

## China failed to destroy institution of Dalai Lama, say think tank experts

Courtesy "Chanakya Forum"



New Delhi [India], June 6 (ANI): A New Delhi-based think tank Law and Society Alliance organised a webinar on ongoing issues concerning Tibet and China's "attempts" to destroy the institution of the Dalai Lama.

During a panel discussion on Saturday, experts talked about "Communist China and its Failure to Destroy the Institution of the Dalai Lama: Lessons for the Future."

It has been almost a decade since the 14th Dalai Lama relinquished his political role and now the Central Tibetan Administration performs that political role based out of Dharamshala, according to an official release.

With the advancing age of the 14th Dalai Lama, China has begun accelerating its tactics to intensify its control over Tibet and strengthen its influence over the Tibetan Buddhist community by interfering and manoeuvring the process of selecting the next Dalai Lama.

Speaking at the event, Thinlay Chukki, Special Appointee for Human Rights at the Tibet Bureau (Geneva), stated that the newly formed People's Republic of China took over Tibet as a part of its expansionist agenda in the 1950s.

"Since then, China has constantly been trying to destroy the institution of the Dalai Lama. China has consistently deployed an oppressive policy of Sinicization of Buddhism. They have attempted to destroy the identity of Tibetans and tried to convert it into a Chinese identity," Chukki said.

Talking about the historical Tibetan institution, Chukki reminded that the Dalai Lama or the institution of the Dalai Lama has been responsible for governing Tibet since 1642. “It has a history of 400-500 years of governing Tibet. For China, the usurpation of the powers of His Holiness the Dalai Lama marks the first step towards the consolidation of its power.”

On the impact of present-day China on Tibet, she added, “Since the elevation of President Xi Jinping, the ideological security concerns surrounding Tibet have been elevated to the level of national security concerns. China is trying to show to the rest of China that Tibetan Buddhists, with their unique culture, language, and identity represent a threat to national security.”

She also revealed that the persecution of Buddhists is not only confined within the borders of China. A recent report by Freedom House revealed that Tibetans, along with other minorities such as Uyghurs, were victims of trans-national oppression by China.

Another speaker Tencho Gyatso, Interim Vice President and International Director of Outreach of Washington DC-based International Campaign for Tibet, stressing how deep is the connection between the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama.

She revealed that the institution of the Dalai Lama was established in the 16th Century and in the 17th century, it gained political authority during the time of the great 5th Dalai Lama. “To the Tibetan People, the Dalai Lama is an earthly manifestation of Avalokiteshvara– the patron deity of Tibet. To the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama is pure, compassionate, and the one who has been present for centuries, since the creation of Tibet. Tibetans believe that the first Buddhist King, dating back in the 7th century, brought Buddhism from India to Tibet.”

She added that China’s claim over Tibet is based on a pile of lies as they have used falsified historical narrative to give them some semblance of legitimacy and they have been using power and authority to clamp down on true information and push their false narrative.

According to Gyatso, China has painted a negative image of the Dalai Lama, a false narrative. “They have attempted to rewrite all of Tibet’s historical narratives. The Chinese government calls the Dalai Lama ‘a wolf in sheep’s clothing.’”

“The CCP has re-written and participated in mass cover-ups regarding Tibet. One prominent example was the way in which the Chinese government has tried to erase the Tiananmen Square massacre like it never happened,” Gyatso said.

She further explained, “Despite the Chinese government’s best efforts, the bond between the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama has grown stronger. The young Tibetan monks that have been forced to grow up under the oppressive Chinese regime and have never even seen the Dalai Lama, their allegiance and spiritual connection to him are unbelievable.”

## **Pakistani Nexus With Hamas: The ‘Inside’ Story**

**By Sushant Sareen**

Author is Senior Fellow, Observer Research Foundation. He is an expert on Pakistan and Terrorism, his published works include Balochistan: Forgotten War, Forsaken People (2017), Corridor Calculus: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor & China’s Comprador model of investment in Pakistan (2016).

Given Pakistan’s unsavoury record of involvement with international jihadist groups, the disclosure by Raja Zafar ul Haq that Pakistan Army was involved in training Palestinian terrorists, not just in the past but even today, shouldn’t really have come as any surprise. Sources in the Israeli government confirm, having intelligence of deep links between Pakistan and the Palestinian Para-state terror group, Harakat al-Muqāwamah al-Islamiyah a.k.a HAMAS.

Zafar ul Haq who is a former senator and enjoys infamy of being the “opening batsman” of former military dictator Zia-ul-Haq, has for many years had close links not just with the military

establishment in Pakistan but also with Islamist groups around the world. Perhaps it was the occasion – a Jamaat Islami conference to discuss the Palestinian issue – that prompted Haq to reveal what many had suspected. During the recent Israel-Palestinian crisis, the Hamas' close links with the Pakistanis were quite visible. The Hamas leader Ismael Haniyeh even addressed a public meeting, albeit through a pre-recorded speech. The reaction of the Pakistanis, trying to be more Arab than the Arabs in their backing for Hamas was also quite over-the-top. It suggests that there is more to the relationship than simply lending 'moral, diplomatic and political support' – India knows well that these innocuous sounding words of solidarity are Pakistani short-hand for supporting terrorism.

Although there has been no official Pakistani response to Haq's remarks of giving material help to Hamas, chances are that Pakistani officials will keep quiet, hoping that this story will soon be buried. The only problem is that every once in a while, some Pakistani official or the other is unable to resist the temptation of grand-standing and tends to shoot his mouth off, more so if a precedent has already been set. Some years ago, the former ISI chief and the man responsible for the 1993 Mumbai bomb blasts, Javed Nasir, filed an affidavit of how ISI had violated UN arms embargo and supplied weapons to the Bosnians.

Before 9/11, when publicising jihad was part of the Pakistan Army's image building exercise to present itself as fighting worldwide for the glory of Islam, there were any number of reports about the exploits of Pakistanis and their links with jihadist terror groups from the Maghreb to Mindanao in the Philippines. Recently, during the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh there were reports of Pakistani involvement on the side of the invading Azerbaijani forces. In the middle-east, Pakistanis have boasted about the help they gave to the Arab states like Syria and Jordan during the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars. Of course, the Pakistanis often gloss over the massacre of Palestinians by the Brigadier (later General and dictator) Zia-ul-Haq in Jordan. But otherwise, they are always in the vanguard of supporting the Palestinian cause as part of their duty towards the Ummah.

Apart from the political and diplomatic angle, the revelation of training being given to Palestinian militants needs to be seen from the prism of security and strategy. In the middle east, Pakistan has generally been involved with either state actors or with non-state actors. If the intelligence of Pakistan's links with Hamas is to be believed, then Pakistan is now getting involved even with Para-state actors like Hamas. Hezbollah being a Shia group, virtually an auxiliary of Iran, might be off limits for the Pakistanis. But Hamas, a Sunni group, might be open to establishing links with Pakistan despite the support it gets from Iran. If indeed Pakistan has jumped into this game, then is it to expand its own footprint? Is it to side-line Iran (perhaps on the instructions of either Turkey or even of some Arab countries which are not exactly enamoured of Hamas)? Is it to complement Iran's support? Or is it just simply as part of its involvement with jihadist groups wherever they are?

The other angle from which this nexus needs to be viewed is the tactics of terrorism. While Pakistan might be giving training, and even some technology and equipment, to Hamas, it would also be learning something from Hamas. For example, were the tunnels that have recently been discovered in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, inspired by Hamas's tactics in Gaza? Some months back, there were one or two instances of rockets being fired across the Punjab border. Was that testing the ground before someone got cold feet in Rawalpindi and stopped? There have also been multiple instances of drones being rigged to drop weapons across the international border and Line of Control.

What other such tactics could be unleashed on India in the foreseeable future? It is a known fact that terror groups adapt, innovate, replicate terrorism tactics they learn from other terror groups. Are we going to see come of those tactics which Hamas and Hezbollah use against Israel, now being deployed against India? Given the close defence cooperation between India and Israel and the use of Israeli equipment by the Indian security forces, is Pakistan trying to figure out how Hamas adapts to counter Israeli security systems and use those against India?

During the recent anti-Israel demonstrations in Pakistan, there were many Palestinians who were actively involved. Are all of these people in Pakistan for bonafide reasons – studies or work – or are they involved in something much more nefarious? A couple of years back, we saw the Palestinian ambassador in Islamabad sharing the stage with some of the most notorious terrorist groups, including the Lashkar-e-Taiba. There is also the issue of Pakistan using Afghan territory once again for setting up terror training facilities. While India has expressed apprehensions that Pakistan will shift training facilities for jihad in Kashmir to Afghan camps, there is also a likelihood of training for Palestinian terrorists being imparted in these camps.

While Pakistan will try to brush the Pakistan-Hamas nexus under the carpet, India and Israel need to look at it very closely, more so when their enemies are now reportedly working in tandem.

**Courtesy "Chanakya Forum"**

## **DRAGON`S SOFT POWER THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION**

**By Sahitya Ratna Rana**

Author persuing her Post Graduate study in International Relations at Central University Sikkim

This article underlines the key aspects of China-Nepal relations in educational ties and it also tries to identify the aims of China`s soft power through higher education in Nepal. It also deals with the outline of China`s soft power through higher education as a tool in Nepal. The funds for the development of the infrastructural support of the Confucius Institute and play the role of host to the Nepalese students both studying in Nepal and China. Nepal did not have good relation with China, initially during the reign of Jangabhadur Rana in Nepal, it captured Tibet, and during the Sino-Nepal War in 1788-1792, Tibet was invaded by Nepal.

The war was led due to trade dispute, because Nepal was manufacturing very low quality of coins for Tibet and this war was fought between Tibetan Tamang and Nepalese Gorkhas. Tibetan Tamang signed The Nepal Treaty of Kerung. Delegates from Tibet went Kathmandu for diplomatic talks as an outcome political solution came out and war compensations were given to Nepal. Later the Nepalese troops were returned to Nepal and the captured land was also returned back. On August, 1955 Nepal-China diplomatic ties were established.

Turning point in their relationship came when the Treaty of Thapathali, in the year of 1956 was replaced with a new treaty under this new treaty Nepal recognized Tibet as an integral part of China. Sino-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed on April 28, 1960 clearly defines the bilateral relation between Nepal and China. Nepal and China shares 1,414 km long border. In the year of 1960 on March 21, Sino-Nepal boundary agreement was signed between Nepal and China when both solved all the border disputes that boosted the relationship between two.

The rectification of the border agreement was done on October 5, in the year 1961. Nepal a very small landlocked state which shares its boundary with two mega states China and India, Nepal is always trying to maintain a policy of balancing the competing influence of these two states. In contemporary times Nepal is supporting China for its entry in SAARC as a member in the regional cooperation of South Asia. Nepal receives huge source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from China and Nepal receives huge source of remittance from India. There are almost around 19,456 Nepalese working in China and around 1 million Nepalese migrant workers in India. As India also shares its border with Nepal, and has open border we have to discuss the relation between Nepal and India too. We read in most of the South Asian history that according to the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship, Nepal and India has been very close with each other both strategically and politically also.

The treaty established a special relationship that introduced an open border without a visa requirement and the movement of the people was unrestricted on both sides of the country, as well as recruitment of Nepalese Gorkhas soldiers in Indian Army.

August 2008, Nepal was under the Maoist led government by Pushpa Kamal Dahal, there was a positive change or vibes in the relations between Nepal and China. In the year of 2009, a “comprehensive partnership” of cooperation was established between Nepal and China. New developments were witnessed in the bilateral relations between Nepal and China.

Apart from military and economic forms of engagement, international ties through hard power are not always beneficial and fruitful. The research study mainly focuses on China's New Diplomacy through soft power and developing the bilateral relations with its neighbour in South Asia and in particular Nepal. As stated earlier, the sources of soft power- the power of appeal and attraction in contrast to corporations are cultures and values, ideologies, institutions and foreign policies (Nye, 1990). A remarkable question arises here that it, what does China aims to achieve through its soft power? And the core interest of the study is a case study of Nepal. The objectives of the research is to understand academic cultural and social experiences of Nepalese student in foreign country both studying in the Confucius institute for scholarship and self- funded students. The study also tries to understand the correlation between the experiences of the Nepalese student and China soft power aims.

In order to understand China's soft power aims and experiences of the Nepali students different varieties of sources has been applied in this research which involves, news stories, articles, interviews and speech speeches of Chinese President XI Jinping. Other sources are online interview of China experts and U.S director of Confucius Institute in the United States and others are of South Asian expert based in India, the website of the Chinese Embassy in Nepal.

## **INDIAN FACTORS**

China is keen to scuttle India`s entrenched influence (Dabhande & Pant, 2004). As appeared in the DNA based on an Indian intelligence report, 22 China Study Centres (CSC) have come up in Nepal, with 11 of them on the Indo-Nepal border, “propagating subjects of Chinese culture, traditions, teachings and economy to the population in Nepal” (“Four dozen China study centres” 2014, December 28). Writing about China`s “soft power offensive in Nepal,” Zheng comments that many sections in Nepal “seem unconcerned” about the implication for Nepal`s sovereignty even as China`s influence in Nepal deepens because they are focused “instead on China`s massive economic development and the spill over benefits it could have from their country” (Zheng, 2018, January 8, para.17).

## **CHINA-NEPAL EDUCATIONAL TIES**

In this paragraph the study tries to describe the various educational ties between Nepal studied by China. As China through the means of providing higher education in order to advance its soft power establishing bilateral ties with Nepal, and achieves some specific goals of their own. Section titled “exchange and cooperation” of China`s Medium and Long-term National Plan, 2011-2020 for higher education states. International aid to education shall be boosted, so as to cultivate and train professionals for other developing countries. A framework shall be established to make Chinese college graduates, overseas volunteer service available in more fields and through more channels .Chinese Government scholarship shall be increased, with financial assistance of offered mainly to student from other developing countries. Accordingly, in a joint statement released in March 2016 during Nepalese Prime Minister K.P Sharma Oli`s visit to China, China offered approximately 400 training opportunities in human resource development and an increase in Government scholarship for Nepalese as well as inviting the latter to pursue higher education in China through other channels as well. Hence, the provisions of scholarship and training are the key to educational relationship with developing countries. In case with the American and Oceania region, in contrast what underline China`s strategy is “partnership” that includes international exchange, involvement of multinational companies (such as for donation of funds and equipment for Chinese Universities) and government cooperative projects. (Jain, 2018, p.70)



## **ESTABLISHMENT OF CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE**

The Confucius Institute established in Kathmandu University (CIKU) in 2017 through partnership between the Hebei University of Economics and Business and Kathmandu University. The Confucius Institute offers the following services: Chinese language teaching for Chinese language instructors; delivering of Chinese language teaching resources; administration of the HSK examination (Chinese Proficiency Test); provision of information and consultative service concerning China's education, culture and other areas; and conducting language and cultural exchange activities between China and other countries.

Upon the completion of ten years since the establishment of Kathmandu, Yang Shichao, Political Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in Nepal, said that the contribution of the Institute was to enable the Nepalese to learn Chinese and get to know about Chinese culture closely by responding to the lack of professional organization and by providing teachers and textbooks. Hanban News operated by the Confucius Institute: Headquarters made further observations on the achievement of the Confucius Institute. The Confucius Institute at Kathmandu University has established 4 Confucius Classrooms and 14 teaching sites, cultivated more than 20,000 students in all. It has made remarkable progress in establishing favourable cooperative relations with other universities, enlarging teaching venues, regulating the management system and enhancing the teaching level and influence and other aspects. ("Confucius Institute at Kathmandu University" 2017, para. 6). Nepalese actors and collaborators: China has received cooperation from multiple actors in Nepal in China's drive to enrol Nepalese students in Chinese institutions, through in varying degrees and forms. The following section identifies those six actors given below.

Thus, through education China's foreign policy influence and attracts the Nepalese students, as a power of attraction and hence, builds a very strong and beneficial bilateral ties. China is establishing and developing a good relation with Nepal by providing loans, grants and scholarships. When a state sponsors huge amounts of investments to a developing country their self-motive is always hidden underneath. To a great extent it helps a developing nation to develop. But on the other hand, China also gets lots of advantages by doing so. Nepal is a buffer state between China and India. In the international arena good relations maintained with the buffer state is always beneficial in the times of conflict. China is giving counter to India by challenging its power in cultural, educational and also political arenas. By organizing several cultural festivals, educational fairs, workshops, seminars in order to educate and influence the new generation of Nepal who might become the future political figure. But India is currently ahead in hosting Nepalese students there are more than double the students hosted by India than of China. When the students go abroad and study on the scholarship based program and spend time during the course, experiencing different cultures, food habits and people-to-people contacts, plays a great role in influencing and impacting them positively in forming a pro-China opinion. Through course, teaching methods, topics discussed in their thesis and environment, a sense of belongingness is generated to the particular place. Above mentioned ideas really fit in the constituent of the educational soft power model, education also plays the role of a resource in attracting various Nepalese students to pursue higher studies and education also plays as a tool of foreign policy when the students adopt the cultures and the values.

## **Security & Strategic Dimensions In Quadrilateral Security Dialogue**

**By RADM Sudarshan Shrikhande**

Author graduated from the NDA. He commanded three ships and been defence attaché in Australia and to other South Pacific nations. In flag rank he has been head of Naval Intelligence; Chief of Staff of SNC; Joint HQ staff duties and in the nuclear forces command and Flag Officer Doctrines and Concepts.

There are multiple dimensions to Quad. However, here I would like to confine my focus on security strategy, which is at the core of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. QSD is the official name of what is known as the Quad. This is only to emphasize that at this stage all three words are important. It is a group of four – Australia, Japan, India, and the United States. It brings to the table security itself as a focus area. It does consider security in a broad sense to include several aspects of human security on a full humanitarian plane as well as more specific issues of mutual geopolitical interests.

The third word in QSD is dialogue. It is not an organization based on a treaty like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, neither it is something like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Still, It is called a dialogue, which is significant. It has some advantages as well as drawbacks.

The Quad does have a few things in common with multinational formulations like NATO, SCO, the ASEAN regional forum, G7 or G20. First, there is an agenda to pursue even if the agenda develops quite slowly.

There is a measure of like-mindedness between the members on a few key objectives. Perhaps, I would like to add a caveat here, there can be a few differences amongst all partners all the time. Some differences may be critical between the members. Some smaller differences can be ironed out, or some can become stronger with changing circumstances. For example, France in the late 1940s, an original member of the NATO's embryonic Western European Union, became a full and founding member of NATO but withdrew later from the military command structure for several years. It resulted in the shift of NATO headquarters from France to Belgium. In groupings now, like the G8 or the G7 Summit, which took place just a while back or the G20, there is also entry and exit of members. Some nations are, to use a modern term which the younger generation uses, 'friended' and sometimes 'unfriended' from such groupings. The Quad may consist of four members now. But there is every possibility and a great reason for the Quad to expand from the G4 to a few more, and a bit more on that soon.

Economic security, economic worries and economic opportunities, and even economic protectionism are quite important within most groupings, although not openly acknowledged at times.

No matter what may be the initial drivers or desire to form such grouping by whatever nomenclature, a military security element exists from the beginning or comes in eventually often in the form of a dialogue and that's how the Quad began.

All these commonalities can be discerned in the Quad itself. The Quad emerged in the immediate aftermath of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami. It was essentially the armed forces of the same nations that form Quad today. These four nations got together very quickly with Navies taking a lead service role because of the marine geographies of the affected countries, and the responding countries. This was the origin of the term Quad or as it was called the Core Group at that time.

Let me digress a little bit into a personal recounting. I had just been posted to Canberra in Australia as a Defence Advisor to the Indian High Commission a few weeks before the Tsunami struck the region. Briefs were coming from Headquarters, Integrated Defence Staff (IDS), which was fairly new at that time. It had the role of Out of Area Contingencies that were to coordinating Headquarters for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief operations.

[\*\*Read complete article on FINS website\*\*](#)

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## **Nation is Indebted to:**

**Indira Miri**  
**(1910–2004)**



Indira Miri was a highly respected and well-educated personality of Miri tribe of Assam. She was popularly known as Mereng. She is remembered for her efforts in promoting education in the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA).

Born in 1910 in Shillong, Miri lost her mother at an early age and was brought up by her father, Sonadhar Senapati, who sent her to Kolkata for school and college studies which she started at Bethune School and completed with a BA from Scottish Church College. Later she obtained a degree in education (BT) from St. Mary's College of Teacher Education, Guwahati and did advanced training course in Montessori system in Ahmedabad on a government scholarship where she was trained by Maria Montessori. Another government scholarship helped her to travel to the UK to secure a master's degree from the University of Edinburgh and a three-month training at Oxford University.

On her return to India in 1947, Miri was appointed as the Chief Education Officer of NEFA with her base at Sadiya, a small Assamese town and worked among the tribals for ten years. During the earthquake of 1950, Miri and her fellow teachers were known to have worked for bringing relief to the people of the region. She resigned from NEFA service in 1957 to join the Jorhat BT College as its principal and worked there till her retirement in 1969. She also served the Guwahati University as a member of its executive council.

Miri died on 5 September 2004 at the age of 94, at her ancestral home in Silpukhuri. She was married to Mohi Chandra Miri, a forest service officer who died in 1939, and the couple had three children. One of her sons, Mrinal Miri, is an educationist, writer and a member of Rajya Sabha.[2]

The Government of India awarded the civilian honour of Padma Shri in 1977[1] and she received the Sankardev Award in 2004. Her life has been documented in two biographies, one a fictionalized biography, Mereng, written by Anuradha Sharma Pujari, published in 2010[3] and the other, Bisishtha sikshabida Indira Miri, by Hiranmayi Dewi, published in 2001.

Such was the contribution of Indira Miri for education and social upliftment in tribal dominated areas of Assam that Assam Govt in 2019, has instituted a Widow pension scheme in her name, known as “Indira Miri Sarbjanin Bidha Pension”.

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