



ETHICS OF THE FOURTEENTH DALAI LAMA
ON PEACE: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

PHRA WATCHARAVIT MEEJAENG

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in Philosophy

Graduate School of Philosophy and Religion
Assumption University
Bangkok 10240
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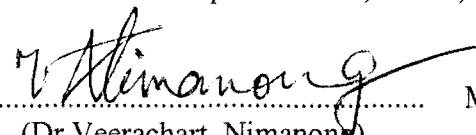
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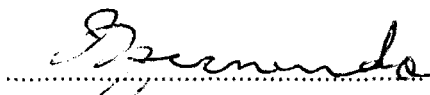
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A Critical Analysis**

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ABSTRACT

The thesis aims to bring in the light the concept of peace as promoted and defended by the eminent ruler of Tibet and Patriarch of Tibetan Buddhism. It attempts to present some differences between the traditional and classical concept of peace prevailing in the world and the concept of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. The researcher tries to analyze these differences and whatever similarities between them.

The classical concept of peace is that which is grounded in international law and most of the treatises of prominent scholars in the world. While the second has the Mahayana Buddhism Ethics as ground although they reach the same final end. The Dalai Lama's concept of peace is identified with the notion of *Ahimsa* and Compassion, which are the core of the Dalai Lama thoughts and activities.

In chapter IV of this thesis the attention of the researcher has focused the controversial assessments of the Dalai Lama's concept of *Ahimsa* and compassion as two features of peace made by various authors and thinkers.

The lesson extracted from this analysis would be the inappropriateness of *Ahimsa* and Compassion in *Realpolitik* prevailing in the world as they are appropriate only in the religious field. It would be a valuable for the international relation dealing with the problem of peace and war in the world. At the same time it raises the question about the compatibility between politics, religion and peace.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Tipitaka

S. = Sumyuttha-Nikaya

M. = Majjhima-Nikaya

D. = Digha-Nikaya

Capital letter = The name of Pitaka

Roman Number = Number of Volumes in each Pitaka

Arabic Number = Number of Verses in the volume

Ex. S.I. 135 = Sangyuttha-Nikaya Vol. 21, Verse 135.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Significance of the Study

Peace is the main and constant problem faced by mankind when men began to live as a community. In the natural state, men live in natural freedom and are not bothered and harmed by anybody because all men live naturally and are not ruled by any law except the natural law which is common to everybody. As said by Rousseau, in the state of nature man is born free. But when living in a society, man becomes a captive. It is true that nature is the original form of freedom for mankind. However, the evolution of mankind and his envisions changes human society through the appearance of Social Contract which gives birth to a Civil Society. Of course, in the original and primitive life, freedom was everywhere and social relationship was natural and free and nobody was bothered or burdened by others. Regarding this, many thinkers studied the evolution of individuals and the society to which they belonged. That led to help understanding the causes of burdens occurring to men when living in society and when establishing relationships to each other through the appearance of science and technology. Primarily the relations of production leading to phenomena of exploitation and profits as well as oppression of the weaker constituted the cause of hostilities and wars between men and then between states.

According to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, natural life constitutes the framework of free people living in nature without being harmed by others. Rousseau emphasized that there will be obstacles in the development from the state of nature that individuals can no longer maintain themselves in primitive independence; it then becomes necessary for self-preservation that they should unite to form a society. The problem,

according to Rousseau, is to find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone and remain as free as before. This is the fundamental problem of which the Social Contract provides the solution (Russell, 1972, p. 695).

In his *Social Contract* Rousseau affirmed that even free men seek to be secure even at the expense of liberty (Ibid., p. 695). The Contract consists in "the total alienation of each associate, together with all his rights, to the whole community; for, in the first place, as each gives himself absolutely, the conditions are the same for all; and this being so, no one has any interest in making them burdensome to others" (Ibid., p. 696).

The Social Contract of Rousseau means each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will and, in our corporate capacity, receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole. This act of association creates a moral and collective body, which is called the State when passive, the Sovereign when active and the Power in relation to other bodies like itself (Ibid., p. 696).

There was a contract among the citizens to hand over all power to the chosen sovereign, but the sovereign was not a party to the contract, and therefore necessarily acquired unlimited authority (Ibid., p. 690).

John Locke maintained that civil government is the result of a contract, and is an affair purely of this world, not something established by divine authority. Therefore, Government must, in some sense, have a right to exact obedience, and the right conferred by a contract seemed the only alternative to a divine command (Ibid., p. 630).

Thomas Hobbes also held that all men are naturally equal. In a state of nature, before there is any government, every man desires to preserve his own liberty and to acquire dominion over others. Both these desires are dictated by the impulse to self-preservation. From their conflict arises a war of all against all, which makes life "nasty, brutish, and short". In a state of nature, there is no property, no justice or injustice; there is only war, and force and fraud are, in war, the two cardinal virtues. Then men escape from these evils by combining into communities, each subject to a central authority. This is represented as happening by means of a social contract. It is supposed that a number of people come together and agree to choose a sovereign, or a sovereign body, which shall exercise authority over them and put an end to the universal war (Ibid., p. 550).

The aggregation of men into community forming the civil life in the civil society constitutes a desire of men to escape from the state of nature for making the quest of better security, said Thomas Hobbes, the state of nature is a war state and men are at war with each other. Thomas Hobbes, a pessimistic by nature, believed that in the state of nature "man is a wolf for other men", by virtue of his saying "*homini lupus lupi*" affirmed in this respect that:

These three great natural causes of conflict between men, viz. rivalry (competition), distrust, and glory, really makes the state of nature a state of war, and war between every man against other men. (Strauss & Cropsey, 1963, p. 438)

For Hobbes, the guarantee of their own conservation, the primary and fundamental law of the nature commands men to make the quest for peace and to defend themselves against those with whom one cannot make peace. This quest

compels them to abandon mutually their rights on behalf of social contract. Therefore, the civil society is constituted by social contract by which men are obliged to respect like others the commands of their sovereign whom they chose (Ibid., p. 440).

Therefore, the breeches of this social contract lead to civil war and even to aggressions and wars between nations in the world. Modern political philosophy and political science try to explain the roots of war among nations as the defense of national interests characterized by nationalism; the quest of raw materials possessed by other weaker countries in case of economic and commercial conquests; and colonial competition between maritime powers, as well as by “proletarian internationalism” (as spread by international communists) (Roskin & alia, 1997, pp.33-34).

President Woodrow Wilson advocated that those states that had achieved what he deemed superior statehood should actively encourage establishment of internal structures in other states, based on national self-determination and modern democracy. The enemy of peace, to Wilson, was neither private ownership nor conflict between the senses and reason, but rather the absence of political democracy (Papp, 1984, p.511). As for Rousseau, he claimed in his *A Lasting Peace*, that self-interest would produce wars as long as nations sought to preserve their identities and expand their powers (Ibid., p. 511).

Contradicting the precedent thinkers, the militarists and partisans of the development and modernization of states, recognize the positive role of war as a necessary factor fostering development of technology, enabling the strengthening of states as well as their survival as the top priority. It is said that one of the unfortunate aspects of nation building is the role of warfare in the growth of states. On the other

hand, conquest war also played a role in establishing and consolidating most of the European nations (Roskin & alia, 1997, p.33).

In this respect, it seems to be true that the Second World War, like other ulterior localized wars in Korea and Vietnam, served also as a means of experimenting and testing new sophisticated weapons such as atomic or nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons, as well as weapons anti-weapons like missiles anti-missiles, satellites of telecommunications and spying satellites (US MIDAS), spatial vehicles and spatial laboratories, explorer satellites, spatial shuttles, etc...Therefore, scientific and technological advances are both beneficial and detrimental to the human civilization and depend upon their use, peacefully or warlike.

If modern science and technology are destined for peaceful use, obviously modern civilization would be greatly improved in various fields. They would aim to enhance the modern living standards of mankind enabling it to escape poverty, diseases, as well as civil and aggressive wars. Every war, no matter the intensity, is always detrimental to mankind. Therefore, in view of eradicating this permanent threat to peace and to the welfare of the mankind, there are many attempts to safeguard world peace by outlawing wars, such as The Briand-Kellogg Pact or Paris Pact (27 August 1928) by which the following States solemnly renounced war as a tool of national policy: the German Reich, the United States, Belgium, France, British Empire, Italy, Japan, Poland and Czeskolovakia (Colliard, 1969, p.51). Due to the efforts of the League of Nations set up in Geneva (Switzerland) in the aftermath of the First World War (28 April 1919), based on a proposal by the US President Woodrow

Wilson, the United Nations Organization was established in San Francisco (USA) on 24 October 1945.

As for the Covenant of the League of Nations, its Preamble stipulates the following:

The High Contracting Parties, In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, accept the obligation not to resort to war; through the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations; establish from understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations (Bennett, 1995, p.454).

As for the United Nations Charter, its Preamble stipulates as follows:

- A) We, the peoples of the United Nations, are determined
- B) To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, hereby
- C) reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- D) establish condition under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained,
- E) promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

To this end we will

- F) practice tolerance, and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors,
- G) unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- H) To ensure by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed forces shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- I) To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

We resolve to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

- K) Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the City of San Francisco, who exhibited their full powers found to be in good and the form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations. (Van Dervort, 1998, pp.511-512)

All these Pacts and Treatises are aimed to preserve peace and security of the world as well as to prevent wars which may occur in every part of the world. However, the United Nations Organization with its various bodies and specialized institutions, (mainly its International Court of Justice and its newly established Court, The Penal International Tribunal set in The Hague, Netherlands), has the main duties to maintain and preserve peace and security of the world. During the Cold War the UNO was not very successful in its activities. Only in the aftermath at the end of the Cold War following the collapse of the Communism did it achieve success.. Its peacekeeping operations were very successful in Africa, Asia and Yugoslavia, mainly in Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosovo, East Timor, etc...because of the consensus of the

Superpowers and the new order in the world characterized by the general desire for peace, and for cooperation and globalization of economy and commerce.

Therefore, the preservation of peace is the main concern of nations in the world because without peace there is no possible work of development of stability, of welfare of the peoples in the world but sufferings and loss of human life and energy due to wars, to arms race, to economic and commercial competition between economic powers.

As mankind is motivated by its natural instinct of conquest and enrichment, its will to power as said Nietzsche, there were for the time being disputes, litigation, contests, among men either for one reason or for other reasons, their life was and is still troubled and it is not very strange to see that there are always rifts, rivalries, revenge, conquest wars such as aggression or preventive wars as deterrence against potential threats and aggressions. And the classical wars of conquest are completed by the retaliatory and hot pursuit wars as well as preventive wars.

Wars evolve with the evolution and development of science and technology, from classical or conventional forms to tactic and strategic forms. With the two later forms the belligerents would make use of nuclear arms with massive destruction capacity. It follows that in real use of tactic or strategic nuclear arms both belligerents would encounter huge and incommensurable destruction of human lives and material as well as the destruction of the environment, which is also mortal for them and also for their neighbors. That is equivalent to mutual suicide. However, with the "terror balance" in the world, such a scenario of a possible nuclear war becomes quasi-impossible and unimaginable because both belligerents are conscious of a possible and unavoidable mutual retaliation or reprisal. Such reprisals mean formidable

destruction equivalent to terrible death without reminiscence. Therefore, main nuclear powers in the world strive to avoid nuclear war by accident by maintaining between them permanent dialogues and striving to maintaining peace through signing a number of treatises and agreements prohibiting the dissemination and the use of nuclear weapons such as missiles, satellites, etc....and prohibiting nuclear tests.

With the appearance of nuclear danger, International Law was developed and became very elaborated and embraces Land, (Air, Space) and Sea. Even spatial experimentation is codified and protected.

As regarding the prevention of genocide and the protection of human rights in the world, there is new development of international law and tools such as the recognition by the International Law of actions called the humanitarian interference, keeping the shape of preventive wars or according the new international law regarding the conduct of war, actions of keeping or restoring peace and order in Rwanda, in Somalia, in Bosnia Herzegovina, in Kosovo, in East Timor, etc....

However, if the global war is no more possible, regional and local wars are still active. That is due to local actions of guerillas or separatist movements like in Colombia, in Indonesia (Aceh, Ambona, Molucca), in Philippines (Muslim Separatist Movement in Mindanao), in Chechenia, in Kashmir and in Tibet. The restoration of peace and order in these regions implies the settlement of peace by all belligerents, occupiers and their occupied elements. In the case of Tibet, a unique settlement that can be imagined is the withdrawal of the Chinese forces from Tibet and the grant of independence to the Tibetan people. That also implies the interference of the UNO as main responsible for peace and security in the world. Only the UN Security Council along with the European Community can help to settle the Tibetan issue officially.

Because of the nuclear danger faced by mankind in the present, the problem of survival of mankind along with the preservation of the environment, the ecosystem balance becomes the major concern of the main leaders of politics, religions, science, and the environment. As Supreme leader of the Tibetan Buddhism and of the Tibetan State, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama is not only concerned with the independence of Tibet, but also with the survival of the Tibetan people, their culture and their civilization. What is the most important for him is the safeguard of the Tibetan culture and civilization because if they disappear there is no Tibetan identity. Therefore, since the end of the fifties he has led a lifelong struggle by deploying all his energy and talent to his sublime cause. He makes use of a particular means for achieving his goal, that is the AHIMSA or non-violence, which means the peaceful means of implying the observance of love and compassion for his people as well as for his enemies. In his struggle he combines the Buddhist ethics with the political ethics characterized by the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence (Pancha Sila) as stated by the Bandung Conference of neutral countries in April 1955.

The Pancha Sila Principles thus become one outstanding principle governing the international relations based on peaceful diplomacy which recognizes International Law and that becomes a reference principle for the modern international relations. However, the ethics of the Dalai Lama contains many aspects and facets that as researcher we must try to discuss and clarify. Henceforth, we must admit that these ethics are derived from Buddhist ethics and particularly from the ethics of Mahayana Buddhist tradition. These ethics are combined by the Dalai Lama with the International Law to apply its relevance to the problems of peace. However, the practice of AHIMSA for achieving peace by the Dalai Lama is not an easy problem

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because the Dalai Lama has a Chinese interlocutor who is very stubborn and recalcitrant to any rational argument advanced by the Dalai Lama because he counts on the time factor aiming to annihilate the resistance of the Dalai Lama and to provoke at the same time the rift and dissension within the Tibetan leadership and people. That is the reason the application of AHIMSA to the Chinese occupier of Tibet is a problematic issue.

Nevertheless, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama is also a tough and untiring interlocutor of Communist China who sticks to creating the international pressure on the Chinese leadership aimed to compel it to settle the Tibetan issue with him. In this respect, he has made various proposals to the Chinese leaders with a constant theme toward safeguarding Tibetan culture and civilization and the achievement of the Tibetan independence within the frame of greater China or from China. For his tirelessness efforts for peace the Dalai Lama was granted, on December 10, 1989 by the Nobel Prize Committee in Oslo (Norway), the Nobel Peace Prize. That means that the community of civilized nations recognized the activities deployed by the Dalai Lama for peace in Tibet. That is also the consecration of an ethic aiming to realize peace by means of compromise, love and compassion and by excluding the use of violent means viz. the war.

1.2 Objectives

This thesis focuses on the objectives as follows:

1.2.1 To reveal the deep thought of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama regarding the problem of peace in Tibet as well as in the world.

1.2.2. To show how the Fourteenth Dalai Lama brings a particular contribution to the modern world diplomacy an outstanding way of peacefully settling the Tibetan issue.

1.2.3. To prove the convergence between the ethics of the Dalai Lama on peace and the principles of International Law on peace. It is noteworthy to show their complementarity.

1.3 Limitation of the Research

The thesis focuses mainly on the thoughts that the Dalai Lama expressed in his main writings and speeches in various occasions and places. It is also based on the comments made by scholars concerning the matter when necessary to make it better to understand the thought of the Dalai Lama.

1.4 Expectation

It is hoped that the thesis would bring its modest contribution to the knowledge of the Eastern Philosophy and Wisdom, especially Buddhism. In addition, the thesis would provide the reader knowledge of the Dalai Lama's thoughts which advocate the application of the non-violent and peaceful means as major orientation for the International law and the International Relations.

CHAPTER II

TIBETAN BUDDHISM AND THE DALAI LAMA

2.1 Tibetan Buddhism

It is well-known that Tibetan Buddhism belongs to Mahayana Buddhism which most of Buddhologists consider more liberal compared with Theravada Buddhism. Generally, Mahayana Buddhism emphasizes the concept of Bodhisattva, the concept of emptiness (*Sunyata*), and the doctrine of *Nirvana* as the core concepts. Mahayana Buddhism is a religion of multiple realms of numberless beings on their way to an awakening.

In the pre-Buddhist period, Tibet's indigenous religion and culture was Bön, a fragment of which, though radically transformed through its contact with Buddhism, is still preserved among Tibetan communities in exile. It was introduced to Tibet for the first time in 173 AD, during the reign of King Lha Thothori Nyantsen. However, according to history, Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the beginning of the seventh century from China, Central Asia and most importantly from India. Therefore, Buddhism became Tibet's state religion only at the end of the eighth century.

Tibetan Buddhists see themselves as an inheritance from India, with the notion of lineage playing a pre-eminent position, lineage that the Tibetans attempted to maintain in the centuries following the demise of Buddhism in India. The ideas and doctrines inherited from India were elaborated upon and synthesized in Tibet, with schools of thought that were often at odds with each other (Lopez Jr., 1997, p.371).

King Son Tsen Gampo took control of the kingdom at the age of thirteen and built Rasa Trulnang Tsuglag Kbang and Rampoche Tsuglag Khang, two temples in Lhasa. He

sent his minister Thonmi Sambhota to India to learn Sanskrit and writing, and as a result a Tibetan script was modeled after one of those current in India. He invited Acharya Kumara and Brahmin Shankara from India and the Nepalese Acharya Shilmanju, who began the propagation and translation of Buddha's teachings. The king himself gave instructions to many fortunate people, mostly concerning the teachings of the Arya Avalokiteshvara (Dalai Lama: <http://www.tibet.com/Buddhism/budintro.html>).

During the reign of King Trisong Deutsen, Buddhism was spread with great zeal after he had invited the Abbot Shantarakshita and Acharya Padmasambhava to Tibet. The task of translating Buddha's teachings was carried out with great vigor and enthusiasm. It is said that one hundred and eight Indian scholars were engaged with Tibetan translators in the work of translating Buddhist literature into Tibetan. They also took part in establishing monasteries.

After three generations, the religious king Tri Ralpachen built up thousands of temples and invited many more Indian masters such as: the Acharyas Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Danashila, who with the Tibetan translators Yeshede and others revised and standardized the earlier translations according to a revised terminology. In this way the Buddha's teachings were increasingly being propagated throughout Tibet.

But Ralpachen's successors, king Land Darma, did not support the Lord Buddha's teachings. Monasteries were emptied and the monks were compelled to disrobe, often being recruited into the army. As the Tibetan empire disintegrated into small principalities, Tibetan Buddhist culture entered a dark period (Ibid., p. 2).

However, at that time Mar Shakya Yeshe, Yogyung and Tsang Rabsel, holders of the monastic lineage of the great Abbot Shantarakshita, managed to escape to the Domey (northeastern) region of Tibet, where, with the assistance of two Chinese monks, they gave

full ordination to Lachen Gongpa Rabtsel, which marked the revival of the Tibetan monastic community. With the arrival of the great Kashmiri scholar Shakyashri, the monastic lineages were greatly expanded and the community multiplied. Amongst those who were ordained by Gongpa Rabtsel, Lumey and the others returned to central Tibet and revived Buddhism there, building monasteries and temples and teaching the doctrine (Ibid., p. 3).

The most vigorous revival of Buddhism, however, took place in western Tibet where Lha Lama Yeshe O, following the ways of the early religious kings, had dispatched intelligent young Tibetans to Kashmir, then a thriving center of Buddhist learning. The great translator, Rinchen Zangpo (958-1055 AD) and his colleague Legpai Sherab returned successfully to Tibet and spread the doctrine through translation, teaching and establishing monasteries. Lha Lama Yeshe O's persistence and sacrifice also created the conditions for inviting the great Indian master Atisha to Tibet. He revived the doctrine and dispelled any current misconceptions about it. He composed the famous text, *A Lamp on the Path to Enlightenment*, which set the pattern for all the graded path, Lamrim, texts found in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition (Ibid., p. 3).

Among Atisha's disciples, Drom Tonpa, who later consolidated Atisha's teachings and founded the Kadampa tradition, was the most famous. During this period, Tibet's contact with the Indian Buddhist tradition was restored, and the influence of different masters led to a diversity of a teaching lineage. Gradually three major new orders, Sakya, Kagyu and Gelug arose. Nyingma was identified as a form of Buddhism introduced since Guru Padmasambhava's arrival in Tibet. These were the four great schools of Tibetan Buddhism, which will be introduced below.

With the growing influence of the Mongols in Tibet, the so-called priest-patron relationship was established between the Mongol rulers and Sakya Lamas of Tibet. Consequently, in 1253 AD Kublai Khan offered the three provinces of Tibet to the Sakya Lama Drogon Chogyal Phagpa, whose successors ruled Tibet for one hundred and five years until 1358 AD when they lost control of Tibet to Tai Situ Jangchub Gyeltsen. The subsequent rule of the Phagmotrupa lineage lasted until 1435 AD followed by the Rinpung kings who ruled for four generations from 1435-1565 AD and the three Tsangpa kings 1566-1641. But in the turn of sixteenth century, the power and influence of the Gelugpa had grown enormously. The third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588 AD), strengthened Tibet's political prospects when he brought the Mongols back to Buddhism. This resulted from his visit to Mongolia in 1578 AD at the invitation of Altan Khan of the Tumet Mongols, who also gave him the title Dalai Lama, meaning "Ocean of Wisdom". The fourth Dalai Lama, Yonten Gyatso, was born to a Mongolian family, but was taken to Tibet to be educated. In 1642 AD, Gushri Khan placed both the spiritual and temporal rule of Tibet in the hands of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617-1682 AD). He founded the Ganden Phodrang government, which today continues to function under the leadership of the Fourteen Dalai Lama. There were more than 6,000 monasteries and nunneries in the three regions of Tibet-U-Tsang, Doto and Domey. (Ibid. p. 4)

2.1.1 The Nyingma Tradition

The Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism traces its origin to the Indian adept, Guru Padmasambhava, who came to Tibet in 817 AD at the invitation of King Trisong Deutsan (742-797 AD) in order to subdue the evil forces then impeding the spread of Buddhism. Guru Rinpoche, as he is popularly known, bound all evil spirits by oath and transformed them into forces compatible with the spread of Buddhism. In collaboration with the great Bodhisattva Abbot Shantarakshita, Guru Rinpoche then built Samye monastery, which became a principal centre of learning and the site where many of the texts that would make up Tibet's vast Buddhist literature were first translated into Tibetan. (Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/Buddhism/nyingma.html>).

Guru Rinpoche also gave widespread teachings from the highest classes of tantra and in particular to his 25 principal disciples. These first Tibetan adepts are renowned for their spiritual accomplishments, for example, Namkhe Nyingpo for his feat of travelling on beams of light, Khandro Yeshe Tsogyal for reviving the dead, Vairochana for his intuition, Nanam Yeshe for soaring in the sky, Kawa Peltseg for reading others thought and Jnana Kumara for his miraculous powers (Ibid., p.1).

Contemporary Indian masters Vimalamitra, Buddhaguhya, Shantipa and the tantric adept, Dharmakirti, also came to Tibet and spread Tantric teachings. So, although the study of logic and Buddhist philosophy was not yet prevalent, the practice of Tantra in extreme secrecy was much favoured. Besides the Tantric teachings, it is these lineage of revealed teachings combined with the Great Completion or Dzogchen doctrine taught and disseminated successively by Garab Doyjer, Shri Simha, Guru Rinpoche, Jnana Sutra, Vimalamitra, which are distinguished in Tibet as Nyingma doctrine (Ibid., p. 2).

The Nyingma tradition divides the entire Buddhist teachings into nine Vehicles:

1. The Three Common Vehicles comprising the Hearer, solitary Realizer, and Bodhisattva vehicles dealing with those categories of teachings included in the sutras taught by Buddha Sakyamuni;
2. The Three Outer Tantras consisting of Kriya Tantra which places greater emphasis on practicing proper external behavior, physical and verbal conduct aimed at purification and simple visualization practice;
3. Upa Tantra which lays more emphasis on developing both external and internal faculties with the goal of achieving a deeper affinity with the meditational deity; and Yoga Tantra, which mainly aimed at developing the strength of inner psycho-physical vitality as taught by Vajrasattva.

Finally The Three Innermost Tantras comprising Mahayoga, primarily emphasizing the Generation Stage practice in which the ordinary level of perception and attachment are eliminated through sacred vision and divine pride; the Annuyoga, emphasizing completion stage practice in which the Vajra body is used as a serviceable means to actualize primordial awareness and the Atiyoga, in which all emphasis is directed towards full activation of the generation and completion stage practices, enabling the yogi to transcend all ordinary time, activity and experience, as taught by Samantabhadra Buddha (Ibid., p. 2).

Due to the slightly different approaches of various lineage in presenting Dzogchen three sub-schools have developed: The Mind School (Sems-sde) is attributed to Shrisimha and Vairochana's lineage, the Centredness School (kLong-sde) is attributed to Longde Dorje Zampa, and Shrisimha and Vairochana's lineage, whereas the Quintessential Instruction School (Man-ngag-sde) is attributed directly to Guru Padmasambhava's lineage of the

Heart's Drop (sNying-thig) cycle of teachings and practice. According to the history of the origin of Tantras there are three lineage:

1. The lineage of Buddha's Intention, which refers to the teachings of the Truth Body originating from the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra, who is said to have taught Tantras to an assembly of completely enlightened beings emanated from the Truth Body itself. Therefore, this level of teaching is considered as being completely beyond the reach of ordinary human beings.
2. The Lineage of Knowledge Holders corresponds to the teachings of the Enjoyment Body originating from Vajrasattva and Vajrapani, whose human lineage begins with Garab Dorje of the Ogyan Dakini land. From him the lineage passed to Manjushrimitra Shrisimha and then to Guru Rinpochey, Jnanasutra, Vimalamitra and Vairochana who disseminated it in Tibet.
3. Lastly, the Human Whispered Lineage corresponds to the teachings of the Emanation Body, originating from the Five Buddha Families. They were passed on to Shrisimha, who transmitted them to Guru Rinpochey, who in giving them to Vimalamitra started the lineage which has continued in Tibet until the present day (Ibid., p. 3).

There is yet another tradition which enumerates six lineage for the origin of the Tantras by adding: the Commissioned Instruction Lineage (bK'a-babs lungbstan-gyi-btgyud-pa), the Treasure Doctrine Lineage of the Fortunate One's (Las-'phrngter-gyi-brgyud-pa) and the Lineage of Trustees Established Through Prayers (sMon-lamgtad-rgya'I-brgyud-pa) (Ibid., p. 4).

The Nyingma Tantric literature and its transmission is classified into three groups: the Oral, Treasures, and Visions. These three may be further subsumed under two categories: the

Oral comprising primarily the Tantras and associated texts belonging to the cycle of Mahayoga Tantras; the root and explanatory Tantra belonging to the cycle of Annuyoga tantras; and finally, the Atiyoga or Dzogchen cycle of Tantras. Hence, in addition to the standard Mahayana Buddhist canon of the Kangyur and Tangyur, many further teachings may be found in the Collection of a Hundred Thousand Nyingma Tantras, compiled in thirteenth century by Tertön Ratna Lingpa (1403-1473 AD) and organized by Kunkhyen Logchen Ramjampa (1308-1363 AD). Besides this, numerous works such as the sixty volumes of the Rinchen Terdzod compiled by Kongtrul Yonten Gyatso (1813-1899 AD) and the writings of Rongzom, Dodrupchen, Paltrul, Mipham and many others have added to the rich collection of Nyingma literature.

The oldest Nyingma institution is Samye temple completed in 810 AD by Shantarakshita and Guru Padmasambhava under the patronage of King Trisong Deutsan. Until the 12th century, Nechung Monastery was built in Central Tibet by Chokpa Jangchub Palden and Kathok Monastery was founded in Kham by Ka Dampa Desheg (1112-1192 AD). From the 15th century onwards, great monastic universities were built, such as Mindroling, founded in 1676 AD by Rigzin Terdag Lingpa, otherwise known as Minling Terchen Gyurmed Dorje (1646-1714 AD) and Dorje Drag founded in 1659 AD by Rigzin Ngagi Wangpo in central Tibet; and Palyul established by Rigzin Kunsang Sherab in 1665 AD; Dzogchen built by Dzogchen Pema Rigzin in 1685 and Zhechen established by Zhechen Rabjampa in 1735 AD, all in Kham province. Dodrupchen and Darthang monasteries were established in Amdo (Ibid., p. 5).

Principal monastic institutions re-established in exile are Thekchok Namdrol Shedrub Dargye Ling, in Bylakuppe, Karnataka State; Ngedon Gatsal Ling, in Clementown,

Dehradun; Palyul Chokhor Ling and E-Vam Gyurmed Ling in Bir, and Nechung Drayang Ling at Dharamsala, and Thubten E-Vam Dorje Drag at Shimla in Himachal Pradesh, India (Ibid., p. 5).

The Nyingma tradition is presently headed by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpochey, who succeeds Kyabje Dudjom Rinpochey (1904-1987 AD). Besides, Minling Trichen Rinpochey, Trulzhig Rinpochey, Taglung Tsetrul Rinpochey and Penor Rinpochey are some of the living spiritual masters. The present head of Nyingmapa is His Holiness Penor Rinpoche (Ibid., p. 5).

2.1.2 The Kargyu Tradition

The lineages of the Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism derive primarily from two sources: Marpa Chokyi Lodoe (1012-1099) and Khyungpo Nyaljor (978-1079). The former was trained as a translator by Drogon Yeshe (993-1050), and then traveled three times to India and four times to Nepal in search of religious teachings. He studied at the feet of one hundred and eight spiritual masters and adepts, mainly Naropa and Maitripa.

Marpa received the lineage of Tantric teachings called the Four ommisioned Lineages (bK'n-babs-szhi)-concerning the Illusory Body and Consciousness Transference, Dreams, Clear Light, and Inner Heat directly from Naropa (1016-1100 AD), who had been given them by his teacher Tilopa (988-1069). Their original source was Buddha Vajradhara (Dalai Lama; <http://www.tibet.com/Buddhism/kagyu.html>).

Marpa brought these lineages to Tibet, passing them on to his foremost disciple Milarepa (1040-1123 AD), the most celebrated and accomplished of Tibet's tantric yogis, who achieved the ultimate goal of enlightenment in one lifetime. Milarepa was given

responsibility for his meditation lineage and others such as Ngog Choku Dorje, Tsurton Wangey and Meton Chenpo became holders of Marpa's teaching ineage. This is how the dual system of philosophical training (bShad-grva) and the meditation training (sGub-grva) are found established in Kagyu monasteries. Among Milarepa's disciples, Gampopa (1084-1161 AD), also known as Dagpo Lhaje and Rechungpa (1084-1161 AD) were the most illustrious. The former received the teaching and practice of the Great Seal (Mahamudra) and the Six Yogas of Naropa from Milarepa and synthesized them into one lineage. The resultant combined lineage came to be known as Dakpo Kagyu, the mother lineage of the Kagyu tradition. Gampopa also pioneered a fusion of Milarapa's Mahamudra tradition with the stages of the path tradition of the Kadampa order. Gampopa's Jewel Ornaments of Liberation is prominent amongst the stages of the path literature of Tibet. The Kagyu Mahamudra lineage was later incorporated into the Gelug tradition by the First Panchen Lama, Lobsang Chokyi Gyeltsen (1570-1662 AD) and is known as the Ganden-Kagyu Tradition of Mahamudra.

The Dakpo Kagyu tradition gave rise to four major schools founded by illustrious disciples of Gampopa. These are the Tselpa (Tshal-pa) Kagyu founded by Zhang Yudakpa Tsondu Dakpa (1123-1193 AD), whose chief teacher was Wangom Tsultrim Nyingpo.

1. The Barom Kagyu was founded by Barom Darma Wangchuk.
2. The Phagtru Kagyu was founded by Phagmo Trupa dorje Gyelpo (1110-1170 AD).
3. The Kamtsang or Karma Kagyu was founded by the first Karmapa, Dusum Khyenpa (1110-1193 AD). This tradition has remained strong and successful due in large part to the presence of an unbroken line of reincarnations of the founder, the successive Karmapas. Famous among them were the Second Karmapa, Pakshi (1206-1282), the

third Karmapa, Ranjung Dorje (1284-1339 AD) and the Eight Karmapa, Mikyo Dorje (1507-1554 AD). The most recent incarnation was the Sixteenth Karmapa, Ranjung Rigpe Dorje (1924-1981), who in exile was also appointed head of the whole Kagyu tradition.

Actually the seventeenth Karmapa Orgyen Trinley Dorje, 14-year old, is the reincarnation of the sixteenth Karmapa who recently fled to India for joining the Dalai Lama, who recognized him as such. Once in India he is currently housed in the Gyuto Rinpoche monastery, in the tiny town of Sidhbari (*Asiaweek*, February 4, 2000, pp.36-39).

In addition eight sub-schools developed within the Phagdy Kagyu. The Shangpa Kagyu, one of the two original forms of the Kagyu tradition, was founded by the great adept, Khyungpo Nyaljor (978-1079 AD). After meeting Acharya Sumati in Nepal Khyungpo Nyaljor received training as translator and traveled on to India. There he received teachings from one hundred and fifty scholar-adepts he is said to have mastered the entire exoteric and esoteric doctrine as well as meditation on it. He received also transmissions from the Dakinis (celestial beings).

In accordance with the prophecies of the Dakinis, he established the Shang-Shong monastery at Yeru Sahng, in central Tibet. As a result the tradition he founded came to be known as the Shangpa Kagyu. The Shangpa Kagyu main practices concerned Mahakala, Chakrasambhava, Hevajra, Mahamaya, Guhyasamaja, and others. The main contemporary exponent of this tradition was the late Kalu Rinpoche (1905-1989 AD), one of the leading Kagyu meditation masters of this century. The fundamental principles of the sub-schools within Kagyupas are rooted in Mahamudra and the Six Yogas of Naropa. Mahamudra, the unique feature of Kagyu tradition, can be explained according to interpretations of Sutra and

Tantra. Both aspects of the teachings are aimed at direct understanding of the real nature of the mind. Tantric practices unique to Kagyu tradition are the Six Yogas of Naropa, Cakrasambhava and Mahakala.

The training of monks in Kagyu monasteries consists mainly of the study of the Perfection of Wisdom, Madhyamika, Valid Cognition, Discipline and Phenomenology common to all traditions, except that each tradition has its own monastic texts and commentaries to facilitate understanding of the original Indian texts. The present head of the Karma Kagyu tradition is His Holiness Gyalwa Karmapa Ogyen Drodul Trinley Dorje (Ibid., p. 5).

2.1.3 The Sakya Tradition

The Sakya tradition is closely bound up with the Khon ancestral lineage, which derived from celestial beings. The lineage has descended intact up to the present time from Khon Konchok Gyelpo (1034-1102 AD), founder of the Sakya tradition.

From the doctrinal point of view the tradition traces its origins to the Indian Yogin Virupa through Gayadhara. His disciple Drogmi shakya Yeshe (922-1074 AD) travelled to India where he received teachings on the Kalachakra, the Path and its Fruit and others from many Indian masters and returned to Tibet. Later, Khon Konchok Gyelpo, one of his main disciples, built a monastery in the Tsang province of central Tibet and named it Sakya, or Grey Earth monastery. So the School took its name, Sakya, from the location of the monastery. Khon Konchok Gyelpo's son Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092-1158 AD) was a person of extraordinary skill and spiritual attainment, who held all the lineage of Tantra and Sutra teachings of Arya Nagarjuna and Virupa. He had four sons: Kungabar, Sonam Tsemo, Jetsun Dakpa Gyeltsen and Palchen Rinpochey. The second son Sonam Tsemo (1142-1182 AD)

became a learned scholar at the early age of sixteen. He had visions of many meditational deities and also produced many realized disciples. Jetsun Dakpa Gyeltsen (1147-1216 AD) received lay celibacy vows and showed strong signs of spiritual maturity in his youth. At the age of eleven he gave his first Hevajra teaching. The main disciple of Jetsun Dakpa Gyeltsen was his nephew, son of Palchen of Opochey the famous Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyeltsen (1182-1251 AD). Sakya Pandita studied Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophy, logic, Sanskrit, poetry, astrology and art with countless Indian, Nepalese, Kashmiri and Tibetan masters and achieved mastery over them. In 1244 AD, Godan Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, intrigued by Sakya Pandita's reputation, invited him to Mongolia, where he gave Buddhist teachings. Later in 1253 AD, after both Sakya Pandita and Godan Khan had passed away, the emperor, Sechen Kublai Khan invited Drogon Chogyal Phagpa, nephew of Sakya Pandita to his court. Phagpa invented a new script in which to write the Mongolian language. Kublai Khan was so impressed by Phagpa's performance that he declared Buddhism the state religion of Mongolia and presented him the rule of the three provinces of Tibet. Thus, Phagpa was the first person in Tibetan history to gain religious and secular authority over the whole country. He was succeeded by his brother Chagna and altogether the Sakyapas ruled Tibet for more than a hundred years.

Eventually Tishri Kunglo (1299-1327), eldest of the fifteen grandsons of Sakya Pandita's brother, founded four dynastic houses: Zhithog, Rinchen Gang, Lhakhang and Ducho, of which only the last two dynasties have survived. However, in fifteenth century the Ducho dynasty split into two sub-dynasties, or palaces the Dolma Phodrang and Phuntsok Phodrang. The present hierarchs of these two palaces are Sakya Trizin Ngawang Kunga Tseckchen Rinpochey (b. 1945), who is the current head of the Sakya tradition, and lives in

Dehra Dun, India and, Dagchen Rinpochey (b. 1929), the founder of Sakya Thegchen Choling in the United States of America (Dalai Lama; <http://www.tibet.com/Buddhism/sakya.html>).

Among the main holders of the Sakya tradition, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092-1158 AD), Sonam Tsemo (1142-1182 AD), Dakpa Gyeltsen (1147-1216 AD), Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyeltsen (1182-1251 AD) and Drogon Chogyal Phagpa (1235-1280 AD) are known as the five Patriarchs of the Sakya tradition. After them, were the so called Six Ornaments of Tibet: Yaktuk Sanyey Pal and Rongton Mawe Sengey, who were reputed for their authority on sutra teachings; Ngorchon Kunga Zangpo and Zongpa Kunga Namgyel, who were learned in the Tantras; Goram Sonam Sengey and Shakya Chogden who were learned in both Sutras and Tantras. These were famous spiritual masters of Sakya tradition. Amongst them Gorampa Sonam Sengey, instituted the formal study of logic in Sakya tradition (Ibid., p. 3).

The Sakya School of the Khon lineage represents the main trunk of a tree, of which the Ngorpa and Tsarpa schools are branches. These are, the three schools (Sa Ngor Tsar Gsum) in Sakya tradition. The central teaching and practice of the Sakyapa, called Lamdrey (Lam-bras), the Path and Its Fruit, ultimately leads a practitioner to the state of Hevajra. The Path and Its Fruit teaching originating from the Indian teachers Virupa, Avadhuti, Gayadhara and Shakyamitra, a follower of Arya Nagarjuna, were brought to Tibet by the Tibetan translator Drogmi and have been passed down through an unbroken lineage of masters until today. The philosophical viewpoint expressed in "the Path and Its Fruit" is the inseparability of *samsara* and *nirvana*. According to this, an individual cannot attain *nirvana* or peace by abandoning *samsara* or cyclic existence, because the mind is the root of both *samsara* and *nirvana*.

In the Sakya monastic universities eighteen major texts are thoroughly studied. These deal with the Perfection of Wisdom, Monastic Discipline Middle Path View, Phenomenology, Logic and Epistemology, as well as commentaries unique to the tradition, such as the Discrimination of the Three Vows, the Treasury of Logic on Valid Cognition and the works of Gorampa Sonam Sengey and others (Ibid., p. 4).

On graduation, a monk is granted the degree of Kazhipa, Kachupa and Rabjampa on the basis of merit. The main Tantric practices of the Sakya school are the Hevajra and Chakrasambhava Tantras, Mahakala and so forth. The major Sakya monasteries in Tibet were Nalanda in Phenpo built by Rongton Shaja Kunrig, Lhakhang Chenmo, founded by Khon Konchok Gyelpo, Tsedong Sisum Namgyel, established by Namkha Tashi Gyeltsen and Ngor E-Vam Chodhen, founded by E-Vam Kunga Zangpo in Central Tibet, etc... (Ibid., p. 4).

2.1.4 The Gelug Tradition

The Kadampa tradition founded by Atisha was the direct source of inspiration for the development of the Gelug tradition founded by Je Tsongkhapa (1257-1419 AD). He was born in the Tsongkha region of Amdo province. At the age of three he received full-fledged lay ordination from the Fourth Karmapa, Rolpey Dorje, and the name Kunga Ntingopo. At the age of seven he received novice vows from his teacher, Chojey Dhondup Rinchen, and was given the name Lobsang Drakpa. Even at this young age he had received many teachings and initiations of Heruka, Yamantaka and Hevajra, and could recite by heart texts like Expression of the Names of Manjushri. Tsongkhapa traveled extensively in search of knowledge and studied with masters of all the existing traditions beginning with Channga

Chokyi Gyelpo, from whom he received teachings on topics such as the mind of enlightenment and the Great Seal (Mahamudra). He was taught the medical treatises by Konchok Kyab at Drikung. In Nyethang Dewachen he studied the Ornaments for clear Realization and the Perfection of Wisdom and excelling in debate, he became famous for his erudition. He also traveled to Sakya where he studied monastic discipline, phenomenology, valid cognition, the Middle Way and Guhyasamaja with lamas such as Kashipa Losel and Rendawa. He also received transmissions of the Six doctrines of Naropa, the Kalachakra, Mahamudra, the Path and Its Fruit, Chakrasamvara and numerous others and transmitted them to his disciples. In addition to his studies and teachings he engaged in extensive meditation retreats. The longest, at Wolkha Cholung, lasted 4 years during which he was accompanied by eight close disciples. He is reputed to have performed millions of prostrations's, mandala offerings and other forms of purification practice. Tsongkhapa frequently had visions of meditational deities and especially of Manjushri, with whom he could communicate to settle his questions about profound aspects of the teachings.

As traditionally believed, Tsongkhapa studied with more than a hundred teachers, practiced extensively and taught thousands of disciples mainly in the central and eastern regions of Tibet. In addition he wrote a great deal. His collected works, comprising eighteen volumes, contain hundred of titles relating to all aspects of Buddhist teachings and clarify some of the most difficult topics of Sutrayana and Mantrayana teachings. Tsongpkhapa passed away at the age of sixty on the 25th of the 10th Tibetan month, entrusting his throne in Ganden to Gyeltsabje. So began a tradition, which continues to the present day. The 99th successor to the Ganden throne, and thus the formal head of the Gelugpa is Venerable Yeshe Dhondup. Of the major Gelugpa monasteries in Tibet, Ganden Monastery

was founded by Tsongkhapa himself in 1409 AD and was divided into two colleges, Shartsey and Jangtsey. Jamyang Choje Tashi Pelden founded Drepung Monastery in 1416 AD. At one time it had seven branches but these were later amalgamated into four Loseling, Gomang, Deyang and Ngagpa. Another of Tsongkhapa's spiritual son, Jamchen Choje Shakya Yeshe established Sera Monastery in 1419 AD. This too initially had five colleges, which were later amalgamated into two Sera-Jey and Sera-Mey. Similarly, Gyalwa Gendun Drup, the First Dalai Lama, founded Tashi Lhumpo Monastery at Shigatse in 1447 AD, which was to become the seat of the successive Panchen Lamas.

The Lower Tantric college, Gyumey, was established by Jey Sherab Sengey in 1440, and the Upper Tantric College Gyuto by Gyuchen Kunga Dhondup in 1474 AD. At their peak there were more than five thousand monks in each of the monastic universities around Lhasa, Ganden, Drepung and Sera, while there were at least five hundred in each Tantric college (Ibid. 3).

Gelug tradition lays special emphasis on the place of ethics, as expressed through monastic discipline, as the ideal basis for religious education and practice. In addition the Gelug tradition regards sound scholarship as a prerequisite for constructive meditation, hence, the teachings of both sutra and Tantra are subject to rigorous analysis through the medium of dialectical debate. In general, the curriculum of study covers the five major topics-the perfection of wisdom, philosophy of the Middle Way, valid cognition, phenomenology and monastic discipline. On completing this training, a monk is awarded one of the three levels of the degree of Geshey (doctorate of Buddhist Philosophy), Dorampa, Tsorampa and Lharampa, of which the highest is the Geshey Lharampa degree (Harvey, 1990, p. 147).

2.2 Biography of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, was born on the fifth day of the fifth month of the Wood Hog Year of the Tibetan calendar (6 July 1935 AD) in the Taktser village of the province of Amdo in northeastern Tibet soon after the 13th Dalai Lama passed away. He was the fourth son of a poor peasant family in Takser village who gave birth to 15 children of them 9 died and 6 (2 girls and 4 boys) survived. His father was a very kind hearted man. He was not very tall or strong, not highly educated. He had natural cleverness and intelligence. He was fond of horses. His mother was a kind and loving person. So gentle she always ruled the family (Dalai Lama, 1997, p. 5).

The line of Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal rulers of Tibet since the 13th century, is a succession of incarnations. A Dalai Lama is not appointed or elected; he is born to the position. Each Dalai Lama is a reincarnation of the previous one. Tibetans regard the Dalai Lamas as the human embodiment of Avalokiteshvara (in Tibetan, Chenrezig), the deity of compassion, who chooses to return to the world to serve humanity. Before each Dalai Lama dies, he leaves signs to indicate where he will take his next rebirth. In accordance with the tradition, search parties were sent to find the successor to the 13th Dalai Lama. Two years later, be the Tibetan Wood Hog year, following the various signs and portents, a government party conducted by the Regent went to the sacred lake of Lhamoi Latso at Chokkhorgyal, about 90 miles Southeast of Lhasa, where they found the infant Lhamo Thondup who was two years old after having spent several days in prayers and meditation and had visions. A description of these visions was written down and kept secret. In the following year, high Lamas and dignitaries carrying the secrets of the visions, were sent out to all parts of Tibet to search for the place the Regent had seen in the water (Ibid., p. 8).

After the young Tenzin Gyatso had passed successfully a series of tests carried out by the Tibetan government envoys detailed reports was submitted to the Assembly of the visions seen by the Regent.

Finally the Assembly unanimously confirmed that he was the reincarnation of the last thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thupten Gyatso who died in 1933 AD and senior officials were dispatched to meet him on the way. A ten stages out from Lhasa a delegation led by a minister of the Tibetan Cabinet brought with them a proclamation issued with the authority of the Regent, the Cabinet and the National Assembly of Tibet, declaring him to be the fourteenth Dalai Lama (Ibid., p. 16).

But, at that time the Chinese had control of Amdo and the local Chinese commander took the young Dalai Lama in hostage and demanded a huge ransom from the Tibetan delegation before he would release him. After 2 years of negotiations, the young Dalai Lama and his entourage were allowed to leave Amdo and travel to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, where he was officially installed in the Potala palace (Dalai Lama, <http://www.earthlight.co.nz/hhdl/hhdlbiography.html>).

In his way towards Lhasa the Dalai Lama was carried in a golden palanquin known to Tibetans as *phebjam* and dressed in monastic robes and ceremonial attendants were put at his service. Then the procession advanced toward Lhasa and arrived at Dum Uma Thang where the Dalai Lama was received by the Regent and the official Abbot of Tibet. Then it arrived at Dogurthang where he was welcomed by the Prime Minister, the members of the Cabinet, and the leading abbots of monasteries of Dreppung, Sera, and Gaden, the 3 pillars of Buddhism in Tibet (Ibid., p. 17).

The Dalai Lama was welcomed by Sir Richardson, the British Mission's Head in Lhasa. The procession went on to the Norbulingka, the summer residence of the Dalai Lama. There, on the fourteenth day of the first month of the Iron Dragon Year, be 1940 AD, the Dalai Lama attended a ceremony of Sitringasol which was his enthronement on the Lion Throne and fixed by the Regent in consultation with the National Assembly according to the advice of the State astrologers (Ibid., p. 17).

The title Dalai Lama means "Ocean of wisdom". (Dalai is a Mongolian word meaning "ocean", and "Lama" is a Tibetan term corresponding to the Indian word "guru" or teacher). In Lhasa, at the age of six he underwent extensive spiritual and religious formation as a Buddhist monk. In 1958 AD, he took preliminary examinations at each of the three monastic universities, Drepung, Sera and Ganden. The final examination was held in 1959 AD at the Jokhang Temple in Lhasa. That morning the young scholar was examined by 30 scholars of logic. In the afternoon, he debated Buddhist philosophy with 15 scholars, and in the evening, 35 more scholars tested his knowledge of the canon of monastic discipline and metaphysics. The Dalai Lama passed with honors, attaining the highest academic degree of Geshe Lharampa, while under intense political pressure from the Chinese to capitulate to their demands to take over Tibet.

2.3 Political Career of the Dalai Lama

A regent was appointed during the Dalai Lama's minority, but in 1950 AD, at just 16 years old, he was forced to assume full political power. The crisis was precipitated by the Chinese communist invasion. Much of the country was occupied and armed Chinese garrisons were established. With the Tibetan army no match for the invading forces, the

Dalai Lama's only option was to negotiate. In 1954 AD he was invited to Beijing where he and his party met the Chairman Mao Ze Dong, Chou En Lai and other Chinese leaders intent on convincing them they would be better off under Chinese rule.

In 1956 His Holiness visited India where he met Nehru but won little support for the Tibetan cause because Nehru believed in good words of Chou En Lai at the Bandung Conference of Neutral Countries in April 1955 where along with other African, Asian and Yugoslavian neutralist leaders he signed the famous Bandung Statement based on the Panca Sila (Five Principles of peaceful coexistence). In 1959 the Tibetans rebelled, the Chinese crushed the uprising and the Dalai Lama was forced to flee across the Himalayas to neighboring India. His Holiness immediately established a democratic government-in-exile dedicated to work for the freedom and independence of Tibet and the welfare of Tibetan refugees. With the help of the Indian Government, he set up schools, including English, Hindi and western-style education, along with Tibetan language and culture (Ibid., p. 2).

Then came handicraft factories, hospitals, orphanages, monasteries and cultural institutions--the foundation for a new Tibetan society. There are now 53 Tibetan refugee settlements in India. In the early days of exile the Dalai Lama found it difficult to rally international political support for his people. However three UN General Assembly resolutions were passed in 1959, 1961 and 1965 condemning China for "violations of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people". Then in August 1991, after the violent repression of political demonstrations in Lhasa, the United Nations again passed a resolution criticizing Chinese policies in Tibet and calling on the Chinese "to fully respect the fundamental rights and freedom of the Tibetan people". Recently a number of governments,

including the United States, Germany, and France, have spoken out against continued Chinese repression in Tibet.

In the last decade, at the invitation of groups and governments, the Dalai Lama has traveled the world, seeking support for the Tibetan cause and sharing his belief in kindness and compassion as the ultimate solution to personal and political conflict. Since his first visit to the West in 1973, he has met many world leaders, among them the Presidents of the United States, France and Germany, the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, members of European royalty, including Prince Charles and the King of Norway, and civic and religious leaders, including His Holiness Pope John Paul II.

The Dalai Lama has addressed the United States Congress, the European Parliament, and innumerable University, inter-faith and civic gatherings. For his unceasingly struggle for freedom and independence of his people the Dalai Lama received many tributes from various personalities and leaders of the world.

For his everlasting struggle by peaceful and nonviolent solutions (Ahimsa) for the liberation of Tibet “based upon tolerance and mutual respect in order to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of his people” he was awarded on 10 December 1989 by the Norwegian Nobel Committee the Peace Prize (DaLai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/biography.html>).

As recipient of the Peace Nobel Prize in September 1989 the Dalai Lama became the Peace Committee Councilors whose main purposes or commitments are:

- The commitment to foster cultures and practices of non-violence and reverence for all life.

- The commitment to foster cultures and practices of shared responsibility and just society.
- The commitment to foster cultures and practices of mutuality in the face of diversity, through the right relationships and integrity.
- The commitment to foster and practices of partnership and equal opportunity between women and men, between the generations, and among the world's peoples and cultures.
- The commitment to foster cultures and practices of ecological interdependence and sustainable relationships between humans, earth, and all living beings.

(DaLai Lama, <http://www.peacecouncil.org/mission.html>.)

Before the 1950s, Tibet was governed as a religious state, and the Dalai Lama exercised both spiritual and secular power there. Every Tibetan has a deep and inexpressible connection with the Dalai Lama who embodies Tibet for them in all its spiritual and natural meaning. Nevertheless the Dalai Lama is the spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet. That means he is not only the Supreme Patriarch of the Tibetan Buddhism but also the King of Tibet.

If the Dalai Lama is the supreme political and spiritual leader of Tibet, there is a second highest spiritual figure in Tibet's Buddhist hierarchy in the person of the Panchen Lama (or his civil name Panchen Rinpoche who became prisoner of the Chinese in 1961 while he was invited to Beijing died of a sudden heart attack on January 28, 1989 in his residence in Shigatse, Tibet). The Panchen Lama means a great scholar or great *tulku*. He is second to none except to the Dalai Lama.

Then comes the Karmapa who is the third most important figure in Tibetan Buddhism after the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. The actual Karmapa is the 17th reincarnation of the 16th Karmapa. His civil name is Orgyen Trinley Dorje. He is 14 years old and recently fled from Tibet to India for joining the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala (Asiaweek, February, 4, 2000, pp. 36-39).

Traditionally the Karmapa (or Black Hat Sect, which was established in the 12th century) presides over one of four main schools of Tibetan Buddhism; the Dalai Lama over another: that is the Gelugpa Sect.

2.4 The Dalai Lama's Wisdom

The Dalai Lama recognized himself that he hold the Master in Abhidharma because as Buddhist monk he had to learn the Buddhist Dharma. Therefore, his knowledge in Buddhist Dharma is very profound. If the Theravada Buddhists must abide by 227 precepts the Mahayana Buddhists must abide by 323 precepts. But whatever the Vehicle to which they belong the Buddhists must observe the Four Noble Truths and the Noble Octuple Path. Only the strict observance and practice of these Four Noble Truths and the Noble Octuple Path lead the Hinayanists to the *Arahat*ship or status of liberation of sufferings and the Mahayanists to the *Bodhisattvahood* or the status of enlightenment. Once become *Arahat* one can pretend to attain the *Bodhi* stage then the *Nibbana*. But the Mahayanist who already attained the *Bodhisattvahood* can pretend to become Buddha by overpassing the *Nirvana* because it is not for Mahayanist Buddhist the ultimate goal. To have a clear aspect of the Dalai Lama's wisdom general information about the core elements of Mahayanist ethics should be reviewed as follows:

2.4.1 The Four Noble Truths

These Four Noble Truths are as follows:

1. The noble truth concerning the nature of suffering (*Dukkha Arya Aacca*).
2. The noble truth concerning the origin of suffering (*Dukkha Samudaya Arya Sacca*).
3. The noble truth concerning the removal of suffering (*Dukkha Nirodha Arya Sacca*).
4. The noble truth concerning the Path leading to removal of suffering (*Dukkha Nirodha Gamini Patipada*) (S.V. 421).

2.4.2 Arya Satya

The word Arya is an indication of a civilized, cultured and developed person also with an awakened and active, creative, faculties. According to Buddhaghosa the Kusala Dharma (Wholesome) and *Nirvana* known as the highest happiness (*Nibbanam Paramam Sukham*) and is the highest philosophical state and beyond common comprehension, beyond the sphere of logic and reasoning (*atakkavacara*), are attained by following these Arya Satyas (Ibid. 78-82).

Therefore, the Holy Eightfold Path (*Magga*) or the Eight Noble Truths is the Middle Way of practice that leads to the cessation of Sufferings (*Dukkha*) (Ibid. 82-85). It is composed of:

1. Right understanding (*sammadithi*)
2. Right thought (*sammasankappa*)
3. Right speech (*sammavaca*)

4. Right action (*sammakammanta*)
5. Right livelihood (*sammaajiva*)
6. Right effort (*sammavayama*)
7. Right mindfulness (*sammasati*)
8. Right concentration (*sammasamadhi*)

(D. II., 312; M.I. III. 251; Vbh. 235).

Each of these Eight Noble Paths has a particular meaning as follows:

- The first of them, the right understanding means knowing about suffering, causes and conditions of suffering, cessation of suffering and the way that leads to the cessation of suffering.
- The second of them, right thought means the thought towards renunciation, towards benevolence, towards kindness or non-violence.
- The third of them, right speech means abstaining from lying, slander, abuse and idle talk.
- The fourth of them, right action means abstaining from killing life, taking what is not given and carnal indulgence.
- The fifth of them, right livelihood means having put away wrong livelihood, support yourselves by the right livelihood.
- The sixth of them, right effort means put forth will, make effort, stir up energy, grips and forces the mind in order to persist, not to get blurred, but to multiply, to glow abundant, to develop and to perfect that good state which have arisen.

- The seventh of them, right mindfulness means look upon the body, the feelings, the thoughts and the ideas for remaining ardent, steady and self-possessed and mindful having overcome the hankering and the defilement that are common in the world.
- The eighth of them, right concentration means to be aloof from sensuous appetite, from evil ideas, enter into and abide in the first *Jhana*, i.e. in a specific state of mental absorption, rising above cognition and deliberation, he enters into and abides in the second *Jhana* and further disenchanted with joy, he abides calmly contemplative while mindful and self-possessed he feels in his body that ease, so does he enter into and abides in the third *Jhana*. And further, by putting aside malaise, he enters into and abides in the fourth *Jhana*.

These steps are divided into 3 sections:

Moral precept (*Sila*) i.e. observance of all disciplinary rules embodied in the Vinaya Pitaka including right speech, right action and right livelihood.

Mind control (*Citta*) through various methods including meditation and eight efforts, right mindfulness and right concentration.

Acquisition of knowledge (*Pañña*) by comprehending the nature and constitution of a being: right understanding and right thought.

The three systems *Sila Citta* or *Samādhi* and *Paññā* represent the gradual practices for perfection. These practices may be described as physical, mental and intellectual perfection (D.II. 312.).

The Dalai Lama said that the strict observance and practice of the Four Brahmaviharas : (*Metta, Karuna, Mudhita, Upekha*), *Silas*, Four Noble Truths and Noble Eightfold Path leads him to *Nirvana*. The wisdom derives from the observance and practice including the meditation (*Samatha*). The attaining of wisdom can be considered as the enlightenment (*Bodhi*) leading to the *Nirvana* or *Santi* (inner peace).

Santi is the inner peace obtained after a long practice of meditation or *Samatha* and *Vipassana* or *Nanadassana* which means knowledge and vision of matter and mental properties possessed by those who have obtained mental purity, through the attainment of absorption (*Jhānas*) by the practice of concentration (*Samādhi*) meditation and enter the Noble Path. *Samatha* is a technique aiming to make the mind quiet while *Vipassana* is a technique aiming to acquire the analytical comprehensiveness. Both of them require the practice of two aspects of *Sila* such as the mind and the understanding which are necessary for the daily life. Because the observance of *Sila* as a ground for the practice of *Samādhi*. (Kabilsingh Nathasen, 1995, p. 83; See also Khin May Thi, 1999, p. 83).

Samādhi or concentration has the following effect; it leads the insight into the characteristics of impermanence of things, e.g. sense organs, sense objects, sense bases, sense-faculties, etc...(SN, IV, 80).

However, the practice of meditation aims to have one's insight purified. And it is said that the practice of *Vipassana* enables everyone to attain seven kinds of purification as mentioned in Rathavinita Sutta (MN: 24) as follows:

1. Purification of morality
2. Purification of mind
3. Purification of view

4. Purification by the overcoming of doubt
5. Purification by knowledge and vision of the right and wrong paths
6. Purification by knowledge and vision of the way
7. Purification by knowledge and vision

(Buddhaghosa, 1975, p. 488).

Among these seven kinds of purification the purification of morality and purification of mind are essential requisites of insight practice. In Buddhism the ultimate goal for every Buddhist is to attain *Nirvana* or the Arahathood or Buddhahood meaning enlightenment and *Tathagatha-Garbha* which is luminosity, pure nature, the potential that makes it possible for us to overcome imperfections and attain liberation (Kiely, 1996, p.105).

For achieving this ultimate goal one should strive to assimilate ethical theories and moral practices because more practice is regarded as incomplete without theoretical foundation and mental training. As regarding this problem the Dalai Lama affirmed

From the point of view of the Prasangika-Madhyamaka School of Mahayana Buddhism, which is based on the interpretation of Nagarjuna's thought of Arahathood that is the state of *Nirvana* or spiritual liberation as found in the Buddhist *Abhidharma* literature, would not be accepted as a complete or final description of *Nirvana*. From the Madhyamaka view, the characterization of liberation, *Nirvana*, according to the other schools of thought -in terms of identifying the fundamental ignorance, misknowledge, and delusory states that obstruct the attainment of arahathood – is not sufficiently subtle (Ibid., p. 77)

Therefore, the whole of Buddhism is divided into three branches, i.e. morality (*Sila*), mental training (*Samādhi* or *Chitta*) and wisdom (*Prajñā*). It is noteworthy to observe the

inseparable connection of morality with wisdom and supernatural or mystical attainment. As Buddhist Ethics is associated with enlightenment in metaphysical truths, the highest aim of Buddhist morality implies the moral and intellectual perfection of a personality in spite of the doctrine of non-ego. Buddhist morality may be divided into four parts:

1. Its basis and aim or metaphysics of good;
2. Virtue and rules of conduct or practical ethics;
3. Efficacy of morality, the ecclesiastical side of ethics, and
4. Mental training for the spiritual attainment (Ibid. p. 27).

According to this division we see that the first of these pertains to wisdom (*Prajñā*), the second and third to *Sila* and the fourth to *Samādhi*. The Middle Path represents the fundamental principle of Buddhist Ethics and morality. It is the way that leads to the realization of the ultimate end (Ibid. p. 27).

We can find also the close relation between Buddhist morality and mental training and the classification of virtues. All the virtues and virtuous practices are arranged in seven groups. Four of them may better be described under the mental training and other three groups of virtues may be combined with the methods of mental exercise. The virtues are also called organs of moral practices. Their practice consists in the Eightfold Path (*Ariyamagga*). The virtues are: Faith (*saddha*), exertion (*Viriya*), mindfulness (*Sati*), contemplation (*Samādhi*), wisdom (*Paññā*). Among these, faith, contemplation and wisdom are the three cardinal virtues of Buddhism. These three virtues are included in every other group of virtues. These are applied to practical life, which consists in the perfection of: opinion (*Ditthi*), decision (*Sankappa*), speech (*Vaca*), actions (*Kammanta*), livelihood (*Ajiva*), effort (*Vayama*), mindfulness (*Sati*) and contemplation (*Samādhi*) (D.II.312; M.III.251).

In Buddhism virtues are regarded as Paramitas. Virtues bring us to the perfection and enlightenment. On the other hand, the exercise of the virtues leads to the attainment of Buddhahood. These virtues are: Charity (*Dana*), morality (*Sila*), resignation (*Nekkhamma*), wisdom (*Prajñā*), exertion (*Viriya*), forbearance (*Khanti*), truthfulness (*Sacca*), persistence (*Adhittana*), love (*Metta*) and equanimity (*Upekkha*).

In addition to these, there are also four virtues in Mahayana Ethics viz., tactfulness (*Upaya*), earnest wish or vow (*Pranidhana*), strength (*Bala*), and knowledge (*Jhana*). These virtues are regarded in Mahayana Ethics as containing the three fundamental maxims, viz., Bodhisattva, Mahasattva, and Tathagata (Ibid. p. 29).

Among the virtues of the Bodhisattva more attention is given to those virtues which have regard to others. Those virtues, which involve sympathy and love for others are more prominent than the virtues of Paramitas. The Mahayana Ethics lays a special stress on the exercise of altruistic virtues. This is of course, an extension of the fundamental virtue of love and sympathy. It teaches all beings to help each other on the way of salvation and realizing the communion of spiritual fellowship (Ibid. p. 30).

The purification of morality consisting of restraint of the senses, is the purity of livelihood, and purity in the use of requisites. It is the ground for the growth of insight as well as for the development of serenity (Gunaratana, 1985, pp. 154-155).

While the purification of mind consists of seven attainments such as: four kinds of absorption of the form sphere (*Rupa-Jhanas*) and three kinds of absorption of the formless sphere (*Arupa-Jhanas*). The purification of mind is obtained by the practice of *Samathayana* *Yogin* by attaining access or full absorption in one or several *Jhanas* after suppressing the

five hindrances as well as by the practice of *Vipassanayanika* by means of momentary concentration which can also overcome the hindrances.

Samathayana Yogin and *Vipassanayanika* enables also to attain the following purity:

1. Purity of view (*Ditthi Visuddhi*)
 2. Purity through the conquest of doubt (*Kankhavitarana Visuddhi*)
 3. Purity of knowledge and insight into the right and wrong paths (*Maggamagga Nanadassana Visuddhi*)
 4. Purity of knowledge and insight into progress (*Patipada Nanadassana Visuddhi*)
 5. Purity of Knowledge and insight into the Noble Path (*Nanadassana Visuddhi*)
- (M. I. 149).

1. Purification of view (*Ditthi Visuddhi*)

It gets rid of the self and causes the selfhoodness. The *Samathayanika* and the *Vipassanayanika* approach this purification from different angles, but both achieve the same result. The former looks upon the *Jhana* factors according to their specific characteristics, functions, manifestations, and proximate causes. He grouped all these states under mentality (*Nama*). The *Vipassanayanika* purifies his view by analyzing the body into the four primary elements: solidity, fluidity, heat and oscillation regarding all of them as materiality. The states of consciousness are grouped under mentality.

2. Purification by overcoming doubt (*Kankhavitarana Visuddhi*)

By regarding the self, by investigating the causes and conditions for mentality, materiality, therefore, nothing is permanent passing through this procession.

3. Purification by knowledge and vision into the right and wrong paths (*maggamagga nanadassana Visuddhi*).

This type of insight is called comprehension by groups (*Kalapasammasana*) and involves in classifying all phenomena into distinct categories and ascribing to them the three characteristics. All material forms, feeling, perceptions, mental formations, and consciousness are regarded as impermanent, suffering and non-self, each being a separate comprehension. They are all impermanent because they are subject to destruction (*Khayatthena*). This is the actual beginning of insight and is the first of the ten kinds of insight knowledge the *Vipassana* practitioner has to pass through. The attainment of this initial understanding of rise and fall, means that the mediator has now arrived at tender insight (*Tarunavipassana*). At this stage the mediator may come to experience the ten perfections of insight (*Vipassanupakkilesa*).

4. Purification by knowledge and vision of the way (*Patipada Nanadassana Visuddhi*)

After coming over the ten imperfections of insight and attaining the knowledge enabling to distinguish between what is path and not-path the mediator continues to progress on his insight meditation and reaches the stage of purification by knowledge and vision of the way. This last stage of purification leads to attain nine stages of knowledge such as:

1. Knowledge of contemplation of arising and passing away
2. Knowledge of contemplation of dissolution
3. Knowledge of appearance as terror
4. Knowledge of contemplation of disenchantment
5. Knowledge of contemplation on dispassion
6. Knowledge of desire for deliverance
7. Knowledge of contemplation of reflection

8. Knowledge of equanimity about formations
9. Knowledge in conformity with truth or conformity knowledge.

(Vism. 630-671)

For Buddhists whatever they are Theradin or Mahayanists the moral principles constitute the greatness of Buddhist moral systems. These principles are self-restraint, temperance, contentment celibacy, patience, purity, humility, benevolence, tolerance, veracity and righteousness.

Among these duties for individuals there are those which are considered as virtues such as: self-restraint, temperance, contentment, poverty, gentleness, celibacy, patience and purity. While the duties to others which are regarded as virtues are: humility, gratefulness, obedience, sympathy, forgiveness, tolerance, veracity and justice. Buddhism regards self-restraint as the highest virtue because there is no higher virtue than self-control or self-restraint. Self-restraint is the starting point of Buddhist self-culture or purification and at the same time it is the middle and the end of human goal. It includes all the Buddhist virtues. The main object of restraint is mind. When the mind is restrained well, the five other forms of action will be restrained by themselves. Abstinence or temperance is also a virtue and occupies an important position among the Buddhist virtues.

However, the inner peace or *Santi* can be got only after performing the *Sila* or Precepts. In its primary sense, *Sila* means nature, character, habit or behavior. But in its secondary sense, it means moral practice, good character, Buddhist ethics and code of morality. According to Digha Nikaya the *Sila* comprises three kinds such as *Cula Sila*, *Majjima Sila* and *Maha Sila*. They mean respectively minor morality, middle morality and major morality. But among these *Silas*, *Panca Sila*, *Attha Sila* and *Dasa Sila* are very

important for morality of Buddhists. The observance of these Five, Eight, and Ten precepts is still insufficient to enable every Buddhist to get the inner peace or to attain the perfect *Santi*. Therefore it requires from every Buddhist to observe moreover the *Arya Satya* or the Four Noble Truths enabling to get away with suffering.

The *Panca Sila* of good behavior are as follows:

1. Abstinence from taking of life.
2. Abstinence from taking what is not given.
3. Abstinence from misconduct in sexual actions.
4. Abstinence from false speech.
5. Abstinence from liquors that causes intoxication and indolence.

(D. III. 235; A. III. 203, 275).

The great wisdom, which the Dalai Lama has achieved, is the clear understanding of contextual situations of each matter human can experience. He does not extremely emphasize on particular religion's practices but realizing substantial human need, peace, which can be attained by non-violence. He proposes his attitude on this approach in *No Magic, No Mystery* that:

My own view, which does not rely solely on religious faith, nor even on an original idea, but rather on ordinary common sense, is that establishing binding ethical principle is possible when we take as our starting point the observation that we all desire happiness and wish to avoid suffering. We have no means of discriminating between right and wrong if we do not take into account other's feelings, other's suffering. For this reason, and also because - as we shall see - the notion of absolute truth is difficult to sustain outside the

context of religion, ethical conduct is not something we engage in because it is somehow right in itself but because, like ourselves, all others desire happiness and to avoid suffering. Given that this is a natural disposition, shared by all, it follows that each individual has a right to pursue this goal. Accordingly, I suggest that one of the things, which determines whether an act is ethical or not is its effect on others' experience or expectation of happiness. An act, which harms or does violence to this, is potentially an unethical act. (Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 29)

This is the great wisdom, which human being should understand clearly. Since, before knowing another thing, according to the researcher's viewpoint, human being should know who he is exactly or else he will know other things wrongly. The most significant point which human should know is to know one's own feeling and others' feeling as the same entity. That is the great realization of human mind responding to the great teaching of the Master Buddha "to know what is what" which is *Ariyasacca*. The following chapter will propose the actual contribution from the Dalai Lama's wisdom on peace to the world.

CHAPTER III

CONTRIBUTION OF THE DALAI LAMA TO PEACE

*May all their fears from unbearable war,
famine, and disease be pacified, ...
Those unrelentingly cruel ones, objects of compassion,
Maddened by delusion's evils,
want only destroy themselves and others;
May they achieve the eye of wisdom,
Knowing what must be done or undone,
and abide in the glory of friendship and love.
(<http://www.tibet.com/DL/book.html>)*

3.1 A Gladiator of Peace

His Holiness Tenzin Gyatso, the XIV Dalai Lama of Tibet, serves two significant positions which seem to be obviously contradictory: the spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet (Dalai Lama, 1997, p. 21). As a Buddhist monk especially the supreme leader of religious followers in the country, his positional function should not concern *lokiya* activities as being the ruler of Tibet whose positional professionalism requires diplomatic strategy. Some of them may contradict the requirement of being monkhood of Buddhism if it is considered by literally Buddhist conservative viewpoint. For the Buddha's teaching emphasized on detachment. It follows that any real Buddha's disciple should not attach any temporal or *lokiya* concern. In the case of the Dalai Lama, according to his religious status, he has not to attach himself with the leadership of Tibet. Instead, he has to detach from all mundane entities and direct his life to *Niravana*. However, the Dalai Lama, evidentially, integrates these two positions in his contemporary life earning as a human being to concretize the essence of Buddha's disciple in the modern world. Even though the teaching of the Buddha in Theravada tradition focuses on detachment, Mahayana teaching, admits that the mission of *Avalokitesvara*, the *Bodhidattva* of Compassion is incarnation in this world to serve the people as Dalai Lama. He can serve this mission concretely in

the status of religious patriarch and that of leadership of the Tibet nation. The outstanding activity of the Dalai Lama is the diplomatic negotiation with the Chinese government for the Tibetan freedom and independence. It seems that the invasion of Mainland China's troops is the necessary cause that provides a road for the Dalai Lama to contribute and propagate the ideology of peace to the world. From his continuously patient endeavor with hope through religious observance concerning his professional mission as the leader of government of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, though has not succeeded in establishing freedom and independence for his country, has succeeded in contributing to other people in local, regional, national and international areas his ideology of pacification through *Ahimsa*. The strategic means he always applies for this mission are dialogue and negotiation with both his opponent, China's government, and other allies who attempt to support his strategies diplomatically. These are external evidences, which witness that he attempts to fulfill the mission of *Avalotikesvara*. The relevant content of this chapter concerns political strategy for freedom and independence of Tibet, which the Dalai Lama applies with the China government and other political delegates concern. However, he starts his mission form self-realization.

From the researcher's viewpoint, we acknowledge that the Dalai Lama realizes himself clearly so that he can operate his missions demanded by each position smoothly without violation to any obligation from each status. Moreover, he intentionally contributes his external compassionate examples of ethical performances to other people. He also clarifies active attitudes to concretize and protect peaceful atmosphere not only in his own political obligation but concerning to every part of the world.

As a human being, he knows that instinctual nature of human being requires the four basic physical needs and psychological needs according to basic human rights. These aspects can be summarized in the axiom, which claims that human beings need happiness and hate suffering. It is true that in refugee camps, the Dalai Lama through a democratic government-in-exile provides handicraft factories, hospitals, orphanages monasteries and cultural institutions for Tibetan refugees in India. He, as individual human being (Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 4) used to flee from his homeland for his survival when the Communist troops of the Mainland Chinese government invaded the capital of Tibet (Dalai Lama, 1997, p.113). He states his clear understanding about this perspective convincingly when he received the Nobel Prize in 1989 that:

No matter what part of the world we come from, we are all basically the same human beings. We all seek happiness and try to avoid suffering. We have the same basic human needs and concerns. All of us human beings want freedom and the right to determine our destiny as individuals and as peoples. That is human nature.
(<http://www.tibet.com/DL/book.html>)

This is the first step of self-realization for human development according to the researcher's perspective. It is true that if we do not know who we are, then we cannot know what to be done; on the contrary if we know who we are, we can direct our life. That is to know obviously that the real nature of our life is the basis of moral developments. In addition, ethical approach will be concerned automatically, after the process of self-realization. About this the Dalai Lama describes:

Consider a situation where we become embroiled in an argument with a family member. How we deal with the charged atmosphere, which develops will depend to a large extent on what underlies our actions at that moment – in other words, on our *kun long* [what drives or inspire our action]. The less calm we are, the more likely we are to react negatively with harsh word, and the more certain we are to say or do things which later we regret bitterly, even though we feel deeply for that person.

...We are much more likely to shrug this off if our disposition (*kun long*) is wholesome, if our heart are suffused with compassion, than if we are under the sway of negative emotions. When the driving force of our actions is wholesome, our actions will tend automatically to contribute to others' well being. They will thus automatically be ethical. Further, the more this is our habitual state, the less likely we are to react badly when provoked. And even when we do lose our temper, any outburst will be free of any sense of malice or hatred. The aim of spiritual and, therefore, ethical practice is thus to transform and perfect the individual's *kun long*. This is how we become better human beings. (Dalai Lama, 1999, pp. 32-33)

It seems to imply that the Dalai Lama believes that human being is naturally good; but sometimes, due to circumstance and environment, it may be malefic. But after being trained and reformed through ethical principles and practices they will be good. Further, he emphasizes that human beings are equal in terms of dignity. Happiness or suffering depends on respect or disdain of human rights. He addressed

to audiences in the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, on June 15, 1993 that:

No matter what country or continent we come from we are all basically the same human beings. We have the common human needs and concerns. We all seek happiness and try to avoid suffering regardless of our race, religion, sex or political status. Human beings, indeed all sentient beings, have the right to pursue happiness and live in peace and in freedom. As free human beings we can use our unique intelligence to try to understand ourselves and our world. But if we are prevented from using our creative potential, we are deprived of one of the basic characteristics of a human being. It is very often the most gifted, dedicated, and creative members of our society who become victims of human rights abuses. Thus the political, social, cultural and economic developments of a society are obstructed by the violation of human rights. Therefore, the protection of these rights and freedoms are of immense importance both for the individuals affected and for the development of the society as a whole. (<http://www.tibet.com/DL/book.html>)

It implies that human beings should treat others as human beings equally. The Dalai Lama believes that the lack of understanding of the true cause of happiness is the principal reason why people inflict suffering on others. It means that if human beings understand what is the true cause of happiness people will not harm others. It follows that there will be no man-made suffering at all.

As a manifested *Avalokitesvara* who chose to reincarnate to serve the people as Dalai Lama, he has to help his people to be free from the occupation of the

Communist troops of the Mainland Chinese government. However, as the *Bodisattava* of compassion there will not be any violence and war. Violence and war making are contrary to the virtues of the *Bodhisattava*. It follows that there must be the concern for other's wellbeing by curbing one's harmful impulses and desire. He proposes that:

Since love and compassion and similar qualities all, by definition, presume some level of concern for other's well-being, they also presume ethical restraint. We cannot be living and compassionate unless at the same time we curb our own harmful impulses and desires.

(Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 27)

The Dalai Lama attempts to propose this perspective since he started travelling to propagate the way of *Ahimsa* through the principle of equality, respect, trust and mutual benefit. He mentions this idea very seriously in his speech addressed in Nobel Prize presentation conference, Oslo, 10 December, 1989, that:

The suffering of our people during the past forty years of occupation is well documented. Ours has been a long struggle. We know our cause is just. Because violence can only breed more violence and suffering, our struggle must remain non-violent and free of hatred. We are trying to end the suffering of our people, not to inflict suffering upon others.

As a politician leader, any relationship between Tibet and China will have to be based on the principle of equality, respect, trust and mutual benefit. It will also have to be based on the principle which the wise rulers of Tibet and of China laid down in a treaty as early as 823 AD, carved on the pillar which still stands today in front of the Jokhang, Tibet's holiest shrine, in Lhasa, that "Tibetans will live happily in the

great land of Tibet, and the Chinese will live happily in the great land of China" (<http://www.tibet.com/DL/book.html>).

However, when confronted with a real problematic situation the Dalai Lama can apply knowledge and religious belief to solve problem appropriately as forma when he made a decision to ask the Prime Ministers of the Tibet's senate to resign for preserving peaceful atmosphere of negotiation between the representative of China's government and Tibet's Cabinet he shared:

There were two considerations: Lukhangwa's personal safety, and the future of our country as a whole. On the first, I had no doubt. Lukhangwa had already put his own life in danger. If I refuse to relieve him of office, there was every chance that the Chinese would get rid of him in ways of their own. On the more general question, my views had evolved throughout this long period of tension. It had still had no theoretical training in the intricacies of international politics. I could only apply my religious training to these problems, aided I trust by common sense. But religious training, I believed and still believe, was a very reliable guide. (Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 77)

The significant approach, which enforced him to make the decision as such, is not only the safety of the Prime Ministers but to preserve peace for the whole according to the teaching of the Buddha. About this case he rationally argued:

...if we continued to oppose and anger the Chinese authorities, it could only lead us further along the vicious circle of repression and popular resentment. In the end, it was certain to lead to outbreak of physical violence. Yet violence was useless; we could not possibly get rid of

the Chinese by any violent means. They would always win if we fought them, and our own unarmed and unorganized people would be the victims. Our only hope was to persuade the Chinese peaceably to fulfill the promises they had made in their agreement. Nonviolence was the only course, which might win us back a degree of freedom in the end, perhaps after years of patience. That meant cooperation whenever it was possible, and passive resistance whenever it was not.

And violent opposition was not only unpractical, it was also unethical. Nonviolence was the only moral course. This was not only my own profound belief, it was also clearly in accordance with the teaching of Lord Buddha, and as the religious leader of Tibet I was bound to uphold it. We might seem to be lost for a period, but if so, humility must be our portion.

It is quite complicated to justify that the decision, which the Dalai Lama had made, was right or wrong. However, for the betterment of everyone even though it may be dissatisfied but concerning to no serious harmfulness, it is appropriate decision.

According to the political condition, religious and professional obligations have to be adopted. The Dalai Lama confronted complicated conditions for making appropriate decision; but he still selected suitable choice. He describes such a crisis that:

My dual position as Dalai Lama, by which Tibet has been happily ruled for centuries, was becoming almost insupportable. In both my capacities as religious and secular leader, I felt bound to oppose the people's violent instincts, I was helping the Chinese to destroy the

people's trust in me. Yet even if the people lost faith in me as their secular leader, they must not lose faith in me as religious leader, which was much more important. I could delegate or abdicate my secular leadership, but the Dalai Lama could never abdicate as religious leader, nor would I ever have dream of doing so (Dalai Lama, 1997, p. 108).

Finally, he has to keep his religious authority intact and fled to India with bitter and desperate feeling concerning to the point that he cannot save his people as the description of his Dalai Lama's profession issued. However, he still keeps on seeking the way to liberate his country from the occupation of the Chinese government by dialogue to and negotiation with Chinese government fraternally. The Dalai Lama always uses this means to sincerely request freedom and independence for his country. He expressed his attitude of dialogue and negotiation to the Chinese government through fraternal concern without aggression. In his statement on the 37th anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day, for example, he expresses his positive attitude toward Chinese government that:

China is at a critical junction: its society is undergoing profound changes and the country's leadership is facing transition to a new generation. It is obvious too that the Tiananmen massacre has failed to silence the call for freedom, democracy and human right in China...As human being, it is my sincere desire that our Chinese brothers and sisters enjoy freedom, democracy, prosperity and stability. As a Buddhist monk, I am of course concerned that a country which is home to almost a quarter of the world's entire population and which is on the brink of an epic change, should undergo that change peacefully. In

view of China's huge population, chaos and instability could lead to large-scale bloodshed and tremendous suffering for millions of people. Such a situation would also have serious ramifications for peace and stability throughout the world. As a Tibetan, I recognize that the future of our country and our people depends to a great extent on what happens in China during the year ahead...I have always drawn attention to the need to bring Beijing into the main stream of world democracy and have spoken against any idea of isolating and containing China. To attempt to do so would be morally incorrect and politically impractical. In stead, I have always counseled a policy of responsible and principled engagement with the Chinese leadership. (Dalai Lama, <http://www.itbet.com/DL/book.html>)

This expression proposes fraternal respect to China as well as giving positive suggestion to the one who has been usually harmful to his own country. This is the great saintly mind that only the one who has *Ahimsa* attitude can express out instead of cruel and aggressive expression as normal sentient being who follows only feeling without concerning others' wellbeing.

Moreover, he keeps on subjecting the Tibet cause to others as well as sharing the ideology of peace to public world. In each conference or meeting he usually proposes firstly the necessary need of human being as happiness. Secondly, he proposes the significance of freedom. Thirdly, he proposes the attitude of non-violence as the means to achieve real happiness. In addition, he informs the situation of political crisis of his country that concerns the seizure of China and proposes his plan for establishing peace in his homeland through appropriate responsibility of each group contextually (Budson, 1997, p. 15). Although he has not got success yet but he

still keeps on rallying for the freedom and independence of his country. He declares this intention to his people in the statement addressed on the 41st Anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day on March 10, 2000 that:

Irrespective of the passage of time the freedom struggle of the Tibetan people continues with undiminished determination. It is clear that this is not a struggle for the cause of one man nor is it that of one generation of Tibetans. It is therefore obvious that generations of Tibetans to come will continue to cherish, honor and commit themselves to this freedom struggle. Sooner or later, the Chinese leadership will have to face this fact...On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue. It is my firm belief that dialogue and willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead us to a viable solution. (Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar00.html>)

From this viewpoint, we can conclude that the Dalai Lama is a great gladiator who struggles for peace continuously for both himself and his people as well as for those people in the whole world.

3.2 The Way to Peace

The Dalai Lama always reflects his responsibility to preserve peace and provide freedom to his people. Even though he has not completed his expectation yet, he keeps on fighting without weapons but words for the final goal of his country through hope. He propose that:

By hope we expect to have happiness: Better, happier life. Compare to the old Tibetan proverb 'The next life or tomorrow- we can never be

certain which will come first'. But we hope to go on living. We hope that through this or that action we can bring about happiness. (Dalai Lama, 1999, p.5)

From ideal hope to actual practice, the struggling strategy for peace, which the Dalai Lama applies, is dialogue and negotiation stating that he is a religious leader and essentially *Avalokitesvara*. It follows that no harmful activities to be applied for achieving peace. The Dalai Lama proposes the main focus of practice on others' well being through training spirituality for absorbing substance of ethical virtues that:

Those who practices religion would, of course, be right to say that such qualities, or virtues, are fruits of genuine religious endeavor and that religion therefore has everything to do with developing them and with what may be called spiritual practice. But let us be clear on this point. Religious faith demands spiritual practice. Yet it seems there is much confusion, as often among religious believers as among nonbelievers, concerning what this actually consists in. The unifying characteristic of the qualities I have described as 'spiritual' may be said to be some level of concern for others' well-being. In Tibet, we speak of *shen-pen kyi-sem*, meaning 'the thought to be of help to others'. And when we think about them, we see that each of the qualities noted is defined by an implicit concern for others' well-being. Moreover, the one who is compassionate, loving, patient, tolerant, forgiving and so on to some extent recognizes the potential impact of their actions on others and orders their conduct accordingly. Thus spiritual practice according to this description involves, on the one hand, action out of concern for others' wellbeing. On the other, it entails transforming ourselves so

that we become more readily disposed to do so. To speak of spiritual practice in any term other than these is meaningless. (Dalai Lama, 1999, p.23-24)

3.2.1 Bodhicitta

Bodhicitta means the enlightened mind. It is an important concept common to Theravada, Mahayana, and Tantric Buddhism. However, this concept is less explored in Theravada Buddhism, compared with Mahayana. In Mahayana Buddhism the *Bodhicitta* is said to develop along both ethical and metaphysical lines and this development is found in Tantrism, too, wherein it also came to be regarded as a state of great bliss (*mahasukha*). In Mahayana it developed along pantheistic lines, for it was held that *Bodhicitta* is latent in all beings and that it is merely a manifestation of the *Dharmakaya* (Body of Law) or *Bhutatathata* (suchness of existence, i.e. the Universal Spirit) in the human heart (Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. III, 1977, p. 184).

Thus it came to be analogous to the Brahman concept of the *Upanisads* and was considered immeasurable (*aprameya*) infinite (*aparyanta*) and indestructible (*aksaya*). A still later stage of the development of the *Bodhicitta* concept is seen in the *Abhidharmadipa*, where this term itself is found. Here the altruistic motive of the *Bodhisattva* is more explicitly stated. This altruistic motive is further stressed in such texts as the *Mahavastu* and the *Lalitavistara*. Both these texts clearly state that the *Bodhisattva* resolves to develop *Bodhisattva* for the well-being of others (Ibid., p. 185).

Later Mahayana texts such as the *Gandavyukha*, the *Sikhsasamuccaya*, and the *Bodhicaryavatara* give this altruism of the *Bodhisattva* still more prominence.

In later Mahayana, with the suppression of compassion (*karuna*) over wisdom (*prajñā*) altruism became the sole motive for the development of the *Bodhicitta* and

this change is well represented by the character of *Avalokitesvara*, the great compassionate being who abandoned his own emancipation for the sake of others (Ibid., p. 185).

Alongside with the development of the ethical aspect, *Bodhicitta* also developed on the metaphysical side. This development is seen in the works of such Buddhist philosophers as Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, and Sthiramati. According to these thinkers, *Bodhicitta* is free of all determination and looks like the great ocean (Ibid., p. 185).

Bodhicitta is the same as *Bhutatahata*, *Tathata*, or *Buddhata* and as such it is universal, being latent in all beings. This latent *Bodhicitta* has to be awakened and cultivated. For attaining *Bodhicitta* an aspirant should cultivate ten qualities according to *Bodhicittotapadasutra-sastra*. Thus, one who aspires to awaken the *bodhicitta* should gather friends (*paricinati kalyanamitrani*), worship the Buddhas (*pujyati buddhan*), acquire roots of merit (*samgrhanati kusalamulani*), search the good laws (*gavesayati pranitadharman*), remain ever compassionate (*bhavati nityam suratacittah*), bear all suffering that befall him (*ksamate dukkanyapatitani*), remain kind, compassionate and honest (*bhavati maitrah karunikah*), remain even-minded (*bhavati samacittasayah*), rejoice in Mahayana with faith (*sraddhayabhinandati mahayanam*) and search the Buddha-wisdom (*gavesayati buddhaprajnam*) (Ibid., p. 186).

The second stage of the development of *Bodhicitta* begins with the practice of *paramita* and this stage is called *Bodhi-prasthanacitta*. The aspirant has to practice the six *paramitas*, namely, giving, (*dana*), virtue (*sila*), patience (*ksanti*), effort (*viriya*), meditation (*dhyana*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). After perfecting these *paramitas* the aspirant has to proceed along the ten stages (*bhumi*) of the *Bodhisattva* career (Ibid., p. 186).

In Tantric Buddhism, too, the *Bodhicitta* concept developed along both aspects. *Bodhicitta* is praised by all as being of the nature of pure truth (*suddhatattvartha*), pure (*suddhartha*), evolving from the voidness of all phenomena (*dharmanairatmyasambhuta*), fulfilling Buddhahood (*buddhabodhiprapuraka*), devoid of thought construction (*nirikalpa*), without any support (*niralamba*), good in every respect (*samantabhadra*), beneficial to beings (*sattvartha*), producer of the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicittappravartaka*), practice leading to Enlightenment (*bodhicarya*), great thunderbolt (*mahavajra*), pure like the Tathagata's heart (*cittam tathagatam suddham*), bearer of the thunderbolt consisting of body, speech and mind (*kayavakcittavajradhrk*), bestower of Buddha-Enlightenment (*buddhabodhipradata*) (Ibid., p. 187).

All these exegeses point to the fact that *Bodhicitta* is the realization of the voidness of all phenomena. It is devoid of beginning or end and tranquil. It is immutable in existence as well as in non-existence. It is the unity of void and compassion (Ibid., p. 187).

An aspirant who resolves to awaken *Bodhicitta* is required to possess compassion. According to Das Gupta, in his work *An introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, we who discard *karuna* (compassion) and stick to *sunyata* (void) alone never has access to the right path. In Tantric Buddhism the development of the concept of *Bodhicitta* took a different turn. There, when esoteric practices gained importance, *Bodhicitta* came to be regarded as a state of great bliss (*mahasukkhā*), reached through sexo-yogin practices (Ibid., p. 187). In Tantric texts *Bodhicitta* is represented as the product of the union of certain pairs which are considered as symbolizing the masculine and the feminine forces, and this concept which, at the beginning, was limited to its doctrinal sense, gradually spread into various other spheres. Thus, in the doctrinal sphere, as the result of the union of *upaya* and *prajñā*,

it is called *Bodhicitta*; in the cosmic sphere, as the result of the union of moon and sun it is called fire; in the sexual sphere, as the result of *vajra* and lotus it is *sukra*; in the biological sphere as the product of *sukra* and *rakta* (blood) it is called the *bija* (seed); in the vocal sphere, as the result of the union of *kali* (consonants) and *ali* (vowels) it is called *aksara* (syllable); and finally, as the result of the union of the two veins, *rasana* and *lalana*, it is called *avadhuti* (Ibid., p. 188).

According to Tantric Buddhism, *Bodhicitta* has two forms, namely the relative (*samvrti*) and absolute (*vivrti*). In the *Samvrti* form it becomes the essence of existence (*samsara*) and in its *vivrti* aspect it is the great bliss (*mahasukha*) (Ibid., p. 188). With the flow of the *Bodhicitta* through the four *cakras* are associated the four *mudras* (yogic gestures or symbols), *ksana* (moments) and *ananda* (joys).

a) The absolute *Bodhicitta*

It concerns the perception of the nature of mind, which is awakened. It concerns the recognition of our true nature, of our mind's nature. This nature is ultimately the realization of the self-emptiness, realization experimented and not thought conceptually. From this experience emanates an immense compassion of sentient beings.

b) The relative *Bodhicitta*

It concerns an aspiration to the awakening. Therefore, it concerns the awakened thought. This aspiration can be divided into two aspects: the real aspiration like a need to make travel, and the preparation of this travel, and on other hand, the materialization of this aspiration. If the absolute *Bodhicitta* is the result of certain realization the relative *Bodhicitta* can be subject to training for achieving four incommensurable things as follows:

- (i) Love-affection, which contradicts of wrath, and which leads to wish happiness of all sentient beings.
- (ii) Compassion which contradicts the passion and leads to wish the liberation of all suffering beings.
- (iii) Joy which is contrary to jealousy, and leads to enjoy the happiness of others.
- (iv) Equanimity, which is contrary to selfish ignorance and leads to the liberation of aggressiveness and of the need to judge.

This training leads to observe the Six *Paramitas*, which have been mentioned above. In practical process, which the Dalai Lama contributes to the world, he always suggests other people to control their feeling and emotion and express only positive viewpoints towards others for attaining happiness. The Dalai Lama describes this aspect comparatively that:

Negative thoughts and emotions are what obstruct our most basic aspiration- to be happy and to avoid suffering. When we act under their influence, we become oblivious to the impact our actions have on others: they are thus the cause of our destructive behavior both toward others and to ourselves. They are the very source of unethical conduct. Murder, scandal, and deceit all have their origin in afflictive emotion. They are also the basis of the anxiety, depression, confusion, and stress, which are such a feature of our lives today. This is why I say that the undisciplined mind – that is, the mind under the influence of anger, hatred, greed, pride, selfishness and so on – is the source of all of our troubles which do not fall into the category of unavoidable suffering...(Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 90)

This case may be identified that human mind has not *Bodhichitta* or a sense of alienation from self (Ibid., p. 91). The Dalai Lama indicates that in place of happiness there will be insecurity and the source of our internal suffering (Ibid., p. 101). To get happiness there must be inner peace and one arises in the context of relationship with others (Ibid., p. 103).

3.2.2 Inner Peace

For the Dalai Lama whose policy is nonviolence and who is advocating the compassion and tolerance towards the others, he cannot conceive of outer peace without the inner peace. Outer and inner peace are intimately correlated. One cannot conceive outer peace without taking into consideration the problem of inner peace. As the Dalai Lama said, without inner peace it is impossible to have world peace. And real peace, tranquillity should come from within. On other occasions he said:

We also find that when we act out of concern for others, the peace this creates in our own hearts brings peace to everyone we associate with.

We bring peace to the family, peace to our friends, to the workplace, to the community, and so to the world. (Dalai Lama, 1997, pp. 44, 75, 76)

According to the Dalai Lama the inner peace is the actions we undertake in our pursuit of happiness which is characterized by peace and by genuine satisfaction after experiencing love, compassion, patience, forgiveness, humility, tolerance, and so on (Ibid. p. 61). In addition, genuine happiness is spiritual qualities of love and compassion, patience, tolerance, forgiveness, humility (Ibid., p. 62). As regarding love the Dalai Lama said that love and compassion are mental fabric of world peace and the center of human life. However, the Dalai Lama suggests the way to peace as well as the meaning of peace through the respect of human right and development of

mental peace. He expressed this aspect very firmly when he gave the Nobel's lecture in University Aula, Oslo, December 11th, 1989 that:

Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free. True peace with oneself and with the world around us can only be achieved through the development of mental peace. (Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/book.html>)

It implies that those who need peace have to pay respect to others' right and train one's mind to be calm, and to develop love and compassion for others. This is the way of *Ahimsa*.

3.2.3 *Ahimsa* or Nonviolence

Peace, love and compassion are the Dalai Lama's main concern. He said that peace, love, and compassion depend on the people who concerned with peace, love, and compassion. He has often stated that inner peace and outer peace are two facets of the same thing and the inner peace determines and conditions the outer peace. The word "Inner peace" corresponds to a Sanskrit term "*Shanti*". *Shanti* can be comprehended as complementing the occidental focus on "outer peace" and as a necessary condition for "outer peace" (Krieger, 1993, p. 689). The concept of peace goes along with the concept of *Ahimsa* (non-violence). Without *Ahimsa* there is no peace, and without *Bodhicitta* there is no *Ahimsa*. The concepts of *Bodhicitta*, *Ahimsa* and Peace are inter-related, following the doctrine of Dependent Origination. After dealing with the concept of *Bodhicitta* and peace we should continue resorting to the notion of *Ahimsa*. The Dalai Lama said "peace in the world depends on peace

in the hearts of individuals” (Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 202). Therefore, to make the word peaceful men should be motivated by compassion, which implies the awakened mind.

3. 2. 3. 1 *Ahimsa* as Taught in Hinduism

The concept “*Ahimsa*” is applied by the Dalai Lama, when he deals with compassion, non-violence and peace. The concept of *Ahimsa* is also found in Theravada Buddhism. It can be said that *Ahimsa* is a concept common to Hinduism and Buddhism with the same fundamental meaning. The Dalai Lama applies the *Ahimsa* concept as a tactics and strategy vis-a-vis Communist China aiming to bring China to compromise, i.e. in order to lead China to settle the problem of Tibetan independence and of withdrawal of all Chinese forces from Tibet as well as to make Tibet a denuclearized zone.

In Sanskrit a word “*himsa*” means doing harm or causing injury. The “a” placed before the word negates it. Very simply, *Ahimsa* is abstaining from causing hurt, kill, injure or harm. It is physical and mental gentleness and non-injury. It is notable that nonviolence speaks only to the most extreme forms of wrongdoing, while *Ahimsa* (which includes not killing) goes much deeper to prohibit the subtle abuse and the simple hurt.

Ahimsa had been held in high regard in India from an early age. This term appeared already in the *Chandogya Upanisad* (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. III, 1977, p. 17) of the early period. It was also strongly advocated by the Buddha and by Mahavira in middle India, who included it in their systems of teaching and gave it a theoretical basis from their respective doctrines. In time, it spread to the whole of Indian religion and, down to the present day, has to be highly regarded as an incomparable moral principle (Ibid., p. 287). For example, in the various writings of

the *Dharmasutra*, which strongly influenced the daily life of the Indian people, there are many rules based on *Ahimsa*. Again in Hinduism the doctrine of *Ahimsa* was highly respected, and from this as basis there sprang groups of people who practices vegetarianism. The roots of *Ahimsa* are found in the sacred texts of Hinduism. In his commentary on the Yoga Sutras, Vyasa defines *Ahimsa* as the absence of injuriousness (*anabhidroha*) toward all living beings (*sarvabhuta*) in all respects (*sarvatha*) and for all times (*sarvada*).

Similarly, Patanjali regards *Ahimsa* as the yogi's *mahavrata*, the great vow and foremost spiritual discipline, which those seeking Truth must follow strictly and without fail. This was not meant merely to condemn killing, but extended to harm caused by one's thoughts, words and deeds of all kinds including injury to the natural environment. Even the intention to injure is a violation of the principle of *Ahimsa* (H.H. Hurudeva Sivaya Subramaniaswami-[http://www.himalayanacademy.com/books/pamphlets/Ahimsa Nonviolence .html](http://www.himalayanacademy.com/books/pamphlets/Ahimsa%20Nonviolence.html),).

Therefore, *Ahimsa* is certainly not cowardice; it is wisdom. And wisdom is the cumulative knowledge of the existing divine laws of reincarnation, karma, dharma, the all-pervasiveness and sacredness of things, blended together within the psyche or soul of the Hindu (Ibid. 2). *Ahimsa* is higher consciousness, and *himsa*, hurtfulness is lower consciousness.

In recent times, it is well-known how Mahatma Gandhi united the people of India, guided the movements of the nation, and achieved so much on the basis of *Ahimsa*, giving a wider interpretation in order to exclude any thought of ill-will or hatred (Ibid., p. 287). He gave an additional meaning of the concept of *Ahimsa*. He said that *Ahimsa* is associated with chastity and absence of possessions as well as with the conviction that one should identify with all beings. In addition, *Ahimsa* is based

on self-control necessitating preliminary self-purification. Gandhi stressed that *Ahimsa* is a condition of truth, which in turn can be equated with God. He used according the Hindu tradition *Ahimsa* not only as a moral weapon but as a political one as well.

As Mahatma Gandhi adopted the non-violence as weapon for opposing the British colonizers and leading to the complete successful independence for India, the peaceful pattern of struggle of Gandhi become in the aftermath of the Second World war the famous way of struggle for national independence for most of underdeveloped countries. Even the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States adopted the Gandhi pattern for struggle for the civil rights and the equality for the Black American people during the sixties. The non-violence he chose for carrying out his struggle for the civil rights for the Black American people constituted the very good example for the whole world that sometime the non-violence way of struggle can lead to the unhopeful victory. Moreover, this peaceful way of struggle constitutes also a differing paradigm against the thesis advocated by the Marxists and communists according to which the violence constitutes the sole way to the liberation of people.

3. 2. 3. 2 *Ahimsa* as Taught in Buddhism

The doctrine of *Ahimsa* as taught in Buddhism was a moderate one and did not run to extremes. The principle of *Ahimsa* was expressed in such phrases as *panatipata veramani*, and *panatipati pativirati* (both these expressions convey the same meaning of abstaining from injuring living beings). The effort of will is necessary to abstain from evil tendencies such as killing and uttering falsehood, and one must always, unceasingly, be one's guard not to do evil.

Thus *Sila* is the original motive power, which advances the practices of Buddhism towards accomplishment, and included in this teaching of the precepts (*adhisila-sikkha*) is the doctrine of not killing living beings (*panatipata veramani sikkhapadam*). Therefore, the practice of *Ahimsa* in Buddhism is supported by the spiritual force of this precept, and is actualized by the mental power that arises with it (Ibid. p. 288).

Psychologically speaking, the spirit, which promotes *Ahimsa* can be described as the spirit of compassion and, to explain this, various interpretations have appeared in later periods. Sthiramati of the Vijnanavada (School of pure consciousness) in Mahayana states in the *Vijnapatimatratisiddhi* that “compassion (*karuna*) is the mental property (*caitasika*) by which *Ahimsa* is actualized and practiced” (Ibid., p. 288). For Dharmapala, belonging to the same School of pure consciousness, construed the mental property in the practice of *Ahimsa* as being non-anger. This means that when mental power, as anger (*dvesa*), awakens and stimulates people, the object of that anger is injured or killed. On the same problem, the *Sarvastivada* believed that there was an independent mental power called *Ahimsa* in the mind, and this actualized *Ahimsa*, which resulted as bodily action (Ibid. p. 288). In the Theravada no special category was made of *Ahimsa* as a psychological process. It is not included in the 52 kinds of *cetasikkhadharma* of the *Abhidharmmatthasangaha* (Ibid., p. 288). It seems that the concept of *Ahimsa* is included as part of *adosa*, one of three basic wholesome mental formations.

Ahimsa is asserted from the point of view of compassion and love towards all living beings; at the same time, it is also maintained from the standpoint of a penitent and a feeling of shame, because of the cruelty involved in killing living creatures. *Ahimsa* is considered a noble act, because it is not only the object of the act, but

oneself, too, that can attain happiness by having compassion and actually practicing it. The fifth verse of the *Dharmapada* is rendered, "Hatred never ceases by hatred in this world. Through loving kindness it comes to an end. This is an ancient law". And again, in the *Anguttara Nikaya* (A.IV.151), it is said:

Who kills not, nor ought causes to be killed,

Who robs not, nor makes others rob, for all

Within his heart hath share, be hateth none .(A.IV. 104,)

What is indicated here is that to have delight in *Ahimsa* and to cultivate the mind of compassion (*metta-citta-bhavana*) are one and the same. To develop a compassionate heart is to desire that all living beings shall reach a state of happiness, tranquillity, and well-being; and then to awaken in oneself the feeling of compassion towards innumerable and infinite kinds of life, and thus embrace all life by the thought of compassion (Ibid., p. 289). This is called the mind of boundless compassion (*metta-appamanna*).

In Buddhism the practice of *Ahimsa* is taught in various ways. For example, the fourth item, right action (*sammakammanta*) of the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariya-atthangika-magga*) can be explained and interpreted as *Ahimsa*. Again the path of the ten kinds of good actions (*dasakusalakammamapatha*) is highly regarded. Its first step is that of not killing living beings. When the Buddha taught the correct daily conduct of the lay follower to *Singalika*, the first principle enunciated was that of non-killing of beings.

Thus, *Ahimsa* was a most important teaching in early Buddhism (Ibid., p. 289). In practice *Ahimsa* is a very efficient weapon in political struggle because it opposes the passivity and inertia to the oppression and repression organized by the enemies of the users of peaceful way of struggle. Moreover, the practitioners of *Ahimsa* use the

inertia force for sabotaging the force of the adversaries or enemies. That is the way inspiring the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

3.3 Practical *Ahimsa* and The Dalai Lama

As said, the Dalai Lama could not choose the violent way for his struggle for national independence of Tibet because that would lead to an endless vicious circle of violence and repression that would exterminate the Tibetan people. He considered that violence was useless and the Tibetan people could not possibly get rid of the Chinese by any violent means. And violent opposition was not only unpractical, it was also unethical. He said, "Nonviolence was the only moral course. This was not only my own profound belief, it was also clearly in accordance with the teaching of Lord Buddha, and as the religious leader of Tibet I was bound to uphold it" (Dalai Lama, 1997, p. 77).

It may be considered that the Dalai Lama did not have other alternative for dealing with Communist China concerning the problem of Tibet independence. The position of Buddhist monk makes him have to choose the way of *Ahimsa*. However, the political role of the Dalai Lama should not be viewed separately from his inner training of mind. Thus, the way of *Ahimsa* practical by him should not be considered as much a political method, but should be seen as the way which bared on his most profound belief grounded in Buddhist morality.

Nevertheless, politically he made a number of proposals to Communist Chinese government such as peace proposal of 1987 and the council of Europe parliamentary assembly in Strasbourg (France) proposal in October 5, 1988. The first one concerns his Five-Point Peace Plan that envisages a solution, which does not ask for the complete independence of Tibet.

These two proposals were destined to cope with a compromise that should satisfy China because it implied a kind of self-determination of Tibet within the Greater China and would bring Chinese government to negotiate with the Dalai Lama. As said the Dalai Lama if he advanced these proposals to the Chinese government it is dictated by the desire of the Dalai Lama to preserve “the survival of the six million Tibetan people along with the protection of our distinct culture, identity and civilization” .(Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar94.html>.)

His peace plan of 1987 contains five basic components:

- (i) Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace.
- (ii) Abandonment of China's population-transfer policy, which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people.
- (iii) Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedom.
- (iv) Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste.
- (v) Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

(Dalai Lama, 1997, p.15)

Whereas by advancing these proposals the Dalai Lama hoped “that my middle-way approach would eventually create an atmosphere of mutual trust, conducive to fruitful negotiations and exert a restraining influence on the repressive Chinese policies in Tibet” (Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar94.html>; cf. Bunson, 1997, p.15). However, this peace plan was rejected by the Chinese

Government arguing that it was intended to widen the gulf between China and the Tibetan government-in-exile (Ibid., p. 15). As a pacifist he considers that the humanity love peace, justice, and freedom always triumph over cruelty and oppression. That contributes to make him a fervent believer in nonviolence. Because, as he said, violence begets violence. And violence means only one thing: suffering (Dalai Lama, 1999, p. 201). And he is forever stick to his conviction and said that “I continue to remain committed to finding a peaceful and negotiated solution to the issue of Tibet with the Chinese government directly” (DaLai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar94.html>).

The Dalai Lama was persevering in his nonviolent policy by proposing to the Chinese government to meet him and to forward him a new way of tackling the Tibetan problem. But the Chinese Government refused his peaceful proposals. In the international field he praised the UNO peacekeeping operations in the world. More than that he proposed to the UNO to consider the establishment of what he called Zones of Peace of *Ahimsa* (Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/book.html>). He proposed also to create demilitarized parts of one or more country to create oases of stability, preferably in areas of strategic significance. These would, he said, serve as beacons of hope for the rest of the world (Ibid., p. 213).

He even went further by forwarding a new plan concerning the demilitarization of Tibet, by creating Tibet a Zone of Peace. He appealed for the safeguard of its environment. As the Chinese government strove to modernize its nuclear armament after making tests in the Sinkiang desert, fearing for the survival of the Tibetan people he untiringly made new proposal to the Chinese government to denuclearize the Tibet.

What is surprising for the world peace and security is that the Dalai Lama thought about the setting up of “the International Physicians for the prevention of Nuclear war Group”, or the initiative on the arms trade by the Nobel Peace Laureates to which he is a member, and even a “World Council of the People” composed of artists, bankers, environmentalists, lawyers, poets, academics, religious thinkers, and writers as well as ordinary men and women with a common reputation for integrity and dedication to fundamental ethical and human values (Ibid., p. 216). He said that “On the basis of this we will have created the conditions for lasting world peace” (Ibid., p. 217).

For his gradually nonviolent struggle the Dalai Lama was awarded by the Stockholm Nobel Committee in 1989 the Nobel Prize for Peace. In his acceptance speech of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize the Dalai Lama said:

I hope this prize will provide courage to the six million people of Tibet...Yet our people's determination and commitment to spiritual values and the practice of nonviolence remain unshaken. This prize is a profound recognition of their faith and perseverance. (Bunson, 1997, p. 247)

From this perspective, he keeps on contribute his attitude of nonviolence for peace making with other people. At the same time, he also keeps on negotiating through both direct and indirect dialogues with the Mainland China government to liberate Tibet from its occupation and live together in fraternal atmosphere peacefully. Human being should live together in truth not diplomatic speech. It follows that each individual has to learn how to live together peacefully. Suggestions which the Dalai Lama usually declares to worldly public, are that there must be respect of human rights, reformation of calm mind and provision of nonviolence.

3.4 Summary

Due to the enforcement of his profession as a humane refugee, the leader of Tibet nation and the savior of the world as *Avalotikesvara*, the Dalai Lama has to integrate professional obligation of each status in particular situations according to personal contexts. As a humane refugee who needs independence authentically he has to struggle for such approach. Moreover, as the leader of Tibet nation, even though he has a right to fight with armed troops but he cannot do such activity because another obligation as religious leader who has no right to apply weaponry force. It follows that he has to use *Ahimsa*. This strategy does not mean that there is no struggle. There is, factually, a serious struggle without weapons. The tools, which the Dalai Lama applies for accomplishing his approaches, both political and religious ones, are dialogue and negotiation with hope through intelligence. These are the great contributions, which the Dalai Lama offers to the world. Instead of solving problems with violence and aggression, he proposes patient negotiation and dialogue, which release only peace and mutual understanding without harmfulness. All his contributions benefice not only his personal approaches but all people over the world have learned appropriate means to initiate peaceful atmosphere in this contemporary world.

CHAPTER IV

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE DALAI LAMA'S *AHIMSA* FOR PEACE

4.1 Appropriateness of *Ahimsa* in Today's World

It is quite complicated for the Dalai Lama to operate his missions among the contemporary world's situations especially the current conflict with the Mainland China government according to his functional obligations as a refugee and the ruler of the Tibetan nation, whose country has been seized and needs to be independent and free politically, and as religious leader who has to observe the monkhood disciplines seriously; and moreover, as *Avalokitesvara* who has to redeem the world. The process of critical evaluation has to follow the holistic context of one person whose position concerns the complicated obligations.

4.1.1 Natural Position of a Buddhist Monk

Playing a perfect role of a Buddhist monk the 14th Dalai Lama is stick to his Buddhist *Paramitas* or virtues that is the compassion. For, compassion is the nexus of all Buddhist ethics. It is the basis of altruism, generosity, and love as well as the responsibility for others.

As far as it is concerned generosity threefold: material generosity, spiritual generosity, a donation of Dharma, generosity of protection that protects from fear. The Dalai Lama, as the Supreme Leader of Tibetan Buddhism, can never depart from his *Ahimsa* or nonviolence polity standpoint because *Ahimsa* is, factually, the ground of Buddhism. And as Buddhist monk like other monks the Dalai Lama should abide by the Sublime Four Virtues such as *Metta*, *Karuna*, *Mudhitta*, *Upekkha* (that means respectively love, compassion,

kindness, equanimity). Therefore, these Sublime Four Virtues are the basic principles governing the whole Buddhist ethics. Moreover, either Theravada Buddhist or Mahayana Buddhist monk, all of them must observe these Four Sublime Virtues governing the other Buddhist ethical *Silas* as well as the Eight Noble Truths. In addition, it is very important to note that as Buddhist monk the Dalai Lama should assimilate all these Four sublime Virtues governing his daily life and his mind along with his behavior.

4.1.2 Natural Position of an *Avalokitesvara*

As a *Bodhisattva* (commonly known as Living Buddha) mentally he attains the Nirvana, the perfection, the enlightenment (implying that the Dalai Lama should possess a priori the *Bodhicitta* or enlightening spirit). So when the Dalai Lama tackles every problems of life he thinks, reasons and acts or behaves like a wise man. And as a wise man and perfect man his thought, his behavior should be irreproachable. Likewise, when he expresses his opinion on whatever problem his opinion should not be doubted because it is the truth itself.

However, the Dalai Lama never pretends to be irreproachable and infallible. He always said that his opinion or his assessment is only a viewpoint of a Buddhist monk, which cannot prevail over viewpoints of other peoples. Nevertheless, that is only a humble and modest attitude of the Dalai Lama. Notwithstanding that we should understand the position of the Dalai Lama with his dual function or responsibility. Because of this duality of function and responsibility we should interpret the *Ahimsa* of the Dalai Lama as that of the Supreme Leader of both Tibetan Buddhism and State. In both spheres of powers: temporal and spiritual the *Ahimsa* is the basic ethics of the Dalai Lama. Thus, questioned by the following

question of an interviewer: "Your Holiness in your struggle to liberate Tibet, do you absolutely refuse the use of violence, or is violence for you simply the best way to attain your goal?" The Dalai Lama gave the following answer:

Yes, I absolutely refuse the use of violence. For several years now I have asked on several occasions what I would do if the despair of certain Tibetans drove them to violence, and I have always replied that if that were to happen I would give up and step back. I have reasons for thinking in this way; it is not merely a blind belief. First of all, I believe that the basic nature of human beings is gentle and compassionate. It is therefore in our own interest to encourage that nature, to make it live within us, to leave room for it to develop. If on the contrary, we use violence, it is as if we voluntarily obstruct the positive side of human nature and prevent its evolution.

The First World War ended with the defeat of Germany, and this defeat left a deep trauma in the German people. That is how the seeds of the Second World War were sown. Once violence gains the upper hand in a situation, emotions can no longer be controlled. This is dangerous and leads to tragedy. This is exactly what is happening in Bosnia at the moment. Violent methods merely create new problems. In our case, what is most important is the fact that we Tibetans and our Chinese brothers and sisters have always been neighbors and must remain so. The only alternative for the future is to learn to get along and live in harmony with our neighbors. We must seek a solution between the Chinese and the Tibetans that will offer mutual benefits. Because of our nonviolent attitude, Chinese people both within China and abroad have

already expressed sympathy and concern for our cause, some have even said they greatly appreciate our nonviolent attitude. (Dalai Lama, *Tibet and China, Marxism, non-violence*, <http://www.earthlight.co.nz/hhdl/hhdlquotes1.html>)

When the Dalai Lama sticks to nonviolence that means he is faithful to the threefold virtues, such as compassion, love and kindness which is the Buddhist way. He expresses his ethico-religio attitude after proposing instinct animate feeling towards the current situation of his country and instructing the valuable teaching towards enemies that:

It would be easy to become angry at these events [the Chinese invasion to Tibet and 1.2 million Tibetans lost their lives within 42 years of the struggle to keep their cause alive and preserve their Buddhism culture of nonviolence and compassion]. To feel nothing but hatred for the Chinese authorities, labeling them as our enemies, we could self-righteously condemn them for their brutality and dismiss them as unworthy of further thought or consideration. But that is not the Buddhist way. And as recent events have so clearly demonstrated, that is not the way to achieve peace and harmony.

Our most valuable teachers are our enemies. Not only is this a fundamental Buddhist teaching it is a demonstrated fact of life. While our friends can help us in many ways, only our enemies can provide us the challenge we need to develop tolerance, patience, and compassion. These three virtues are essential for building character, developing peace of mind, and bringing us true happiness. (Dalai Lama, *Embracing the Enemy*, <http://www.tibet.com/Proposal/yale.html>, p. 2)

The compassion for him is basically universal, responsibility, is the feeling for other people's suffering just as we feel our own. It is true that even our own enemy is motivated by the quest for happiness. For defining the compassion the Dalai Lama went further to say in the view of Buddhism that it is a universal virtue for everyone. He continuously clarifies this ethical perspective of Tibetans to audiences in the Yale University's hall that

Through good times and bad times, we Tibetans try to keep our spiritual health and our good humor, remembering that all people, whether they harm us or help us, are ultimately our friends. I often tell the Tibetan people that as long as we remember these fundamental truths, we are truly invincible. Our determination will never die, and we will eventually be able to help our friends in China too. (Ibid., 2)

At the heart of Buddhist philosophy is the notion of compassion for others. It should be noted that the compassion encouraged by Mahayana Buddhism is not the usual love one has for friends or family. The love being advocated here is the kind one can have even for another who has done one harm. Developing a kind of heart does not always involve any of the sentimental religiosity normally associated with it. It is not just for people who believe in religions; it is for everyone who considers himself or herself to be a member of the human family, and thus sees things in accordingly large terms. The rationale for universal compassion is based on the same principle of spiritual democracy. It is the recognition of the fact every living being has an equal right to and desire for happiness. The true acceptance of the principle of democracy requires that human beings think and act in terms of the common good. Compassion and universal responsibility require a commitment to personal sacrifice and the neglect of egotistical desires. The Dalai Lama also believes that every-day

experience of human being confirms that a self-centered attitude towards problems can be destructive not only towards society, but to the individual as well. It is true that selfishness does not solve problems, it multiplies them. Accepting responsibility and maintaining respect for other will leave all concerned at peace. This is the essence of Mahayana Buddhism.

And always stick to his Buddhist compassion he advised the Tibetan people not to nature hatred and to consider Chinese communists as their enemies. Because he said that the Buddhist way compelled them to behave otherwise viz. to blame Chinese communists for their brutality. For Chinese communists can provide Tibetans the challenge they need to develop tolerance, patience, and compassion. These three virtues are essential for building character, developing peace of mind, and bringing us true happiness (Ibid. p. 2).

For advocating this particular compassion in the religious history of the world only the Christian ethics which taught the extreme compassion with the forgiveness of those who harm oneself and taught to turn the other cheek when struck by the enemy. But the reality seems to be different from this epinal image because it is quite difficult to find out this kind of extreme compassion, even between members of the same family this extreme compassion seems not exist. Doubtless, the Dalai Lama encourages this extreme compassion to mankind in conformity with Mahayanist ethics without hoping to harvest fruitful results. But the main purpose of this foreign form of altruism should be constant and daily religious teachings whose results depend upon Buddhists' observance of Mahayanist ethics. Therefore, knowing this principle nobody can make grievance to Dalai Lama if Buddhists don't observe well and expand the Mahayanist compassion. And it is agreed that the observance of Mahayanist compassion is the individual business and depends upon one's free will.

4.1.3 Natural Position of a Ruler

Concerning to the case of China's invasion to Tibet, as a Buddhist monk, the Dalai Lama respects to human rights of both Chinese people and Tibetans. He attempts to avoid violent activities; but at the same time he also attempts to protect the rights of Tibetans and to request justice for his people as well as clarifying the truth of contemporary occurrences in Tibet to the world. It follows that as the leader of Tibetan people he has to find supportive allies for enforcing the Chinese government to realize her harmful activity towards Tibetan people. It is noticeable that every appeal, which the Dalai Lama being proposed to publics concerned common better-ness of human beings among unjust treatments comparing to general human rights substantially as well as reporting the situation for universal responsibility as he addressed to the European Parliament on October 23, 1996.

I have tried in every way I know to find some mutually acceptable solution. However, it has now become clear that our efforts alone are not sufficient to bring the Chinese government to the negotiating table. I am, therefore, left with no other choice but to appeal to the international community for urgent intervention and action on behalf of my people.

Today, the freedom struggle of the Tibetan people is at a crucial stage. In recent time the Chinese government has hardened its policies, increased repression in Tibet and resorted to bullying tactics in addressing the issue of Tibet. Observance of human rights in Tibet has, sadly, not improved. On the contrary repression and political persecution have lately reached a new peak in Tibet...(Dalai Lama, *Address by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to members*

of the European Parliament, Strasbourg, France, <http://www.tibet.com/Proposal/strasbourg2.html>)

This is an appropriate strategy for establishing peaceful atmosphere between particular violent policy and nonviolent party. The final approach of the Dalai Lama on behalf of his people is to be free and independent without harmfulness, which is quite difficult for achieving such goal. However, he believes that it is possible under the mutual cooperation of international allies. This is the only means which religious people can obtain absolutely following the commandments of one's religion. For an application of military strategy is substantially not acceptable in religious viewpoint due to the harmful action it has to perform which violates the *Panchasila* commandment. It follows that there will be the only way of patient dialogue and negotiation in both direct and indirect way is appropriate for such situation. It is quite complicated for a normal human being enable to serve the obligations of various positions for others betterment. However, the Dalai Lama displays great examples for witnessing that *Ahimsa* is necessary of enhancing peaceful atmosphere in both individual and national dimensions.

4.2 Appropriateness of the Dalai Lama's *Ahimsa* in the Actual Context of the World.

The *Ahimsa* of the Dalai Lama seems to be very actual because of the radical transformation of the former bipolar world into the unipolar world characterized by the collapse of the communist system since 1991 with the destruction of the Berlin Wall that means the end of the Cold War. Because Berlin Wall, which is synonymous of the barbarian communist system existing since the Cold War beginning in 1949 has been abolished peacefully. And the end of the Cold War means the decrease and even the disappearance of

threat to world peace otherwise the withering of the Hot War resulting from the Terror Balance between the West Bloc and the East Bloc are also diminished. It is noteworthy that the hostile and bellicose atmosphere prevailing during the Cold War is superseded by not friendly but good neighborly and the peaceful atmosphere because both Blocs aspire to live in peace and to establish between them the friendly relationships. This new peaceful atmosphere is prevailing in the international relations. In the early euphoria of the fall of the communist system there is a kind of normalization of relations between countries relevant to former opposed Blocs. Between European countries belonging formerly to Warsaw and NATO military organizations, there is a willingness to establish between them a new system of security and cooperation that had been achieved in the Finland capital of Helsinki by the signing in 1987 of a Pact on Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Consequently, there is reduction of tensions in Europe as well as in the other parts of the world and disappearance of major crises in the world except some localized areas in central Europe, Africa, Asia and Pacific. On the other hand the United Nations Organization, mainly its Security Council and General Assembly, began to play prominent role in the peacekeeping in the critical areas aforementioned and launched since one decade many coercive or military actions aiming at restoring troubled peace or threats to peace and security of the world.

One should know that all this is due to the general consensus of major Powers present in the UN security Council such as United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, India, Italy, etc....aiming to put an end to every threat against world peace or every aggression committed by whatever country against other countries.

Therefore, there is in the international arena a peaceful atmosphere and a trend towards peace and security of the world. This new factor contributes to stimulate the *Ahimsa* polity of the Dalai Lama and to render it applicable for the whole world. Otherwise the new factor is characterized by the enhancing of peace and security and the restraint of every violence constituting threat to world peace. Because the actual world needs to have peace for undertaking social and economic development which are necessary for the welfare the happiness of the people of the world otherwise the eradication of the poverty source of crisis and war in the world like in the past. On the other hand the welfare and happiness of the people of the world should be a factor inhibiting violence and wars among nations and enabling the achievement of freedoms, justice and democracy in the world.

However, peace implies the reduction of the sources of violence and war among nations represented by the dissemination of militarist education and ideology like in Hitlerian Germany or in the former communist Bloc which considered that the Western Bloc applying the democratic ideology and the free enterprise as dangerous for collectivist and communist economy, the growth of war budget instead of increase of education and health budget, as well as the increase of weapons race including the nuclear armament. It implies also the disarmament that means the reduction of army men capable of becoming potential aggression factors and belligerents.

Peace requires also the development of peaceful education among people of the world that means the pacification of the mind of the people in order to create pacifists in the world instead of military men and also the respect of the environment. From this approach the Dalai Lama eagerly mentioned that:

Peace and the survival of life on earth as we know it are threatened by human activities that lack a commitment to humanitarian values. Destruction of nature and natural resources results from ignorance, greed and lack of respect for the earth's living things. (Dalai Lama; <http://www.earthlight.co.nz/hhdl.speech.html>)

It follows that in the actual stage of the humanity, the survival of humanity becomes a utmost problem for the whole mankind which needs peace and the preservation of the environment from pollution and danger of nuclear war or accidents like the accident of the nuclear plant of Ukrain in Chernobyl spreading the radioactive clouds over the surrounding countries in Europe and contaminating the environment in these areas.

Therefore, the *Ahimsa* of the Dalai Lama is ever since very true and convincing for those who are concerned with the survival of mankind that means the prevention of the potential nuclear holocaust meaning the extermination and extinction of sentient beings on earth. In many occasions expressing his extreme belief in *Ahimsa* and compassion even towards the Chinese communists occupying his country the Dalai Lama is led to stress that he is ready to quit every thing including his spiritual and temporal powers for completely dedicating himself to these two supreme virtues and this in spite of negative reaction of his fellow countrymen. He proclaims in his proposal for future Tibet's polity and the basic features of its constitution sincerely that:

Therefore, in my speech of the March 10 Anniversary in 1969, I declared that the day Tibet regained its independence, the people must decide for themselves what kind of system of government they wanted. I also stated that it was not certain whether the system of government with the Dalai Lama as

the supreme head would continue or not. (Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/future.html>)

This implies that the Dalai Lama does not worry about his status and position but the Tibet freedom, and independence must be concerned. He is firmly convinced that only his *Ahimsa* polity and compassion can lead to successes in the Tibetan struggle for national independence and freedom from the Chinese occupation. On the contrary, he believes that the violence can but lead to the extermination of the six million Tibetans because of the extreme numerical superiority of the Chinese population (estimated to over one billion and three hundred thousands) and the Tibetan population and the danger of Sinocization of Tibet whose people as he said:

...are marginalised and discriminated against in the face of creeping Sinocization. The destruction of cultural artifacts and traditions coupled with the mass influx of Chinese into Tibet amounts to cultural genocide. The very survival of the Tibetans as a distinct people is under constant threat. (Dalai Lama <http://www.earthlight.co.nz/hhdl/westminster> July 16, 1996.html)

The *Ahimsa* polity and compassion expressed by the Dalai Lama is his political optimism because he believes in the victory of a just cause or of the justice over injustice represented by the Chinese communists occupying and implementing the Sinocization of his motherland. On the other hand he is firmly convinced that soon or late Tibet would successfully restore its sovereignty and national independence as a distinct nation because of the pressure of the international opinion and of the help of various parliaments around the world. But, like before he made many efforts to negotiate with the Chinese the Dalai Lama is untiringly making incessant pleas for nonviolence in view of avoiding tragedy for the

Tibetan people, again the Dalai Lama stresses that this ultimate victory of the Tibetan people should emanate from peaceful solution that means the negotiations with the Chinese government as he tried to do it in the past when he made a Five-Point Peace Plan to the Chinese government in view of settling peacefully and justly the Tibetan problem.

Therefore, the *Ahimsa* polity and compassion advocated by the Dalai Lama means the wisdom and prudence in accordance with the Buddhist Middle Path rejecting every extremism, and violence, applied by the Dalai Lama in politics. His middle-path approach to the Tibetan Issue for the last 14 years “would eventually create an atmosphere of mutual trust, conducive to fruitful negotiations and exert a restraining influence on the repressive Chinese policies in Tibet (cf. Dalai Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar94.html>, 2).

In spite of the stubbornness of the Chinese government refusing the Dalai Lama Five-Point Peace Plan in 1987 and applying a repressive and genocidal policy towards the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama is still stick to his *Ahimsa* polity and compassion and confesses that

I always sought to be guided by realism, moderation and patience. I tried in every way I know to find some mutually acceptable solution in the spirit of reconciliation and compromise. (Dalai Lama; <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar94.html>,)

It means that now the Dalai Lama needs the international pressure and coercion for compelling the Chinese government to accept the negotiated and peacefully settlement of the Tibetan Issue in place of his repressive and genocidal policy towards the Tibetan people. For he believes that the tragedy of Tibet can be relieved through the determined and concerted efforts of various governments and Non-Governmental Organizations championing human rights, liberty and democracy the world over (Ibid. p. 3).

He even stresses that he is willing to accept every reasonable proposal from the Chinese government enabling the Tibetan to enjoy their limited sovereignty and national independence. As he stresses as follows:

Furthermore, in my efforts to seek a negotiated solution to our problem, I have refrained from asking for the complete independence of Tibet. Historically and according to international law Tibet is an independent country under Chinese occupation. However, over the past sixteen years, since we established direct contact with the Beijing authorities in 1979, I have adopted a “middle-way” approach of reconciliation and compromise in the pursuit of a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the Tibetan issue. While it is the overwhelming desire of the Tibetan people to regain their national independence, I have repeatedly and publicly stated that I am willing to enter into negotiations on the basis of an agenda that does not include the independence. (Ibid. p. 3)

The conciliatory position of the Dalai Lama aimed to meet the agreement of the Chinese government for a negotiated settlement of the Tibet issue. But such conciliatory position constitutes regression compared with the initial stand of the Dalai Lama requiring the complete independence of Tibet from the Chinese occupation. It has been reiterated in his Statement on the 41st Anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day on 10 March 2000 when he said that

It has been my consistent endeavor to find a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem. My approach envisages that Tibet enjoy genuine autonomy within the framework of the People's Republic of China. Such a mutually beneficial solution would contribute to the stability and unity

of China – their two topmost priorities- while at the same time the Tibetans would be ensured of the basic right to preserve their own civilization and to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau. (Dalai Lama; <http://www.tibet.com/DL/10mar00.html>)

It is noteworthy to observe that the *Ahimsa* polity and compassion of the Dalai Lama is conducive to the stability of the situation in Tibet although the Tibetan people cannot achieve their sovereignty and national independence. But they constitute a kind of status quo between the Tibetan people and the Chinese government, which continues to occupy Tibet as a Chinese province. Nevertheless, such conciliatory position of the Dalai Lama deserves to be awarded by the Western powers wanting to normalize their political and economical relations with communist China. That is the reason on 10 December 1989 in Oslo (Norway) the Dalai Lama got the Nobel Peace Prize which constitutes his opinion (expressed in his speech of acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize):

The reaffirmation of the universal values of nonviolence, peace, and understanding between all members of our great human family. We all desire a happier more humane, and harmonious world, and I have always felt that the practice of love and compassion, tolerance and respect for others, is the most effective manner in which to bring this about....Yet our people's determination and commitment to spiritual values and the practice of nonviolence remain unshaken. This prize is a profound recognition of their faith and perseverance....I hope and pray that the decision to give me the Nobel Peace Prize will encourage all those who pursue the path of peace to do so in a renewed spirit of optimism and strength. (Dalai Lama, 1989, pp. 247-249)

The positive reactions which both national and international publics have responded to the activities, which the Dalai Lama plays his roles signify that others recognize such a strategy as an appropriate means for preserving peace as well as initiating real happiness in the world. However, each section has to consider one's political and economical condition for one's own benefits. It follows that the patient struggle for peace with nonviolent strategy takes long term for the reason that each part has to initiate mutual understanding through forming inner peace in one's mind. In addition, it needs various dimensions of benefits to consider for one's own contextual benefits.

4.3 Inappropriateness of *Ahimsa* in Today's World

Frankly speaking, it is quite difficult to establish a utopia community in this world due to the fact that religious and temporal attitudes have been separated from each other even though each one has only one mind. Moreover, each one expects to have peaceful living condition with real happiness and without suffering. However, in practical dimensions each one does not contribute mutual understanding towards each other but selfishness. It seems to the researcher that *Ahimsa* atmosphere in today world is only ideal.

4.3.1 *Ahimsa* and Compassion Are Available for Religious and Moral Matters

The Dalai Lama longs to emphasize *Ahimsa* and compassion as ethics for world politics. However, the most prominent advocate of the nonviolence such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King had been victim of the violence because they had been assassinated by fanatics or by obscure forces in the United States of America. Their death means the failure of the *Ahimsa* and compassion because *Ahimsa* and compassion seem to be

available only in religious matters but not in political matters. And nobody should not have the right to forget that in the world politics only the balance of powers is available because the power, otherwise the force or violence can insure the interests of a nation. Therefore, violence is a permanent data of world politics and is a coercive means of a state in order to maintain order and security in society. It follows in other point that if a state does not resort to violence or force internal peace and security cannot be safeguarded and there will be no state if the internal chaos is prevailing. Even in perfect democratic society violence or force is still needed and the utopian idea of Karl Marx about the withering of the state and subsequently the disappearance of coercive means within the state belongs to the mind speculation. In the international relations, like in the internal relations within a society, the violence or the use of force in order to prevail certain national interests. Consequently, it is not surprising to find the implementation of the "lex talionis" as a prevailing principle in the international relations as well as the famous principle of Grotius about peace when he said "Si vis pacem para bellum" or "if you want peace you have to prepare war". Otherwise, only violence can bring out peace or nonviolence. And in the world every litigation and contest, every aggression or threat to peace and security of the world is settled by coercive measures or military means that means the use of violence.

The chapter VII of the UN Charter about the maintain of peace and collective security in the world stipulates the use of coercive measures and even the military means including embargo, quarantine, blockade against every State infringing or breaching this chapter VII by the Security Council. And many events in the actual stage of the world prove the necessary use of force or violence for keeping and restoring peace and security in the world. In this respect, one should bear in mind the peacekeeping operations decided by the Security

Council aiming to stopping any break out of peace and security in Africa (Somalia, Rwanda, Zaire, Sierra Leone), Central Europe (Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosovo) and in Extreme Asia (East Timor), etc... These UN peacekeeping operations aim to restore peace and security in the threatened regions by preventing crimes against peace, crimes of war, crimes against humanity, crimes of genocide practically. Therefore, *Ahimsa* and compassion are available only in the religious matters. On the contrary, they are not available in national or international politics because in both cases violence or the use of force is necessary for international peace keeping and security like for international peace and security missions.

On the other hand when dealing with communist China the Dalai Lama has since 41 years applied *Ahimsa* and compassion towards Chinese leaders without getting any advantage and being able to settle peacefully the Tibet Issue. The Dalai Lama recognized himself that when he applied *Ahimsa* and compassion in view of bringing Chinese leaders to compromise and to settle the Tibet Issue the Chinese leaders intensified their persecutions and repression against Tibetan people. He stated during his visit to the United States on September 1995 that:

The Chinese have killed, tortured, raped and robbed the Tibetan people. An estimated 1.2 million Tibetans have died as a result of the Chinese occupation, and more than six thousand monasteries, temples, forts and other historic landmarks, the repository of our ancient civilization, have been destroyed, desecrated and plundered. I was forced to flee into exile in 1959. It saddens me to tell you that the suffering of the Tibetan people in Tibet continues. Today, the repression of my people has taken a new form. It is less open, and more subtle... Most dangerous of all, China has encouraged millions of

Chinese to settle in Tibet in order to eliminate all vestiges of Tibet as a land for Tibetans. This is China's idea of a "final solution" to its Tibet problem. Already today, Tibetans are marginalized in many major towns and cities. If this population transfer is allowed to continue, Tibetan civilization will cease to exist. (Dalai Lama; [http:// www.tibet.com/DL/hhus95.html](http://www.tibet.com/DL/hhus95.html)),

Regarding his efforts aiming to bring the Chinese leaders to the table of negotiation on Tibet the Dalai Lama seems to have perceived the failure or the inappropriateness of his *Ahimsa* and compassion, when in 1979 the Chinese leader Deng Xiao Ping told him that "everything except total independence (of Tibet) can be discussed" (Ibid. p. 5).

Clearly, such answer of Deng Xiao Ping to the Dalai Lama means the refusal of Chinese government to grant sovereignty and national independence to Tibetan people. And only sovereignty and national independence are the legitimate aspiration of the Tibetan people who want to negotiate with the Chinese government. Except this main point we don't other wants of the Tibetan people. And it is hazardous to predict in the long run the Chinese government will consider the problem of sovereignty and national independence of Tibetan people as worth to figure in his agenda. Because of the intransigence of Chinese leaders many peaceful proposals were made by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese government and each time the Dalai Lama made maximum of concessions to him until accepting the autonomous status of Tibet within China whereas from the outset he was the complete separation of Tibet from China because Tibet is a distinct nation with a distinct culture. From this viewpoint we can see that the more the Dalai Lama made concessions the more the Chinese leaders practiced the higher bid. And from concessions to concessions ultimately the Dalai Lama made whatever capitulation to Chinese leaders. Ultimately as he said:

I want to state clearly that independence need not be on the agenda of negotiations with China. We must first find solutions to the substance of relations between the Chinese and the Tibetans, based on mutual respect and equality, and based on concepts of fairness and justice. (Ibid. p. 9)

Clearly, by affirming that, the Dalai Lama made self-contradiction. He may not see this because he is too obsessed by his *Ahimsa* and compassion. By stating this in the United States he seems to prove to the US government that he did not want to damage the Chinese-US relationships, and that he wanted only the United States to persuade the Chinese leaders to make certain compromise with him once the Tibet independence question was abandoned. However he was still lured by the possible concessions from Chinese leaders about the questions of mutual respect and equality, and based on concepts of fairness and justice.

4.3.2 *Ahimsa* and Compassion in a Deadlock

In the political field the Dalai Lama's *Ahimsa* and compassion are not effective. Because the political world is dominated by other rules expressed in terms of stake and balance of military powers. The international relations are characterized by selfishness known as the national interests that should prevail over foreign interests. May be the current international law strives to enhance some ethic in the relations between states theoretically, but in practice the international relations are influenced or dominated by policies of Super Powers or rich and powerful States for one's own benefits. This reality is proved by dominant and influent role of these rich and powerful States within many international organizations such as UNO, UNESCO, FAO, UNICEF, UNDP, World Bank, IMF, etc...which impress their own policies on these international organizations. And generally

the relations between nations in the world are dictated by the reciprocal interests, otherwise the share of profits and not of altruism. And *Ahimsa* and compassion have nothing to do with the international relations or the *Weltpolitik* and *Weltanschauung* because world politics is dictated by Political Realism that means the defense and the protection of the national interests of each State or Nation. It is true that besides the cold politics of the nations conform with "the cold monster" concept there are Non Governmental Organizations pursuing humanitarian purposes like International Red Cross, CARE, Amnesty International, Without Frontiers Doctors Organization, International Human Rights Organization, etc....devoted to the humanitarian cause.

Obviously, if in ethical viewpoint one can express his own *Ahimsa* and compassion towards harmful people but in politics the manifestation of extreme obsession of these two virtues constitutes blindness and naively. In this matter we are observers of many humanitarian operations and peacekeeping operations launched by the UN Security Council in many part of Europe, Africa and Asia. The good results of these international operations may convince us of the inadequacy of *Ahimsa* and compassion of the Dalai Lama. And the Dalai Lama can waste much times for deploring genocidal crimes committed by communist Chinese army in Tibet and he did it since his exile into India in 1959 without harvesting some good results and communist Chinese will continue to practice the genocide against the Tibetan people as it is proved by the International Committee of Jurists on Tibet in 1960 whose contents are as follows:

The legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet has the pleasure to submit to the International Commission of Jurists its Report on those aspects of events in

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Tibet which the Committee was called upon by its terms of reference to consider. The Committee came to the following conclusions:

“Genocide

“According to the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1948, human groups against which genocide is recognized as a crime in international law are national, racial, ethnical and religious. The Committee found that acts of genocide had been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group, and that such acts are acts of genocide independently of any conventional obligation. The Committee did not find that there was sufficient proof of the destruction of Tibetans as a race, nation or ethnic group as such by methods that can be regarded as genocide in international law. The evidence established four principal facts in relation to genocide:

- a) that the Chinese will not permit adherence to and practice of Buddhism in Tibet;
- b) that they have systematically set out to eradicate this religious belief in Tibet;
- c) that in pursuit of this design they have killed religious figures because their religious belief and practice was an encouragement and example to others;

d) that they have forcibly transferred large numbers of Tibetans children to a Chinese materialist environment in order to prevent them from having a religious upbringing.

e) The Committee therefore found that genocide had been committed against this religious group by such methods”.

“Human rights

“The committee examined evidence in relation to human rights within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Committee in considering the question of human rights took into account that economic and social rights are as much part of human rights as are civil liberties. They found that the Chinese communist authorities in Tibet had violated human rights of both kinds.

“The Committee came to the conclusion that the Chinese authorities in Tibet had violated the following human rights, which the Committee considered to be the standards of behavior in the common opinion of civilized nations. (ICJ Report; <http://www.tibet.com/Resolution/icj60.html>.)

In addition, the Committee reminded articles 3, 5, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, concerning the human rights including right to life, liberty and security of person was violated by acts of murder, rape and arbitrary imprisonment, prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment and freedoms of privacy, of movement, of private property, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, of expression and opinion, of free assembly, etc....that had been violated by the Chinese authorities.

Moreover, even though various commissions indicates that the Tibet's cause has not been accept due to the fact that Chinese government violates human rights but there is no serious concern to solve such crisis.

In his deep mind the Dalai Lama may admit the failure of his *Ahimsa* and compassion in the political field and he seems to recognize himself the political deadlock in which he is when he affirmed as follows:

These proposals contain maximum concessions—they provide that Tibet would not be fully independent of China. The proposals recognize that China can play an important role in Tibet. But they are based on the need for mutual respect and mutual benefit. If Tibetans benefit from a close relationship with China, then they may feel no need to fully separate .(Ibid., p. 6)

Moreover, the *Ahimsa* and compassion of the Dalai Lama seem to have failed with the reticence and stubbornness of Chinese leaders who don't care any moral principle or any ethics in the international relations or any international law. Therefore, the Dalai Lama seems to perceive their uselessness in face of the Chinese leaders who are deaf to his urge. Finally he is compelled to urge the help of the United States to compel the Chinese leaders to compromise. He urged them in these following terms:

I therefore urge the United States to:

- forcefully promote democracy and the rule of law in China, particularly with regard to the plight of the Tibetan people;
- engage in a high-level dialogue with responsible leaders in China;

- use economic leverage to bring about positive change—linkage between human rights, the rule of law and economics is an essential component in today's interdependent world;
- promote responsible business ventures, which will bring economic and moral prosperity to China which will serve generations to come;
- strongly encourage the Chinese to begin substantive negotiations with me or my representatives, and use its leverage to make this point;
- provide leadership for a multilateral response to China's policy towards Tibet. (Ibid. p. 8)

Of course in spite of many supports he received from various European and American governments and parliaments which condemn communist China as it is showed by the following resolutions of these parliaments, but these moral condemnations are inefficient and pious. They did not lead to practical measures and could not compel the Chinese government to recognize the sovereignty and national independence to the Tibetan people. Instead of that the Chinese government continue since 41 years to apply the same politics of persecutions and repression against the Tibetan people. Otherwise, the Chinese government continues to remain deaf to the urges of the civilized public opinion and to ignore them. That means that the Chinese government continues to violate and despise the international law as well as the UN Charter and the recommendations of the UN Security Council. Indeed the Chinese government behaves himself like an outlaw government. Now the question is to know in that flagrant case of violation of the UN Charter and the International law who among the nations can put an end to the criminal activities of the Chinese government. One thing, which is certain, is that neither *Ahimsa* nor compassion of the Dalai Lama can do it and only coercive

measures would compel the Chinese government to abide by the International Law. That means that the international community would undertake embargo, quarantine, blockade against China including the prohibitions of all commercial, technological exchanges and all financial assistance from World Bank and IMF with China. Of course only when all these coercive measures would be seriously and sincerely implemented communist China would bend its back and consent to observe the International Law and the international obligations in relation with the Tibet Issue.

Ultimately may be the Dalai Lama could not realize the inappropriateness of his *Ahimsa* and compassion vis-à-vis the stubborn Chinese leaders. And he continued years after years to lament and to urge the Chinese leaders to change their expansionist policy in Tibet. In this respect the Dalai Lama seems to maintain an unrealistic stand vis-à-vis stubborn and inhuman Chinese leaders who are atheist and who are resolute to exterminate the whole Tibetan people through their Sinocization policy. Otherwise, the Chinese leaders are always keeping their deaf ears to the urge of the Dalai Lama. As we have known through various statements of the Dalai Lama their only response to the Dalai Lama's urge is their intensification of their persecutions and repressive policy towards the Tibetan people. As communist leaders who are expert in guerilla war against any of their enemies they are very patient for overcoming their enemies. In the recent history of modern China the Chinese communists are very expert in psychological war and hot war they waged with extreme dexterity and subtlety in the long run. He affirmed as follows:

I urge China to reconsider its policy towards Tibet and I appeal to the United States and other democratic countries to persuade China to do so. Let us talk

to each other as human beings in a sincere effort to resolve this issue, which has caused suffering to so many for so long (Ibid. 9).

Although since 1988 the United Congress expressed on September 16, 1988 a support for the Dalai Lama and his proposal for Tibetan democracy seriously that:

The Congress,

- 1) Commends the Dalai Lama for his past efforts to resolve the problems of Tibet through negotiation with the People's Republic of China and for dissuading the Tibetan people from using violence to regain their freedom;
- 2) Commends the Dalai Lama for his new proposal in his continued quest for peace, and expresses its support for the trust of his proposal;
- 3) Calls on the leaders and the government of the People's Republic of China to respond positively to the proposal of the Dalai Lama, and to enter into earnest discussions with the Dalai Lama, or his representatives, to resolve the question of Tibet along the lines proposed by the Dalai Lama; and
- 4) Calls on the President and the Secretary of State to express the support of the United States Government for the thrust of the proposal of the Dalai Lama, and to use their best efforts to persuade the leaders and the Government of the People's Republic of China to enter into discussions with the Dalai Lama, or his representatives, regarding the proposal of the Dalai Lama and the question of Tibet. (Dali Lama, <http://www.tibet.com/Resolution/us16sept88.html>,)

But the contents of this resolution constitute only a moral condemnation of the occupying China in Tibet and its violations of human rights in Tibet. Nowhere in this text we can find a stipulation on the sovereignty and national independence of the Tibetan people.

Therefore, we can understand that the United States Congress limits itself in the formal condemnation of China in Tibet and when it did not mention the right of the Tibetan people to sovereignty and independence the United States Congress seemed to approve tacitly the occupation of Tibet by China and considered Tibet as a part of China. Once again the national interest of a Superpower prevails on that of a small country. Therefore, when the superpowers and western powers put the emphasis on the defense of human rights in Tibet and not on the sovereign right of the Tibetan people to independence they continue to express pious wishes “expressing the support of the Congress for the Dalai Lama and his proposal to promote peace, protect the environment, and gain democracy for the people of Tibet” (United States Congress-September 16, 1988, p. 1).

In sum this kind of formal support constitutes a chloroform serving to hypnotize the Dalai Lama and his people and to incite them to endure sufferings due to the Chinese persecutions and repression. In the same manner the European countries have continued for decades to express formal condemnations of Chinese activities in Tibet and moral support to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people through many resolutions adopted by European Parliament, specifically those of April 18, 1996, March 13, 1997, and April 13, 2000. All of them did not mention the right of the Tibetan people to independence nor urge the Chinese government to withdraw all his armed forces from Tibet, rather, they insisted on the discrimination of the Tibetan people by the People's Republic of China on religious, political, educational, language and cultural grounds.

Given these facts show that the western powers have more great concern about their economic and commercial relations with China than they do of the Tibetan people's interests. They always sacrifice the interests of small people for their own interests. Therefore, once

again the Dalai Lama *Ahimsa* and compassion do not work in international politics. In this respect the Dalai Lama behaved for decades like a very naïve leader being lured by the promises of Great Powers and dreams of the possibility for the United States or the European countries to sacrifice their huge profits, emanating from their economic and commercial relations with China, for the interests of six million Tibetans. The major problem to raise is to question about “Who will die for Tibet” like “Who will die for Berlin” in the midst of Cold War.

As the Western Powers consider what Mainland China constitutes for them a kind of cash cow, they don't hesitate to sacrifice the interests of the Tibetan people in getting this cash cow into their multinational holding companies. This is confirmed with the globalization of the capitalist economy and commerce, which aims to integrate the capitalist-communist China in their system via the World Trade Organization. Otherwise, there is a convergence of interests of communist China and those of multinational companies. This convergence is detrimental to Tibetan interests and annihilates the Dalai Lama *Ahimsa* and compassion.

Except for the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama, the question of Tibet has lost its interest in the world media or in the world public opinion because it is a very old problem has since been forgotten. That shows the disinterest world opinion towards Tibet's problem, but also the tireless and the disaffection of the world public opinion regarding future problems of a country lost in the snow and ice of the Himalaya chain of mountains. The disaffection of the world opinion is due to the everlasting deadlock of the Tibetan issue that is imputed by the *Ahimsa* and compassion of the Dalai Lama. It is noteworthy that the Tibetan issue should be settled by a political means and not by a religious

means. Even worse, sometimes the Tibetan problem had been misunderstood by those who don't share the Dalai Lama stand and the Tibetan Buddhism because they don't have a clear and precise idea about the Dalai Lama's *Ahimsa* and compassion. As *Ahimsa* and compassion are very interesting in religious fields they seem to be null in politics. Needless to say there is incompatibility between *Ahimsa* and compassion with politics based on forces ratio. And forces balance.

Therefore, in politics sensible persons long to exhibit their stake and reason for prevailing their viewpoint or their requirements. Even political bargaining is based on the forces balance and not at all on tolerance and nonviolence principles. Consequently the machiavelian principle governing the relationship between individuals is still applicable to the international relations according to the machiavelian principle of "*Lupus homini lupi*". Therefore, it is a mistake to think that in international relations the *Ahimsa* and compassion can serve as a basis of settlement of any problem.

4.4 Summary

The problem of outsider in the crisis of Tibet is to know whether the international community wants to seriously settle the Tibetan issues, whether there is real willingness to render justice to Tibetan people, who reject violence as a means of struggle. It is true that in the long run the Tibetan people should restore their sovereignty and national independence if the Great Powers in Europe, America and other continents decide to compel by any means, such as some kind of sanction, communist China to concede the national independence to the Tibetan people like they did in Bosnia Herzegovina, Kuwait, Kosovo, East Timor, etc....This implies complete change in the mentality of Western Power's leaders.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The fourteenth Dalai Lama was awarded a Peace Nobel Prize in September 1989 which contributes to render the Dalai Lama famous in the international arena. But he is a victim of his high reputation because the Nobel Prize compelled him to act in accordance with the wishes of the Nobel Prize Committee and the Western countries which do not want him to diverge from his invariable tactics and belief, viz. *Ahimsa* or nonviolence. In philosophical and religious fields *Ahimsa* seems to be an ideal and sublime goal. Placed in an international political context *Ahimsa* seems to be archaic and obsolete because the use of force and coercion plays dominant rule in international relations. Placed in international politics, the Dalai Lama is put into a serious dilemma because his Chinese adversaries are not ready to change their politics regarding Tibet. They stick to Mao Ze Dong's line. That means they consider Tibet a Chinese province and they do not want the Dalai Lama speaking about Tibetan independence. The minimal concession they can offer to the Dalai Lama is a limited autonomy for Tibet within a greater China. For forty two years, they occupied Tibet and flooded Tibet with Chinese inhabitants by an accelerated immigration policy making the Chinese element in Tibet predominant while the Tibetan element relegated to a minor role. For many years the Dalai Lama has stressed on the demographic and cultural genocide applied by the Chinese communists in Tibet. However, the more the Dalai Lama criticizes the assimilative policy in Tibet, the more the Chinese communists throw their deaf ears away and aggravate this assimilative policy. They are helped in their colonization policy by the inaction of the UNO and of the Western Powers. The softness of the Western Powers' attitude vis-à-vis Communist China in Tibet constitutes an encouragement to the later. This Western attitude contrasts

with the Western stand in Yugoslavia and in Iraq being characterized by firmness in principle. As analyzed earlier, this Western apathy vis-à-vis the Tibetan question is dictated by commercial consideration because Western countries are attracted by the huge profits they would gain in Chinese markets. Therefore, in the political scale, Tibet and the Tibetan people's interest do not constitute an important stake for Western Powers and they are not so important in deciding changes in their policies towards Mainland China.

On the other hand, as we know, the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, responsible for keeping peace and security in the world, (privilege always the use of force) military actions for restoring peace and security in part of the world. But they never resort to nonviolent or peaceful means for achieving their goals. Similarly, most of the Regional Organizations such as: NATO, Warsaw Treaty, American States Organizations, etc....privileged the use of force as a main means for keeping peace and security in their spheres although in their recommendations, they urged contest parties to use peaceful means *Ahimsa* for settling their litigation.

Therefore, in practice, *Ahimsa* or nonviolence tactics cannot bring peace and independence to the Tibetan people who are facing gigantic and innumerable China. Similarly, it cannot save Tibetan people from cultural and religious genocide, nor prevent the Tibetan people from being invaded and outnumbered by Chinese immigrants. This means the Tibetan population of around six million cannot be preserved from demographic domination and absorption by the Chinese, who outnumber the local Tibetan. Otherwise, the Tibetan people will be flooded by innumerable Chinese and become minority in their homeland. Thus, they will lose their own identity. And the paradox born from this situation is that there will be no more genuine Tibetan, Tibet in the very near future, but a Chinese Tibet because of the accelerated policy of "sinocization" of Beijing. In this respect it appears by the evidence that if Beijing still

plays the deaf role by refusing to respond to any proposal of the Dalai Lama aimed at settling peacefully the Tibetan issue, it thinks that time is in its favor. The longer it opposes the Dalai Lama the more the Dalai Lama becomes tired and the more rift and divisions and discouragement occurs in the Tibetan ranks, as witnessed by recent events among the Tibetan Diaspora in India and in the United States.

This danger of potential extinction of the Tibetan people as ethnics due to the absorption policy practiced by Beijing is real and perceived by the Dalai Lama who denounces for many years the deceitful policy of the Communist Chinese aiming to swallow the Tibetan people because they believe that the outer world is indifferent to the fate of the Tibetan people. They need Tibet to be a wall for their national security as they distrust India with whom they were at war in 1962-63. Lastly they are unable to change their Tibetan policy. In all this, Beijing has the problem of losing face and reputation that it ever changes its Tibetan policy.

We should not forget that the Chinese communists are always motivated by political non-sincerity over Tibet in accordance with the traditional Han chauvinism and imperialism. It is true that since the illegal occupation of Tibet by Chinese communists, both the UNO and the Western countries did not waste their efforts to compel Chinese communists to withdraw from Tibet and let the Tibetan people enjoy their national independence. The ambiguous position of the Western countries vis-à-vis communist China is explained by their contradictory policy towards China. This policy is dictated by a great concern to have communist China get out off Tibet and their mercantilist policy aimed at conquering the immense Chinese market. Within the end of the Cold War the Western countries ceased to practice vis-à-vis communist China, a containment policy and contradicted their old policy of their embargo against China, thus granting communist China "the clause of the most favored nation" in their trade agreements with China.

Furthermore, they admit communist China the New member of World Trade Organization. Their new brinkmanship towards communist China seems toward grant a bonus to its imperialist policy in Tibet.

Therefore, the Dalai Lama is facing new threats and new failures as communist China and India pursue their nuclear arms race and threat each other. The Dalai Lama's Tibet faces the risk of becoming a new nuclear war theater opposing the two most populated countries of the world. The threat of a nuclear war is real and constitutes a danger for the whole world as Pakistan is also committed to nuclear arms race and challenges India in this field while it sides always with Communist China against India. It is well known that due to its traditional hostility to India, which is Hindu and itself is Islamic, Pakistan practices a traditional challenge towards India by siding with Communist China. The reversal policy is available for Communist China which strives to keep a privileged relationship with Pakistan in the view of threatening India.

Therefore, the conflictual situation prevailing in South Asia along with the "Terror equilibrium" in this part of the world contributes to create a danger of nuclear war and to threatening thus the world's peace and security. That is to say the new strategic context in South Asia is detrimental to the interest of the Tibetan people. As their homeland becomes a strategic base for Communist China, which feels to be threatened by the new nuclear power represented by India, the Tibetan people will not be able to hope for coming future emancipation from Chinese rule. Otherwise, the *Ahimsa* policy of the Dalai Lama is also in a stalemate, if not a complete failure.

Indeed the new nuclear stake in South Asia becomes a puzzle for the Western Powers including the United States who must take it into account. Therefore, the safeguard of peace and security in this part of the world supersedes the problem of independence for Tibet and requires much attention from the Western Powers who want

to prevent a nuclear war by accident. That means that they will delay “sine die” the agenda of the Tibetan issue. That constitutes a new proof of the failure of the Dalai Lama's *Ahimsa* in politics.

On the other hand the Dalai Lama is threatened by Tibetan religious integritism of the Tibetan Buddhism Sect of Gelugpa which becomes hostile to other Tibetan Buddhist Schools. [While the Dalai Lama was delivering a speech in Manhattan (New York) on 5 May 1998, he was facing demonstrations organized by members of the Dorje Shugden International Coalition with banners bearing this slogan: “Dalai Lama give religious freedom” and “Dorje Shugden is not an evil Chinese spirit. Please don't lie”) (Loralie Froman: Dissident Buddhists challenge Dalai Lamas edicts].

Shugden is the name of one of hundreds of protector deities. In particular, Shugden is said to guard the Geluggpa, one of the four streams in Tibetan Buddhism (Dalai Lama, <http://www.pacificnews.org/jinn/stories/4.09/980505-dalailama.html>).

In addition the Dalai Lama should face the rivalry sowed by communist Chinese in accordance with their traditional policy “divide for reigning”. If in the past they strove to oppose the Panchen Lama to the Dalai Lama since the Panchen Lama passed away “of a sudden heart attack” on January 28, 1989 (However, on January 30, 1989 some Tibetans in New Delhi demonstrated near the Chinese embassy and accused the Chinese of killing the Panchen Lama who had criticized the Chinese rule in Tibet a week before his death). The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee appointed, against Tibetan tradition, on 29 November 1995, Gyaltzen Norbu as the 11th reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama while at the same time expressing its opposition to the Dalai Lama by detaining as prisoner, a child of six years old, Gendun Choekyi Nyima who was recognized on 14 May 1995 by the Dalai Lama as Panchen Lama (Panchen Lama, http://www.tibet-info.net/documents/panchen_lama/index.html).

Now that the nonviolence policy of the Dalai Lama seems to cope with stalemate due to the disaffection of the international community towards the fate of the Tibetan people, young generation of Tibetans, in particular the Tibetan Youth Congress members, seem to contest the Dalai Lama's *Ahimsa* policy as it leads to nowhere.

Some of them are despaired with the Dalai Lama's inertia as well as with the inaction of the UNO. Thus, a monk of 50 years old, Thupten Ngodup decided to commit suicide on 27 April by immolation by fire in shouting "Long life to Dalai Lama, long life to Tibet" (Dali Lama, <http://www.tibet-info.net/info/tibetinfo/1988/0105.html>).

Six other Tibetans decided to observe their hunger strike until death. One of them Dawa Gyalpo (50 years old) made an ultimate statement before dying. He denounced the UNO inaction while the Tibetans suffered under the Chinese yoke. He said: "The UN High Commissioner of Human rights Mary Robinson seems to be concerned only with the Chinese human rights. There is no positive answer for our requests for Tibet. It is very sad that UNO is preoccupied only by situations of violence and attempts. These are my last words"(Ibid. 5).

They are frustrated to be abandoned by the international community, mainly, by the Western countries willingly normalizing their relationships with Communist China to establish new relationships based on commercial grounds. For not willing to oppose the Dalai Lama *Ahimsa* policy they were compelled to resort to peaceful means for expressing their active struggle against the Chinese occupation of their homeland and the "cultural genocide" implemented by Chinese communists in Tibet. Psychologically speaking the despaired gesture of these Tibetans patriots can be understood in political struggle. Yet, in 1962-63 similar methods of protestation against violent and savage persecution and repression against Buddhists organized by Ngo Dinh Diem government occurred in South Vietnam and attracted strong sympathy of the world opinion. There

was a historic precedent of such kind of protest in Asian Buddhist movement. That concerns the case of a South Vietnamese Buddhist monk close to the famous An Quang pagoda in Saigon led by the well-known protester monk Thich Tri Quang, who committed a suicide by immolation by fire in the centre of Saigon City. His tragic gesture provoked not only the sympathy of world opinion including the President of the United States of America John Fitzgerald Kennedy who doubted the credibility of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem as well as the generalized uprising of most of Buddhists against the Ngo Dinh Diem government and had an ultimate consequence the overthrow of that government by a Coup d' Etat launched by general Duong Duc Minh in 1963. Needless to say that after the fall of the Ngo Dinh Diem government the Vietnamese Buddhists regained their prestige, their rights and their freedom of belief. They were no more persecuted. Doubtless the Tibetan patriots would like by their gesture imitate the South Vietnamese Buddhists' example. Doubtless this suicide and this hunger strike would be very efficient in political struggle and would bring out fruitful results for the Tibetan cause.

Notwithstanding, the above-mentioned acts of Tibetan patriots constitute by themselves a contest and a challenge for the Dalai Lama's *Ahimsa*. Maybe they would like to prove the obsolescence and the failure of the Dalai Lama's policy. If it is so it seems that they will lean on the young Karmapa for pursuing their lifelong struggle as the Dalai Lama himself is aging (the Dalai Lama is now 64 years old) and does not have enough force for continuing his peaceful struggle for the Tibetan cause "that means Tibetan Buddhism and culture, as an important task of nowadays", said the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of his enthronisation as Dalai Lama.

The arrival of the Karmapa in India constitutes for 125,000 Tibetans in exile "a millennial gift for the Tibetan community". Tibetans who are disillusioned by the

compromise policy of the Dalai Lama place their hope in continuing their struggle in this young Karmapa of 14 years old who should be bolder than the Dalai Lama. The young charismatic Karmapa will herald a new hope for those of Tibetan exiles who are disillusioned with the Dalai Lama's lackluster leadership, who will bring one day new direction to their struggle for independence. "A guy who can outwit his Chinese handlers has a certain degree of maturity". "He could be a troublesome 14-year-old, or an unpredictable one". (Ajay Singh *Asiaweek* February 4, 2000, p. 39) - See also (*Le Monde*, 10 February 2000, p. 14).

Because most of Western countries, except the USA, are still unable to tackle their social and economic crisis, the number of jobless people is still high. For example; France, which is one of the Western countries to establish close commercial relationship with Communist China and which is one of the biggest investors in Mainland China, is still facing its economic and social crises and still has more than three million and half jobless people. France is one of the Western countries to face a particularly serious agricultural crisis had peasant leaders participate in Seattle last Spring demonstrations against the meeting of the World Trade Organization. The disagreement, even their hostility towards the Dalai Lama *Ahimsa*, constitutes a deep resentment of the majority of exiled Tibetans who want to recover completely the full national independence of their Tibet. They do not want the autonomy of Tibet in the frame of a greater China, as accepted by the Dalai Lama on various occasions, as a sign of compromise with Chinese leaders.

Obviously the gesture of these Tibetan hunger strikers and the sacrifice by fire of Tibetan monk Thupten Ngodup embarrassed even the Dalai Lama who was obliged to affirm his sympathy with them while saying Buddhist Ethics condemns these suicidal

acts, whereas, he understood their acts. While visiting Thupten Ngodup in the hospital on 28 April he stated:

Today it is clear that a frustration and despair sentiment is propagating among numerous Tibetans, as witnessed this hunger strike....and the tragic incident occurring yesterday. Though I disagree with the method they chose, I admire the motivation power and the determination of these Tibetans. They were ready to die not for selfish aims but for the rights of six millions Tibetans and for the survival of their culture. I urge the international community to intensify with consequence its support to the Tibet's cause. I urge governments and international committees to renew their efforts for settling peacefully the Tibetan problem. (*Ibid.*1)

The treatment of this modest thesis paves the way for further researches on this topic. Therefore, this thesis is only the preliminary investigative work in this field. The researcher wishes ardently that other researchers will enlarge the field of research on the same topic and will develop more knowledge on this religious topic.

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