Chapter Three
The Dalai Lama: Peace, Nonviolence and Conflict Resolution

I. Introduction

(The institution of the Dalai Lama of Tibet was founded by Shakyamuni Buddha around 525 B.C. but its formal authority came into existence with the emergence of Gendun Dub (1391-1474), the youngest of Tsongkhapa's foremost disciples as the I Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama was considered as the reincarnation of the Buddha Avalokiteshwarwa, the Lord of love and compassion.

The present Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso is the XIV in succession. The Chinese attack forces him to abandon Tibet in 1959. Since then he has been staying in India (Dharamsala) and conducts his religious and administrative obligations from there. As the reincarnation of Chenresi, the Dalai Lama is supposed to be the patron and protector of Tibetan people. So he conducts spiritual as well as temporal duties and is mobilizing people inside Tibet and around the world to fight for the freedom of Tibet.

The present chapter is an analysis of the process of evolution of the mind of the Dalai Lama towards Buddhism. The analysis also includes (a) approaches of peace and nonviolence of the Dalai Lama, (b) explanation of conflict and the methods of resolving conflict prevalent at interpersonal, intercommunity and international levels, (c) solution of the problems of Tibet and (d) summary of the discussion.

1. Ram Rahul, The Dalai Lama: The Institution (New Delhi, 1995) p. 3
II. The Dalai Lama: A Buddhist Teacher of Peace & Nonviolence:

The Dalai Lama is the supreme spiritual leader of Tibetan people and in this capacity he is supposed to be the best interpreter of Buddhism of the present age. In fact, he has been well trained in religious practises which is a combination of Indian Buddhism and the tantrik traditions of Bon denomination of primitive Tibet. This combination forms a new Tibetan Buddhism known as Vajrayan school that is superbly rich in rituals. The Dalai Lama has been a master of Vajrayan of the esoteric mandalas to become the spiritual and religious head of his country. It becomes a part of intellectual equipment of his mind-together with carrying out its practices, ceremonies and obligations.  

The Dalai Lama propagates that one should follow one's own Dharma. For him, Dharma is the law and also the traditional way having the teachings of Lord Buddha. He thus, says that the teachings of Buddha can be used without any contradiction, whether one practises the way of Sutra or that of the Tantra or both together. Though he believes that the practices of all the schools are the same.

(The Dalai Lama not only teaches to follow the path of Buddha but in his personal and everyday life he practises the

3. The Dalai Lama, The Opening of the Wisdom Eye (Madras, 1972), p. 142
4. Ibid, p. 9

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preachings of his master, Lord Buddha. So he has driven hatred, revenge, enmity out of character and has replaced them with love and compassion for all living beings. In fact, the main purpose of his own teachings is simple as well as most difficult to achieve that love your neighbour as yourself. Here he and Gandhi coalesce in real sense.

The Dalai Lama has his own method of practising Buddha dharma. From the doctrine's standpoint, he believes that Buddha dharma consists of four schools of thought. They are (1) Vaibhasika, (2) Sautrantika, (3) Vijnavad, and (4) Sunyavad. From the viewpoint of practice, he classifies Buddha dharma into three vehicles. They are (1) Carvakayana or Hinyana, (2) Pratyeka Buddhayana, and (3) Bodhisattvayana or Mahayana. But he combines first two vehicles due to their similarity and bracketed them as Hinayana.

The Dalai Lama believes that both the practices of Hinayana and Mahayana are glorious teachings of the Lord Buddha. The Buddha dharma thus, seems to be full of contradictions between Hinayana and Mahayana between Sutra and Tantra. But these contradictions and variations make Buddhism rich in practice and conduct. The Dalai Lama feels that by delving deeply into these seeming contradictions, after equipping oneself by a deep study and by clearly comprehending the body of Lord Buddha's Teaching

7. Ibid.
in all its aspects, will one acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the methods and systems of its procedure and practice. 8

It is the firm belief of the Dalai Lama that the attainment of this knowledge will make realize to the seeker that those permissive and prohibitive aspects of the Buddha's teaching have both been designed to advance the practitioner gradually and progressively along with the right path according to his capabilities and his intellectual development. In other words, the aim of all the yanas is to discipline the defiled and untamed mind of the individual, and to strengthen and clarify the precepts in accordance with the progressive development of the mind. 9

The Dalai Lama feels that the problems of the world can be solved by the genuine efforts of the individual with disciplined mind through Buddhist practices. He believes that in ancient times problems were not so complex and could be tackled at family levels but now the situation is no longer the same. The scientific progression makes the life very complex and the world is operated on the basis of personal interests. The life has been compartmentalized i.e. political, economic, social etc. These things create a situation of constant and continuous tension and conflict and therefore, create great hindrance in the achievement of permanent peace and harmony. So the Dalai Lama prescribes a sense

8. Ibid, p. 232
of universal responsibility without which the existence of human-kind is impossible. This feeling could be aroused by Mahayana Buddhism that trains the sacrifice of the self.\textsuperscript{10}

Daisaku Ikeda, a Japanese Buddhist thinker also supports this vision and believes in the power of a higher religion capable of opening the long way to peace.\textsuperscript{11}

The Buddhism of the Dalai Lama exists to save all sentient beings. He believes in the propagation of the faith to future generations and wants to encompass all human beings everywhere. As a true Buddhist monk, the Dalai Lama reaches all people without any discrimination of colour, race, religion or nationality. He approaches to radicals or conservatives, leftists or rightists etc. The ultimate aim of the Dalai Lama is to bring human revolution to the individual so that all people alike will be saved. It could be possible through the methods of Buddhism. Ikeda calls this method "Buddhist Humanism".\textsuperscript{12}

In this direction the entire efforts of the Dalai Lama is not to create mere a revolution but he trains the human mind for a wider goal of the creation of just and humane world order. The movements of enlightened individuals could have wider and enduring impact on society.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} The Dalai Lama, "Towards Universal Responsibility", \textit{Tibetan Review} (New Delhi), July-Aug, 1975
\textsuperscript{11} Daisaku Ikeda, \textit{A Lasting Peace} (New York, 1981), p.161
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, p. 201
the method of nonviolence since his early childhood. Previously nonviolence was considered as a means for personal emancipation and achieving salvation but when he comes to know Gandhi and Gandhian methods of unarmed resistance, he realizes that the methods of truth and nonviolence could be used as a political weapon in achieving freedom for Tibet and thereby contributing to world peace. The Dalai Lama takes a vow to adopt nonviolent methods throughtout his life and he considers Gandhi as his mentor.\(^{13}\)

Thus the independence movement of Tibet under the leadership of the Dalai Lama has the distinction of being a movement based on the ideals of Buddhist and Gandhian truth and nonviolence. His movement is the only minority movement in the world that does not resort to violent means. On the contrary, he emphasizes the persuasive insistence on the meditative transformation of the mind and the practice of love, compassion, tolerance, peace and freedom.

For the Dalai Lama, peace can only last where individual's rights are respected, where no person is hungry and where individuals and nations enjoy freedom. Compassion can be the cornerstone for peace in any society. He has developed his philosophy of peace from great love for all living and sentient beings. That is why he has been conferred Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 for

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coming forward with constructive and forward looking proposals for the solution of international conflicts and human right issues.\textsuperscript{14}

The approach of harmony and peace of the Dalai Lama is based on his perception of Buddhism. Like Buddha and Gandhi, he also emphasizes on corresponding inner development of cool and calm abiding mind for every individual cutting across religious and national barriers. However, hatred, anger and fear are some of the obstacles that disturb human mind but all these can be overcome by cultivating undiscriminating compassion. Since human nature is essentially loving, caring and co-operative, the cultivation of human mind is quite possible.\textsuperscript{15}

The Dalai Lama feels that all sufferings are the result of ignorance. People are generally selfish. They want to get happiness even at the cost of others. The problems of today like violent conflicts, moral degradation, environment destruction, poverty, hunger etc. are the by-products of excessive materialistic attitudes of the people. They wander in search for peace and happiness but true peace remains far off them. It is because true happiness comes from the peaceful human mind. The Dalai Lama explains, "Yet true happiness comes from a sense of inner peace and contentment, which in turn must be achieved through the

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, pp.123-24

\textsuperscript{15} P.N. Chopra, \textit{The Ocean of Wisdom: The Life of Dalai Lama XIV} (New Delhi, 1986), p. 83
cultivation of altruism, of love and compassion and elimination of ignorance, selfish and greed.\textsuperscript{16}

For the Dalai Lama, peace does not mean mere the absence of war. On the contrary, it means the achievement of a positive a mental and physical conditions in the form of the material as well as the spiritual progress. The Dalai Lama seems in total agreement with the Gandhian opinion that the peace should not be the peace of the graveyard. He feels that peace has no meaning for a person dying of hunger. He says, "Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free. True peace with ourselves and with the world around us can only be achieved through the development of mental peace."\textsuperscript{17}

Obviously, material progress is essential for the survival of any society. But only material progress may create imbalance and conflict in society. So the material progress well balanced with the spiritual development can bring permanent peace in society.\textsuperscript{18} The Dalai Lama finds that external problems can not disturb the true inner peace and tranquility. He considers three prerequisites for true peace and happiness in society. They are (1) national and individual freedom, (2) respect for human rights and (3) equitable distribution of material things. The first and

\textsuperscript{16} A.A. Shiromany(ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Universal Heritage (New Delhi, 1995), p. 129

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, p.133

\textsuperscript{18} The Dalai Lama, "Towards Universal Responsibility", Tibetan Review (New Delhi), July-Aug. 1975
foremost thing in achieving peace is to have freedom of thought and expression that can be attained by mutual trust, mutual understanding and absence of fear. There is an immediate need to eliminate the mutual fear between China and Tibet to resolve the problems of Tibet.

Like Gandhi, the Dalai Lama believes that means should be pure to achieve desirable ends. Peace attained through impure and violent means could not be permanent and enduring. So the Dalai Lama resorts to nonviolent means in the freedom struggle of Tibet. For him, Tibetan freedom movement is not merely a political movement rather than a highly spiritual and religious effort, a 'Mukti Sadhana' to yearn for freedom, equality and dignity.¹⁹

The Dalai Lama resorts to the principle of Buddhism for its scientific appeals to the troubled humanity and for its being the effective medium to bring about world peace and harmony. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru has been greatly influenced by the contribution of Buddhism to world peace and thus endeavours to extend its spirit of compassion, pity and fraternity in the domain of international relations through the concept of Panchsheel.²⁰

The Dalai Lama thus, believes that the peace and harmony in a society can be attained on the Buddhist foundation of goodwill, loving kindness and compassion. It can be achieved by serving and

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¹⁹. A.A. Shiromany(ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Vision for Human Liberation (New Delhi, 1996) p.331

²⁰, Kushok G. Bakula(ed.), "Buddhism and World Peace", Buddhism and World Peace (Bodh-Gaya, 1984), p.1
caring the other people of society. It does not matter whether they belong to a different colour, or a different race, or a different belief, or a different religion. This ability of the human being could be brought to be shared, or to be friendly. There is a great need to feel the responsibility for other fellow beings. According to the Dalai Lama, universal responsibility and compassion together can provide the basis for harmony and peace within and among nations. That is why these qualities are so important in our society and in the world today.

The Dalai Lama's concept of universal responsibility means the consideration of the entire human beings as brothers and sisters and they should learn to work in the interest of all mankind. It is inevitable for personal happiness and for the world peace through the equitable distribution of natural resources and through the proper care for the environment for future generations.  

It seems that the Dalai Lama derives his concept of universal responsibility from the tenets of Buddhism that has already borrowed it from an Upanishadic statement, "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam". By universal responsibility he means the equality of every sentient being and their rights to be happy. He feels that we should be kind enough to consider the welfare of all. So the

22. Ibid, p.140
number of persons having the feeling of universal responsibility will increase and that can improve the general atmosphere. But this change becomes gradual and it requires strenuous efforts.

Daisaku Ikeda also supports the Buddhist contention and finds that the movement on these lines is diametrically opposite to traditional revolution. It is because Buddhists have resolved never to sanction war or other forms of violence and always to use peaceful means. 23

The concept of universal responsibility has no meaning without the feeling of compassion. The Dalai Lama considers that love and compassion, are the moral fabric of world peace. By compassion he means love and affection for the entire humankind. As a Mahayana Buddhist Monk, his compassion is based on altruistic considerations. 24 He prescribes to feel compassion and love not only to whom we love but even to whom who has done great harm to us.

III. The Dalai Lama: A Political Leader

The Tibetan people perceive human life as a whole and do not compartmentalize it into watertight divisions. Their religious lives are not different from political, economic or social lives. Naturally, the supreme spiritual and religious leader of Tibet


has been assigned the role of temporal head as well. It seems that in the initial phase the institution of the Dalai Lama was purely religious functionary. The third Dalai Lama (1543-1588) for the first time got some political power when the then Mongol Chieftain gave him a seal inscribed with Dorje Change, meaning "Holder of the Thunderbolt".25 But the seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757) emerged as the chief executive and head of the government in 1747.26 The temporal authority of the Dalai Lama was thus established on a permanent basis and was never challenged, later.

The present XIV Dalai Lama takes over as the spiritual and political head of Tibet in 1940. That is the period when one of his neighbouring countries, India has been fighting for removal of the chains of 200 years of slavery and on the other hand China, his another neighbour has been hatching a conspiracy to snatch the freedom of his motherland, Tibet. The plan has been actualized in 1949 when Mao's Red Army marches towards Tibet in 1950 on the pretext of liberating Tibetans from the feudal lords and lamas. Some parts of north-west Tibet have been captured. However, Khampa volunteers and Tibetan army resist the Red Army but could not succeed.27

The Dalai Lama communicates to the Chinese communist regime to maintain friendly relations but unfortunately his request is unheeded. Even then the Dalai Lama tries his best to initiate a

26. Ibid., p.42
27. Ibid, p.55
dialogue to determine the future status of Tibet. But the Chinese do not prevent their army from infiltration.

On the other hand, the Chinese Government announces that Tibet has been an integral part of China. This status has not been acceptable to any Tibetan. When Chinese pressure becomes unbearable, the Cabinet of the Dalai Lama advises him to leave the country. The Dalai Lama with some Tibetan warriors and his family members leave Lhasa on the 18th March 1959. The Dalai Lama crosses into India in early April and arrives at Bomdilla, Arunachal Pradesh on the 12th April 1959. Finally, he comes over to and settles down at Dharamsala from where he runs the Tibetan Government-in-Exile.

As the head of Government-in-Exile of Tibet, the Dalai Lama is mobilising Tibetan people as well as the people around the world to put moral pressure on Chinese regime to talk to the Tibetan people to determine the future status of Tibet. Like Gandhi, he also believes that the people of a slave nation cannot contribute to world peace due to their inability in taking any decision on their own behalf. Only a free nation can bring small nations together to bring world peace. Only a conglomeration of small nations can resist the hegemony and exploitative attitudes of powerful nations. The Dalai Lama hence says, "Among different nations there must be equal concern for the welfare of even the smallest nation......If people from poor countries are denied the happiness they desire and deserve, they will naturally be

28. Ibid, pp.55-6
dissatisfied and pose problems for the rich. If unwanted ... imposition by one nation upon another continues, the attainment of world peace is doubtful." 29

A small but free Tibet can play active role in this regard and can resolve conflicts between different nations through non-violent methods of peaceful negotiations. Despite that a free Tibet, a zone of ahimsa will work as a buffer state that can resolve the ongoing boundary conflict between India and China. In the opinion of the Dalai Lama it will be a great help to world peace and harmony if the conflict and tension between the two cease to exist.

The Dalai Lama believes that peace and harmony can be maintained in society through the practice of Buddhism. Any change in this regard could be brought about through heart-to-heart contact. Even Tibet can get freedom through the change of the hearts of the opponents, the chinese. The Dalai Lama, thus, speaks, "The problems human society is facing in terms of economic development, the crisis of energy, the tension between the poor and the rich nations, and many geopolitical problems can be solved if we understand each others' fundamenta l humanity, respect each others' rights, share each others' problems and sufferings, and then make joint effort.... If we develop a good heart, then whether the field is science, agriculture, or politics, these will all improve." 30

30. The Dalai Lama, Kindness, Clarity and Insight (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), pp.60-1
Hence it could be said that the Dalai Lama finds the solution of every problem in Buddhism. He feels that peace in the outer world is the extension of the peace inside the self of the individual. But to bring inner peace is not an easy task but it requires a continuous training in Buddhism. In this direction, people have to be initiated in the kalachakra (wheel of the time). He thus, prescribes, "Initiation to the Kalachakra is particularly conducive to creating peace, mental peace and world peace."\(^{31}\)

But this is also true that the Dalai Lama does not fight to bring peace and harmony in Tibetan society alone but he to create such an environment where people get Nirvana through rise to the status of Buddhahood.\(^{32}\) In fact, in the eyes of the Dalai Lama, individual plays very significant role to change the society in the desired direction. In the Dalai Lama's philosophy individual is independent in human society. But the individual does not believe in individualism, on the contrary he, supports collectivism; co-operates with the other fellow human beings of society; has love for them; has a sense of brotherhood, compassion and respect for others through which one can attain inner peace. The Dalai Lama has great faith in these qualities as factors responsible to bring peace in human society. The Dalai Lama himself practises this philosophy as much as possible.\(^{33}\)

\(^{31}\) A.A. Shiromany (ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Vision for Human Liberation (New Delhi, 1996), p.78

\(^{32}\) P.N. Chopra, The Ocean of Wisdom: The Life of Dalai Lama XIV (New Delhi, 1986), p.75

\(^{33}\) The Dalai Lama, "Universal Responsibility", Tibetan Review (New Delhi), April 1976
IV. Nature of Conflict and Its Resolution

Whatever the reasons of the conflict may be, in the Dalai Lama's opinion, Buddhism is very much concerned and interested in peace. However, the teachings of Buddha are guidelines for resolving conflicts prevalent at interpersonal, intercommunity and international levels.

1. The Interpersonal Conflict

The interpersonal conflict arises when two persons lose their trust on each other. The reasons may be materialistic or otherwise. The Dalai Lama explains that owing to the lack of true mental peace such types of conflict occur. The interpersonal conflict can be resolved through developing a feeling of love and compassion, a sense of brotherhood and sisterhood towards others. This could be possible only when we have faith in religion and those who deny religion have had no harmony, peace and happiness inside their inner selves.

Sulak Sivaraksha of Thailand, known as one of Asia's leading social thinkers, describes the "spirit of Buddhist development" as one where the inner strength is cultivated along with compassion, love and kindness. He finds the goals of Buddhist development as equality, love, freedom and liberation.34

On the similar line, the Dalai Lama also emphasizes on the method of training the human mind by citing the Buddha's teachings. The essence of Lord Buddha's teachings lies in the subdual of one's mind and this important point has repeatedly been brought out by the Dalai Lama at various meetings around the world. This fact has also been stated in the Pratimoksha Sutra that the cultivation of one's mind is the essence of the Buddha dharma.35

Thus a complete subdual of one's mind would eventually lead to the annihilation of tension, conflicts etc. An enemy is to be won not by force but by love. He takes this clue from Dharmapada, "In this world, hatred never ceases by hatred but by non-hatred."36 So it can all be understood that Gandhi derives his idea of hating the sin and not the sinner from Buddhism.

Therefore, to resolve interpersonal conflict, a calm abiding of mind is desired. The Dalai Lama prescribes to resort to meditation for this purpose. From the very beginning the individual should have determination to conduct a perfect meditation. It is necessary to concentrate on a particular object. The entire process of meditation can produce mental alertness or introspection that detects the arisal of mental sinking and mental excitement.37 In fact, the Dalai Lama attributes the faculty of

35. Kushok G. Bakula, "Buddhism And World Peace", A Buddhism And World Peace (Bodh-Gaya, 1984), p.4
36. Ibid
intruspection utmost significant in developing such minds.

The Dalai Lama believes that the cultivation of minds is possible through the study of the authoritative commentaries of innumerable number of Indian and Tibetan teachers and scholars. It must be borne in mind by every Buddhist that neither offering of prayers nor resorting to solitary meditation in a cave entails Buddhism. According to the Dalai Lama, Buddhism hold out the right ways and means for every aspect of our activities not only confined to matters relating to this life but also in the achievement of our final enlightenment.

But the religion of the Dalai Lama differs from traditionalists and does not live in the temple. He says, "Religion is not to be found in temples. It is to be found in people's hearts. If people are really practising religion properly, if they have religion in their hearts, conflicts can be avoided."38. In fact, his words echo the words of Lord Buddha who branched off from traditional Hindu religion to work for a more humane way of life. And on the basis of his own experience he concludes that man should look within himself to find his salvation.

Actually, Buddhism as a means of resolution of interpersonal conflict is a two way process through which both the conflicting persons are satisfied of the solution. It is like the solution of the intrapersonal conflict where individual wants to satisfy the need of his inner neurosis and psychosis. William Alanson White

writes, "The symbolization of the conflict, either in the dream or in the symptoms of the neurosis or psychosis, will contain elements representative of both factors, and also... no so solution of the conflict can come about except by the satisfaction of both these diametrically opposed tendencies. It follows, too, that no conflict can be solved at the level of the conflict." 39

What White says of conflicting tendencies in the individual may be applied as well to a conflict between two persons. Like the two mutually opposed tendencies within the self of the individual, interpersonal conflict can also not be solved at the level of conflict itself.

So the Dalai Lama recommends to follow the path of Buddhist Madhyam Marg that holds out the right ways and means which is an inclusive synthesis that lift the whole situation to a level where conflict may not be able to occur.

The method of Madhyam Marg is not only helpful to the Buddhists alone but to non-Buddhists too. The resolution of interpersonal conflict becomes a reality when everyone of us would resort to abstinence from evils and believes in the purification of mind.

2. The Intercommunity Conflict

The intercommunity conflict arises when two or more groups are involved in conflicting situations. At this level conflicts occur between (1) group and group and (ii) community and state.

(a) **Conflict between Groups:**

What leads towards conflict in society when people with different identities and religious belief interact for social purposes Usually, it may take place when these people start comparing their ideas with that of others. Distrust and jealous of the members of one group towards the members of other group adds fuel to the fire. The conflicting groups mostly consists of people belonging to different religions and castes. As a Buddhist monk, the Dalai Lama has better understanding of the philosophy of religion and he therefore, can resolve the religious conflict amicably. The Dalai Lama believes in the philosophy of Buddha and in the essence of Dharma. To him Dharma means morally justifiable activities, i.e. any step towards promoting pleasure and happiness to others. While the teachings of Buddha enable him to diagnose not only the true causes of sufferings i.e. ignorance, greed and selfishness but he suggests the true remedies of sufferings i.e. cultivation of love and compassion. 40

In a plural society where people belonging to different religions and castes leave together peacefully for the survival of each group. Besides, they should develop the genuine mutual respect for each other. In case of any conflict, we have to try to convince them to understand the religions of others. To resolve the conflict between different religious groups, the best

way is to encourage closer contact among the various religions. The Dalai Lama says, "Through close contact with those of other faiths it is possible to develop a broad-minded attitude and mutual respect with regard to other religions. In addition to the development of harmony among them, there are other benefits to be gained as well."\textsuperscript{41} So if we realise the need for broader interaction among different religious communities, all those things that normally cause conflict become meaningless.

In a pluralist society where various religious communities are interacting, the best way to resolve conflict is to respect the religion of others. The Dalai Lama thus, writes, "I strongly emphasize the urgent need of flawless unity among all religions. To this end, the followers of each religion should know something of other religions.\textsuperscript{42} But the followers of one religion should not judge another religion rather this task of validation should be left to the followers of that particular religion. It is upto each individual to validate his path after attaining the level of proper realization and enlightenment. The realization generates inter-faith understanding that brings the unity among all religions necessary to work together.

\textsuperscript{41} The Dalai Lama, \textit{Dimensions of Spirituality} (Boston, 1995), p.6

\textsuperscript{42} The Dalai Lama, \textit{My Land and My People} (New Delhi, 1962), p.239
The Dalai Lama explains that there are two primary tasks before religious practitioners that are concerned with world peace. Firstly, there should be a promotion of better inter-faith understanding so as to create a workable degree of unity among all religions. This may be achieved in part by respecting each other’s beliefs and by emphasizing common concern for human well-being. Secondly, we must bring about a viable consensus on basic spiritual values that touch every human heart and enhance general human happiness. This means we must emphasize the common denominator of all world religions and humanitarian ideals. These two steps enable us to act both individually and jointly to create the necessary spiritual condition for world peace.

The Dalai Lama feels that the religious and the spiritual leaders of the world have to share some responsibilities in this direction. He says, "Politicians and national leaders frequently talk about 'co-existence' and 'coming together'. Why not we religious people too?" He is a little bit satisfied that leaders and representatives of various religions of the world have held a prayer meeting at Assissi in 1987. But he feels that there is a need to put more efforts towards developing harmony and closeness among the various religions of the world to resolve communal conflict.

43. A.A. Shiromany(ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Universal Heritage (New Delhi, 1995), p.266-7

44. The Dalai Lama, Dimensions of Spirituality (Boston, 1995), p.6

45. Ibid, p.6-7
Since caste is alien to the people of Tibet, the Dalai Lama has not expressed his opinion to resolve the caste conflict in India.

(b) **Conflict between Community and State: A Case Study of Tibet**

The conflict between community and state occurs due to the denial of economic and political rights to people at large by the state and also in the situation when people do not abide by the law of the land. The Tibetan people are struggling for the independence of their motherland so that permanent peace and harmony could be brought about not only in Tibet and China but in the whole Asia. The Dalai Lama has been almost successful in persuading his own people to use nonviolent method of resistance against the injustice of Chinese regime.

As a strong votary of Gandhian methods of truth and non-violence, the Dalai Lama feels that without continued co-operation and compliance of Tibetans, it would almost be impossible for Chinese to stay in Tibet. So, there is a need to establish unity among all Tibetans to launch a non-cooperative Satyagraha movement on Gandhian lines so that the Chinese administration inside Tibet could be collapsed. S.L. Tenzin, Chairman, Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies writes, "Therefore, all the tibetan people must, with united hearts and minds, courageously engage in a Satyagraha Movement as an effective means to achieve our own
truth, for Truth is always victorious and Truth is on our side.\textsuperscript{46}

The Dalai Lama is trying his best to mobilize his own people on the one hand and on the other he is visiting every part of the world to garner support of world community for the ongoing struggle for the freedom of Tibet. His is a unique example of a struggle of minority people without resorting to violent means. It is a known fact that Tibetans are the victims of Chinese atrocities. Tibetan women have been gangraped, people are massacred. The present Chinese regime is involved in all sorts of human rights violation in Tibet. One fifth of Tibetans have become the victims of genocide. The women have been forced to marry the Chinese boys so that the pace of the process of assimilation of Tibetan people with the Chinese may be increased. Despite that, the Dalai Lama raises his voice for the Tibetan cause, without rancour or bitterness against the Chinese. He bears no malice towards anyone, not even towards the tormentors. He is the vast reservoir of Patience, Forgiveness, Friendliness and Compassion that have helped him to brave all the sufferings and privations of a long exiled life and to raise the voice of peace, justice and nonviolence.\textsuperscript{47}

It is possible because the Dalai Lama has received training

\textsuperscript{46} S.L.Tenzin, \textit{Satyagraha(Truth-Insistence)} (Varanasi, 1996), p.11

in Buddhism. These traits have become the part and parcel of his life. He tries to train the people on this line and to make Buddhism the vibrating soul of Tibetan people. Their lives would become soulless if religion is taken out of it. But people are deprived of their spiritual and religious rights. The environment of Tibet is being polluted by mass deforestation as well as nuclear wastes. Tibet is become a ground of Chinese nuclear warheads. Out of 300-400 nuclear warheads China has stationed approximately 90 warheads on Tibetan plateau.48

The Chinese have adopted a population transfer policy to assimilate Tibetans into the Chinese mainstream to avoid any unrest in future. As a result the Tibetans have been reduced to minority in their own country and cannot stand for their rights before the Chinese and therefore cannot get independent status. An independent Tibet can work as a buffer state between the two powerful countries - India and China. The tension between India and China begins when Tibet lost her independent status and Chinese troops invaded India. So the restoration of the independent status of Tibet can cease the tension between the two giants.

Before the beginning of the process of independence of Tibet, some steps are to be taken as a goodwill gesture to minimise the conflict between Tibet and China. The Dalai Lama has

come out with a "Five-Point Peace Plan" in a meeting held in Washington D.C. on September 21, 1987. These are:-

1. I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of ahimsa, a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and nonviolence.

The Dalai Lama explains that Tibet's role as a peaceful buffer state in separating two giant nations - India and China should be perceived in its historicity. He supports Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone but at the same time he argues that it would be better if it includes Tibet and other neighbouring areas.

The moment Tibet is declared as a peace zone, China has to withdraw its troops from Tibet. Simultaneously India too has to withdraw her military installations from Himalayan regions. Hence the status of Tibet as a buffer state will be reinstated. It satisfies the genuine security needs of India, Tibet and China. The most important achievement of this action would curtail the military budget of both sides.

Before the annexation of Tibet, India and China have never been involved in the war. The Chinese army marches up to Indian border for the first time in 1959 as the result of Tibet's annexation to China. Consequently, China invaded India in 1962.

49. A.A. Shiromany(ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Universal Heritage (New Delhi, 1995), p.156
So status of Tibet as a free nation is not only beneficial to the people of Tibet but it is in the interest of the people of India and China as well.

The Dalai Lama plans to move in this direction, "To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust."\(^{50}\) The Chinese army has become a symbol of atrocities and suppression, its withdrawl from the Tibetan territory can create trust among Tibetans and a genuine process of reconciliation and peace starts.

2. **The population transfer of Chinese into Tibet which the government in Beijing pursues in order to force a "final solution" to the Tibetan problem by reducing the Tibetan population to an insignificant and disenfranchised minority in Tibet itself. must be stopped.**

In Tibet, out of 60 lakh, 12 lakh people have been killed by the Chinese army. The rest have been reduced to minority in their own land due to Chinese population transfer policy of the government. According to the Dalai Lama, 7,50,000 Tibetans have been outnumbered by 25,00,000 Chinese.\(^{51}\) In the other parts like Tibet Autonomous Region the situation is almost the same.

If this situation continues, the day is not far behind when Tibetans will lose their identity as a distinct people. If

\(^{50}\) Ibid, p.160

\(^{51}\) Ibid
by then Tibet becomes independent, it will be a different Tibet from what the Dalai Lama, is now talking about. If the Tibetans have to survive as a people, population transfer policy should be stopped immediately. Only then peace and harmony can be established in the entire region.

3. **Fundamental human rights and democratic freedom must be respected in Tibet.** The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually, and to exercise basic democratic freedom.

In Tibet human rights have been violated in many ways. Tibetans have been the victims of genocide. One fifth of the total population of Tibet were massacred by Chinese army. The women have been targeted for gangrape. Most of the monasteries have been demolished and the Tibetans are not allowed to conduct their religious duties. In this way the Tibetan people's cultural, intellectual, economic and spiritual rights have been demolished. These rights of Tibetans have to be revived to attain peace and harmony inside Tibet.

4. **Serious efforts must be made to restore the natural environment in Tibet.** Tibet should not be used for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.

As the followers of Buddhism, Tibetans respect all forms of life whether they are flora or fauna. Chinese have been shifting to Tibet under the population transfer policy to reduce Tibetans into minority. The Chinese need more residential land to
accommodate her fast growing population. So they have started mass deforestation inside Tibet. It has disastrous effect on the entire region including India. The Tibet has become the dustbin of the Chinese nuclear wastes. Consequently, sometimes heavy rain and sometimes draught have become the common feature as the result of great imbalance in nature. The Dalai Lama wants to check it because of his concern for the purity of environment not only for the present generation of Tibet but for the future one.

5. Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples should be started in earnest.

Tibetan and Chinese are distinct peoples with their own cultures, languages and history. It is a historical fact that Tibet has never been a part of China. China has forcefully captured Tibet. So she has to give up her claim over Tibet and a genuine talk in this respect should be initiated as early as possible.

The Dalai Lama has proposed the "Five-Point Peace Plan" for an early solution of the problem of Tibet. In fact he has given China an opportunity to respond positively to his offer and to start the implementation of this proposal. If China pays heed to the requests of the Dalai Lama, it will be very helpful in resolving the conflict between Tibetan people and the Chinese regime amicably.

A free Tibet will provide a perfect environment for the intellectual development of mind. Since the fundamental principles of Tibet as a nation have been peace, compassion,
nonviolence and spirituality. Existence of Tibet could therefore, be justified only if she regained her age-old traditions of spirituality. 52

The freedom of Tibet will empower Tibetans. They can take their own decisions to develop their motherland according to their own needs and visions. The political power is decentralized if Tibet gets freedom. S. Rinpoche opines that the conflict between the people of Tibet and Chinese state could be resolved through the freedom of Tibet. He writes, "Local self-governments, village panchayats, local government and non-governmental institutions shall be strengthened by law and encouraged by the state, through a policy of decentralization in order to solve special problems and remove dissensions effectively at the local level to minimize litigation and causes which lead to conflict." 53 The chances of inside conflict are minimized through the empowerment of people and equitable distribution of wealth, land and natural resources among the people of Tibet.

A peaceful Tibet can be helpful in bringing to world peace. As a zone of ahimsa it cannot forge any military alliance with any big power. Tibet cannot be involved in arms race and in the production of arms. A free Tibet will always oppose any kind of violation of human rights, suppression of democratic norms, terrorism etc. whenever these occur. 54

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53. Ibid, p.18
A peaceful resolution of Tibetan problems through mutual openness and understanding will have far reaching impact on the people and the governments of the neighbouring countries like Hong Kong and Taiwan. It is a fact that former has now become a part of China but her people are apprehensive of their status in the new set up. Taiwan has very special relation with China and she is opposing the attempt to be annexed. In fact Taiwanese have foiled many Chinese attempts to capture their motherland. Sometimes even the warlike situation emerges. All the neighbouring countries have great fear of the Chinese intention. Henceforth, China has to leave Tibet to improve her international image so that her neighbouring status may have faith in the wisdom of Chinese leadership.

Though the Dalai Lama has various options of resistance against the Chinese injustices. But as a true Buddhist monk, he insists on the method of Gandhian Satyagraha based on truth and nonviolence and scorns the use of force. In this regard, the Dalai Lama has been successful in convincing Tibetans that their problems can only be solved by practising the nonviolent path. S. Rinpoche thus, writes, "The Dalai Lama has advised time and again, if the all Tibetans were able to sincerely trust and put into practise the nonviolent path of peace, then we our freedom could be restored without difficulty. Hence, also the Tibetan

people, both at home and in exile, must join together in complete
unanimity and immediately undertake a Truth Movement to restore
Tibet's freedom through the nonviolent path of peace.\textsuperscript{55} However,
the Dalai Lama's method of truth and nonviolence not only propos-
es the resolution of the conflict between Tibetan community and
Chinese regime rather than a peaceful solution that would go a
long way to satisfying Chinese people too.

3. \textbf{The International Conflict}

A conflict between two or more nations may arise on the
issue of safeguarding their interests whether economic or related
to boundary. In the situation of conflict becoming
uncontrollable, the chances of war may occur. In case of a
conflict between two nations, the powerful nation always tries to
influences and to control the behaviour of the weaker nation.
However, every state makes foreign policy suitable to its own
interests. In the process it even does not care for the interests
of the weaker nation.

In recent times the Dalai Lama has emerged as one of the
foremost exponents the rights of the smaller and weaker coun-
tries. He believes that true peace cannot be established without
the justice to the smaller countries. He has been consistently
pursuing the twin objectives of world peace and human happiness
with transparent sincerity and dedication. He pleads for toler-
ance, wisdom and understanding towards the problems of weaker
nations to establish a just and peaceful world order.

\textsuperscript{55} S.L. Tenzin, \textit{Satyagraha(Truth-Insistence)} (Varanasi, 1996),
p.12
The Dalai Lama believes that modern democracy is based on the principle that all human beings are essentially equal. Each of us has an equal right to life, liberty, and happiness. The political, social and cultural freedoms that democracy entails, are of immense value and importance. According to the Buddhist viewpoint all things originate in the mind and actions and events depend heavily on motivation. Only in a free and fair society based on equality and justice, a sound mind with good heart may come into existence. Hence, an inner mental peace can be attained only in a democratic society that is an essential prerequisite to world peace.

The Dalai Lama's philosophy of world peace and harmony is the resultant of global thinking. Environmental change, rising sea levels, increasing new diseases, vast population growth, depletion of resources and extinction of species are some of the problems that are capable of disturbing peace in the world. The Dalai Lama explains the reasons of these things as the result of his deep thinking, "Economic inequality, especially that between developed and the developing nations, remains the greatest source of suffering on this planet." The developed countries make business policies according to their own interest and they force the developing nations to abide by them. The developed nations firstly promote consumer culture in the developing countries and

56. A.A. Shiromany(ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Universal Heritage (New Delhi, 1995), p.239
then infiltrate with their goods. Now-a-days large multinational corporations play these roles very successfully around the world and exploit the weaker nations that gives birth the conflicting tendencies.

The conflict between the developing and developed nations has been increasing corresponding to the increasing rate of the exploitation of the latter. The conflicting situations may even lead them to war. It is because war is after all a sort of mass-expression of greed and hatred of the powerful countries. It can only be controlled through the individual minds having the grace and composure of the Buddhist ethical and moral culture. For the international problems arising out of distrust and antipathies Buddhism offers the best solution. The reason is that its technique is based on the balance of probabilities relating to the average human behaviour. In its essence, Buddhism is more democratic and less dogmatic, and therefore more appropriate to the peaceful evolution and progress of mankind.

The Dalai Lama makes an analogy between nation and individual. He says, "Within each nation, the individual ought to be given the right to happiness, and among nations, there must be equal concern for the welfare of even the smallest nations." The Dalai Lama explains that the powerful nations should think about the smaller nations to bring peace and harmony based on

58. L. Ariyawama Nayaka Thera, Buddhism and World Peace", Buddhism and World Peace (Bodh-Gaya, 1984), p.9
justice and equality. It is in the mutual and long term interest of all nations. Keeping these things into minds, the smaller and developing nations are coming together to form their own organizations like the Association of South East Asian Nations, SAARC, SAPTA etc. The Dalai Lama feels the need of more trans-national organizations so that economic development and regional stability could be maintained. These could be possible through soul force and by establishing heart-to-heart unity among the developing nations. On the contrary, if unwanted social, political and cultural forms continue to be imposed upon unwilling people, world peace remains disturbed.

The problems of the modern world are created by some politicians, leaders, their associate economists and advisers devoid of any ethical code relevant to the peaceful existence of the human society free from scarcity, hunger or disease. The powerful and destructive modern armaments are the creation of the evil mind that wants to gulp the morsels of the mouths of the others.

If such evil minds get free hand, this globe would be a graveyard where no life could exist. The Dalai Lama is very careful to save the world from the warlike situations. He writes, "Peace between nations was the uppermost thought in my own mind ......for the teaching of Lord Buddha could lead not only to contended and peaceful lives for individuals, but also to an end of hostility between nations; the salvation of humanity could be found in the principles of Buddhism."60

60. The Dalai Lama, My Land and My People (New Delhi, 1962), p.132
The Buddhist philosophy does not make any distinction between any sentient being. On the contrary it always work for the unification of human beings through establishing heart-to-heart unity. The Dalai Lama feels that first prerequisite of world peace is to organize a meeting of the world leaders at least once a year to create trust and confidence among them. Coming together of world leaders can sort out any problem of the world. The Dalai Lama says, "I suggest that world leaders meet about once a year in a beautiful place without any business, just to get to know each other as human beings. More human contact in the form of informal extended meetings, without any agenda, would improve their mutual understanding; they would learn to relate to each other as human beings and could then try to tackle international problems based on this understanding." 61

However, it is utmost important that firstly these world leaders could have mental peace, only then they would be able to bring peace and harmony in the world. The Dalai Lama says, "My belief is that world peace should come through mental peace, through inner peace. Without inner peace it is very difficult to achieve genuine world peace." 62

Sometimes situation arises when conflict becomes uncontrollable. Then the warlike situations come up. But it is a known fact that war cannot be an instrument of resolution of international conflict. On the contrary it is so devastating that it

61. A.A. Shiromany(ed.), The Spirit of Tibet: Universal Heritage (New Delhi, 1995), p.269

62. The Dalai Lama, Tibet, China and The World (Dharamsala, 1989), p.74

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destroys the conflicting parties instead of conflict. These are the days when the processes of nuclear disarmament and the nuclear explosion are going altogether. It has been widely felt that there is a genuine need to implement the provisions of NPT and CTBT to keep a check on the manufacturing and explosion of nuclear arsenals. But on the other hand the nuclear countries are not willing to leave their special nuclear privileges so that the nuclear warheads may be dismantled. The other two countries India and Pakistan have recently joined the nuclear club on the pretext of the danger of their security from the nuclear power as well as non-dismantling of nuclear weapons by the nuclear powers. Due to the discriminatory provisions of CTBT and NPT some countries like India are hesitant to sign it, hence the danger of nuclear war has not been eliminated. There is always a danger of more countries joining nuclear club. Therefore, the world peace and harmony are always at stake.

The Dalai Lama became overwhelmed after visiting Hiroshima (site of the real atomic explosion for the first time) in 1980. He says, "During my visit I felt very sad, close to tears but I also felt that sadness is not enough. We must have more courage and determination to stop that kind of thing. There can never be any solution through anger or hatred. The fire of anger must be overcome by the water of love and kindness." 63

Henceforth to resolve all international conflicts and to

63. P.N. Chopra, The Ocean of Wisdom: The Life of Dalai Lama XIV (New Delhi, 1986), p. 82
have permanent peace and harmony, the Dalai Lama suggests to use his method of soulforce through which heart-to-heart unity can be established. The necessary foundation for world peace and the ultimate goal of any new international order is the elimination of violence from every level. This status could be achieved through proper education and awareness programme in Buddhism.

In addition, the Dalai Lama supports the creation of a system of regionally monitored international police force. The countries of the entire world whether big or small have to contribute manpower to the international police force. The business of the police force would be nipping conflicting tendencies into the bud. This force would be controlled and supervised by the world agencies like United Nations Organization.

V. **Methodology of The Dalai Lama**

The Dalai Lama suggests Buddhist methodology of Madhyam Marg (Middle Path) as the right solution of conflict as well as of the problems of peace and war. The Dalai Lama does not deny the importance of science and technology as factors of material development but the real progress is achieved only when it is well balanced with moral development of human beings. It can be possible through religion that teaches selfless service to others, possession of a good heart and practising honesty. He believes that the teachings of all religions are to generate the feelings of love, tolerance, compassion for others. If

64. The Dalai Lama, *Dimensions of Spirituality* (Boston, 1995), p.11
individuals have been trained in religions, they will feel compassion even for their enemies and naturally it can reduce the conflicting tendencies.

It is the strong belief of the Dalai Lama that the tension and conflict between two societies can be reduced with the closer contact of their individuals. It is possible only when individuals realize the feelings of the members of other side. He writes, "Leaders must realize their own and others' humanness." And to improve person-to-person contact in the world at large, he prefers to encourage international tourism.

The Dalai Lama feels that individual mind should be trained in Buddhism to attain inner mental peace. Only then he could be able to spread the message of peace and love in the entire world. He believes that suffering is caused by Samsara arising from Karma and from delusion-hostility, greed, anger, pride etc. These are the mother of all conflicting tendencies. So there is a need to remove the Karma and Samsara. When the roots of Samsara are extirpated and Nirvana is achieved, the being will continue to have spiritual body free of all delusion. That is the situation when the individual mind attains the status of Nirvana and the Dalai Lama prescribes to take three jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha as final refuge to attain the status of Nirvana.

67. The Dalai Lama, My Land and My People (New Delhi, 1962), p.226
can cultivate thoughts of benefits to other beings and that would be helpful in attaining peace and harmony in the world.

VI. A Critique of Critics

The Chinese allege that the Dalai Lama is an agent of anti-China forces. They claim that the Chinese government has been exercising effective management over Tibet since the 13th century.⁶⁸ Therefore, the Dalai Lama has no right to ask for the secession of Tibet from China.

But the fact is quite contrary. The world history tells that Tibet was never been a part of China. On the contrary Tibetan people always resisted with greater force any attempt of Chinese aggression. Before Chinese annexation of Tibet, the latter participates in various international treaties as a sovereign state. In 1913 Tibet and Mongolia signs a Treaty of Peace recognizing each others' sovereignty.⁶⁹ A tripartite conference of China, Tibet and British-India takes place in Simla in 1913 on the issue of the autonomous status of Tibet.⁷⁰ The Chinese refuse to sign the draft, so the British enters into a direct agreement with Tibet in 1914.

Tibet as an independent state participates at the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi on April 1, 1947. Mahatma Gandhi also took part in the conference. After this conference,

⁶⁸. Xin Hua, "Facts Depicting a Real Dalai Lama", Beijing Review (Beijing), March-10-16, 1997

⁶⁹. S.P. Gupta and K.S. Ramachandran, History of Tibet (New Delhi, 1995), p.52

⁷⁰. Ibid
the Tibet's formal status has been recognized by India in 1948.\textsuperscript{71}

So the Dalai Lama tries to educate the world community to know the prevailing as well as historical position of Tibet. He is not a western agent but a truthful and nonviolent traveller towards the goal of peaceful and humane world order.

The China alleges that the Dalai Lama is instigating violence inside Tibet. He is considered responsible for eruption of violent unrest in Tibet in September 1987, March 1988 and other violent activities.\textsuperscript{72} But as a true Buddhist Monk, the Dalai Lama always opposes the violent methods of struggle. The Chinese should always remember that it is the Dalai Lama who has been successful to convince the Tibetans not to resort to arms resistance against the Chinese. It is the only minority movement under the leadership of the Dalai Lama that has the unique distinction of being nonviolent.

The Chinese challenge the authority of the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet to elected Government-in-exile. They agree that the Gaxag system (Tibet's Cabinet) in Tibet originates from China's Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and has been inalienable from the Central Government of China.\textsuperscript{73} Similarly, in the previous Central Governments of China, the Gaxag system has been legal when the Central Government recognizes it in the early 1950s. The one establishes after the Central Government declares the dissolution of the Gaxag government in March 1959 is certainly illegal.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, p. 55
\textsuperscript{72} Xin Hua, "Facts Depicting a Real Dalai Lama", Beijing Review (Beijing), March-10-16, 1997
\textsuperscript{73} Wang Jiawen and Nyima Gyaincain, The Historical Status of China's Tibet (Beijing, 1997), p.294
people of Tibet and has the approval of the Dalai Lama. In fact this Government does not need any prior approval of Chinese government. Van Praag shows that Tibet exists as a nation and as a people. He says that the Tibetan government-in-exile is not an organization set up outside its territory, but a continuity of the legal, accepted Tibetan government in Lhasa. He goes on to say that as an independent political entity, the state of Tibet still exists and the legal 'Government-in-exile' in Dharamsala represents it. 74

**Summary**

In nutshell it could be said that in the opinion of the Dalai Lama three prerequisites are essential to deliver goods to peace at any level. Firstly, true environmental education that can offer special insight on structuring human societies to exist in balance with the environment; secondly, lasting inner satisfaction based on voluntary renunciation of selfish desires and enjoying simple peace of mind and finally, voluntarily renouncing the manufacturing of weapons.

These things are possible only if we have the feeling of love and compassion for all living beings. The Dalai Lama has been working continuously on the similar lines to generate the feeling of universal responsibility among all human beings through his method of Madhyam Marg.

74. Ibid, p. 293
The motive of the movement of the Dalai Lama is not only to achieve peace and harmony in Tibet alone but he has to attain a greater goal of nonviolent and peaceful world order based on justice and equality. In this new world order the possibility of conflict and war would be minimal.

The Dalai Lama's efforts have been to make this earth a better and happier home for all of us. His preachings of Madhyam Marg would construct the heavenly abodes of love and compassion in the hearts of people. For that matter, we have to resolve the ongoing conflicts inside our mind by developing love and compassion and the feeling of universal responsibility. It would lead us to develop similar feeling towards the world at large. That concludes the Dalai Lama's philosophy and Sociology of Madhyam Marg which is a spiritualized and a moralized form of the concept of resistance to evil and injustice.