recently. As a result, there was a very fierce altercation between Rajaji and Nehru on 2nd November on the issue of supporting Tibet. Thus, Sardar Patel, the former Governor General of the country, Rajaji, Defense Minister Baldev Singh, Finance Minister C.D. Deshmukh and several prominent ministers and foreign department officials, including Babu Jagjivan Ram, Shri Prakash (Governor of the state of Assam located in Padoas, China), etc. begun explicitly



China attacked on Tibet on 21st of October 1950 and had brutally killed thousands of Tibetans

Courtesy: <https://www.bhaskar.com/news/INT-CHN-chinese-peoples-liberation-army-attack-on-tibet-news-hindi-5444017-PHO.html>

expressing their differences with Nehru as they were clearly in favor of supporting Tibet in the United Nations, keeping in view the country's interest.⁵ Only Gopal Swamy Ayengar (who had earlier proposed the Article 370 in the Constituent Assembly), Rafi Ahmed and Maulana Azad were with Prime Minister Nehru. In the aftermath of it, probably out of his frustration for being isolated on December 12, Prime Minister Nehru divested Sardar Patel from all ministerial responsibilities, unilaterally and without any discussion with him, in the name of his fickle health. He (Nehru) had then given the charge of states to Gopal Swamy and took over the Home Ministry himself. Patel is believed to have got very upset by this.⁶ He may have died on December 15, even out of insult, shock and depression. Ultimately, ignoring country's interests and broader democratic values, Prime Minister Nehru succeeded to convert a peaceful Indo-Tibet border into a precarious Indo-China border. There could be some influence of Russian pressure as well on the Prime Minister Nehru, behind this volte face. Now it has proved beyond doubt that the air crash that is alleged to have killed Netaji, had never occurred⁷ and many people believe that Netaji was alive and was in Russia.⁸

Unbelievable Breach of trust with Tibet

On the very moment after Chinese invasion of Tibet from five sides in October 1950, Tibet while considering India as its most trusted protector and friendly neighbor, requested India to raise this issue in the United Nations. Tibet was then not a

member of the United Nations. But, may be under the pressure of Russia and out of his love for Russia-China, India responded tried to cleverly steer away. Nehru stated that India is unable to move any proposal on its own in the UN for restoring Tibet's independence. But it assured Tibet is most unequivocal term that if any other nation would propose unconditionally support such a proposal to protect Tibet's independence. India was also a member of the Security Council for two years from 1950 to 1951 and China was not even an ordinary member of the United Nations. So, India had been well capable to propose a motion for restoring Tibetan Independence. Finally, on November 15, a nation with a tiny population of 22 lakhs and an area of mere 21 thousand square kilometers, El Salvador¹⁰, proposed for listing the appeal of Tibet. El Salvador is at a distance of 15000 km from Tibet. This Central American country located much far, supported Tibet. But, Nehru, the nearest democracy neighboring Tibet, betrayed the neighbor and not only shied away from helping a friendly neighbor, but even changed sides later.

Moreover Indian even opposed discussion on restoring independence of Tibet and unbelievably blocked the proposal of El Salvador. Even England too was in favor of

resolving the issue of restoring Tibet's independence with legal arguments in the United Nations.¹¹ But, unfortunately Nehru restrained England too by saying that there was no justification for such legal arguments regarding Tibet. On instruction from the P.M. Nehru, the Indian representative in UN asserted that the General Assembly of the United Nations should only give a call for peaceful solution to both the countries. Was there any peace possible when China had invaded Tibet to grab it forever? America was in favor of protecting Tibet's freedom at all costs and as much as possible. However, the US considered India's cooperation crucial and indispensable on the issue of protecting Tibet's independence due to geographical and historical reasons.¹² Unfortunately, betrayed Tibet in spite of the fact that Jawaharlal Nehru had committed to support Tibet in the United Nations until earlier in October only if a proposal is moved by another country. But, within a month he changed the stand on November 24th, and decided to oppose any discussion on restoring Tibet's freedom in the UN. So, when the proposal came up for discussion, the Indian representative opined to defer discussion. Prime Minister Nehru advised the Indian representative in the

Finally, on November 15, a nation with a tiny population of 22 lakhs and an area of mere 21 thousand square kilometers, El Salvador, proposed for listing the appeal of Tibet. El Salvador is at a distance of 15000 km from Tibet. This Central American country located much far, supported Tibet

United Nations to say that "the Government of India has a definite view that the question of the autonomy of Tibet be resolved only by full peace negotiations between the two

i.e. China and Tibet".^{13,14} Finally, with Jawaharlal Nehru's such unpredictable cooperation China forced Tibet to sign an unequal agreement in May 1951 to capture Tibet. So, ultimately

China has become our neighbor, with a troubled border of 4057 km. By inviting China on the Indo-Tibetan border, P.M. Nehru made that border most vulnerable for us.

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Prayer flags

Payer flags were originally used as talismans to protect Tibetans during the war. It is originated from Bon religion that people used prayer flags for protection, and it is printed symbols such as snow lion, dragon, and tiger the flag. Tibetan prayer flags were eventually adopted into Tibetan Buddhism with prayers or messages of hope and peace printed on it. The colors of Tibetan prayer flags are significant in five different color, and it symbolize five basic elements in a certain order, blue stands for the ether, or wind, white for air, red for fire, green for water and yellow for earth. Prayer flags depicts mantras of different deities and protectors, such as Tara, Guru, Chenrezig and so on, prayer flags can be placed inside of a room in your house, and traditionally they were placed outside of house. Tibetan hang the prayer flag on clean and windy spots like high passes and river side, that is why you see heaps of prayer flags on almost every passes in Tibet. Tibetan Prayer flags above all symbolize peace and harmony. ■



Courtesy: <https://www.exploretibet.com/tibetan-culture-arts/>



Claude Arpi

Panchsheel: Is it right or Born in Sin?

Tibetologist Claude Arpi wrote many articles in regard to the Panchsheel on different occasions. Among these He wrote the one article on the 50th anniversary of Panchsheel in 2004 and the second on its 60th anniversary in 2014. This is a compiled presentation of the two articles

Today, India and China 'celebrate' the 50th anniversary of the 'Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India,' better known as the 'Panchsheel Agreement.'

Is there something to celebrate? While this can certainly be questioned, nobody can dispute that the events of 1954 marked an epoch for India and Tibet.

The time has perhaps come to look into the history of these troubled years and introspect to see if new opportunities can be found to sort out the old knots of the past.

The ball started rolling a hundred years ago (in July 1904) when a young British colonel, Francis Younghusband, forced his way into the holy city of Lhasa. Today it is fashionable to speak of the 'clash of civilisations' but in this particular case, it was truly two different worlds meeting for the first time.

At the end of his stay in the Tibetan capital, Younghusband forced upon the Tibetans their first agreement with the mighty British Empire. By signing this treaty with the crown representative, Tibet was 'acknowledged' by London as a separate nation. However, political deals are never simple; Tibet's Western neighbour, China, whose suzerainty over Tibet in Lord Curzon's words was a 'constitutional fiction', was

extremely unhappy not to be a party to the accord.

Ten years later (March 1914), wanting to show fairness, London called for a tripartite conference in Simla to settle the issue: the three main protagonists sat together at a negotiation table for the first time. The result was not fully satisfactory as the Chinese only initialized the main document and did not ratify it. The British and Tibetans however agreed on a common border demarcated on a map: the famous McMahon Line was born.

This treaty was still in force when India became independent in August 1947.

But in October 1950, an event changed the destiny of the Himalayan region: Mao's troops marched into Tibet.

Lhasa appealed to the United Nations against China's invasion of Tibet. India, though recognising Tibet's autonomy ('verging on independence' as per Nehru's words), began to vacillate and was unable to stand up in favour of their peaceful neighbour against the might of Red China.

In May 1951, some of the Dalai Lama's representatives signed -- 'under duress' -- a 17-Point Agreement with Communist China. For the first time in its 2,000-year history, Lhasa officially 'accepted' Tibet as

a part of China. However, the incorporation of the Tibetan nation into China was not immediately acknowledged by Delhi which continued for a couple of years to maintain a full-fledged mission in Lhasa.

The signature of the Panchsheel Agreement between India and China on April 29, 1954 marked the tail-end of events set in motion by the entry of Younghusband into Tibet. While the British expedition accepted Tibet as a separate entity, the signatures on the Agreement put an end to its existence as a distinct nation. The Land of Snows merely became 'Tibet's Region of China.' The circle was closed with incalculable consequences for India and the entire Himalayan region. One of the most ironic aspects is that the Tibetans themselves were not even informed of the negotiations.

The preamble of the Agreement contains the Five Principles which formed the main pillar of India's foreign policy for the next five years. They heralded the beginning of the Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai policy and the 'non-aligned' position of India.

A great tragedy is that the Agreement is remembered not for its content, which concerns the trade relations between India and Tibet, but for its preamble which directly caused the destruction of an ancient, spiritual 'way of life' (backward in one sense though much more advanced at an inner level).

Another misfortune is that the idealistic Five Principles have never been followed either in letter or in spirit by China. Non-interference in the other's affairs and respect for the neighbour's territorial integrity are two of the Five Principles, but Chinese

intrusions into Indian Territory began hardly 3 months after the signature of the accord.

The Agreement opened the door to China's military control of the Roof of the World by the People's Liberation Army. This translated into building a network of roads and airstrips heading towards the Indian frontiers in NEFA and Ladakh.

Nehru and his advisors had progressively fallen in love with a 'revolutionary' China and sacrificed Tibet for the sake of the new-found brotherhood. India did not obtain any benefit out of her 'generosity.' On the contrary, she lost a peaceful and friendly neighbour.

Eight years later, the Principles had evaporated so much that the two Asian giants fought a war in the Himalayas.

The Panchsheel Agreement is composed of two parts: the Preamble (the Five Principles) and the content (regarding trade between India and Tibet and pilgrimage rights for Indians and Tibetans). However it was the title itself, 'Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India' which was the most important victory for Beijing. For the first time since Younghusband had entered Lhasa, India acknowledged Tibet as only a 'Region of China.'

The only objective of the 'Indo-Tibet' Agreement was to regulate trade and pilgrimage between India and Tibet. It specified several points of entry into Tibet: "Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and routes: Shipkila, Mana, Niti, Kungri Bingri, Darma and Lipulekh passes." Apart from the first one located in Himachal Pradesh, the other passes lie in

today's Uttarakhand.

More interestingly, Article IV mentions: "Also, the customary route leading to Tashigong along the valley of the Indus River may continue to be traversed in accordance with custom."

This refers to the Ladakh road, via Demchok, which for centuries was used by the Indian pilgrims wanting to visit the Kailash-Manasarovar area.

Today, the border post is closed.

Why is Beijing adamantly refusing to reopen this route? Probably because Demchok, for centuries the first Ladakhi village, is today occupied by China!

India had to pay dearly, and is still paying 50 years after an agreement (which in any case lapsed in June 1962) for the idealist policy of her first prime minister.

Nehru wanted to be a modern Asoka, renouncing violence and force to solve the problems of the world. In his admiration for the noble emperor, he did not remember that the Mauryan Empire did not survive the Asokan edicts. The greatest empire of ancient India crumbled less than 70 years after Asoka's death.

It is perhaps unfortunate, but still a fact of life that strength and power are necessary to defend some eternal values. Sardar Patel knew this, but he passed away in 1950. Had he been alive, no Panchsheel Agreement, finishing off the Tibetan nation, would have ever been signed.

Today, fifty years after the signing of the Panchsheel Agreement, one can only hope that a new generation of Indian leaders will be able to live by the Principles as enunciated in the agreement, but will also have a more insightful vision to take firm

actions to make India truly strong and self-reliant.

The agreement had many tragic consequences. We recently wrote about the proposed damming and diversion of the Brahmaputra which can only happen because the people of Tibet have no say in what is happening in their country. Though neither the Preamble (the Five Principles) nor the provisions of the agreement are in force today, the acceptance of Tibet as a part of the People's Republic of China remains a fact.

Another disastrous outcome of the signing of the agreement is the refusal of some of Nehru's advisors to bargain for a proper delimitation of the border between Tibet and India, against the relinquishment of India's rights in Tibet (accrued from the Simla Convention). These officials considered these advantages an imperialist heritage to be spurned by a newly independent India.

During the talks with Beijing between 1951 and 1954, K M Panikkar, the Indian ambassador

to China and his colleagues 'cleverly' tried to avoid bringing the border question to the table. Their reasoning was that if the Chinese did not consider the border to be an agreed issue, they would themselves bring it up for discussion. The Indian cleverness backfired, ending in a disaster for India. In his speech after the signature of the agreement, Zhou Enlai congratulated the negotiators for having solved all the matters 'ripe for settlement.'

Some clauses of the 1954 Agreement were good: for example, "inhabitants of the border districts of the two countries who cross the border to carry on petty trade or to visit friends and relatives may proceed to the border districts of the other party ...and shall not be required to hold passports, visas or permits."

It was how the relations between the Himalayan region and Tibet had worked for centuries; India and Tibet were neighbours and friends.

But the spirit of the agreement was never implemented, with tragic consequences for India (and Tibet).

While 'experts' continue to lecture about the Grand Principles, the agreement expired 52 years ago.

One of the disastrous outcomes of the agreement is that the Indian Government did not use the occasion to bargain, against the relinquishment of India's rights in Tibet, for a proper delimitation of the border. Delhi considered these 'privileges' as an imperialist heritage to be spurned by a newly independent India.

Fifty years later, the folly of this policy still haunts an India unable to sort out her border tangle. In June 2003, Prime Minister Vajpayee expressed the wish to start 'fast track' parleys on the issue with Beijing.

Does it mean that today the border tangle is 'ripe for settlement'?

Courtesy: <http://claudearpi.blogspot.in/>

Panchsheel: An Introduction

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, known as the Panchsheel Treaty: Non-interference in others internal affairs and respect for each other's territorial unity integrity and sovereignty (from Sanskrit, panch: five, sheel: virtues), are a set of principles to govern relations between states. Their first formal codification in treaty form was in an agreement between China and India on in 1954. The word Panchasheel has been taken from the Buddhist doctrines which are originally five precepts to define the conduct of monks. These are as follows: Precept to abstain from 1. onslaught on breathing beings, 2. taking what is not given, 3. misconduct concerning sense-pleasures, 4. false speech and 5. alcoholic drink or drugs that are an opportunity for heedlessness.

In diplomatic relations they were enunciated in the preamble to the "Agreement (with exchange of notes) on trade and intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India", which was signed at Peking on 28 April 1954. The Five Principles, as stated in this treaty, are listed as:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. Mutual non-aggression,
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
4. Equality and mutual benefit, and
5. Peaceful co-existence. ■



Vijay Kranti

Rebirth of Lost Scripts of Ancient India

It is India that shaped the Tibetan Culture and in the same way Tibet contributed in safeguarding the most valuable heritage of our culture. Tibetans did all their best to keep the books leaving other valuables back to their home. Some of these manuscripts are among those that we could never have after Nalanda arson, if those were not preserved as Tibetan translations

Occupation of Tibet by Communist China in 1951 and subsequent escape of its supreme spiritual leader and ruler the Dalai Lama to exile in India in 1959 was one of the most tragic events of world history in the post-World-War-2 era in the last century. But, like most other tragedies, this development too has had some fallout which has proved a blessing in disguise. An outstanding result of the arrival and stay of Tibetan refugees in India under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the revival of many important aspects of traditional Indian culture and wisdom which were either believed to be lost forever, or were on the path of decline and decay.

One such aspect is ancient Indian literature which had suffered heavily at the hands of invading foreign armies and other developments in past centuries. The most fateful event being the ransacking and burning of Nalanda University by the Turkish Muslim invader Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji in 1193 AD. Innumerable historic and important manuscripts, stored in the libraries and resident quarters of the scholars, were lost forever in the fire which is said to have raged for over three months.

Before this unfortunate event took place, Nalanda had established itself as one of the greatest international centres of learning where scholars

from countries as far as Greece, Persia, Tibet, China and many South East Asian and South Asian countries came to live and study for years. Scholars from these countries studied many subjects under the guidance of great Indian scholars, translated Indian literature into their own languages and carried it home. That is how Buddhist literature travelled to so many countries and helped in spreading Buddha's message to these countries. Many of these translations have survived till this date in many of these countries.

According to the Persian historian Minhaj-i-Siraj who described the burning of Nalanda in his chronicle the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, "thousands of monks were burned alive and thousands were beheaded as Khilji did his best to uproot Buddhism." The burning of library continued for several months and "smoke from the burning library continued for several months....."¹

There were some efforts to revive the university in coming years by some surviving scholars but it could never regain its lost glory. According to Chag Lotsawa (1197-1264) who visited the site in 1235, he was witness to yet another attack by the Turkic Islamic invaders which forced the remaining students to flee. Historian D.C. Ahir in his book 'Buddhism Declined in India : How and Why?' notes that

"the destruction of the temples, monasteries, centres of learning at Nalanda and northern India to be responsible for the demise of ancient Indian scientific thought in mathematics, astronomy, alchemy, and anatomy."²

Subsequent turmoil witnessed by India due to a chain of foreign invasions also did not provide suitable environment to recover the cultural damage. As a result a huge mass of literature, cumulated over many centuries, was lost forever in India.

The last throne-holder of Nalanda, Shakyashribhadra, travelled to Tibet in 1204 at the invitation of the Tibetan translator Tropu Lotsawa (Khro-phu Lo-tsa-ba Byams-pa dpal). In Tibet, he started an ordination lineage of the Mulasarvastivada to complement the two existing ones.

Tibet as a Cold Storage of Indian Literature

Luckily, a good part of this literature survived in Tibet in the form of Tibetan translations. Looking back at history, now it appears that Tibet practically worked as a perfect 'cold storage' to preserve a good part of this lost human heritage. It was only following occupation of Tibet by

The last throne-holder of Nalanda, Shakyashribhadra, travelled to Tibet in 1204 at the invitation of the Tibetan translator Tropu Lotsawa (Khrophu Lo-tsa-ba Byams-pa dpal). In Tibet, he started an ordination lineage of the Mulasarvastivada to complement the two existing ones

DALAI LAMA'S ESCAPE TO EXILE ---- WHY AND HOW ?

What were those circumstances that compelled His Highness the Dalai Lama to choose exile leaving back all his land and people and he reached to India crossing the difficult paths of Tibet...

In 1959 the escape of Dalai Lama was one of the most sensational news which kept the world in awe and suspense for nearly a fortnight. It was on the night of 17th March 1959 that 25 year old Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama, the supreme spiritual leader and the titular ruler of occupied Tibet escaped quietly to India in the darkness of night from his home in Norbulingka Palace of the Tibetan capital Lhasa. It was going to be a difficult task because the situation was fast taking a shape when China's People's Republic Army (PLA) could go all out to catch him 'dead or alive'. The gap between the success or failure of his escape bid was going to be just as thin as between life and death or between a free stateless refugee and a parrot in a golden cage.

Empty Promises

Things in Tibet have been deteriorating since 1951 when Chinese managed to force the Tibetan delegation in Beijing to sign on the dotted lines. The '17-Point Agreement', thus signed between China and Tibet, announced to the world that Tibet was willingly 'returning' to the fold of the great 'Motherland'

viz. People's Republic of China. It's a different matter that Lhasa government claimed later that the 'Agreement' was signed under duress by its delegation which was never authorized to sign any agreement with China. However, the 'Agreement' promised and assured the Tibetan government and its people that under China's rule there will be no interference in the social and cultural system of Tibet. It also assured every Tibetan that the Communist Party of China (CPC) and its PLA would never take anything free from Tibetan people and that they will pay even for the 'thread and needle' they take from Tibetans.

But in past eight years things had gone too astray and too far to return to normal. Soon after the Chinese PLA and the CPC cadres entered Tibet and took charge of everything, the things had started going in a direction that was different from what was promised in the 'Agreement'. For example, the decision making powers of the Dalai Lama and his Kashag (cabinet of ministers) were overshadowed by the 'Preparatory Committee' of the CPC that was established to reorganise the administrative system of Tibet. With the ever

increasing number of communist cadres and PLA soldiers pouring into Tibet, the initial gestures of paying rent to the Tibetan house owners and shopkeepers through specially minted silver currency 'Da Yuan', gave way to stern orders and demand for free food supplies.

Price Rise And Scarcity

The quantities of food demanded by the 'guests' touched dimensions which were unknown to the Tibetans because of Tibet's scarce population. This vast gap between the availability of essential commodities and the demands from the Chinese bosses resulted into price rise and scarcity which Tibetan people had never experienced. This sharp and successive rise in prices for daily necessities gave rise to frequent clashes between ordinary people and the Chinese.

Further, forcible occupation of local monasteries by the Communist cadres and military personnel and their insulting behaviour with senior as well as junior monks gave rise to widespread tension. In many cases senior monks were arrested by the Chinese and some of them just disappeared without any public explanation.

Armed Resistance

Reorganisation of land holdings

and massive land grabs from the local lords and the monasteries in the name of 'land reforms' too lead to open clashes. Many a time bloody ones. In many cases the local anger took shape of armed resistance which had become widespread in the Eastern provinces of Amdo and Kham by 1956. Many local and tribal lords joined hands to form a loosely organised guerrilla resistance army under the name 'Chu-Shi-Gang-Druk' (literally meaning 'Four Rivers Six Ranges' - a traditional reference to Tibet). There were occasions when the Chinese army posts were raided by the guerrillas and Chinese soldiers and cadres were butchered. In many areas the clashes between the Tibetans and Chinese erupted into serious ones with PLA using artillery to bombard the local monasteries. In some cases it even used air force bombers to completely decimate the monastic complexes where large number of Lamas (monks) and their guerillas had taken to arms.

Things came to a boil in early 1959 in Lhasa during the annual national 'Monlam' prayers festival which attracted thousands of devotees from across Tibet. This was an event when Lhasa's handful population of about twenty thousand would grow many folds for over a month.

The quantities of food demanded by the 'guests' touched dimensions which were unknown to the Tibetans because of Tibet's scarce population. This vast gap between the availability of essential commodities and the demands from the Chinese bosses resulted into price rise and scarcity which Tibetan people had never experienced

China in 1951 and subsequent flight of its ruler and religious leader Dalai Lama to India in 1959 that drew attention of scholars towards this priceless store.

Unfortunately, later developments in occupied Tibet, especially during the fateful years of "The Great Leap Forward" (1958 to 1962) and the "Cultural Revolution" (1966 to 1976) which lasted sequentially from 1958 to 1976, witnessed wanton cultural destruction across Tibet. This was an unprecedented chapter in the history of Tibet. Most of the monasteries were either destroyed or occupied by the China's People Liberation Army and Communist cadres. Precious books from the libraries were used as daily fuel to cook food and to keep the rooms warm for the occupant PLA soldiers, communist cadres and their animals in biting cold. If statistics presented before the US Senate and the Congress in 1987 are to be believed, the Chinese oppression had claimed over 1.2 million lives and destruction of 6254 Buddhist monasteries and temples (out of a total of 6259).

Thanks to the vision and thoughtful leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, most of this literature, brought over by escaping monks and scholars, was collected and reorganised soon after the community recovered from the initial trauma of escape. Luckily, this campaign has been successful over past 60 years to the extent that India has today emerged as the largest reservoir of Tibetan culture in the world.

Sanskrit roots of Tibetan language

However the case of Tibet has been unique both in terms of quantity as well as quality of these

translations. The main credit for this goes to the wisdom of Tibetan kings like Srongsen Gompo (604-650 AD) and Trisong Detsen (742-797 AD) who took a two pronged decision of choosing India as Tibet's root source of teachers and Buddhist texts and adopting Sanskrit as the root language to develop Tibetan script and Tibetan (Bhoti) language for translation of entire range of Buddhist and other literature. They took this decision despite the fact that their another neighbour China too could have been an alternate source for the same Buddhist wisdom along with added advantages like China's easier geographic approach from Tibet and more convenient climate as compared to India.

Buddhism had arrived in China from India long before it reached Tibet and quite a few Chinese scholars and Chinese translated texts were already available there. But despite difficult and treacherous journey through snow laden Himalayan mountains and extremely hot and hostile weather conditions in India for its scholars, these kings decided to send scholars to universities like Nalanda and invited top ranking Indian scholars like Acharya Shantrakshit and Guru Padmasambhav to Tibet because they did not want to adopt a 'second hand' version of Buddhism.

These kings and Tibetan scholars demonstrated additional wisdom of developing the Tibetan language exactly on the lines of Sanskrit script and grammar so that the Indian literature could be translated in its most authentic form, both in matters of content as well as vocabulary and syntax. The main reason behind this exercise was that the Tibetan leaders of that time did not want

That year it was about a hundred thousand. Environment was charged with news of Chinese atrocities and people's resistance being shared from all over Tibet.

Musical Trouble

Suddenly, the news of the Chinese General inviting the Dalai Lama to attend a musical event inside the PLA garrison electrified the environment. Things became worse when some palace insiders leaked out the information that the General had especially instructed the Dalai Lama to come to the garrison unarmed and without the contingent of his traditional personal armed guards.

The public commotion soon took shape of a public demonstration on 10th March which demanded the Dalai Lama not to accept the Chinese invitation. On getting no specific assurance from the palace, the demonstrators encircled the palace and put a round the clock public vigilance at all the gates of the Norbulingka Palace. They wanted to ensure that Dalai Lama was not taken out to the Chinese garrison. The environment was already charged with the stories, some true and many imaginary ones, of many senior monks disappearing or taken to China after they were taken to the Chinese quarters on one or other pretext.

A Firy Precipitation

On the other hand the Chinese General was getting hysterical about ensuring that Dalai Lama must come to his event on the fixed day. He tried to get the demonstrators vacated from around the Palace. But it only

added to public adamancy and further swelling of the crowds. By 16th March the Chinese General had summoned most of PLA personnel and mortar guns from around Lhasa into the city. After seeing that crowds had blocked all possibilities of Dalai Lama's visit to the Army camp the PLA fired two volleys of mortar bombs to scare the crowds on 17th afternoon. All the shells exploded near the Palace walls. The General's purpose appeared to scare the crowds. But the impact proved to be just opposite. The message that went around was that the Chinese army wanted to destroy the Norbulingka Palace and to kill the Dalai Lama. That lead to a new wave of anger among the demonstrators and further swelling of crowds.

Inside the Palace Dalai Lama and his advisors were in double minds. Some of them were firmly against his attending the music event. But Dalai Lama was keen to find a middle way out of this crisis. In his autobiographies "My Land My People" and "Freedom in Exile" the Dalai Lama says that he had assured the Chinese General that he was keen to attend his function but also advised him to postpone the event till public anxiety and worries cooled down. But General's sudden decision to fire mortars ended whatever faith and hopes that Dalai Lama or his advisors had in finding a peaceful way out. Entire cabinet decided that it was no more safe for the Dalai Lama to stay any further in Norbulingka. It was decided to move him to a safer place far away from the Chinese army's reach as soon as possible. The most

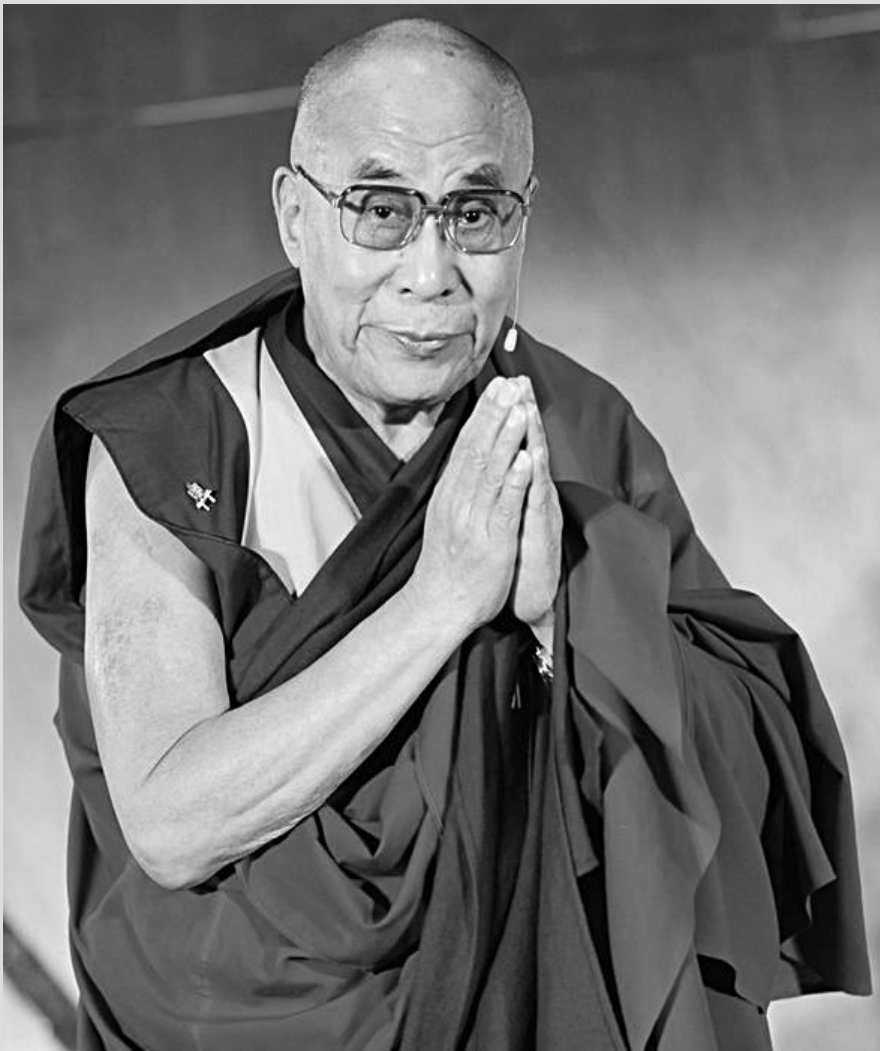
favourable direction was India. It was decided that he should move to a place near Indian borders so as to take a right decision in near future in the light of new emerging situation.

The Escape

Same night the Dalai Lama, his immediate family members and important officials quietly slipped out of the Palace in small groups to assemble at a suitable point on the South bank across the Kyichu river on other end of the city. To keep the operation secret and avoid any suspicion among the crowds at the Palace gates the

Dalai Lama was dressed up as a Tibetan soldier who walked out last with a batch of soldiers in the night on THE pretext of security duty. It was a great challenge to evade the eyes of Chinese soldiers along the three kilometer route. But luckily the night had become much colder due to strong winds which kept the Chinese soldiers inside their tents.

The ride over to the other side of the river in some 'Ku-Dru', traditional Tibetan Yak hide boats, was a challenging task because any noise of rowing could have invited machine gun fire from Chinese soldiers. But



The scientific rules developed for translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan lead to evolution of such a huge bank of authentic Indian literature which does not exist today in any other language of the world

Tibetan scholars to risk the ordeals of journey to India or to waste their precious youthful years in learning Sanskrit before going ahead for taking teachings in Buddhism in Indian universities. The scientific rules developed for translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan lead to evolution of such a huge bank of authentic Indian literature which does not exist today in any other language of the world. The subjects go far beyond Buddhism and also include many sciences like Ayurveda medicine, astronomy mathematics, alchemy, anatomy etc. prevailed in India in that era.

Scientific Methodology for Translations

The methodology involved in this translation exercise was quite logical and scientific. For example, no Tibetan scholar was permitted to translate a Sanskrit text into Tibetan language unless he was supported by an Indian Sanskrit Pandit (scholar) as his team member. After the completion of each translation project, a specially chosen Parishad (committee) of scholars of that subject would certify the authenticity of the translation before it was accepted for studies in Tibet. Many centuries later this policy has shown some interesting results.

It was one of those rarest events of human history when precious books formed the main baggage of

many Tibetan refugees when they fled from their homes and country amidst a blood bath caused jointly by China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Communist Party of China (CPC). Especially the monks and scholars, who formed a substantial chunk of the fleeing Tibetan crowds, carried with them as many sacred manuscripts as one could hold through a long and taxing journey through snow and mountains to India.

Scholarly Pursuits of a Handful Community

Thanks to Tibetan society's love for books and its deep rooted tradition of scholarship and systematic preservation of sacred books, the Tibetan refugee community in India today can boast of a vast chain of institutions that are engaged in education, scholarly studies, research and publishing. It may be surprising for many people to realize that a microscopic refugee community of just 150 thousand and odd has successfully revived almost all monasteries and centres of higher learning in India which thrived inside Tibet over centuries before China destroyed them following Tibetan occupation in

It may be surprising for many people to realize that a microscopic refugee community of just 150 thousand and odd has successfully revived almost all monasteries and centres of higher learning in India which thrived inside Tibet over centuries before China destroyed them following Tibetan occupation in 1951

When Dalai Lama opened his transistor radio next morning to scan international news bulletins on BBC and VOA stations as his routine habit, the news were shocking. According to reports the Chinese PLA had bombarded at the crowds outside Norbulingka with heavy artillery. Hundreds of Tibetans were feared killed, the reports added. The radio broadcasts termed the Tibetan demonstrations as 'Tibetan Uprising against Chinese occupation'

once they arrived safely on the other side, the rest of caravan was ready to move on horses and mules. Their immediate goal was to cross the Che-La pass before the sunrise and to cross the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) river soon after so as to leave behind the last Chinese army posts. Once on the other side of the Tsangpo it was a region more dominated by the Chu Shi Gang Druk (conveniently referred to as 'Chugang') guerrillas that the PLA who would venture there only on special missions or some casual inspections.

Long Journey

But the journey to Che-La was quite steep and difficult one with added danger of Chinese soldiers following up aggressively had they had got the scent. They arrived the top pass safely but only to meet a ferocious dust storm which was a common occurrence at Che-La. More than the dust and wind, the real problem was to keep the horses under control because a terrified horse could toss itself and its rider into a deep ditch. Luckily the storm cooled down well in time and without any incident. The next goal was to reach the base of the hill to cross over to the other side of Tsangpo river.

Once the party crossed the Tsangpo river they were in a relatively safe zone where armed freedom fighters of Chugang with their smart horses and guns dominated the arena. The escape party had a restful night at Ra-Me monastery while the Chugang volunteers kept a watch for any Chinese movement along the route which the party had already covered. Their next destination was Chen-Ye which was a bit deeper into the safe zone and had a relatively bigger monastery for the party to take some rest.

Bad News

However, the peace and comfort at Chen-Ye were short lived. When Dalai Lama opened his transistor radio next morning to scan international news bulletins on BBC and VOA stations as his routine habit, the news were shocking. According to reports the Chinese PLA had bombarded at the crowds outside Norbulingka with heavy artillery. Hundreds of Tibetans were feared killed, the reports added. The radio broadcasts termed the Tibetan demonstrations as 'Tibetan Uprising against Chinese occupation',

Very soon a rider messenger arrived from Lhasa with a letter that carried details of what

happened on the night when Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa. According to these details the Chinese soldiers freely bombarded the Tibetan crowds and gunned down hundreds of them with guns and machineguns. Many parts of Norbulingka were damaged by mortars and PLA soldier chased and killed the Tibetan demonstrators throughout the city. After the firing cooled down the soldiers went through Norbulingka and its damaged rooms desperately to look for Dalai Lama -- dead or alive.

This Chinese violence continued for quite some time in Lhasa and many other places of Tibet. Later, in its report submitted before the United Nations in the same year (1959), the International Commission of Jurists reported that the total number of Tibetans killed by China to quell this uprising was around 80 thousand. In its three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961 and 1965 the UN condemned these human rights violation by China in Tibet.

Final Decision

For the Dalai Lama who has been hoping that good sense would prevail upon the Chinese rulers of Tibet, this news was too shocking. He was sad that the Chinese government had walked out of all the assurances it had given on its own in the "17-Point Agreement" which they themselves had drafted and signed. He and his colleagues realized that their decision to quietly move out of Norbulingka and to leave Lhasa was wise and timely. Deeply shocked by

this Chinese conduct the Dalai Lama took three decisions. One, that there was no sense left to negotiate and discuss with Chinese. Two, to abrogate the "17-Point Agreement" and three, to leave Tibet and try to seek asylum in India. But the Indian borders were still about ten days away as no roads or means of travel other than on foot or horses were available.

After another week of grueling journey through mountains, snow and jungles the escape team arrived in Lhuntse Zong which happened to be the last major fort town on way to Indian borders. There the Dalai Lama organized a public meeting in which he publicly and formally announced the abrogation of the "17-Point Agreement", declared Tibet as independent of China and put his official seal on the declaration. A simple but energetic celebration with traditional Tibetan dance, music and prayers marked the declaration of Tibet's freedom from Chinese occupation.

Following the celebrations, the Dalai Lama dispatched a team of riders to nearest Indian border post to make a formal request for asylum in India. The journey ahead was far more difficult due to high Himalayan mountains and tracks laden with deep and biting snow. On one early morning the party was shocked to find an airplane approaching them from one direction, flying away and then flying back in the direction it came from. Their first worry was that if it was a Chinese plane then it might come back with a heavy attack team of the Chinese army. But it did not happen. Now it can be said that this plane was on a

1951. Tibetan refugee community today can boast of at least two such institutions in India which, thanks to their high standards in imparting education and research, have won formal recognition as a University or a 'Deemed University' from the University Grants Commission of India.

A Remarkable 'Guru-Dakshina'

One of these institutions, originally known as the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (CIHTS) and later upgraded and renamed as the Central University of Tibetan Studies (CUTS) at Sarnath near Varanasi, has created history through one of its many special projects. This project, titled as 'Restoration Project' has recreated over two hundred such important Sanskrit texts which were believed to have been lost forever in India since ages. CUTS has resurrected them in original Sanskrit, English and Hindi from the Tibetan translations which had survived in Tibet over centuries. What a remarkable 'Guru Dakshina' (a student's tribute to the teacher) from Tibet to India?

Most of these are historic works of great Indian scholars like Nagarjuna, Shantarakshita, Kamalashila, Atisha, Aryadeva, Deepankar, Bhartrihari, Ashwaghosh, Bodhibhadra, Dharmakirti etc. This list includes nearly 30 major and minor texts of Acharya Nagarjuna e.g. Dharmasamgrah, Ratnavali, Bodhicitta-Vitarana, Bodhicittodpadavidhi, Pratityasamutpadahridaya etc. Acharya Nagarjuna is credited with the founding of Madhyamika school of Mahayana Buddhism with the help of his disciple Aryadeva. Although reference to many such writings of these scholars existed

in other surviving literature, but many of these writings remained untraceable and were considered to be lost forever until a new wave of Tibetan scholars arrived and settled in India as refugees since 1959.

It was under the directions of His Holiness the Dalai Lama that a project was undertaken by erstwhile CIHTS at Sarnath under the leadership of Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, a great Tibetan scholar and the first director. This project was focused at identifying and retranslation from all such Tibetan translations of manuscripts which were supposed to be permanently lost in Sanskrit but were available in Tibetan.

Started during late 1970s, this project is still in progress under the leadership of another famed Tibetan scholar and Vice Chancellor of CUTS Prof. Geshe Ngawang Samten who has been associated with the project from its beginning. Indian scholars who have been closely associated with this restoration project included doyens like Prof. Jagannath Upadhyay, Prof. Vrajvallab Dwivedi, Prof. S.S. Bahulkar, Pr. Janardan Shastri Pandey, Prof. Shrikant Shankar Bahulkar. Some other names include Other scholars Dr. Thakur Sain Negi, Dr. Banarasi Lal, Sh. Thinley Ram Shastri, Dr. Tsering Dokar, Dr. Ranjan Kumar Sharma, Dr. Vijaya Raj Vajracharya.

(A complete list of the Indian texts, restored through this project is given in the Apendix- Editor)

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probe mission by USA or some other friendly country who were keen to know about the location and safety of Dalai Lama and his escape party.

What lied ahead was a very tiring and taxing part of the journey with some high passes like Lagoe-La and Karpo-La with snow and steep tracks yet to be negotiated by the escape party. But by the time the Dalai Lama crossed these passes and reached the last Tibetan village Mang-Mang before the Indian border, he was running high fever and urgently needed rest. The party decided to stop and rest in Mang-Mang. By that time the response from Indian government had also arrived there. New Delhi had agreed to welcome Dalai Lama and offered him asylum in India.

After recovering from fever the Dalai Lama was still quite week. To make his journey comfortable to Indian border the locals organized a Yak for him to ride. Yak, a high altitude beast of burden belongs to the cattle species and is quite similar to bullock in looks, is quite slow but very sturdy and suitable for long hauls in high mountains. As the Dalai Lama and his party reached the India-Tibet border, a representative of the Government of India and a personal letter of Prime Minister Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru greeted him. He was received with a guard of honour by a contingent of Indian Army. From the border point he was taken to Tajpur where he rested for a few days before a special railway train took him to Dehradun. His first house in exile was the Birla

House at Mussoorie, just a few kilometers above Dehradun. In coming months nearly 80 thousand Tibetans followed him into exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Today their total number is about 150 thousand. Out of these a little less than 100 thousand now are settled in India and rest are spread all over the world.

On 14th April, 1959 Pt. Nehru visited Dalai Lama at Birla House in Mussoorie. It was here during their very first meeting that Nehru demonstrated a brilliant visionary aspect of his personality when he advised the young Dalai Lama to seriously focus on the younger generation of refugees and bring them up with modern education. Within first couple of hours Pt. Nehru took a decision of establishing an autonomous network of schools for Tibetan children which later grew into 'Central Tibetan School Administration' which has proved to be the main fountainhead of Tibetan refugee community's highly motivated and educated manpower that has deep roots in Tibetan culture and national aspirations.

From Mussoorie the Dalai Lama soon shifted to Dharamshala which was a part of erstwhile Punjab state and is currently part of Himachal Pradesh following reorganization of Punjab in 1971. Today Dalai Lama lives in McLeod Ganj (Upper Dharamshala) where he has established 'Central Tibetan Administration' which functions like a de-facto Tibetan 'Government-in-Exile'.

Courtesy: The Tibet Journal, Vol. 13 No.1, Spring 1988

Appendix

The list of restored texts existed in the Kagyur & Tangyur Published by Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies Sarnath, Varanasi (U.P.)

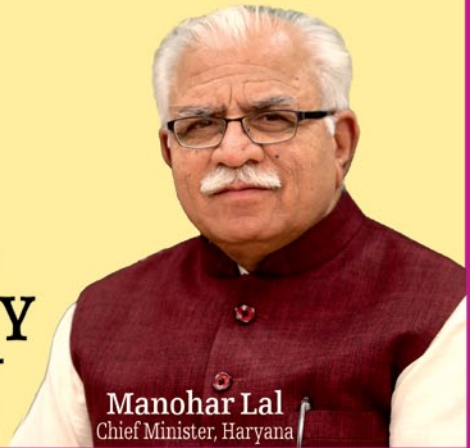
Sl. No.	Name of Scholars	Title of Restored texts	Author	Derge texts no.	Published Year	Book Title
1.	Prof. S. Rinpoche Prof. R.S. Tripathi Prof. Jamphel Lobsang	1. Abhisamayalamkaravṛtti	Acharya Haribhadra	3793	1977	Abhisamayalamkaratiḥ Sphutārtha
2.	Bhikkhu Prasadhika etc.	1. Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra	Sūtra	176	1978	Vimalakīrtinersasūtra
3.	Prof. Sempa Dorjee	1. Śūnyātasaptatiḥ 2. Śūnyātasaptativṛtti	Ācārya Nāgārjuna	3827 3831	1985	Śūnyātasaptatiḥ of Acharya Nāgārjuna
4.	Ven. Gyaltzen Namdol	1 Bhāvanākrama II middle 2 Āryadharmadhātugarbhavivaraṇa 3 Āryasāgarnāgarājaparipricchāsūtra	Acharya Kalamalaśīla Nāgārjuna Sūtra	3916 4101 155	1985 1997 2004	Bhāvanākrama of Acharya Kamalaśīla Āryadharmadhātugarbhavivaraṇa Caturdharmodānasūtra
5.	Ven. Lobsang Norbu Shastri	1. Bodhipathapradīpa 2. Candoratnākara 3. Śatagāthā (Partial restored) 4. Tarkabhāṣa (Partial restored)	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna Ratnākaraśāntipāda Vararuci Mokśakāragupta	3947 4303 4332 4264	1984 1990 2001 2004	Bodhipathapradīpa Candoratnākara Śatagāthā Tarkabhāṣa
6.	Ven. Tsultrim Phuntsok	1. Dharmadharmatā vibhanga kārikā 2. Dharmadharmatā vibhangaṭīkā	Maitreya Vasubandhu	4023 4028	1990 1990	Dharmadharmatā vibhanga kārikā Vasubandhuṭītadharmadhad harmatāvibhangaṭīkā
7.	Mr. Jita Sein Negi	1. Santānāntarasiddhiḥ 2. Santānāntarasiddhiṭīkā	Dharmakīrti Vinīdadeva	4219 4238	1997 1997	Santānāntarasiddhiḥ of Acharya Dharmakīrti and Santānāntarasiddhiṭīkā of Acharya Vinīdadeva
8.	Dr. M.R. Chinchore	1. Santānāntarasiddhi 2. Santānāntarasiddhiṭīkā	Dharmakīrti Vinīdadeva	4219 4238	1997 1997	Santānāntarasiddhiḥ and Santānāntarasiddhiṭīkā
9.	Dr. Sonam Raptan	1. Satyadvāyāvātara 2. Ekasmṛtyupadeśa 3. Madhyamakopadeśa 4. Prajñāhṛdayavyākhyā 5. Āryaśalistambakakārikā 6. Āryaśalistambakanāmamāhayan asūtraṭīkā	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna Ācārya Nāgārjuna Ācārya Nāgārjuna	3902 3928 3929 3823 3985 3986	2000 2000 2000 2000 2004 2004	Satyadvāyādi grantha catuṣṭayam “ “ Ārya Nāgārjuna's Āryaśalistambakakārikā with Auto-commentary
10.	Dr. Pema Tenzin	1. Āryaprajñāpāramitāvajracch edika 2. Suhr̥llekha 3. Suhr̥llekhaṭīkā 4. Mahāyanasamgraha	Ācārya Kamalaśīla Ācārya Nāgārjuna Ācārya Maḥamati Ācārya Asaṅga	3817 4182 4190 4048	1994 1996 2002 2012	Āryaprajñāpāramitāvajracch edikāṭīkā Suhr̥llekha of Acharya Nāgārjuna with the commentary of Jetsun Rendava Suhr̥llekha of Acharya Nāgārjuna and Vyaktapadāika of Acharya Mahāmati

11.	Dr. Penpa Dorjee	1. Madhyamāloka 2. Jñānasārasamuccaya 3. Jñānasārasamuccayanibandhanam 4. Ratnakaraṇḍlodghāta-nāma-madhyamakopadeśa	Ācārya Kamalaśīla Ācārya Āryadeva Ācārya Bodhibhadra Ācārya Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna	3887 3851 3852 3930	2001 2008 2008 2018	Madhyamāloka of Acharya Kamalaśīla Acharya Āryadeva's Jñānasārasamuccayaḥ with the Commentray of Acharya Bodhibhadra Ratnakaraṇḍodghāta-nāma-madhyamako-padeśa
12.	Dr. Ramesh Chandra Negi	1. Garbhasamgraha 2. Bodhisattavādikarmikamārgāvatāradeśana 3. Śaraṇagamanadeśana 4. Mahāyānasādhanavarṇasamgrah 5. Sūtrarthisamuccayopadeśa 6. Daśakuśalakramapathadeśana 7. Caryasamgrahpradīpa 8. Cittotpādasamvaravidhikrama 9. Āpattideśanāvidhi 10. Gurukriyākrama 11. Samādhisambhāraparivarta	Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna	3949 3952 3953 3954 3957 3958 3960 3969 3973 3977 2460	1992 1992 1992 1992 1992 1992 1992 1992 1992 1992 1992	Ātiśa racita ekadaśagrantha Ātiśa racita ekadaśagrantha
13.	Dr. Tashi Tsering	1. Madhyamakāvataṛaḥ Chapter 1-5	Ācārya Candrakīrti	3862	2005	Madhyamakāvataṛaḥ
14.	Dr. Lobsang Dorjee	1. Bodhisattvamaṇyāvali 2. Lokātitasaptāṅgavidhī 3. saṅcodana sahita svakṛtyakramavarṇasamgrah 4. Dharmadhātudarśanagītiḥ 5. Vimalaratnalekha 6. Bodhyāpattideśanāvṛttiḥ (Triskandhasūtraṭīkā) 7. Bodhyāpattideśanāvṛttiḥ bodhisattvaśikṣākramāḥ 8. Karmāvaranāviśodhanavidhibh āśyam 9. Sāmānya Pratideśanā 10. Sarvāprajñāntapāramitāsiddhac ityanāmadhāraṇī 11. Pāramitāyānasacchanirvanavidhi 12. Saṅcakatādanavidhīḥ 13. Prahāṇapūrakāśata-vandanā- nāmamahāyāna-sūtra 14. Dvādaśakāranaya-stotram 15. Bhāvanā-yogāvataṛaḥ (Team work) 16. Bodhicittotpādaividhiḥ (Team work)	Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Ācārya Nāgārjuna Ācārya Jitāri Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Ācārya Aśvagoṣa Sūtra Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Ācārya Advayavajra Sūtra Ācārya Nāgārjuna Ācārya Kamalaśīla Ācārya Nāgārjuna	3951 2461 3956 2314 4333 4005 4006 4007 601 3976 2229 267 1135 3918 3966 3924 3925 3926 3927	1999 1999 1999 1999 1999 2001 2001 2001 2001 2006 2006 2014 2017 2011 2013 2004 2004 1998 1998	Five Treatises of Ācārya Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna Do Do Do Ārya Triskandhasūtra and its three Commentaries Do Do Do Caityasancakayornirmāṇavid hisamgrahaḥ Do Do Dhīh patrika-54, 2014 Dhīh patrika-57, 2017 Dhīh patrika-48, 2009 Dhīh patrika-53, 2013
15.	Dr. Tsering Dolkar	1. Samādhisambhāraparivarta 2. Samādhisambhāraparivarta 3. Dhyānaśaḍdharmavyavasthāna 4. Dhyānaśaḍdharmavyavasthāna- Vṛatti	Ācārya Bodhibhadra Ācārya Kṛṣṇāpāda Ācārya Avadhūtipāda Ācārya Dānaśīla	3924 3925 3926 3927	2004 2004	Samādhisambhāraparivartau of Ācārya Bodhibhadra and Kṛṣṇāpāda Dhīh patrika-26, 1998 Dhīh patrika-26, 1998
16.	Dr. Sanjiv Kumar Das	1. Sūtrasamuccayaḥ	Ācārya Nāgārjuna	3934	2012	Sūtrasamuccayaḥ of Ācārya Nāgārjuna



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Isht Deo Sankrityayan

Indian Influence on Tibetan Society: Rahul Sankrityayan's Opinion

Though Tibet might politically have been a separate entity, on delving deeper into it, at a cultural level, it appears to be a natural extension of India. Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan strove to not merely understand the soul of this society, but also to capture it through his writings

The relationship of the land of India with that of the ancient region of Triviṣṭapa (today's Tibet) is millennia old. It is believed that it is here that humans first originated and from where human civilisation expanded. Almost all ancient texts from the Ṛg Veda to the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata mention this in some form. A particular emotional attachment towards each other too can be discerned in people on both sides. Culturally, we are certainly part of the same territory and the message of Lord Buddha has served to further strengthen this cultural unity. It is the influence of the message of Buddhism and its becoming firmly ensconced in Tibet that today many important ancient texts of Sanskrit—which vanished in their original form because of the barbarism inflicted by foreign invaders and their animosity to our civilisation—are available to us in the form of Tibetan translated works. The first individual who in the modern era strived for the material authentication of the Tibetan translations of those ancient texts was Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons for this was Rahul Sankrityayan's attachment to Buddhism, but his attachment to the Sanskrit language and its literature was second to none. It was the combined influence of

these two longings that made him undertake very difficult journeys to Tibet four times. It would be no exaggeration to say that for the first time that he had traversed this distance at immense risk to his life. Rahulji made his first trip to Tibet in 1929–30, the second in 1934, the third in 1936 and his final one in 19381. This sacred region of ours is now under the illegitimate occupation of China. Modern means of transport are available today, but back then, there was no other way to reach Tibet from this country, except by foot and on horses and mules. In those days, special permits were required to go to Tibet, which Rahul Sankrityayan did not have. He thus entered there like an illegal infiltrator. All along, he called himself a resident of Ladakh. Although he reached the capital Lhasa and revealed his true identity and despite establishing cordial relations with almost all the important people there, he could not evade constantly surveillance by British spies. Nevertheless, Rahul Sankrityayan, who believed in the dictum, "work must be accomplished, else life ought to be shed", relented only after fulfilling his quest.

Faith in Dharma and its Origins in India

The difficulties along this route and the near-impossibility of the

Manthan

task being as they were, its great accomplishment was that the knowledge about the then prevalent social structure of Tibet and its emotional ties with India, which we find in the accounts of Rahul Sankrityayan is not available to us elsewhere. This is the intent of this article. After China's invasion and its illegal occupation of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama himself had to go into exile. It is difficult to imagine how the indigenous Tibetan people in such a situation would have survived in their real form and led their way of life. But then, i.e., from 1929 to 1938, Tibetan society was just as religious as Indian society was. All their symbols of religiosity and spiritualism are directly or indirectly connected to India. One can infer from the fact that many mountains of Tibet are believed to have been brought from Gya-gar, i.e., India². Just as the king is considered to be an incarnation of Vishnu, in Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is considered an incarnation of Lord Buddha and this tradition is still alive among indigenous Tibetans³. The belief that mountains can be moved from one place to another exists not just in our country but in Tibet as well, and this belief perhaps even today holds the place of tradition among the indigenous Tibetan people. A particular incident pertains to the time when Rahul Sankrityayan was travelling from Lhasa to Sam-Ye. He was passing through the valley of the Brahmaputra River. He has this to say: "In the evening we reached a mountain that was rocky. People told very earnestly that this is not a mountain of Tibet, it has been brought here from India as a

holy relic⁴. Not only that, in their folklore, just like ours, there is a personification of these things. To the left, there were three small rocks under the water. About them it was said that these are So-Nam, Phun and Sum, which actually were three individuals; father, mother and son. Finally, we were now nearing Sam-Ye, which too was built by the pandits of India in Indian style"⁵. This is a manifestation of not only folk beliefs, but also of their being rooted in India.

During the same journey, at nine o'clock in the night, Sankrityayan reached a rock structure situated in the middle of the Brahmaputra. There is a tradition of hanging tapestry on the walls of this structure during festive occasions. About this triangular stone about 150 feet high, he writes: "My fellow-travellers told that during the time the Sam-Ye vihara was being built, there was felt the need of a wall on which their religious tapestry could be hung. It was for that reason this great rock was brought here from India"⁶. Such popular beliefs are prevalent in this region about many other rocks and mountains. There is also a tradition of circumambulation of such mountains. Regarding Shiv-Ri, one such mountain situated on the left bank of Phu River, Rahul Sankrityayan writes: "After walking for hours we saw

the mountain of Shiv-Ri on the left side of the river. Where most other mountains of Tibet are covered by earth, one finds only stones (making up the edifice of) on this mountain. Because of this feature, there is a saying that this mountain is not of the Bhot, but of Gy-gar (India). This Bhot is considered very sacred in the country. These days it was their period of performing the circumambulation. This ceremony encompasses many temples, much like the circumambulation of Chitrakoot (in India). Many people perform the act of circumambulation in a posture of lying prostrate on the ground"⁷. This tradition of going around mountains, rivers etc., is found all over India. The reasons and contexts might be enunciated in different ways, but the original sentiment is the same. The very meaning of Gya-gar is India, which for the people of Trivishtapa (Tibet) holds the sanctity of being their gurudesh or the land of their teachers and preceptors. Now, with the land having fallen under Chinese occupation, the situation has certainly changed, but in those days, the very meaning of pilgrimage in Tibet generally meant going to India. Rahulji gives indication of this at the time of his entry into Tibet, when he informed sentries at the border post that they were proceeding

The very meaning of Gya-gar is India, which for the people of Trivishtapa (Tibet) holds the sanctity of being their gurudesh or the land of their teachers and preceptors. Now, with the land having fallen under Chinese occupation, the situation has certainly changed, but in those days, the very meaning of pilgrimage in Tibet generally meant going to India

to Lhasa after completing the pilgrimage from Gy-gar to Dorje-dan (Bodh Gaya)⁸. Just as in India, every village in Tibet too has its village (local) deity and there is similar reverence towards them. Further, Rahulji has this to say about the tradition: “Finally we saw flags of black, yellow and white cloth. I came to know that we had touched the peak of La (a mountain). There is a god of every La in Bhot. As soon as people approach him, they get off their horses, so that the deity should not get angry. We too got off. Sumatiprajña and other Bhotis proclaimed victory to the deity with loud chants of ‘Sho Sho Sho’”⁹.

Like India, the tendency towards chanting and accumulation of spiritual merit is present in Tibet as well. Small rosary and receptacles with mouth shaped like a cow’s head called the *gomukhi*, used for chanting, can generally be seen here in the hands of elderly people. In the suburban and metro trains in our metro cities, one can sometimes see similar rosary and/or religious books in the hands of adults struggling to find time for their daily worship. But “in Tibet, the rosary is often seen in the hands of all men and women. Most of them keep on rotating it with their fingers (in chanting) whether seated or walking. More devotees rotate the rosary in one hand and the *māñī* in the other. In this *māñī*, more than one lakh mantras are written on paper folded and wrapped around a thin plate of copper or silver, folded and kept on paper, within which the nail-head like small rod is stored. One complete twirl of this small instrument is akin to the

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accruing of the merit of chanting all the mantras written inside it¹⁰”. These *māñīs* are of many kinds. There are ones that move like a watermill, others have a flame placed inside a lamp and attached to an umbrella of paper or cloth hanging above it, while some others that operate like a fan driven by the wind.

Rahul Sankrityayan has commented in a humourous vein on this, saying “If electricity comes to Tibet, there is no doubt that a lot of *māñīs* would begin to run on electric power as well. In our country, chanting is done by pronunciation through the tongue; some also write down mantras on paper for accumulation of merit. At places, thousands of handwritten copies with the name of Rāma written in them are also distributed; yet the pace of our accumulation of virtue is very slow. Even perhaps in hundreds of years, we might not be able to compete with the Tibetan people in this regard¹¹”.

Similarly, the belief of deities entering the person of some people is also very strong in Tibet. Such people are respected as others regard them as blessed with special attributes; people go to them to seek solutions to their problems. In return, people also donate money to them. On his way back from Lhasa, Rahulji stayed at an inn somewhere after

proceeding from Furi. Describing the inn, he writes, “Two men and women came shortly after we sat down. The old lady offered him a drink. After a while, the woman began yawning. The man started folding his hands repeatedly. Dharmakīrti told me that a deity had entered the woman’s being, and the man was behaving in a manner as to not let the deity enter her. The woman stood up, wearing the attire of the deity and picking up the poles, musical drum and instrument, went into the mistress’ room. A lamp was lit in the front; incense began to burn, and to the beat of a thin wooden musical instrument, the deity began to speak in fluent verse. All mule-riders and other travelers kept narrating their troubles to the divine carrier after placing some money before it. They did not speak in prose; all answers were in verse¹²”.

It is not the gods enter the beings of only women. Men are also no less fortunate in this matter”. Rahulji makes another reference in his journey from Lhasa to Sam-Ye, “He was hopeful that he would go on from here in a while; but it turned out that the deity had entered the being of the old woman’s husband. He is highly welcome here. In Tibet, he or she who narrates about the deity is also worshiped like a deity¹³”.

Traditional System of Education

This concept of equality applies not only in the religious realm, but equally so in the Tibetan society's education system, albeit with a slight difference. In ancient India, education took place in ashrams. Apart from this, there were gurukuls and also universities. In many of these places, there were provisions for studying according to the need and convenience of the students, and many of them also had facilities for students to reside. Such traditional schools can still be seen in India. It is another matter that centuries of slavery have diminished their glory and influence. In Tibet, even in that period (between 1929 and 38) there existed such monasteries and schools. Although, one cannot say what their situation is now, after the country fell under Chinese occupation. In his mention of such centres of learning, Sankrityayan writes: "Students live in Khun-Chhun and study at the same place; this is thus both a college and boarding¹⁴". For residing in a hostel though, students had to observe very strict rules. Permission to reside in most hostels was granted only to those students who came there to become lamas. Those who wished to become householders had to travel from their homes and study there. There were also two kinds of teachers. "The lower grade teachers are called Ge-Grthen (lecturer) and the higher grade teachers are Gay-Shay (professor)¹⁵". It is not easy to obtain a degree in research or specialization. In Tibet too, for this, like the universities of Nalanda or Takshashila in

After our midday meal, our convoy left for Nalanda. While there is a Nalanda in Lanka named after India's Nalanda, Tibet too is not devoid of it. After walking for about two hours, we reached Nalanda. Although it stands somewhat uphill from the ground, it is like plains

our country, students had to undergo a rigorous examination, "The position of Lhram-Pa (a doctorate or an āchārya) would be awarded by the government to only sixteen persons every year, and only to such scholars, who could clear debates and rigorous oral examinations¹⁶".

The biggest example of its origin in India is that many of Tibet's viharas are based on our universities like Nalanda or Vikramashila. Not only this, there is a vihara named Nalanda. In a travelogue pertaining to his journey from Lhasa to the north, Sankrityayan writes, "After our midday meal, our convoy left for Nalanda. While there is a Nalanda in Lanka named after India's Nalanda, Tibet too is not devoid of it. After walking for about two hours, we reached Nalanda. Although it stands somewhat uphill from the ground, it is like plains. Construction of this vihara was completed by the early fifteenth century. Its builder Rōng-s Ton Sakya Gryal-M-Chan was an outstanding philosopher of his time and was a rival to Makhs-Pruva (1385–1432) the scholarly disciple of Chong-Kha-Pa (1357–1419). This Nalanda was once the Nalanda of Tibet. Similar to the viharas of Chong-Kha-Pa like Dey-Pung and others, it was an excellent centre of learning, like the deities of the deities of Cho-Kh-Pa's followers. It has two D-Sang (1-SS-Chhen means mahāguhya or esoteric

sciences while 2-Mchen-Jnid would be darṣana or philosophy). There are also many Kham-Jans and hostels established in accordance with the hierarchy of territories¹⁷".

The Tradition of Debate

Like India, Tibet too has a tradition of debate. This tradition of debate is prevalent among students as well as teachers. The methods are the same in both instances, distinction being only at the level of content. In his travel account of the Nalanda of Tibet, Rahul Sankrityayan makes mention of this: "I visited the lawn (Chhos-Ra) where debates would held for a few minutes in the evening. There were twenty-twenty-five men in all. There was a lot of clapping, chanting and chanting amidst which the debate would be conducted²⁰". Chaos and theatrics there might be plenty in these debates, but no arrogance". One may also ponder on Rahulji's comment on the theatrical manner in which these debates were conducted: "The questioner got up from his seat. He first paid obeisance to both the elders and sought their consent to put questions to them. Then he started to ask questions regarding the Pramāṇavārtik (a work of logic, based on judgmental methodology) of Dharmakirti. The manner of questioning was odd; at times the questioner would move forward, and step back on other

occasions. Upon each category of question(s), he would slap the palm of one hand on the other. He would hold the rosary necklace in both hands making the posture of discharging an arrow from a bow²¹”. This method of questioning appeared odd to a pandit like Rahul Sankrityayan, who had studied in a Sanskrit school. He asked one of his fellow logicians, “What is the reason for clapping one’s hands and holding the rosary necklace in the manner of shooting an arrow from a bow?” The answer he got was surprising, “This is not a something that is of Bhot; it has come from Nalanda and Vikramshila; you are the ones who brought it here. In reply, I said that in Nalanda and Vikramshila debates would have been conducted in this theatrical style could have been conducted only if such a system of debates were prevalent throughout India at that time. Had such a system been there, some of its remains would still be found in the community of scholars in Kashi (Varanasi) and Mithila (Bihar). But this method is not to be seen there at all. Then another friend said that perhaps Je-Rinpoche (Chong-Kha-Pa) might have introduced it²²”.

Similarities in Folk Art

There are also striking similarities in folk art, their styles and subject matter and the

same is true of popular taste. The trend of composing and singing songs focused on contemporary political-social events is seen among folk artists of almost all languages and dialects of India. Being contemporary, it soon engulfs the entire environment. Even the adulterousness of an eminent person becomes the subject of song there. Refer to the mention of one such incident, “Someone found this incident very fascinating. He set it to verse and let it loose in the market. In a couple of days, all the boys of Lhasa began singing these songs of Sho-gang (sur-khang) de pon ki klu (the song) set to great melody. De-Pon did not dare to come out of his home for many days. Someone even composed a song on the style of the haircut of the police of Sardar Bahadur Le-Dan-la²³”.

Similarly, dramas in Tibet have been staged using plain ground as the stage, much like the Bhojpuri Bidesiya or maidani style. The Bhotia people do utilise curtains in their plays²⁴. One must bear in mind that there is no evidence of the practice of curtains even in India before Muslim invasions. Here, the very word for curtain is yavanikā, which is associated with the Yavanas, i.e., (unwelcome) aliens. The imprint of Sanskrit plays can be seen on their dialogues in the form of its lyrical quality, which is even today found in folk-genres in

India. Sankrityayan continues, “There was a lot of artificiality in pronunciation. Upon listening to the dialogues, the unnatural pronunciation of the Ramlilas (drama on the life and saga of Shri Rama) came to one’s mind. People could understand the dialogues spoken in prose²⁵”. Such dance forms too resemble many classical and folk styles of India. “Moving one’s hands in a rhythmic manner in the motion of flying a kite, moving back and forth at a slow pace, or moving around in a circle, all of which was beautiful to see²⁶”.

Epilogue

Is this similarity that extends from the field of art, the system of education, social behaviour and ethical conduct to people’s beliefs only a coincidence? Or just a matter of emulation? No. This is neither coincidence nor emulation. This is actually the outcome of mutual trust and understanding between two entities. It is a world of understanding and shared ethos that stayed intact for centuries, and is the result of close ties. This is an effect of the mutual closeness between India and Tibet. It cannot be denied that the Chinese occupation has limited Tibet’s original culture to a few smaller entities. The Chinese occupiers have reduced it to a mere exhibit or museum piece. No one knows how much it will survive in its original abode; whether it will even survive or not. But with the efforts of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the support of the Government of India, efforts are on to preserve it to a great extent. Hopefully such endeavours will be successful as well.

There are also striking similarities in folk art, their styles and subject matter and the same is true of popular taste. The trend of composing and singing songs focused on contemporary political-social events is seen among folk artists of almost all languages and dialects of India. Being contemporary, it soon engulfs the entire environment

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15. Ibid, p. 285
16. Sankrityayan Rahul, Merī Jivana Yātrā- Part-2, (Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1950) p. 85
17. Sankrityayan Rahul, Merī Tibbata Yātrā, (Chhatrahitkari Pustakmala, 1937) pp. 10-11
18. Sankrityayan Rahul, Tibbata mein Sawā Barasa, (Sharda Mandir, New Delhi) p. 170
19. Ibid, p. 170
20. Sankrityayan Rahul, Merī Tibbata Yātrā, (Chhatrahitkari Pustakmala, 1937) p. 12
21. Sankrityayan Rahul, Tibbata mein Sawā Barasa, (Sharda Mandir, New Delhi) p. 308
22. Ibid, p. 309
23. Ibid, p. 279
24. Ibid, p. 175
25. Ibid, p. 175
26. Ibid, p. 176

History of Potala Palace

The Potala Palace is a dzong fortress in the north western part of the city of Lhasa, in Tibet. It was the winter palace of the Dalai Lamas from 1649 to 1959, has been a museum since then, and is a World Heritage Site since 1994. Thirteen storeys of buildings, containing over 1,000 rooms, 10,000 shrines and about 200,000 statues, soar 117 metres (384 ft) on top of Marpo Ri, the "Red Hill", rising more than 300 metres (980 ft) in total above the valley floor. The palace is named after Putul, believed to be the abode of the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara. Its construction was started in the seventh Century when King Songtsen Gampo was keen to marry Princess Wencheng of the Chinese Tang dynasty. Even today, Tibetan people could not forget the interesting story behind this marriage.

The site on which the Potala Palace rises is built over a palace erected by Songtsen Gampo on the Red Hill. The Potala contains two chapels on its northwest corner that conserve parts of the original building. One is the Phakpa Lhakhang, the other the Chogyel Drupuk, a recessed cavern identified as Songtsen Gampo's meditation cave. Lozang Gyatso, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, started the construction of the modern Potala Palace in 1645 after one of his spiritual advisers, Konchog Chophel (died 1646), pointed out that the site was ideal as a seat of government, situated as it is between Drepung and Sera monasteries and the old city of Lhasa. The external structure was built in 3 years, while the interior, together with its furnishings, took 45 years to complete. The Dalai Lama and his government moved into the Potrang Karpo ('White Palace') in 1649. Construction lasted until 1694, some twelve years after his death. The Potala was used as a winter palace by the Dalai Lama from that time. The Potrang Marpo ('Red Palace') was added between 1690 and 1694.

The new palace got its name from a hill on Cape Comorin at the southern tip of India—a rocky point sacred to the bodhisattva of compassion, who is known as Avalokitesvara, or Chenrezi. The Tibetans themselves rarely speak of the sacred place as the "Potala", but rather as "Peak Potala" (Tse Potala), or most commonly as "the Peak".

The palace was moderately damaged during the Tibetan uprising against the Chinese in 1959, when Chinese shells were launched into the palace's windows. Before Chamdo Jampa Kalden was shot and taken prisoner by soldiers of the People's Liberation Army, he witnessed "Chinese cannon shells began landing on Norbulingka past midnight on March 19th, 1959...". ■



K. Dhondup

Tibet's Influence in Ladakh and Bhutan

Ladakh and Bhutan had had deep relations with Tibet. Due to the trade and social customs these regions were also connected frequently with each other and it made them to exchange the cultural attributes. An analysis of cultural influences

The following purports to reveal the distinctive influence Tibetan culture has had upon the culture and religion of Ladakh and Bhutan. The geographical and genealogical similarity of both Bhutan and Ladakh to Tibet is apparent to any observer, but far more pronounced is the affinity in gesture, rituals, language and social customs. These similarities are by no means accidental, but are derivative in the sense that they trace their origin to indigenous Tibetan religious and cultural influences. If a chapter on the civilisations of Ladakh and Bhutan be written, the source of inspiration upon which these civilisations were founded will undoubtedly be Tibet.

While Buddhism came to Tibet from India in the 7th century, both Bhutan and Ladakh, in turn, derived it from Tibet. Bön {Borì) or Shamanism seems to have preceded Buddhism in all three countries. Bhutan experienced the first Tibetan incursions from about A.D. 650 and Bhutanese people of Tibetan origin date from the time of King Tr'i Räl-pa-chen (Khri Ral-pa-chen) (r. 816-36). Tibetan domination in Bhutan came to an end with the onset of a civil war in Central Tibet following the assassination of King Lang-darma (gLang-dar-ma) (r. 836-42), but Bhutan by that time had been extensively colonised by the Tibetan garrison stationed there, many of whom refused to return to

Tibet and hence came to be known as 'mi-log' (those who refuse to return). According to Geshe Gedun Chopel's (dGe - bshes dGe- 'dun Chos-'phel) Deb-ther-karpo (Deb-ther-dkar-po), cavaliers of King Tr'i-song's (Khri-srong) expedition to Magadha, organised specifically for importing relics from India for the Sam-yä (bSam-yas) stupa, deserted while returning to Tibet and settled in the Himalayan regions. These deserters eventually came to be known as Tamag (rTa-dmag) (cavalry), from whom numerous Himalayan hill tribes descended, as for example, the Tamang tribes of Nepal.

Recorded Ladakhi history trace their early kings to the descendants of Lang-darma, the pro-Bön king of Tibet who destroyed monasteries and monks in his campaign to root out Buddhism from Tibet. Lang-darma's legitimate heir Ö-srung ('Od-srung) ('Guarded by Light') established his empire in the Western Tibet areas, proximate to Ladakh. The latter's descendants, two Guge brother kings, Jang-chub-wö (Byang-chub-'od) and Yeshe-wö (Ye-shes-'od) invited Pandit Atiśa (the Bengali saint) to Tibet in order to revive and spread Buddhism once again.

Nomenclature Ladakh, in the ancient scriptures, is referred to as 'Ka-wa-chen-pa' (Ka-ba-chen-pa) or the inhabitants of the land of

snow. This is very similar to the nomenclature generally attributed to Tibet: Kha-wäi-jong (Kha-bai - Ijongs) or the land of snow. Bhutan, according to David Field Rennie (1866) means "the country of Bhots or Thibetians. . .more correctly, it should be spelt Bhotstan - stan in the* Persian and Arabic meaning place: hence Hindoostan, Afghanistan and Baloochistan, the places respectively of the Hindoo, the Afghan and the Balooch." But a far more convincing origin of the name Bhutan lies with the Sanskrit explanation of the word Bhotstan, according to Rennie and which is "the end (anta) of Tibet (Bhota) on the landscape of Tibet." These similarities in nomenclature are interesting in that the physical appearance and gestures of the inhabitants of the respective countries are so alike that often, early historians have treated them as one and have been confused over the mutual cultural influences and the significance of the individual states.

History and Language

Originally, Bhutan was a part of Kamarup (Assam), but the political upheavals that shook Northern India after the death of Bhaskaravarm of Kamarupa in A.D. 650, exposed this tiny kingdom to inroads and invasions from the north and to its final occupation by Tibet. The history of Ladakh's early kings may be traced to Lang-darma's descendents. Her early history indicates that she had been invaded on numerous occasions by Tibetan and Tibeto-Mongolian forces. Shah Jahan, the Mughul emperor, on one occasion sent a large army to assist Ladakh against a Tibeto-Mongolian invasion and simultaneously

compelled the king of Ladakh to accept Islam. But before long the Tibeto-Mongolian forces returned and compelled the king of Ladakh to sign a treaty, promising to send annual tribute to Lhasa. Ladakh during that period was called the Western Tibetan empire, but subsequent to the 1846 invasion of Zarowar Singh, a Sikh general, Ladakh, together with Baltistan, became dependencies of Kashmir.

The recorded history of Bhutan and Ladakh do not date back earlier than the 7th century. Extant historical literature of these regions pertaining to the period mentioned above are fragmentary. The disastrous fires of Bhutan which burnt the printing establishment at Sonagachi in 1828, Punakha in 1832 and the 1896 earthquake, ravaged valuable manuscripts which could have shed much-needed light on the origins of Bhutan and its inhabitants. The lack of a system of writing is another factor which points to the limited historical records of these regions. The only system known to them is the Tibetan Ü-chän (dBucan) script evolved by Thonmi Sambhota in the 7th century. But even this system of writing must have reached these regions some centuries later. Despite indigenous scriptural changes, this system continues to be the only script in use today.

Dzongkha is the official Bhutanese language spoken

in the western and northern areas of Bhutan, together with Bhumthangkha spoken in Central Bhutan and Sarchakpa spoken in Eastern Bhutan, all of which utilise the classical Ü-chän script. Notwithstanding the seemingly different styles between the Bhutanese dialects and Tibetan, the root remains basically Tibetan.

The original language of Ladakh, specially of the strategically important town of Leh, was Tibetan, and even today Sanskar, Spiti, Khunnu (Busha- har), Mayul Ladakh, Purig and Baltistan are known as Western Tibetan speaking areas. But in course of time, the local Tibetan dialect indiscriminately assimilated non-Tibetan words and phrases which, in most cases, replaced the original Tibetan words, thereby obscuring the original Tibetan. This was done through the replacement of a Kashmiri, Hindustani or even a Turki word.

Social Customs

Religious mask dances, folk songs, including Gesar war songs from the Gesar epic of Tibet are extremely popular in Ladakh and Bhutan. Every festival assumes a religious tone with the sounding of cymbals, clarinets and drums, all suggestive of the sanctified atmosphere of a Tibetan festival. Masked dancers entertain the entire audience with intervals of

Shah Jahan, the Mughul emperor, on one occasion sent a large army to assist Ladakh against a Tibeto-Mongolian invasion and simultaneously compelled the king of Ladakh to accept Islam. But before long the Tibeto-Mongolian forces returned and compelled the king of Ladakh to sign a treaty, promising to send annual tribute to Lhasa

a lively and immodest humour participated by jesters, while in Tibet, the religious dances or Chham is something so sacred that no profane or indecent joke can ever be interjected into the performances. But this rustic humour is cherished in Lhamo or Tibetan opera where the theme is always the triumph of good over evil. Interestingly enough, Bhutan has not patronised Lhamo, despite the fact that Dr'ub-thob Thang-thong Gyalpo (Grub-thob Thang-stong rGyal-po), the founder of Lhamo as well as a reputed architect, visited Bhutan and constructed the Cylinder Temple on the west bank of Paro Valley, and his famous bridges still span rivers in Bhutan.

Despite attempts at modernisation, superstitions and fancy rituals combine to make Ladakh and Bhutan anachronistic states. The monasteries, aristocracy and peasants are reminiscent of a medieval epoch in the days of the feudalistic estate. Monogamy, polyandry and polygamy all co-exist. Death rites in both Ladakh and Bhutan are similar to those of the Tibetans. Offerings to lamas and monasteries are made for the deceased and prayer flags and *řang-kas* (*thang-ká*) are erected for the departed soul. The actual date of the cremation is decided by astrological calculation and the corpse is kept for forty-nine days during which Bardo Thodrol (Bar-do gTho-grol) (The Tibetan Book of the Dead) is read in front of the dead person. Such death rites could be a source of heavy financial burden on an average family, leaving it in debt for many years to come. In the case of a high lama or the king, the cremation ceremony may prolong for two years.

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Trade

Trade was an important channel of cultural exchange and influence. Leh, Ladakh's capital, used to be the foremost barter centre of Central Asia and caravans from Tibet, Hindustan, Turkestan and China would pass through or gather there to sell their wares. Bhutan would collect dyes, coarse silk, arecanut, tobacco from Assam and Bengal and exchange them for wool, tea, salt and musk from Tibet. Their local produce such as spices, timber, agricultural products would also be bartered for the merchandise of Tibet. Hah, a Bhutanese town, two days journey from the Chum-b'i (Chum-'bi) valley was a busy centre of trade with Tibet and numerous caravans of horses and pack mules passed back and forth until quite recently.

Art and Architecture

In painting, sculpture, murals and frescoes, Tibetan art has had a direct and prominent influence. But the stylistic influence of the Newari artists and craftsmen from Nepal is discernible in the Bhutanese, as with Tibetan art and architecture. Newari artists found court patronage and encouragement to further their artistic skills in the Tibetan and Bhutanese courts. The monastic arts of t'ang-ka painting, religious masks, interior frescoes of dzongs and temples of Ladakh and Bhutan maintain a classical grandeur peculiar to Tibetan religious art.

Medicine and Astrology

Bhutan is sometimes referred to as 'the land of medicine'. But the form of medical practice and treatment prevalent in Bhutan and Ladakh is actually a system incorporated from the Tibetan medical science, a science which has acquired considerable skill and sophistication in Tibet over the centuries. In fact, Bhutanese doctors were sent for study to Chok-po-ri (IChog-po-ri) Medical College in Lhasa. Herbal medicinal plants used to be exported from Bhutan to Tibet. For traditional societies like Bhutan and Ladakh where the inhabitants took recourse to astrological calculations in an effort to grasp the vicissitudes of life, astrology played an important role. From the two systems of astro- logical calculations prevalent in Tibet - the Manjuřri astrology from China and the Kalacakra Tantric astrology from India, the Bhutanese have inherited the latter method, whereby their calendars are based upon the lunar months.

Religion

By far the greatest Tibetan influence introduced in both Bhutan and Ladakh has been that of Tibetan Buddhism. Drug-yul ('Brug-yul) is the Land of the Dřug-pa school of the Ka-gyii-pa (bKa'-rgyud-pa) lineage of Tibetan Buddhism. This has been the state religion since 1616 when Lama

Nangmar Namgyal (bLa-ma Nang-mar rNam-rgyal) of South Tibet established it on a firm foundation. But Tibetan Buddhism, especially of the Nyingmapa (rNying-ma-pa) school was introduced in Bhutan as early as the 8th century when Guru Padmasambhava entered Bhutan after subjugating the elves, goblins and demons at the construction site of Sam-yä (bSam-yas) in Lhasa and spread the word of Tantra in Tibet at the request of King Tr'i-song De'u-tsan (Khri-srong lDe'u-btzan). Ladakh also advocates Tibetan Buddhism and some Ku-shong (sKu-shongs) or Head Lamas of Ladakh trace their genealogical tree to Yu-thog Yontan Gonpo (gYu-thog Yon-tan mGon-po), the Tibetan medical genius. In this context, the devotion with which the Ladakhis attended the recent Kalacakra ceremony (1976) initiated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Leh is a living testimony to the Tibetan religious influence in the region and the respect and love with which the Tibetans and Ladakhis regard their ancestral past.

The age-old sanctity and grandeur of Hemis monastery in Ladakh and Thimphu Dzong of Bhutan strike a Tibetan as being a familiar Tsug-lag-khang (gTstg-lag-khang) where

Buddhism and its rituals have had a strong impact on Bhutan and Ladakh. If Tibet looked towards Aryabhumi of India as the mother source of learning and Tibetan scholars ventured across the hostile Himalayan ranges to obtain knowledge and wisdom, it was to Lhasa that the Bhutanese, Ladakhis, and even Mongolians and Chinese monks looked for spiritual guidance and knowledge

one may light an offering lamp and say a prayer for the welfare of all fellow sentient beings. Buddhism and its rituals have had a strong impact on Bhutan and Ladakh. If Tibet looked towards Aryabhumi of India as the mother source of learning and Tibetan scholars ventured across the hostile Himalayan ranges to obtain knowledge and wisdom, it was to Lhasa that the Bhutanese, Ladakhis, and even Mongolians and Chinese monks looked for spiritual guidance and knowledge. While Tibet remained isolated from the rest of the world except for its brief encounters with Chinese emperors and Indian pandits, Bhutan and Ladakh have had greater contact with Tibet than with any other country, besides India. But the religion and culture which had the greatest impact on these two countries was that of Tibet and not of India. Though Tibetan religion

and culture have elements of both Indian and Chinese influence, the Tibetan religio-cultural influence which established itself in Bhutan and Ladakh was purely Tibetan.

If it had not been for Tibetan religious and cultural penetration in the kingdoms of Bhutan and Ladakh, both these areas would have been spiritually the poorer and devoid of the wider interest which has been provoked today as a result of the cultural influences. While Tibetan Buddhism has reduced the militancy of the people, as it did in Tibet, it has brought about simultaneously a decent code of conduct based on compassion. These two Himalayan kingdoms are perhaps one of the last few strongholds evident in the 20th century of theocratic conservatism and anachronistic feudalism.

Courtesy: The Tibet Journal, Vol 2, no. 2, Summer 1977

Tibetan houses

Tibetan houses are widely different from region to regions, in the central Tibet it is built by combination of stone, earth and wood, where in the eastern part use mostly wood and very thin wall in the outermost, some part in the western and far-eastern (Khampa) use adobe and wood, only in eastern Tibet the houses has peak roof to accommodate the long monsoon in the region, other regions has a flat roof with Lungta (wind horse prayer flags) on each corner to disperse the prayers in the wind, all the doors and windows are beautifully decorated with paintings and colorful clothes called Shambu. Each family has a special room as temple and it is fully decorated with ritual items, images and thangka. In the villages there is a small compound around the house as animal shelter and southern walls of the houses are largely covered by circular cow-dung for drying. ■



Javeed Ahmad

Tibetan Diaspora in India: Longing and Belonging

Just after China occupied Tibet it became more and more difficult for natives to live in their homeland. Consequently they chose exile. A large number of people escaped from Tibet who are still residing in many countries including India and tragic aspect of their exile is that they can't even claim to be recognised as refugees

The Tibetan Community has been facing a constant human rights violation following the Political instability in the region particularly after 1950 as a result of which, they have been in a state of hopelessness. This has in turn, resulted in their exile into the neighbouring countries especially India. Given the forbearance shown by this community while in exile, this community has invited the attention of one and all. The present paper, therefore, represents an attempt to understand the Tibetan Diaspora in India from the historical view point and also by analyzing the various issues confronting this community while in exile. Besides this paper highlights the role of Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) towards its exiled Tibetan community and in chasing the long cherished dream of free Tibet. The paper is based on the quantitative analysis of factual information available through print and electronic media.

Formation of Diaspora

The volatility in the world social, economic and political order ever since the dawn of 20th century has been transcendental as a result of which the nations across the globe have been witnessing phenomenal changes in all the aforementioned

arenas which directly or indirectly has generated large movements of people in almost every region today. As migratory trends have registered a tremendous accline at all the regional, national and international levels, so too has the formation of diasporas or translational communities leading to increasing number of people with allegiances straddling their place of origin and their new homelands. Today, the ambivalences can be seen in the country's responses to the identity status of their expatriates as well as their attempts to expand their ambit of their non-residents (NR's). Further various latent but important issues such as those of exclusive loyalties on the behalf of immigrant populations to their host countries have been inviting the concerns across the various quarters.

Given the various push and pull factors such as economic, religious and political uncertainties or the processes of industrialization, modernization, globalization etc. and the attendant virtues such as revolutionized real (locomotionary) and virtual (telecommunication) communications, the level of mobility among the people has increased tremendously and, hence, diasporas are on increase, which has, therefore, generated a need to understand and classify them. While

the Cohens historical approach of classifying diasporas into five different categories of victim (African-American, Jewish and Armenian), imperial (British), labour (Indian), trade (Chinese) and cultural (Caribbean) based on the forces underlying the original population dispersion may not exemplify the Tibetan Diaspora, Gabriel Shaffer's classification of diasporas into "state linked diasporas" and stateless diasporas" based on their identity/linkage/non-linkage with the nation states exemplifies the Tibetan Diaspora in a much comprehensive manner. Elaborating his distinction of Diasporas into "state linked Diasporas" and "stateless Diasporas", he mentioned that "state linked Diasporas" include all those Diasporas which are connected to societies of their own ethnic origin that constitute a majority in their own in established states", while "stateless Diasporas" to which the Tibetan Diaspora also belongs, include all those groups of dispersed people, who have been unable to establish their own independent state.

Though Tibetan people are spread throughout the continents of Asia, America, Europe and Australia etc. in more or less concentrated communities, but given the huge population of Tibetans living in exile in India, Tibetan Diaspora in India comprises the largest Tibetan Diaspora in the world today.

Migration of Tibetans to India and Emergence of Tibetan Diaspora

The history of Tibetan migration can be traced back to communist China's invasion of Tibet in 1949

and the subsequent perpetration of human rights violation till 1959 when a revolt broke out in Lhasa, Tibet's administrative capital and when China annexed whole of the Tibet. What followed was the historic, infamous and heart wrenching exodus of approximately 80,000 Tibetans who fled to India along with his Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama Tensin Gyatso. This was continued by a steady flow of Tibetan migrants filtering into India in the years that followed. Fundamentally, three phases of displacement can be broadly traced in the history of Tibetan displacement as:

First Phase

The first phase began in 1959 with the Tibetan uprising, when communist China invaded and illegally occupied whole of Tibet. This resulted in the escape of his Holiness 14th Dalai Lama into India through Himalayas followed by Exodus of some 80,000 Tibetans between 1959-1960.

Second Phase

The second phase of Tibetan influx into India began in early 1980's when a chunk of approximately 3100 Tibetan's entered the country from Bhutan between 1980 to 1985 in the wake of Citizenship crises, where under, the exiled Tibetans were forced by Bhutanese government to owe allegiance to the country by accepting its citizenship. Unwilling to do so and following the India's approval, the country witnessed an indirect, but historic influx of an aforementioned and approximately 3100 Tibetans from Bhutan. Another 25000 Tibetans arrived in India, when

Tibet was opened to trade and tourism between 1986 to 1996, thereby, raising the percentage of the already exiled Tibetan community in India.

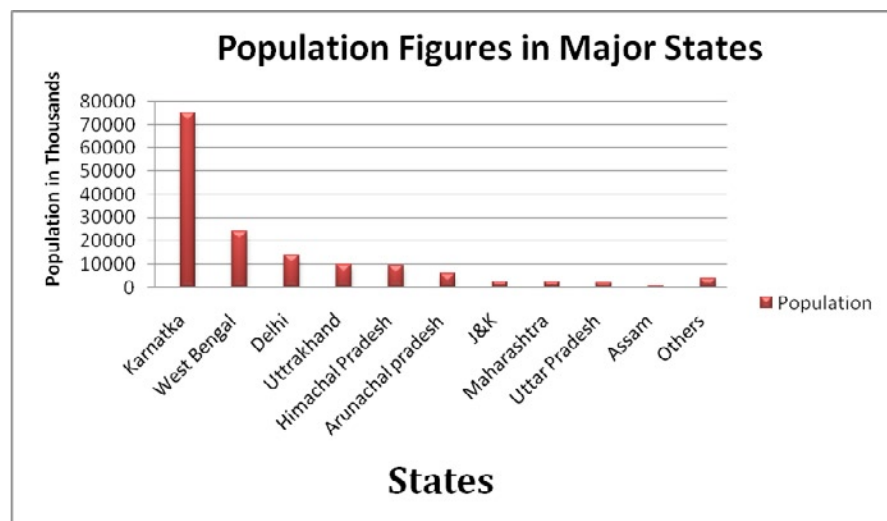
In addition to the above two phases of displacement, the third phase of Tibetan displacement can be said to have started from 1996 till date. But this phase not being so distinct can be treated as an extension of the second displacement phase.

Today, there are approximately 150000 Tibetan refugees living in India in almost 37 diverse settlements and 70 scattered communities. The below given table presents the population figures of Tibetan refugees in major states of India as:

Population Figures of Tibetan Community in Major States of India

STATE	POPULATION
Karnataka	75000
West Bengal	24000
Delhi	14000
Uttaranchal	9800
Himachal Pradesh	9600
Arunachal Pradesh	5700
Jammu & Kashmir	2300
Maharashtra	2200
Uttar Pradesh	1800
Assam	800
Others	3800
Total	149000

Graphic Representation of Above Population Figures



Source: <http://www.joshuaproject.net/people-profile.php?peo3=15468&rog3=IN>

In order to rehabilitate the exiled Tibetan's and restoring freedom and happiness in Tibet, the democratic administration in exile was set up by his Holiness 14th Dalai Lama Tensin Gyatso in the city of Dharamsala in India on 29 April 1959. Working under the name of "Central Tibetan Administration" and also referred to as "Tibetan Government in Exile", the organization claims to be the rightful and legitimate government of Tibet. Though, the "Central Tibetan Organisation" (CTA) is not officially recognised as the 'government-in-exile' by any country, but it still receives huge financial support from various governments and international organisations across the world. The CTA's structure is analogous to a constitutionally democratic state, with an elected Parliament and Prime Minister. The tradition of regarding his Holiness Dalai Lama as the divine leader still stands strong in the Tibetan community which represents a

departure from the democratic set-up of the CTA. However to maintain the democratic sanctity of the CTA, his Holiness Dalai Lama has himself many a times offered to give up his position and also went to the extent of making a clause which provides for his impeachment by the people subject to their desire. Today, he is being treated as the undisputed leader of Tibetans in exile and majority of the Tibetans recognize the CTA as the only form of legitimate Tibetan government being headed by his Holiness Dalai Lama. In the words of Lhasang Tsering, a Tibetan writer and activist, "he is our greatest strength and our greatest weakness". The Tibetans greatly depend upon him as a leader. The structure of the CTA, thus, represents a polar opposite of the largely feudal and oppressive institution of the government in Tibet, predating the Chinese occupation. Its structure reflects the egalitarianism and magnanimity of its founding father for having allowed a combination of the principles of Buddhism and the political concepts of

the West. Today, the CTA has been successful in garnering a huge amount of international support and aid for the struggle. It also works towards creating unity among the exiled Tibetans by promoting Tibetan culture and religion besides working on the image of a non-violent, co-friendly and Tibetan nation. By putting to use the traditional symbolism, it has performed a dual role of invoking the Tibetan identity and arousing a sense of national loyalty in its people.

Tibetan Diaspora: A Case of Heuristic Binaries

Tibetans in exile today, are grappling with the problems of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. The problematique of "in between" identities of Tibetan refugees imbricated in these processes is crucial. The problem has got further compounded in the wake of variations in the legal status granted to Tibetans who arrived in India since their first exodus in 1959. Today, the Tibetans in exile are dwindling between the two polar ends of foreigners and refugees. The acronym "RC" which stands for "Registration Card" and not a conceived misnomer "Refugee Card" delimits the otherwise myriad privileges that would have been available to this exiled community had they been granted the true refugee status in the legal sense of the term. India being neither a party to the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of refugees nor to the 1967 Protocol is devoid of any specific legislation about refugee rights and protection. These informal refugees were allotted residence permits and identity certificates which facilitated their movement

out of India. Although, the government of India allowed the Tibetans to enter India even after the first phase, however, those who arrived in India after 1980's and particularly of late, had to manoeuvre the huge crusts and troughs while ensuring the needed registrations and to have the required documentations. Granting "Registration Certificates/Cards" to this exiled community, in other words, confers a "Foreigner's Status" upon them, which unfortunately deny them or snatches away from them many fundamental humanly rights such as right to expression; to assembly and right to protest viz-a-viz Indian citizens. More so, it also squeezes their job incentives, besides keeping them away from the ambit of various prestigious scholarships, that too, despite of their qualifications and educational eligibilities. In the absence of these privileges, the Tibetan people in India cannot work, book an apartment or for that purpose open a simple bank account by their names. With the miniscule authority in hand, the government in exile cannot do much except encouraging these Tibetan refugees to take a backward recourse. Unfortunately, this severely tarnishes the long constructed image and, hence, harms the goodwill that the government-in-exile has built over the years. On the contrary, the

refugees who continue to live in the host country carry a constant fear and threat of being deported or being put behind bars. Further, as illegal immigrants, they possess a blurred future. Moreover, the Indian government assisted the Tibetan refugees till the 1980s. However, it stopped encouraging them after the 1980s, given its national interests, overpopulation of the Tibetan settlements, shrinking land area and also in its pursuit to improve relations with China.

The biggest challenge confronting the Tibetan migrants in India is the preservation of their native culture, while adapting the modern ways of life. Today, the Tibetan Diaspora in India has reached its third generation. While one side of this continuum is represented by the first and second generation Tibetans, the other side of the continuum is dominated by the third generation Tibetans in exile. Though the Tibetan refugees are keen to retain their native culture, a number of third generation Tibetans are somewhat estranged from the traditional way of life. Further, in the wake of economic and other benefits that the host country offers, remaining committed to the cause may be a very difficult task. They have become more used to the democratic and modern way of life. Going back to Tibet would mean leaving behind

a comfortable life. The older generation, on the other hand, dreams and longs of/for the day when they will be able to return to the land which had once been their home.

Socio-Economic Cum Educational Status of the Tibetan Diaspora in India: An Overview

The rehabilitation process of the Tibetan community in India following their exile in 1959 can be said to be par excellence, given the acceptance and firmness of the resolve of the first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of the host country to provide all possible assistance in order to resettle the exiled community and also because of the priority, this exiled community is held in comparison to other refugee settlements in India. Thus began the settlement process of Tibetans in India with Lugsum Samdupling (Bylakuppe Settlement) being their first settlement following the nod by Karnataka state government--- the then Mysore government. Today, of all the 37 settlements of 70 Tibetan scattered communities in India, almost half are agriculture based, one-third are engaged in agro-industrial pursuits while one-fifth thrive on handicraft business. Alternatively speaking, most of the Tibetans in India are either peasant farmers or nomadic shepherds. Some Tibetans living in northern India, have become rulers and nobles. Others are lamas (monks) who live in monasteries and spend their time in prayer and meditation. The education responsibilities of the children are taken care of under the banner of the Central Tibetan Schools Administration with a seat in New Delhi. It is

Though the Tibetan refugees are keen to retain their native culture, a number of third generation Tibetans are somewhat estranged from the traditional way of life. Further, in the wake of economic and other benefits that the host country offers, remaining committed to the cause may be a very difficult task. They have become more used to the democratic and modern way of life

an autonomous and umbrella organization established in 1961 with the objective to establish, manage and assist schools in India for the education of Tibetan children living in India while preserving and promoting their culture and heritage. As of 2009 the Administration was running 71 schools in the areas of concentration of Tibetan population, with about 10,000 students on the roll from pre-primary to class XII, and with 554 teaching staff. Further as of 13th January 2009, there were 28 CTSA schools whose enrollment was 9,991 students. The first Tibetan higher college in exile was established in Bangalore which was named as “The Dalai Lama Institute for Higher Education”. Along with the goals of Tibetan language and Tibetan culture, instruction of teaching of science, arts and information technology also takes place in this college.

The institutions of marriage and family have registered various if not sharp changes among exiled Tibetan community in India. Though the traditional system of joint families still exists in exile, however, the joint family system couldn't resist the changes as a result of increased diffusion and exposure to the modern and western education. This has resulted into a reduction in the number of joint families to a large extent. With modern methods of family planning being increasingly practiced by this exiled community, the maximum number of children in most of the families is limited to three today. Likewise, the institution of marriages has also registered myriad changes over time. The traditional Tibetan society being quite open in nature was a witness

The traditional Tibetan society being quite open in nature was a witness to all the three forms of marriage such as monogamy, polygamy and polyandry. But, today the polygamy and polyandry as major forms of traditional marriage have yielded to modern form of marriage i.e., monogamy which is a common form of marriage nowadays among the modern Tibetan community particularly those in exile

to all the three forms of marriage such as monogamy, polygamy and polyandry. But, today the polygamy and polyandry as major forms of traditional marriage have yielded to modern form of marriage i.e., monogamy which is a common form of marriage nowadays among the modern Tibetan community particularly those in exile. Among other changes that the institution of marriage has registered, is trend of love marriage which has dominated the practice of traditionally arranged marriages. However, the prevalence of late marriage can't be evidenced out within this exiled community. This can be accrued to the increased emphasis on the educational and career pursuits among the exiled Tibetan men and women. The institution of marriage is usually viewed as a non-religious joining of two households except among Tibetan Muslims where marriage is a religious affair. Moreover, the role of Astrology and cosmology in mate selection process is not uncommon.

CONCLUSION

Tibetan Diaspora today is running in its 53rd year – a fact which can give Tibetan Central Tibetan Administration or Tibetan government in exile and the people back home some reasons to celebrate. Also while the fact of

being the world's largest Diaspora in India complimented by the fact of adoption of non-violent path by Tibetan people in their struggle for freedom adds resolution and new dimensions to Tibetan Diaspora, it also speaks volumes about the tenacious tolerance, sustainability and the noble character, the Tibetan Diaspora is grounded in. However, this is the only one aspect of the story as no one can deny the cataclysms; this exile

Community has passed through. Among other problems, the main issues that Tibetan government in exile is grappled with today range from legal status issues through unemployment and cultural identity issues up to schism in the exiled Tibetan community between the conservative Tibetans who have adapted a middle way approach and the various organizations such as Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) who being radical in their approach want complete independence. The feeling of disillusionment and frustration which has been brewing among the young Tibetan generations was evidenced in the uprising of March 2008. All this can severely hamper the assistance and support received by CTA from the West as most of the support and recognition that the CTA receives from the western part is because of

the representation of Tibetans as a symbol of peaceful and spiritual people under the headship of his Holiness Dalai Lama. Among other problems that are confronted by Tibetan community in India is the grave problem of growing unemployment which is steering directly on their face with more and more inflow of the Tibetan refugees in India in the search of better employment opportunities. Moreover, the differential treatment which is being meted out by the host country India to the Tibetan refugees of the first phase i.e., those who arrived in India before 1980 and those who did so in post 1980's has increased the intensity of difficulties to this already suffered community in exile. Pertinently, the Tibetan refugees who entered India after 1980's and particularly of late, had to undergo various tribulations in order to acquire

the so called "Registration Cards" given the complexity of the tedious and changing procedures of the registration process over time. Their stay in India is temporary and subject to the good will of the host country. Their ordeal, therefore, is not ordinary but heart wrenching, which an outsider can't perceive and define. This is not all which is faced by Tibetan community. On cultural front, they are facing the problems of Ethnic identity which is more a problem of their internal strife as more and more younger generations are carried away by the modern appeals today while their traditional part is still longing and looking for their traditional ethos. Though the host country India has held the Tibetan community in priority over and above other refugee communities, the biggest challenge today before them is the stalemate and the

inertia that Tibetans find them in with the Chinese republic. With no party willing to budge from their present stances, the long cherished dream of free Tibet as envisioned by this ever suffered but diligent community seems to be in jeopardy if not far from realization. In the light of above facts and experiences, there is an utmost need for both the parties to devise some catalytic measures so that tale of sufferings faced by the Tibetan people comes to an end. Alternatively, it calls for a much needed ethnographic attention on the behalf of International front so as to back track the long derailed peace in this region which in other words can prove highly beneficial for the countries of Asian continent in particular and the rest of the world in general.

Courtesy: The Tibet Journal, vol. 37, no. 4, 2012,

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The geographical and cultural relationship between Tibet and India has existed since time immemorial. In such a situation, outrage is evident in the minds of the Indian people against the illegal occupation of Tibet by China, which took place in 1950. But even after this, in the newly independent Indian Government's foreign policy, China continued to be given the status of a friendly country and every effort was made to maintain this friendship not only in mutual relations but also on the global stage. However, this effort of India remained one-sided. China could not be seized to Tibet alone; in 1962, it attacked India itself. How then was it possible that the common Indian people would not be enraged at China and the then prevalent one-sided Indian foreign policy? Especially given the fact that before China annexed Tibet, prominent leaders and thinkers of the country had tried to draw the government's attention towards this from various forums.

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

Understand China's Real Intent Towards India

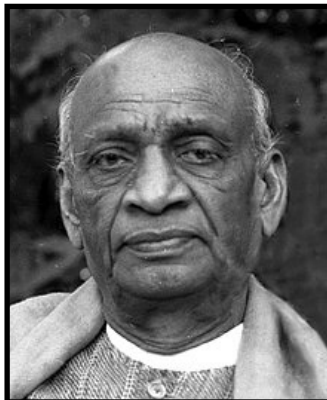
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar Patel was among those Indian leaders who fully understood the significance of the events in Tibet. In a historic letter written to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 7 November 1950, on this issue, Patel not only deplored the Indian Ambassador's (K.M. Panikkar) action, but also warned about dangers from China. Here, we present Sardar Patel's original letter

My dear Jawahar,

Ever since my return from Ahmedabad and after the Cabinet meeting on the same day, which I had to attend at practically fifteen minutes' notice and for which I regret I was not able to read all the papers, I have been anxiously thinking over the problem of Tibet and I thought I should share with you what is passing through my mind.

I have carefully gone through the correspondence between the External Affairs Ministry and our Ambassador in Peking and through him the Chinese Government. I have



tried to peruse this correspondence as favourably to our Ambassador and the Chinese Government as possible, but I regret to say that neither of them comes out well as a result of this study. The Chinese Government has tried to delude us by professions of peaceful intention. My own feeling is that at a crucial period they managed to instil in our Ambassador a false sense of confidence in their so-called desire to settle the Tibetan problem by peaceful means. There can be no doubt that during the period covered by this correspondence the Chinese must have been concentrating for an onslaught on Tibet.

The final action of the Chinese, in my judgement, is little short of perfidy. The tragedy of it is that the Tibetans put faith in us, they chose to be guided by us, and we have been unable to get them out of the meshes of Chinese diplomacy or Chinese malevolence. From the latest position, it appears that we shall not be able to rescue the Dalai Lama. Our Ambassador has been at great pains to find an explanation or justification for Chinese policy and actions. As the External Affairs Ministry remarked in one of their telegrams, there was a lack of firmness and unnecessary apology in one or two representations that he made to the Chinese Government on our behalf.

It is impossible to imagine any sensible person believing in the so-called threat to China from Anglo-American machinations in Tibet. Therefore, if the Chinese put faith in this, they must have distrusted us so completely as to have taken us as tools or stooges of Anglo-American diplomacy or strategy. This feeling, if genuinely entertained by the Chinese in spite of your direct approaches to them, indicates that even though we regard ourselves as the friends of China, the Chinese do not regard us as their friends.

With the Communist mentality

of 'whoever is not with them being against them'—this is a significant pointer, of which we have to take due note. During the last several months, outside the Russian camp, we have practically been alone in championing the cause of Chinese entry into UN and in securing from the Americans assurances on the question of Formosa. We have done everything we could to assuage Chinese feelings, to allay its apprehensions and to defend its legitimate claims in our discussions and correspondence with America and Britain and in the UN. In spite of this, China is not convinced about our disinterestedness; it continues to regard us with suspicion and the whole psychology is one, at least outwardly, of scepticism perhaps mixed with a little hostility. I doubt if we can go any further than we have done already to convince China of our good intentions, friendliness and goodwill. In Peking we have an Ambassador who is eminently suitable for putting across the friendly point of view. Even he seems to have failed to convert the Chinese. Their last telegram to us is an act of gross discourtesy not only in the summary way it disposes off our protest against the entry of Chinese forces into Tibet but also in the wild insinuation that our

attitude is determined by foreign influences. It looks as though it is not a friend speaking in that language but a potential enemy.

In the background of this, we have to consider what new situation now faces us as a result of the disappearance of Tibet, as we knew it, and the expansion of China almost up to our gates. Throughout history we have seldom been worried about our north-east frontier. The Himalayas have been regarded as an impenetrable barrier against any threat from the north. We had a friendly Tibet which gave us no trouble. The Chinese were divided. They had their own domestic problems and never bothered us about frontiers. In 1914, we entered into a convention with Tibet which was not endorsed by the Chinese. We seem to have regarded Tibetan autonomy as extending to independent treaty relationship. Presumably, all that we required was Chinese counter-signature. The Chinese interpretation of suzerainty seems to be different. We can, therefore, safely assume that very soon they will disown all the stipulations which Tibet has entered into with us in the past. That throws into the melting pot all frontier and commercial settlements with Tibet on which we have been functioning and acting during the last half a century. China is no longer divided. It is united and strong. All along the Himalayas in the north and north-east, we have on our side of the frontier a population ethnologically and culturally not different from Tibetans and Mongoloids. The undefined state of the frontier and the existence on our side of a population with its affinities to the Tibetans or Chinese has all the elements of the potential trouble

I doubt if we can go any further than we have done already to convince China of our good intentions, friendliness and goodwill. In Peking we have an Ambassador who is eminently suitable for putting across the friendly point of view. Even he seems to have failed to convert the Chinese. Their last telegram to us is an act of gross discourtesy not only in the summary way it disposes off our protest against the entry of Chinese forces into Tibet but also in the wild insinuation that our attitude is determined by foreign influences

between China and ourselves. Recent and bitter history also tells us that communism is no shield against imperialism and that the communists are as good or as bad imperialists as any other. Chinese ambitions in this respect not only cover the Himalayan slopes on our side but also include an important part of Assam. They have their ambitions in Burma also. Burma has the added difficulty that it has no McMahon Line round which to build up even the semblance of an agreement. Chinese irredentism and communist imperialism are different from the expansionism or imperialism of the Western powers. The former has a cloak of ideology which makes it ten times more dangerous. In the guise of ideological expansion lie concealed racial, national or historical claims. The danger from the north and north-east, therefore, becomes both communist and imperialist.

While our western and north-western threat to security is still as prominent as before, a new threat has developed from the north and north-east. Thus, for the first time, after centuries, India's defence has to concentrate itself on two fronts simultaneously. Our defence measures have so far been based on the calculations of superiority over Pakistan. In our calculations we shall now have to reckon with communist China in the north and in the north-east, a communist China which has definite ambitions and aims and which does not, in any way, seem friendly disposed towards us.

Let us also consider the political conditions on this potentially troublesome frontier. Our northern and north-eastern approaches consist of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Darjeeling and the tribal areas in

While our western and north-western threat to security is still as prominent as before, a new threat has developed from the north and north-east. Thus, for the first time, after centuries, India's defence has to concentrate itself on two fronts simultaneously. Our defence measures have so far been based on the calculations of superiority over Pakistan

Assam. From the point of view of communication, there are weak spots. Continuous defensive lines do not exist. There is almost an unlimited scope for infiltration. Police protection is limited to a very small number of passes.

There, too, our outposts do not seem to be fully manned. The contact of these areas with us is by no means close and intimate. The people inhabiting these portions have no established loyalty or devotion to India. Even Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas are not free from pro-Mongoloid prejudices. During the last three years, we have not been able to make any appreciable approaches to the Nagas and other hill tribes in Assam. European missionaries and other visitors had been in touch with them, but their influence was in no way friendly to India or Indians. In Sikkim, there was political ferment some time ago. It is quite possible that discontent is smouldering there. Bhutan is comparatively quiet, but its affinity with Tibetans would be a handicap. Nepal has a weak oligarchic regime based almost entirely on force which is in conflict with a turbulent element of the population as well as with enlightened ideas of the modern age. In these circumstances, to make people alive to the new danger or to make them defensively strong is a very difficult task indeed and that difficulty can be got over only by enlightened

firmness, strength and a clear line of policy. I am sure the Chinese and their source of inspiration, Soviet Union, would not miss any opportunity of exploiting these weak spots, partly in support of their ideology and partly in support of their ambitions. In my judgement the situation is one which we cannot afford either to be complacent or to be vacillating. We must have a clear idea of what we wish to achieve and also of the methods by which we should achieve it. Any faltering or lack of decisiveness in formulating our objectives or in pursuing our policies to attain those objectives is bound to weaken us and increase the threats which are so evident.

Side by side with these external dangers, we shall now have to face serious internal problems as well. I have already asked Ayyangar to send to the External Affairs Ministry a copy of the Intelligence Bureau's appreciation of these matters. Hitherto, the Communist Party of India has found some difficulty in contacting communists abroad, or in getting supplies of arms, literature, etc., from them. They had to contend with the difficult Burmese and Pakistan frontiers on the east or with the long seaboard. They shall now have a comparatively easy means of access to Chinese communists and through them to other foreign communists. Infiltration of spies, fifth columnists and communists would now be easier. Instead

of having to deal with isolated communist pockets in Telengana and Warangal we may have to deal with communist threats to our security along our northern and north-eastern frontiers, where, for supplies of arms and ammunition, they can safely depend on communist arsenals in China. The whole situation thus raises a number of problems on which we must come to an early decision so that we can, as I said earlier, formulate the objectives of our policy and decide the method by which those objectives are to be attained. It is also clear that the action will have to be fairly comprehensive, involving not only our defence strategy and state of preparations but also problem of internal security to deal with which we have not a moment to lose. We shall also have to deal with administrative and political problems in the weak spots along the frontier to which I have already referred.

It is of course, impossible to be exhaustive in setting out all these problems. I am, however, giving below some of the problems which, in my opinion, require early solution and round which we have to build our administrative or military policies and measures to implement them.

- a) A military and intelligence appreciation of the Chinese threat to India both on the frontier and to internal security.
- b) An examination of military position and such re-disposition of our forces as might be necessary, particularly with the idea of guarding important routes or areas which are likely to be the subject of dispute.
- c) An appraisalment of the

strength of our forces and, if necessary, reconsideration of our retrenchment plans for the Army in the light of the new threat.

- d) A long-term consideration of our defence needs. My own feeling is that, unless we assure our supplies of arms, ammunition and armour, we would be making our defence perpetually weak and would not be able to stand up to the double threat of difficulties both from the west and north-west and north and north-east.
- e) The question of China's entry into the UN. In view of the rebuff which China has given us and the method which it has followed in dealing with Tibet, I am doubtful whether we can advocate its claim any longer. There would probably be a threat in the UN virtually to outlaw China, in view of its active participation in the Korean War. We must determine our attitude on this question also.
- f) The political and administrative steps which we should take to strengthen our northern and north-eastern frontier. This would include the whole of the border, i.e., Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Darjeeling and the tribal territory in Assam.
- g) Measures of internal security in the border areas as well as the states flanking those areas such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Assam.
- h) Improvement of our communication, road, rail, air and wireless, in these areas and with the frontier outposts.

- i) Establishing intelligence and police networks along the border posts.
- j) The future of our mission at Lhasa and the trade posts at Gyangtse and Yatung and the forces which we have in operation in Tibet to guard the trade routes.
- k) The policy in regard to the McMahan Line.

These are some of the questions which occur to my mind. It is possible that a consideration of these matters may lead us into the wider question of our relationship with China, Russia, America, Britain and Burma. This, however, would be of a general nature, though some might be basically very important, e.g., we might have to consider whether we should not enter into closer association with Burma in order to strengthen the latter in its dealings with China.

I do not rule out the possibility that, before applying pressure on us, China might apply pressure on Burma. With Burma, the frontier is entirely undefined and the Chinese territorial claims are more substantial. In its present position, Burma might offer an easier problem to China, and therefore, might claim its first attention.

I suggest that we meet early to have a general discussion on these problems and decide on such steps as we might think to be immediately necessary and direct, quick examination of other problems with a view to taking early measures to deal with them.

Signature
Vallabhbai Patel

*Courtesy: Vijay Kranti (ed.),
Thankyou India: Bharat aur Tibet,
Bharat-Tibet Samanvay Kendra,
New Delhi, Page 115-119*

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

Tibet, China and India*Dr. Rammanohar Lohia**Excerpts from his speech in Delhi on January 2, 1963*

I have repeated the Tibeian issue many times and only reiterate it here. On the criteria of one, language; second, script; third, way of living; fourth, religion; fifth, topography; sixth, history and seventh, the will of its people, Tibet is certainly not a part of China. Tibet is much closer to India than China. I do not wish to say here that Tibet is a part of India. But India and Tibet have very close ties. If I were to state in a broad, lay language, I would say that Tibet is an independent country and has its own way of living and its people desire to remain free. This is the biggest truth. The people of Tibet wish to remain independent. Their territory is some five lakh square miles. Their population is around 40-50 lakhs. It is not a small region. If they wish to remain free, they must remain so. But then the next question arises as to who is Tibet closer to? About 80 per cent are close to Indians while barely 15 to 20 per cent might be closer to the Chinese. They do not have any closer ties to China than this.

Until we take a long-term view of history, we shall not be able to grasp the major issues. India has been a fallen and beaten country for the last thousand years, as well as enslaved and weak. Even if we were to ignore this, we have to accept that India has been powerless for the last thousand years and foreigners have been enslaving this country with their power. Babar, a foreigner, comes along and captures the country. What to say about the likes of Timur Lang. Babar's descendant Bahadur Shah become nativized and all he was fit for was writing poetry.



Other than that they were left with nothing. It has been a tussle between the native and the foreigner. And whatever has taken place in the Himalayas over these thousand years—treaties, wars or political control over the Himalayas, I say on the basis of that this happens to be the rather sordid picture of the Himalayas. But then why look at only the last thousand years? Why not look at the last two, three or four thousand years? After all, an individual like Ghengiz Khan too rose in that period.

Apart from him, there were Chinese rulers too, who sometimes ventured into the Himalayan region whenever they were strong enough to do so. Whereas we Indians were in no position to even think of venturing outside our country during the last thousand years. We would be so caught up in issues inside our country as we had to be constantly prepared to safeguard ourselves from being enslaved and fight for our survival. This then was India's situation. I therefore appeal that no Indian should take the last thousand years and the adjustments made in that period as an example. It would be a grave error if we were to do so.

Whatever treaties, exist between Tibet and China, prove one thing clearly. Even if for only 10 or 15 years, Tibet had ruled China. If you wish to hold treaties alone as the basis, why not make China a vassal of Tibet? Second, it will also be proved that whatever treaties are available, if at all, establishing any link between China and Tibet, only mention that it was China that paid tribute to Tibet. Maybe not direct control, but this could be said to be another kind of control. Even when China was more

powerful, it had nothing to do with Tibet's internal affairs. China also has had no say in Tibet's external affairs, as Tibet entered into many treaties with other countries even when China was present, or in instances where China did not interfere in the least.

British Foreign Policy: There is another point to be considered in this regard. The British in India accepted China's suzerainty over Tibet only because the Chinese emperor was weak and ineffective. The British therefore accepted his nominal suzerainty and wielded the real power themselves. It were they who exercised real power over Tibet. Otherwise, there is no other logic of the British acceptance of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. This was a result of the Great game of the 19th century, and of their own method of conducting international relations.

And now when the Chinese say that the McMahon Line is an imperial boundary created by the British, I say it is indeed an imperial line; the McMahon Line is not the real boundary. If the real border has to be drawn it will be done so elsewhere.

Kailash-Manasarovar: the question of Kailash-Manasarovar also figures in the matter of the McMahon Line. Which people in the world would establish

the abode of their gods and goddesses in a foreign land? A few minor ones perhaps, but the major worshipped figures of the divine, like Shiva and Parvati, having their abodes in a foreign land? Has it ever happened? When were the legends of Shiva and Parvati spoken of? I am talking like a thoroughly modern person. Maybe some would ask why I drag Shiva and Parvati into an international debate on diplomacy. I believe that whenever these legends were created, they were done so by Indians. We may enquire as to when they came about. It may be that they were created only 400-500 years ago or as far back as 4,000-5,000 years ago. But whenever these legends arose, Kailash and Manasarovar certainly would have been part of India. The abode of these supreme figures of worship was established at Kailash-Manasarovar; otherwise, they could have been set up elsewhere too. It is meaningless to pick up some truncated and mothballed treaty of just two or three years ago and try to prove that Tibet is linked to China. Indian and Chinese officials have had long discussions on the topography of the land. Take for instance the territory where the rivers flow towards China. Clearly,

that is the region of Kailash and Manasarovar and the eastward flowing Brahmaputra.

One thing we must definitely be careful about is the misconception about the Himalayas which has been very cleverly propagated by the Chinese. Actually it not they who began this; it was begun by others. The Christian priests were very devious at this. Some among them used to read history, and also wrote books. They enquired into and found that the Mongol people live in the Himalayan region. We also read the same history. What are our children taught in almost every school and college? It is propagated that Aryans, Mongolians and Dravidians were the castes who have settled in different regions and have proliferated here and those who have settled in the Himalayas — Nepali, Tibetan, Monpa, Abher or Dafla — all are termed Mongoloids. We 45 crore Indians too have become victims of this misconception. We see with our eye the yellow colour of skin of the Chinese, their flat noses and narrow eyes. Leave aside the people of the Himalayas who fall in the zone of Indian Himalayas, Kashmir and some other Himalayan regions and parts of Punjab too fall in the Himalayan range, but the saga of narrow eyes, flat noses and yellow complexion has created such an impression on the mind of Indians that we believe that the Himalayas are inhabited only by people who are ethnically closer to the Chinese.

In fact, the people who live in the Himalayan region do not even have any filial relationship with the Chinese. There is certainly no semblance as far as intellect is concerned. Not only

The question of Kailash-Manasarovar also figures in the matter of the McMahon Line. Which people in the world would establish the abode of their gods and goddesses in a foreign land? A few minor ones perhaps, but the major worshipped figures of the divine, like Shiva and Parvati, having their abodes in a foreign land? Has it ever happened? When were the legends of Shiva and Parvati spoken of? I am talking like a thoroughly modern person

is there no similarity of either script or language, even the filial relationship is non-existent.

The two first verses composed by the poet Kalidasa in Kumārasambhavam about the Himalayas are about the penance of the Himalayas. Maybe not the abode of the gods, but about the divine place the Himalayas are for the whole world. I shall first narrate its meaning and then the original verse. There is a great mountain in the north, which is called Himalayas, which delves into the eastern and western oceans in such a way as though it is measuring the world, which has a multitude of faiths and many varieties of gems. Yet it has a defect that stalks its fate. And that is its snow, because of which it obtains its name Himalayas. But if many virtues converge—and all are virtues—then nothing is lost because of a single defect, just as the moon's rays flowing out conceal its sole defect i.e., its spots.

I have often asked professor to try and find out whether there is anything regarding the Himalayas in Chinese literature or even in Chinese legends. Is there any poem of this kind, of this loftiness or stories and fables of this kind? So far no one has found anything of that sort. Perhaps any such Chinese accounts do not exist at all; certainly not of this calibre is not good, but not even any lesser legends or stories exist. It would be good if any Indian student or professor undertakes this work. On the one hand we have the revered place the Himalayas have in the Indian mind over the last three to four thousand years, and on the other hand whether the Himalayas hold any place in the Chinese mind. The truth will

be known. And I believe that it would be proven that China's relationship with the Himalayas is very flimsy and is limited to the likes of Genghis Khan and Kublai Khan. Kalidasa's shloka is as follows:

***Astyuttarasyām Diṣi Devatātmā
Himālayo Nāma Nagādhirājah|
Pūrvāparau Toyanidhi Vagāhya
Sthita
Prithivyā Iva Mānadaṇḍah|
Ananta Ratna Prabhavasya
Yasya Himam
Na Sowbhāgya Vilopi Jātam|
Eko Hi Doṣo Guṇasannipāte
Nimajyātīndroho
Kīraṇṣvivānkah|***

[Kumārasambhavam]

[In whose northern direction are situated the mountains named Himalayas, the lord of the mountains which are verily the very soul of the gods, which straddle the earth from the eastern to the western oceans. Such a mountain is akin to the dividing line of this earth. (The Himalayas are) the abode from which come forth infinite gems. Perceiving the greatness and majesty of the Himalayas, the sea wants to engulf its greatness and its good fortune (nobility) much in the same way as the innumerable rays of the Moon, which is endowed with many properties, conceal its black spots.

The time has now come to protect these Himalayas... without going into the setback suffered in the last two-and-a-half months, I can say that in the Indian mind, the government particularly and the public too, have neglected the Himalayas, the very Himalayas which are associated with our literature, legends, stories and our temples.

And what did the officials of the government in Delhi say

when the Chinese occupied the territory of Ladakh for the second time, and used Ladakh to build roads to Sinkiang and Tibet? Even mentioning what they said is a very shameful thing. I cannot even imagine how such an utterance can come out of the mouth of any Indian, and that too from the mouth of the Prime Minister. And what he said was that the area of Ladakh that has fallen under occupation of the Chinese is stony and barren and not even a blade of grass grows on it. It has many defects. If there is a defect and many qualities, then it is hidden. This is an atrocious statement. If any portion of the motherland passes into the hands of foreigners, speaking in such a derogatory manner about cannot be the doing of its worthy progeny; only a thoroughly unworthy progeny can make such utterances. When it is not in the possession of foreigners, and is with us, one may say whatever one wants to improve it, but when it slips into the possession of foreigners, what do such disrespectful utterances about it mean?

Protecting the Himalayas is a question of strength. What kind of strength this will be, when it will appear is a different issue, but we should at least make up our minds as to what we believe the Himalayas mean to us. If those falsehoods about Tibet — the one created by the documents of the British Empire, about Mongoloid people, or the belief in order to be friends with a power situated there, then we shall not be able to understand anything about the Himalayas.

*Courtesy: Vijay Kranti (ed.),
Thankyou India: Bharat aur Tibet,
Bharat-Tibet Samanvay Kendra,
New Delhi, Page 128-131*

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

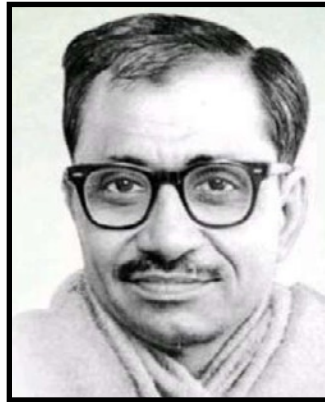
India's Integrity and Independence will be under threat

Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya

This is an excerpt from a statement by Deendayalji on 27th of April 1959

Tibet's autonomy is vital to us. If we cannot secure it, not only our integrity and independence will be threatened, but it may become well nigh impossible for us to continue a policy of non-alignment. So far as China's intentions are concerned, they are well known. Already she has committed what is known as catographic aggression. Now Zhou Enlai is reported to have come forward with a suggestion that undefined boundaries between China and other Asian countries should be settled by peaceful negotiations. Obviously she does not recognise the McMahon Line, which forms the boundary line between India and Tibet³. The seeds of discord between the two countries have been sown and at any time the People's government of China may direct its 'liberating' hordes to ransack Indian villages. Pandit Nehru has admitted that the Chinese have already occupied a few strategic Indian villages in the district of Almora. Pandit Nehru has so far taken no action.

Besides India, China has her greedy eyes on Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Nepal, as an independent state, is responsible for her own defence. Communist China's activities in Tibet have posed a serious question to her rulers about Nepal's future defences. Whatever significance we may attach to the news published in the Pak paper 'Dawn' the King of Nepal⁴ is reported to have sought assurances from Pandit Nehru of active help in case of communist aggression, failing which Nepal would consider the desirability of joining SEATO⁵, to increase her defence potential, What has Pandit Nehru to say in this regard? Due to his opposition to



military pacts on fundamental grounds, he may not agree to give any categorical assurance to Nepal. If he does agree, he will have to consider ways and means of increasing our defence potential, which is already too low and inadequate even to meet the aggressive designs of Pakistan.

If Nepal goes to the American bloc, it will greatly influence India's foreign policy. In fact it needs some reorientation. Pandit Nehru may not like to do anything that may displease

communist China, but her attitude will depend not on what Panditji does but on what suits her. A booklet published by the UAR Information Department aptly writes, "Nehru and Nasser led the Bandung movement⁶ many years ago. Then communist newspapers were praising Nehru as a man of peace. Now Moscow imagines that he has lost his utility..."

Thus the idea of planting a communist base in India has emerged and local communists are being provided with money to spread propaganda against Nehru.

A strong and definite stand on the issue of Tibetan autonomy alone can set China right. Such a stand is necessary to preserve friendship between the two countries. Friendship must be based on trust and respect, equality and mutual benefit, and not on fear and misunderstanding arising out of a hesitation to look in the eye and face difference as well as seek an open reconciliation.

Courtesy: Dr. Mahesh Chandra Sharma (ed.), Complete Works of Deenadayal Upadhyaya, Volume 7, Prabhat Prakashan, New Delhi, pp 61-63

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

Deaf and Dumb World and a Helpless Tibet

Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan

JP had given a number of statements over Tibet issue and also had penned some articles. One among those is here

The question of Tibet for me has been a simple one right from the beginning. It is understandable that this issue often gets entangled in different kinds of historical and legal disputes, but I find all this to be largely meaningless.

I see this issue directly divided into two segments—political and humanitarian. The other aspect particularly has generated both sympathy and anger across the world. You would recall that it was this aspect of the Tibetan issue that drew the attention of the United Nations Organisation. But the other, the political aspect is even more important because the human aspect is not only directly related to it, but also based upon it. Until a political solution is found to this problem, the human problem will continue to take the form of one tragedy to another.

First, I would like to express my thoughts on the human aspect of the issue. There cannot be a second opinion that the Chinese communist government has used savage and inhuman tactics to crush Tibet's national movement and is bent on using any method to exterminate the Tibetan opposition, no matter how cruel and lowly that method is. After realising that Buddhism, its lamas and monasteries are a major hurdle in the way of completely enslaving Tibet, the Chinese regime is operating in a planned way to render Buddhist social order and Buddhist institutions impotent and destroy them.



Mass murders on a large scale and atrocities beyond the even description have been inflicted to implement this purpose. China's objective is to make Tibet a Chinese colony, so that the original character of Tibet can be dyed in Chinese colours. And all this is happening behind a screen that stands on the basis of lies but which cannot be crossed.

International Commission of Inquiry: Some time ago, the International Commission of Jurists, which is an international commission of legal experts, set up an inquiry commission under the chairmanship of a distinguished Indian jurist Mr. Purushottam Trikmadas whose task was to investigate Chinese atrocities. But this commission of inquiry was not allowed by the Chinese to enter Tibet—just as the UN Commission was not allowed in Hungary.

It is unfortunate that the political aspect of the Tibet problem has been suppressed due to controversy and international diplomatic machinations. But there are still many facts which no one can deny. There is no scope for any doubt that Tibet has always and consistently been an independent country and Tibetan society with its own special history, culture and polity has been a distinct nation. This reality cannot be challenged by the fact that in the days of Mongolian and non-Chinese imperialist expansionism of the Manchu

period, China enjoyed a kind of suzerainty over Tibet. It cannot also be denied that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama formally declared Tibetan independence from the two year old Chinese control in 1912 and that Tibet remained a free country until 1950. During this period, the Tibetan government's own passports continued to be used officially. Its own post and telegraph system and currency continued in operation in Tibet. Tibet did not participate in any way in the Sino-Japanese War in the course of World War Two, and remained neutral. All these things reveal the nature of the sovereign and free country of Tibet.

Tibet was an independent country: The International Commission of Jurists reported briefly on the subject in this manner—from 1912 to 1950, Tibet was in fact an independent nation. During this period, China had no control whatsoever over Tibet. Neither Chinese law was in force there nor did any Chinese judge or policeman operate there. There was not a single Chinese newspaper nor any Chinese soldiers or representatives of the Chinese regime in the streets. There is also no doubt that the the Dalai Lama's signature on the so-called Sino-Tibet Agreement of 1951 was obtained by coercion.

And finally, given all the events so far, there is no doubt that the Tibetan people have protested against the Chinese

rule forcibly imposed on Tibet in every possible way. When the Dalai Lama saw that every hope of dealing with China by negotiations was extinguished, he fled and took refuge in India.

But there is still considerable evidence that opposition from the Tibetan people to Chinese rule is still alive. On the basis of all these facts, the two conclusions that can be reached cannot be denied. These are:

1. Tibet was an independent country and it was forcibly annexed by China.
2. Tibet has as much right to freedom and self-determination as any other country in the world.

The perfidy of Chinese arguments: Supporters of the Chinese are not willing to believe that China has annexed Tibet. They say that Tibet has been 'liberated'. Here again the same question arises which Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had asked: "Liberation from whom" and those people (who support the Chinese) cannot answer this question till date. They also deny that Tibet has any right to self-determination, and in order to justify its 'liberation' repeatedly talk of the 'backwardness' of Tibet. In a befitting reply to this character of illicitness and deceit, I shall repeat the declaration of Vladimir Lenin, the President of the Commissars of Soviet Russia, which he made on the day the Bolsheviks took power.

Perhaps there can be no more accurate answer to the talk of Chinese stooges. It was said in this announcement:

Lenin's Declaration: Our government is of the opinion that forcibly annexation and grabbing of a small and weak state by a large and powerful country, even though that smaller country which is forcibly attacked and incorporated in the larger country, no matter how developed or backward... "If any such country is forcibly incorporated into its territory by another big country, against its express will; whether this desire is expressed through newspapers or in the national assembly, in the decision of the party, or in the liberation movement against this slavery, and the people of that country without any bond by the occupier or more powerful country, in the absence of the armies of that aggressor country, are not allowed to decide through free franchise what kind of government they want; the small country which is incorporated into the larger and powerful country will be taken as having being captured and occupied by force and violence".

It would also be interesting and important to remind again the declarations made by two bigwigs of Communism with regard to the right to self-determination.

Lenin and Mao: Lenin had declared—"If Finland, Poland, Ukraine separate themselves from Russia, then there is nothing bad in it. If anyone says that it is wrong then he is an extremist..." "No country can be free that oppresses other countries." And this second declaration is from the constitution of the Qiangsi Soviet Republic of China, which was prepared in 1931 not by any

Supporters of the Chinese are not willing to believe that China has annexed Tibet. They say that Tibet has been 'liberated'. Here again the same question arises which Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had asked: "Liberation from whom" and those people (who support the Chinese) cannot answer this question till date

other person, but by Chairman Mao Tse Tung himself.

In the report of the International Commission of Jurists, it has been briefly stated thus about this issue—from 1912 to 1950, Tibet was a truly independent nation. During this time, China had no control over Tibet. There was neither Chinese law in force there nor any Chinese judge or Chinese police; there was neither a Chinese newspaper in the streets nor any Chinese soldiers or representatives of the Chinese government. It cannot also be doubted that the Dalai Lama was forced into signing the so-called Sino-Tibet Agreement of 1951 by applying coercive pressure on him.

China's soviet regime recognises the fact that China's minority nationalities have the right to self-determination, they also have the right to separate themselves from China and establish themselves as separate independent countries. All Mongols, Tibetans, Miyas, Koreans and others living in the Chinese territory will have the right of self-determination; that is, they will be allowed to join the Union of Chinese Soviets or to live separately as an independent country”.

The unfortunate state of communist politics of power is that both China and Russia have thrown all these lofty commitments to the winds. The bland truth is that communism is no longer a revolutionary system. And the condition of Chinese Communists is that instead of being Marxist-Leninist, they have become Chinese extremist and imperialist.

A hollow argument: In the context of these facts and the

unquestioned right of countries to self-determination, it is very sad to see that apart from the Chinese side there are some people who want to deprive Tibet of its birthright by arguing in favour of Chinese suzerainty. And even more sadly, those countries which till recently fought for their independence and attained freedom, now want to deprive this right from Tibet under the pretext of the rotten formula of posturing against imperialism, a right they themselves have been struggling to obtain. It is very easy to identify imperial regimes across the seas, but why is it so difficult to identify the reality of those imperial kingdoms spread on the same land, whose vast domain pretends to be the same country as that of its neighboring countries?

India-Britain-Tibet: Being an Indian, if nothing else, I can certainly express my grief that India has played an unmitigable role in promoting the claim of the so-called Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. It is being said that we have only followed the British policy in this region. But that British policy was born of an imperialist mindset and the real reason behind determining that policy was Britain's fear of the expansion of Russian influence and not any legitimate claim of China. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember here that according to the British formula of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, if China refuses to respect Tibet's autonomy, then China does not have any defined rights in Tibet. There are indications that the British government is considering the matter afresh. Perhaps the same is happening in America and some other countries as well.

Perhaps this issue is likely to be reconsidered in New Delhi as well. On February 2, 1960, the Government of India wrote to China, citing the 1914 Agreement (Shimla accord):

“This was not the first time Tibet had negotiated and entered into agreements with other countries as an independent country. Even before 1914, it had negotiated and entered into agreements with other countries on several occasions. For example, in 1856 Tibet entered into agreements with Nepal and in 1904 with Great Britain. China has never objected to these agreements and they have been fully implemented. During the Simla Accord (1914) Tibetan and Chinese officials met on an equal footing and this position was accepted by the Chinese government with absolutely no opposition. At the conference on October 13, 1914, the three delegates exchanged their credentials. The introduction letter issued by the Dalai Lama to the Tibetan delegate makes it clear that Tibet attended the conference with a status of equality and that its representative had the right to decide on subjects that would be in the interest of Tibet. At the conference, the Chinese delegate found the Tibetan representative's letter of credentials to be proper and had endorsed it. The documents of the representative of the erstwhile British India, which the Chinese delegate too gave his approval to, also proved that the three delegations participating in the conference had equal status and they were participating in that conference “in order to determine the mutual relations between the different governments”.

All these facts prove only one thing and that is that Tibet was not a 'territory' of China but a separate country which had its own government which worked on the level of equality with the government of China. These facts are no less important. This would mean accepting them sooner or later.

Thinking afresh: Well, whatever it is, it cannot be deduced that because India and Britain are the most connected to the question of Tibet, therefore other countries should also do what these two countries do on this issue. In this context, it can be said outright that because these two countries are bound by their own limitations on this issue due to their old commitments, other countries should make their decision based only on merit. After all, this is what a policy of neutrality and independent decision-making

demands. No one has the right to create problems for others. But if this happens and we start moving in this direction then it is certain that we will become entangled in the Cold War. Therefore, I would like to say that an approach on this issue should be adopted afresh and without any pressure. And perhaps by doing so, both India and Britain will be able to rid themselves of the dilemma and difficulty in which they are trapped today.

These days, while people are hopeful about the upcoming summit, they are also anxious that nothing should happen that would vitiate the atmosphere. This expectation is natural, but it is also necessary to understand that if a policy of brushing international wrongdoings under the carpet is adopted, it will lead to the loss of the goals for which these big leaders are meeting.

There is also a lot of talk

about disarmament today. This should be welcomed. But at the same time it is also important to understand that the result of actual disarmament should be that colonialism does not survive in any form. Policies for disarmament and the wherewithal of countries to be able to decide their policies themselves should proceed together. International peace and international justice are two sides of the same coin.

It is no longer a world where the law of the forest operates, like it used to before. Although gradually, but surely a world order is being created which will be based on truth rather than brute force. Although the realisation of this dream is far away, its form has gradually begun to come to the fore by piercing the darkness.

*Courtesy: Vijay Kranti (ed.),
Thankyou India: Bharat aur Tibet,
Bharat-Tibet Samanvay Kendra,
New Delhi, Page 120-124*

Tibet must be Liberated: Dr. Rajendra Prasad

(Excerpts from his last public speech, Gandhi Maidan, Patna, 24 October, 1962.)

FREEDOM is the most sacred boon. It has to be protected by all means - violent or non-violent. Therefore, Tibet has to be liberated from the iron grip of China and handed over to the Tibetans.... The Chinese invaders have plundered Tibet and destroyed its peaceful citizens. Tibet is nearer to India in religion and culture. We have, therefore, to try hard to rescue Tibet from the bloody clutches of plunderer and let its people breathe in free air. If China stealthily infiltrate our land, they should be ruthlessly turned back. The world stands witness to the fact that India has never cast a vicious glance on any country. But in war, we have to give a fight at any place or land convenient to us in facing enemy. When we were raising slogan of 'Hindi-Chini, Bhai-Bhai', China was busy nibbling our land and through brute betrayal captured about 12 thousand square miles of our land. When [we] just stepped forward to evict them from those illegally captured posts, the Chinese had the guts to blame offensive on us. Today, on the high altitudes of Ladakh region, our military has built up check-posts, our engineers have constructed roads to assure security. In NEFA region also, the Chinese managed to capture a few check-posts stealthily but we have hundreds of check-posts, and this stealthily occupying a couple of posts does not affect us. We have a formidable and a strong army fully equipped with modern arms, and it is fighting. There is no cause to get panicky. It is imperative that like a disciplined nation, we should face the invaders. There is no doubt that we will clear our motherland of these invaders. ■

Courtesy: <https://tibet.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/indian-leaders-on-tibet1.pdf>

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

India should have accorded recognition to the Tibetan government instead of China

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar

A statement delivered in Loksabha during a debate in 1954

Our Prime Minister is depending on the Panchsheel which has been adopted by Comrade Mao and the Panchsheel in which one of the clauses is the No-Aggression Treaty on Tibet. I am indeed surprised that our Hon'ble Prime Minister is taking this 'Panchsheel' seriously. Hon'ble Members of the House, you must be knowing that Panchsheel is one of the significant parts of the Buddha Dharma. If Shri Mao had even an iota of faith in Panchsheel he would have treated the Buddhists in his country in a different manner. Panchsheel has no place in politics. The truth inherent in Panchsheel is that Morality is forever changing. There is nothing called Morality. You can abide by your promises in accordance with today's



Morality and by the same propriety you may violate your own promise simply because tomorrow's Morality will have different demands ... in my opinion our Prime Minister will realise the truth in my words when the situation matures further. I don't really know what is going to happen. By letting China take control over Tibet's capital Lhasa, the Prime Minister has in a way helped the Chinese to bring their armies on the Indian borders. Any victor who annexes Kashmir can directly reach Pathankot, and I know it for sure that he can reach the Prime Minister's House also.

Courtesy: Vijay Kranti (ed.), Thankyou India: Bharat aur Tibet, Bharat-Tibet Samanvay Kendra, New Delhi, Page 134

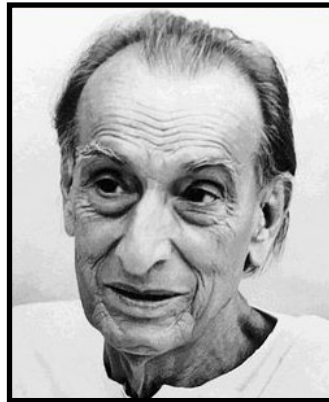
Brutal Colonialism in Tibet : C. Rajagopalachari

It is difficult to find suitable words to express the sympathy that I feel in respect of this movement - of what I may call in a different sense - a movement for the liberation of Tibet. The issue of Tibet is not a question of legalistic exploration as to the sovereignty of Tibet but a question of human rights which must be decided on the plane of justice and humanity and not on the basis of any legal puzzle. His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his message had made things quite clear and pointed out how even on a legalistic plane there can be no doubt about the rights of the Tibetan people to rule themselves irrespective of any belonging to other nationalities. This invasion of Tibet which terminated in His Holiness taking refuge in Indian Territory is brutal colonialism. There can, therefore, be no second thoughts in the matter. All Indian people wants Tibet to be released from the grip of China. ■

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

Do Not Trust China*Acharya J. B. Kripalani**Acharya Kripalani's speech in the Lok Sabha on May 8, 1959, after China had invaded and occupied Tibet*

The subject is important, the time allowed is very short and I will try to be as brief as possible. It is nothing unusual for countries to criticise each other in their internal and external policy. Nobody takes this criticism to be interference in the internal affairs of the country. If it were so, the harsh criticism that is being levelled by China itself against Yugoslavia would be considered internal interference in that country. But in the Communist world there are two standards of judgement—one for themselves and the other for others whom they think they are their opponents.

**The Rape of a Nation**

Recently, China has become supersensitive to any criticism. When a person is supersensitive, I am afraid, he has a bad conscience. Even the mildest remarks of the Congress President were denounced. Why? Because she said that Tibet was a country. I can understand the wrath against me because I have never believed in the bonafides, I have never believed in the professions or the promises of the Chinese. Mine has been the solitary voice in this House—almost solitary—raised against this rape of a nation. As early as 1950 I said in this house that the Communist Government in China was in charge of the country. The Government of India, therefore, thought it right that it should not be denied the membership of the UNO and we advocated the cause of China. But if we had waited a little, we would have been more cautious. Soon this nation, that had won its freedom so recently, strangled the freedom of a neighbouring nation with whose freedom we are intimately

concerned. Our Government's attitude is understandable only on the assumption that Tibet is a far-off country and is none of our concern. But supposing what had happened in Tibet happens in Nepal, then I am sure we will, whether we are well prepared or not, go to war against China. In that case what would become of our advocacy of China to the membership of the United Nations?

Then, Sir, again in 1954, I said in this House: "Recently, we have entered into a treaty with China. I feel that China, after it had gone Communist, committed an act of aggression against Tibet. The plea is that China had the ancient right of suzerainty. This right was out of date, old and antiquated. It was never exercised in fact. It had lapsed by the flux of time. Even if it had not lapsed, it is not right in these days of democracy, by which our Communist friends swear, by which the Chinese swear, to talk of this ancient suzerainty and exercise it in a new form in a country which had and has nothing to do with China. Tibet is culturally more akin to India than it is to China. I consider this as much colonial aggression on the part of China as any indulged in by the Western nations. Whether certain nations commit aggression against others does not always concern us. But in this case we are intimately concerned, because China has destroyed a buffer state. In international politics, when a buffer state is destroyed by a powerful nation, that nation is considered to have committed aggression against its neighbours.

England went to war with Germany not because Germany had invaded England, but because it had

invaded Poland and Belgium.

Sir, again, I said in this House: It is also well known that in the new map of China other border territories like Nepal, Sikkim, etc. figure. This gives us an idea of the aggressive designs of China. Let us see what the Chinese themselves did in the Korean war. I do not say that because China conquered Tibet we should have gone to war with it. But this does not mean that we should recognise the claim of China on Tibet. We must know that it is an act of aggression against a foreign nation.

Again Sir, in the same year, I had said: "A small buffer state on our borders was deprived of its freedom. When we made a feeble protest we were told that we were the stooges of the Western powers. If I remember it right we were called "running dogs of imperialism".

Again, Sir, in 1958, talking about Panchsheel, I said: "This great doctrine itself was born in sin, because it was enunciated to put the seal of our approval upon the destruction of an ancient nation which was associated with us spiritually and culturally".

Sir, at that time, some Hon'ble Members intervened and asked: "Is that nation suffering?" My reply was: "Whether it is suffering or not is not the question. It was a nation which wanted to live its own life and it sought to have been

allowed to live its own life. A good government is no substitute for self-government."

China and the United Nations

Sir, some of our friends in the Rajya Sabha have said that we should continue to plead the cause of China for the membership of the United Nations. I respect their opinion. They think that as a member of the United Nations, China would be subject to some public opinion. This is not a fact. There is South Africa; there is France; there is Russia and many other aggressive nations. Just because they are members of the United Nations they have not ceased to be aggressive".

We are again told that though China might have broken Panchsheel, we must stick to Panchsheel. Sir, I do not consider that Panchsheel is a moral imperative. Even moral imperatives cannot be stuck to unilaterally in the international world. Panchsheel implies a mutuality of respect for each other's integrity and sovereignty. How can there be respect for these things unless there is mutuality?

Panchsheel also implies peaceful coexistence. How can there be peaceful coexistence unless it is an idea that applies to more nations than one? You cannot have peaceful coexistence alone.

It is an impossibility. Panchsheel, therefore, implies mutuality and you cannot practice it if others violate it. And we have seen how nation after nation having sworn by Panchsheel have been violating it.

China not a friend of India

In the present case, China has none better. It has not only violated them, but has accused us of violating them. Sir, I feel even if we go on emphasising our friendship with China and saying "Chini-Hindi, Bhai-Bhai" (India and China are Brothers), I tell you that this nation will never be friendly to us. Why? Because a friendly nation does not go and howl at another nation in the open. If they have to say that Kalimpong was—what do they call it—the command centre, then they could have conveyed this through diplomatic channels. And they did it six months back; the case was investigated and the charge was found baseless and a report was sent to them. They had nothing further to say. Why wasn't this method of diplomatic approach on this occasion employed? Why this howling at a friendly nation in the open? I cannot understand at all how it is possible to be friendly with this nation with this mentality.

Yet our efforts to escape this will only result in this outcome. They will not give us credit for our good intentions. They will only give us credit for cowardice. It will never appear to a bully that you are acting out of your goodness; it will only appear to him that you are being frightened.

Even if we go on emphasizing our friendship with China and saying "Chini-Hindi, Bhai-Bhai" (India and China are Brothers), I tell you that this nation will never be friendly to us. Why? Because a friendly nation does not go and howl at another nation in the open. If they have to say that Kalimpong was—what do they call it—the command centre, then they could have conveyed this through diplomatic channels

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Thank you India: Bharat aur
Tibet, Bharat-Tibet Samanvay
Kendra, New Delhi, Page 139-141*

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

Chinese Occupancy on Tibet: A symbol of World's Incivility

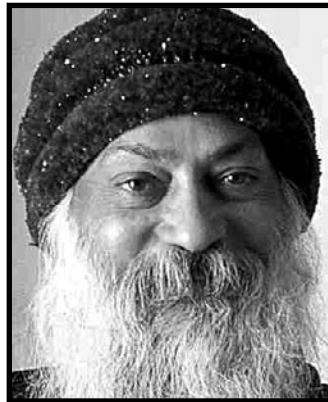
Acharya Rajnish (Osho)

Acharya Rajnish expressed these thoughts in a discourse, which is compiled in a book 'Om Mani Padme Hum'

Unfortunately, Tibet has fallen into a darkness. Its monasteries have been closed, its seekers of truth have been forced to work in labour camps. The only country in the world which was working – a one-pointed genius, all its intelligence in the search for one's own interiority and its treasures – has been stopped by the communist invasion of Tibet.

And it is such an ugly world that nobody has objected to it. On the contrary, because China is big and powerful, even countries which are more powerful than China can ever be, like America, have accepted that Tibet belongs to China. That is sheer nonsense – just because China is powerful and everybody wants China to be on their side. Neither the Soviets nor America have challenged the claim of China. Leave America and the Soviets aside – even India has not objected. It was such a beautiful experiment, and Tibet had no weapons to fight with, they had no army to fight; they had never thought about it. Their whole thing was an introverted pilgrimage.

Nowhere has such concentrated effort been made to discover man's being. Every family in Tibet used to give their eldest son to some monastery where he was to meditate and grow closer to awakening. It was a joy to every



family that at least one of them was wholeheartedly, twenty-four hours a day, working on the inner being. They were also working but they could not give all their time; they had to create food and clothes and shelter, and in Tibet it is a difficult matter. The climate is not very helpful; to live in Tibet is a tremendous struggle. But still every family used to give their first-born child to the monastery.

There were hundreds of monasteries... and these monasteries should not be compared with any Catholic monasteries. These monasteries had no comparison in the whole world. These monasteries were concerned with only one thing: to make you aware of yourself.

Thousands of devices have been created down the centuries so that your lotus can blossom and you can find your ultimate treasure, the diamond. These are just symbolic words, but the destruction of Tibet should be known in history, particularly when man becomes a little more aware and humanity a little more humane....

This is the greatest calamity of the twentieth century that Tibet has fallen into the hands of materialists who don't believe that you have anything inside you. They believe that you are only matter and your consciousness is only a by-

product of matter. And all this is simply without any experience of the inner – just logical, rational philosophising.

Not a single communist in the world has meditated, but it is strange – they all deny the inner. Nobody thinks about how the outer can exist if there is no inner. They exist together, they are inseparable. The outer is only a protection for the inner, because the inner is very delicate and soft. But the outer is accepted and the inner is denied. And even if sometimes it is accepted, the world is dominated by such dirty politicians that they use even the inner experiences for ugly ends.

Just the other day, I came to know that America is now training its soldiers in meditation so that they can fight without any nervous breakdown, without going mad, without feeling any fear – so they can lie down in their ditches silently, calm and cool and collected. No meditator may have ever thought that meditation can also be used for fighting wars, but in the hands of politicians everything becomes ugly – even meditation. Now the army camps in America are teaching meditation so that

their soldiers can be more calm and quiet while killing people.

But I want to warn America: you are playing with fire. You don't understand exactly what meditation will do. Your soldiers will become so calm and quiet that they will throw away their weapons and they will simply refuse to kill. A meditator cannot kill; a meditator cannot be destructive. So they are going to be surprised one day that their soldiers are no longer interested in fighting. War, violence, murder, massacre of millions of people – this is not possible if a man knows something of meditation. Then he also knows not only himself, he knows the other whom he is killing. He is his brother. They all belong to the same oceanic existence.

In the Soviet Union, also, they are interested in meditation. But the purpose is the same – not realisation of your self, but making you stronger so that you can kill and bomb and use nuclear weapons and missiles to kill whole nations.

But they are both going on a dangerous path, unknowingly. It is good, they should be helped. Once meditation spreads among their soldiers, those soldiers will become

sannyasins! So I am immensely happy that their idea is different, and they don't know anything about meditation. They have only heard that it makes people calm and cool so they can fight without any fear, without looking back. Meditation gives them a feeling of immortality; hence their fear will disappear.

But meditation not only gives them the experience of their own immortality – it also gives them the experience that everybody is immortal. Death is a fiction. Why unnecessarily harass people? They will be living, you cannot kill them. Not even your nuclear weapons are going to kill them.

Krishna, in the Gita, has a beautiful statement: Nainam chhindanti shastrani; naham dahati pavakahr. "Neither can any weapon destroy me nor can any fire burn me." Yes the body will be burned, but I am not the body....

Meditation gives you the feel, for the first time, of your authentic reality.

If humanity were a little more aware, Tibet should be made free because it is the only country which has devoted almost two thousand years to doing nothing but going deeper into meditation. And it can teach the whole world something which is immensely needed.

But Communist China is trying to destroy everything that has been created in two thousand years. All their devices, all their methods of meditation, their whole spiritual climate is being polluted, poisoned. And they are simple people; they cannot defend themselves. They don't have anything to defend

Not a single communist in the world has meditated, but it is strange – they all deny the inner. Nobody thinks about how the outer can exist if there is no inner. They exist together, they are inseparable. The outer is only a protection for the inner, because the inner is very delicate and soft. But the outer is accepted and the inner is denied. And even if sometimes it is accepted, the world is dominated by such dirty politicians that they use even the inner experiences for ugly ends

themselves with – no tanks, no bombs, no airplanes, no army. An innocent race which has lived without any war for two thousand years... It disturbs nobody; it is so far away from everybody – even to reach there is a difficult task. They live on the very roof of the world. The highest mountains, eternal snows, are their home. Leave them alone! China will not lose anything, but the whole world will be benefited by their experience.

And the world will need their experience. The world is getting fed up with money, power, prestige, all that scientific technology has created – people are getting fed up. They are finished with it. People in the advanced countries are no longer interested in sex, are no longer interested in drugs. Things are falling away, and a strange despair like a dark cloud is descending on the advanced countries – of deep frustration, meaninglessness, and anguish. They will all need a different climate of meditation to dispel all these clouds and bring again a new day into their lives, a new dawn, a new experience of themselves, a discovery of their original being.

Tibet should be left as an experimental lab for man's inner search. But not a single nation in the world has raised its voice against this ugly attack on Tibet. And China has not only attacked it, they have amalgamated it into their map. Now, on the modern Chinese map, Tibet is their territory.

And we think the world is civilized, where innocent people who are not doing any harm to anybody are simply destroyed.

Tibet should be left as an experimental lab for man's inner search. But not a single nation in the world has raised its voice against this ugly attack on Tibet. And China has not only attacked it, they have amalgamated it into their map. Now, on the modern Chinese map, Tibet is their territory

And with them, something of great importance to all humanity is also destroyed. If there were something civilized in man, every nation would have stood against the invasion of Tibet by China. It is the invasion of matter against consciousness; it is the invasion of materialism against spiritual heights.

Unless a tree blossoms, it knows no blissfulness. It goes on feeling something is missing. You may have all the pleasures and comforts and luxuries of the world, but unless you know yourself, unless your inner lotus opens, you will go on missing something. You may not be certain what you are missing but a feeling... that something is being missed, that "I am not complete," that "I am not whole," that "I am not what existence wanted me to be." This "missing" feeling goes on nagging everybody. Only the expansion of your consciousness will help you to get rid of this feeling, of this nagging, of this anguish, this angst.

Even people like Jaspers, Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Marcel, Jean-Paul Sartre, the highest geniuses of the West, are agreed on a few things: that life is nothing but boredom, that life is nothing but anxiety, anguish, that life is accidental, it has no significance... that it is absolutely futile to search

for any blissful space; there exists none. And when great philosophers like these agree on such points, the ordinary masses simply follow them.

Whatever they are saying is absolutely wrong, because none of them has ever meditated, none of them has entered into his own subjectivity. They are just in their heads. They have not even moved to their hearts, what to say about their beings? What to say about their disappearing into the universal?

Unless you disappear into the universal ocean just like a dewdrop, you will not find significance. You will not find your real dignity. You will not find that existence showers so much joy and so much celebration on you that you cannot contain it; you have to share it. You become a raincloud which is so much burdened with rain that it has to shower. A man of deep insight, a man of intuition, a man who has reached to his being becomes a raincloud. He is not just a blessing to himself, he becomes a blessing to the whole world.

This Tibetan mantra om mani padme hum is a condensed form of the whole inner pilgrimage. It says how to start, what will happen when the flower opens, what will be your ultimate experience of your inner treasures.

India, Tibet and China: Views of Indian Leaders

Accepting China's Suzerainty over Tibet was India's Blunder

Atal Bihari Vajpayee

After China's unlawful possession over Tibet, Atalji gave this statement in Loksabha during a debate on 8th of May 1959

Ever since the Communist regime came to power in China, despite having a very friendly relationship with Chiang Kai Shek, India welcomed the new China and strived more than China to accord it a respectful place among the nations of the world. Looking at our efforts, at times it seemed that the defendant himself was lethargic about his own case whereas it was the witness who was more active. We have advocated China's case because we thought that despite our differences with communism, if the people of China follow that path, then it is their concern, and in spite of different ways of life, India and China can live in friendship.

But the first blow to the friendship came on the day when Tibet was 'liberated' by the Chinese forces. Our Prime Minister had then asked whom was Tibet being liberated from. Tibet was not a slave of any country. India is the closest neighbour of Tibet. During past history, we could have tried to unite Tibet with us had we wanted to, but today when China's leaders accuse India of being an expansionist, they forget that we have never tried to reunite Tibet with us. Tibetan is a small country. But we respected its separate existence. We honoured Tibet's independence and hoped that China would do the same, but the ways of communists are different. Their words have different meanings. When they want to enslave, they say that they are



going to liberate; today when they are oppressing, they say they are going to reform. If there is to be any reform, then the readiness to reform should arise in those who are to be reformed. Reform cannot be imposed from above.

But whatever is happening in Tibet is not any reform. Under the 1950 agreement, Tibet's sovereignty should have been respected by China, but China intervened in the internal affairs of Tibet, bringing millions of Chinese from Tibet to China, so that Tibetans might become a minority in their own country and in future Tibet would become an inseparable part of China. Thousands of young men were sent from Tibet to China, to imbibe a new political ideology. But when they returned home, the Chinese leaders saw that they were not influenced and their Tibetan hue could not be erased, their distinctness remained intact as well as their zeal to protect their way of life remained indelible, the Chinese grew wary of this and tried to erase the Tibetans' way of life. The current conflict has arisen due to the desire on the part of a large nation to swallow a small nation.

I submit that we committed a huge blunder when we accepted China's suzerainty over Tibet. That was a day of great misfortune. But the blunder was committed and we probably thought that the matter would be resolved, new conflict would not arise, and we did not want to give others a chance to

take advantage of any differences between us and China. But what has been the outcome? China has not only violated its agreement with Tibet, but also breached the agreement reached with India against the backdrop of that accord. Where has the Panchsheel Declaration gone?

Those who swear by Panchsheel say that democracy and totalitarianism can co-exist under Panchsheel. But if the religious and peace-loving people of Tibet cannot safeguard their particular way of life under the Communist empire, then to claim that communism and democracy can co-exist in such a large world makes no sense. We do not want to interfere in China's internal affairs, but Tibet is not an internal matter of China. China is bound to respect Tibet's autonomy and not to interfere in Tibet's internal affairs. But this agreement broke down and I understand that now India too—and the Government of India—should also reconsider its position. Agreements operate from both sides, and are followed from both sides. If China breaks the agreement, we have the right to reconsider our situation. What is the reason that the people of Tibet are being deprived of their freedom?

Why cannot Tibet remain independent? It is said that it was not independent earlier. But does any country which was not independent before, not have the right to be independent? Should slavery still endure where it has been present before? If we can support the voice of Algeria's independence, and that support is not construed as interference in the internal affairs of France, then how can the support to Tibet's independence be interference in

Mao had also said that they wanted to see such flowers bloom that would have thousands of petals. But leave alone thousands, even a soft bud like Tibet is being crushed. When we had pleaded that China be given a place in the United Nations, we could have advocated Tibet being given a place as well

the internal affairs of China? My friend Mr. Khadilkar has just said that no such party in the country supports Tibet's independence. I wish to express my difference of opinion with him. I represent a small party, but our party is an advocate of Tibet. Those raising the cause of Tibetan independence cannot be judged right or wrong based only on the number of voices supporting it. Today, Chinese imperialists might today suppress the voice of Tibetan freedom through brute power, but the yearning of Tibetans for freedom cannot be erased. Repression will only add fuel to the fire of this movement, and today or tomorrow, the people of Tibet will certainly attain their independence.

But the question is, what can we do for it? I have submitted that we committed a blunder in 1950. We are now facing its consequences. But this is the time is to recognise that blunder and atone for it. I expect that the Prime Minister to properly represent crores of people of this country on this occasion. Except for a handful of our friends, all of India is of the unanimous opinion that what is happening in Tibet should not happen. But is it possible that Tibet can continue to enjoy autonomy under the Chinese state? I believe that the Communist system and autonomy are mutually contradictory. There can be no autonomy in a communist state. Mao Tse Tung had said in 1930

that they had drafted a constitution such that if any constituent wanted to secede from China, it could do so. The Tibetans did not even mention leaving. They wanted to maintain their distinct existence, but they have not been allowed to do even this.

Mao had also said that they wanted to see such flowers bloom that would have thousands of petals. But leave alone thousands, even a soft bud like Tibet is being crushed. When we had pleaded that China be given a place in the United Nations, we could have advocated Tibet being given a place as well. Ukraine is a part of the Soviet Union, but occupies a separate position in the United Nations. So could Tibet not fill a separate position in the United Nations despite being with China? But we did not do this for the sake of China's friendship. What have we got from that friendship?

We still desire friendship, but the mansion of that friendship cannot be built on the corpse of Tibet's freedom. We cannot close our eyes to injustice. This has been India's tradition and it is in adherence to this tradition our Prime Minister has conducted the country's foreign policy. Wherever any injustice occurs, humanity is violated, violence and atrocities happen, we shall raise our voice, we will speak the language of truth and fearlessly preserve the rights of those who are being repressed and trod upon.

Today, Tibet is the test of Nehru's policies, of the tenacity of the Indian government and of China's concern for Panchsheel. The spirit of Panchsheel will not be revered merely by making declarations of Panchsheel. It is good conduct that is the criterion of Panchsheel. No matter how restrained our Prime Minister is, if that does not solve the problem of Tibet, then we have to believe that there is a need to bring some firmness and activism in that policy.

Whether or not the Dalai Lama lives in Tibet is not a big issue. That will be decided by Tibetans among themselves. But Tibet is a test wherein a big nation swallows a smaller one. If small countries are swallowed up in this way, the peace of the world cannot be maintained. There are many countries in South-East Asia in which Chinese live in large numbers. A wave of apprehension has arisen in all those countries because of Tibet. As far as India is concerned, we clearly perceive China's vulture-

like gaze upon us. Our territory is described as their in China's maps. The Chinese Communists have driven out Chianh Kai Shek, but have retained his maps. had they wanted, they could have thrown out his maps as well. And our Communist friends say have not seen those maps. I do not believe them. But for India, this is an indirect invasion by China. The Chinese have occupied two places in Uttar Pradesh. These incidents point to the coming crisis. We do not need to become panicky, but should adopt a firm policy.

If the Dalai Lama is successful in reaching an agreement with China, and our Prime Minister can mediate in this regard, then nothing would make the people of the country happier than this. But if the leaders of China cannot be brought on the straight track, they cannot be convinced by political or diplomatic pressure and by awakening, organizing, effectively expressing the public opinion of Burma, Lanka and Indonesia; if this fails to have any

effect on China, then there will be no alternative for India except to give approval to the Dalai Lama to strive for the freedom of his country.

The youth of India consider the freedom of Tibet invaluable—not because they have close ties with Tibet, but because we have lived in slavery, and know the sorrow and pain of slavery. We also know the value of freedom. They (the Tibetans in India) should be given freedom to act. If the people of Tibet fight for freedom, the people of India will stand with them. We will extend our sympathy to them and we should also expect China not to talk like imperialists. The days of imperialism are over. But this is a new imperialism. The danger is that it comes under the cover of revolution, and comes wearing its garb, with the slogan of a new system, but this imperialism of the Yellows is also appearing on the Roof of the World (i.e., Tibet). We also have to combat it with firmness.

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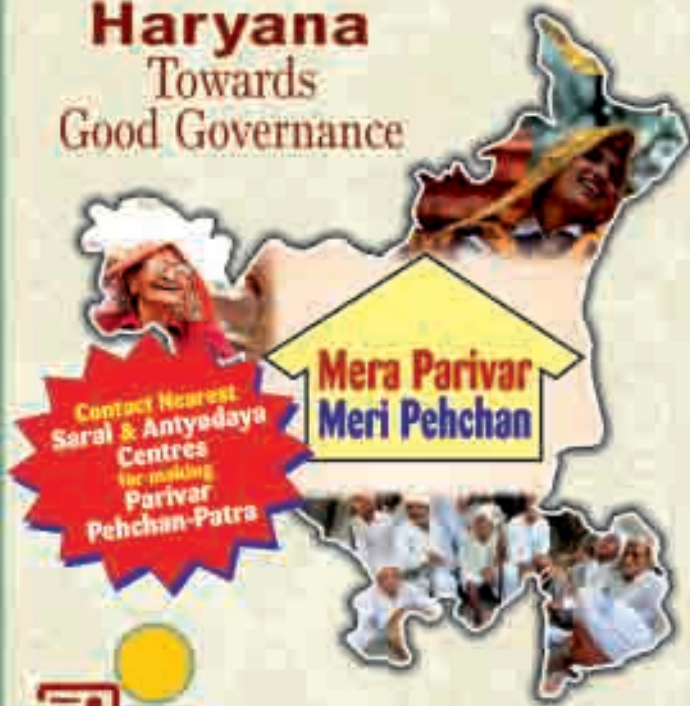
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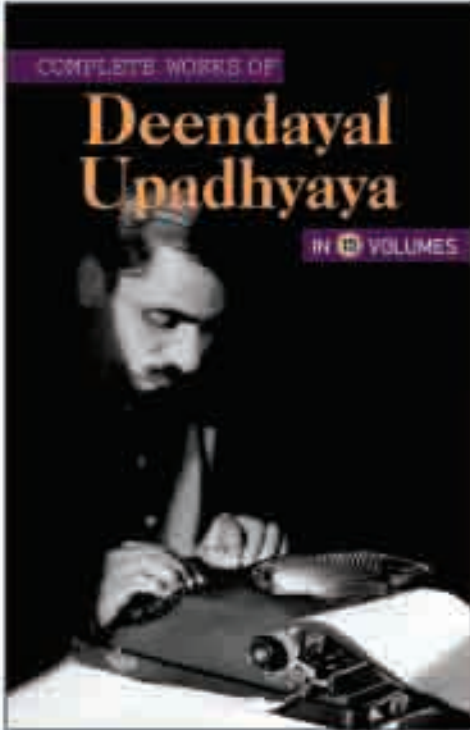
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