Chapter 3

THE DALAI LAMA: AN INSTITUTION

The Mongolian title Dalai Lama has passed through many oxidation and reduction processes of the world. Over a period of time, this title has emerged as the most powerful politico-economic institution in the Tibetan society. The emergence of Tibetan Diaspora has utilized this institution to ‘Liberate Tibet from Chinese occupation’. This movement has been led by the powerful and dynamic leadership of the Dalai, Lama, Tenzin Gyatso.

E. Sreedharan says that social formation can be analyzed by Braudeliean structuralism. “The most important sector for the structuralism is the bottom layer of geo-history of mountains, plains and sea... for centuries, men has been prisoner of climate of vegetation of the animal population, of a particular agriculture, of a whole slowly established balance from which he cannot escape without the risk of everything being upset.”

In this context, the Dalai Lama provided crucial leadership. David L. Sills says, “Definition of the simplest unit to analysis in leadership as the act of leading has led to the identification of four basic elements in the relationship: Firstly, the leader with his characteristics of ability and personality and his resources relevant to goal attainment; secondly, the followers, who also have

---

relevant ability, personality, characteristics and resources; thirdly, the situation within which, relationships occur; fourthly, these tasks with which, the interacting individuals are confronted.”

Dalai Lama has shown the power of adaptability required to interact with the masses in different times. He has converted world into a group of advisory by universalizing Tibet and him self. P.C. Marcello says “The Dalai Lama’s affability and hard work on behalf of his people have earned him many awards over the years beginning with the bestowed of a Doctor of Letter Degree from Banaras Hindu University in India in 1957. Aside from Noble Prize, other awards include the Alpert Schweitzer Humanitarians Award (1987) the Roul Wallenberg Human Rights award (1989), a doctorate in Human Arts and Letters from Colombia University (1994), and a life time achievement award from Hadassab Women’s Zionist Organization in Jerusalem (1999)”.

Apart from this, Dalai Lama has emerged one of the greatest intellectual in the emerging knowledge based economy of the world. He has already authored more there sixty books. The list of his books has been attached in the appendix section.

It reflects the vision of the Dalai Lama for the world in general and Tibet in particular. The intellectual aspect of Dalai Lama has continuously kept the Tibetan Diaspora engaged in non violent and democratic methods of agitation. In this context, Tibetan Diaspora reflects uniqueness as various

---

movements all over the world have adopted non-peaceful methods of protest such as Maoist in Nepal, Naxalites in India, Hamas in Palestine etc. Though, it does not imply that means of opposition should be fixed against all kinds of exploitations. It is true that means of opposition are determined by means of exploitation but non-violent and democratic methods serve the humanity in totality.

The emergence of Dalai Lama can be located in the concept of Bodhisattva in the context of Tibet. The role of religious teacher acquired the greatest importance due to unique geographical conditions of Tibet. The geographical conditions inhibited state formation for a long time. Therefore, the religious institutions emerged as powerful stakeholders in the political formation of Tibet. In the post-1959 period, the institution of Dalai Lama has functioned at two levels: firstly, to globalize the Tibetan Diaspora at Nation-State and Civil society level. Secondly, to democratize politico-economic and socio formation of Tibetan Diasporas.

1. GLOBALIZATION OF TIBETAN DIASPORA

(i) Globalization at Nation-State Level.

The forced movement of Tibetans created crisis of survival in the Diaspora. The Chinese polices were projected as an effort to abolish the ‘feudalism’ in Tibet. The post-second world war has already emphasized the importance of United Nations to eradicate various exploitative methods such as colonialism, imperialism etc. It becomes quite clear in the statement of His
Holiness the Dalai Lama:

"The attention of the world is riveted in Korea where aggression is being resisted by an international force. Similar happening in remote Tibet are passing without notice. It is in the belief that aggression will not go unchecked and freedom unprotected in any part of the world that we have assumed the responsibility of reporting to the United Nations through you recent happenings in the border area of Tibet".4

It shows democratic tendencies on the part of Dalai Lama to solve issue of Tibet, simultaneously; he tries to convince Tibetans for democracy. He said "The world has been made aware of terrible happenings in Tibet by the two-illuminating reports of International Commission of Jurists.....the sympathy aroused in the world was evidenced by the fact the United Nations by their resolution in 1959 appealed for the cessation of practices depriving the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and their autonomy--- our gratitude is due to the federation of Malaya, Thailand for sponsoring our course".5

Infact, the period of 1960 has witnessed the transformation of 10th March as the day of National Uprising. It became a powerful symbol to reinforce the Diasporic entities in the community. Further, the emergence of Diaspora had exposed the agriculture – pastoral based society to agriculture – industry based societies. Thus, the Dalai Lama has assured, "I am preparing a draft of the constitutional and economic structure, which I visualize for our

4 U.N document All 549-11 November 1950, Kalimpong,p.1
country and I shall place it shortly before the representatives of the Tibetan people in India and the neighboring countries for their consideration".6

The Dalai Lama has continuously reinforced the ideals of democracy in the Tibetan society. He said, "I take this opportunity once again our deepest gratitude to the state which have been moved by the tragic situation in Tibet and taken an active part in persuading the United Nations to interest itself in the restoration of the freedom and liberties of the Tibetan people. The last resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations appealed to every member of the state to use its office and best endeavor to bring and end the practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedom. I have no doubt that these peace loving states will not fail to respond to this appeal and do their best to bring peace and freedom to my unfortunate people"7. Similarly, he said, “with regard to the fundamental question of the Tibetan people’s freedom struggle, the United Nations passed three resolutions as a result of our appeal to the world today”.8

The Tibetan Diaspora has continuously tried to present issue at the international forum. The appeal of the Dalai Lama to U. N. in 1950 resulted into a positive step in 1959. The United Nation passed a resolution in 1959:

"Gravely concerned at reports, including the official statements of H.H. the Dalai Lama, to the effect that the fundamental human rights and freedoms

6 Ibid, p.2
of the people of Tibet have been forcibly denied. Affirm its belief that respect for the principles of the charter of UN and of the Universal declaration of human rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law calls for respect of fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life”.9 Due to non-violent and democratic methods of claiming right the Tibetan Diaspora succeeded in the passage of ‘resolution 1723 by UN’10. The continuous democratic effort of Tibetan Diaspora becomes finally evident in the “United Nations resolution 2079 (XX)”11. The resolution, one and for all, clearly authenticated the victimization of Tibetans. The relevance and importance of the institution, the Dalai Lama becomes more explicit if one compares with African Diaspora in India as described by Edward Alper12 and Naik-Pandya13. These authors have clearly mentioned the destruction of Buddhivanta in the African Diaspora. The institution of Buddhivanta had politico economic – socio and cultural jurisdiction over the settlement. The African Diaspora has been able to maintain Diasporic identity for the last 500 years due to Buddhivanta.

Dalai Lama not only engaged the United Nations but also continuously

10 United Nations G.A. Resolution 1723 (xvi) on Tibet (1961), Reaffirms its conviction that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law; Solemnly renews its call for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination; Expresses the hope that Member States will make all possible efforts, as appropriate, towards achieving the purposes of the present resolution.
11 United Nations G.A. Resolution 2079(xx) 1963, Deplores the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet; Reaffirms that the respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law; Declares its conviction that the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet and the suppression of the distinctive cultural and religious life of its people increase international tension and embitter relations between peoples.
12 Edward Elper, Siddis and Scholars (New Delhi, Rainbow pub. 2004)
13Naik-Pandya, Siddis in Gujarat-A sociological study,(Ahmdabad:Gujarat Vidyapeeth.1993)
communicated issue of Tibetans to nation-states.” In this context, the Tibetan Diaspora achieved major initiative in 1987. His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressed the United States Congress. The leaders wished the well being of the world and peace-prospects of humanity.

He expressed grief over the painful expulsion of Tibetan from Tibet. Further, he presented ‘Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet’\(^\text{14}\).

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace.

2. Abandonment of China’s population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people.


4. Restoration and protection of Tibet’s national environment and abandonment of China’s use of Tibet for the production of the nuclear Weapons and dumping of nuclear waste the purpose of the present resolution.

5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future of Tibet and relations between the Tibetan and Chinese people.

After conveying the issue of Tibet to the United States, the Dalai Lama addressed members of European parliament at Strasbourg, 1988. It is known as Strasbourg proposal. The proposal demanded establishment of a democratic

\(^{14}\) www.tibet.net.com
state. He outlined the, would be democratic status of Tibet. The democratic efforts of the Dalai Lama were finally recognized by the world as he was awarded “Nobel Prize in 1989.”

Dalai Lama has carried forward the methodology of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of India. Mahatma Gandhi had struggled in the same manner against external British exploitation and internal retrogressive socio-cultural practices. Dalai Lama said, “I accept the prize with profound gratitude on behalf of the oppressed everywhere and for all those who struggle for freedom and work for world peace. I accept it as a tribute to the man who founded the modern tradition of non-violent action for change Mahatma Gandhi – whose life taught and inspired me”. His vision was clear to the world in the conclusion of acceptance speech. “I pray for all of us, oppressor and friend, that together we succeed in building a better world through human understanding and love and in doing so we may reduce the pain and suffering of all sentient beings”.

The chairman of the Norwegian Noble committee 1989 praised the non-violent methods of conflict resolutions. He said, “It would be difficult to cite any historical example of a minority is struggling to secure its rights, in which a more conciliatory attitude to the adversary has been adopted than in the case of the Dalai Lama”.

---

15 The Norwegian Noble Committee 1989: In this struggle for the liberation of Tibet constantly has opposed the use of violence in the opinion of committee the Dalai Lama has come forward with centralized and forward looking proposals for the solution of international conflicts, human right issues and global environmental problems.
16 The Noble Prize acceptance speech of 14th Dalai Lama.
17 Ibid.
As a result, Dalai Lama succeeded in getting support of U.N., U.S., Germany, Australia, Swiss National Assembly, European Parliament, etc. On the other hand, the peaceful movements of Tibetans were being suppressed by un-democratic methods. It led to emergence of sympathy for Tibetan cause among parliamentarians all over the world. The efforts culminated in World Parliamentarians’ Convention on Tibet (WPCT). Three Conventions has been held till date:

(I) First WPCT, 18-20 March, 1994, New Delhi.


The main objectives of WPCT

1. To discuss, share information, review current developments and strategies, in order to devise a detailed plan of action to promote the cause of Tibet through a unified network of Parliamentarians for Tibet.

2. To promote meaningful and unconditional negotiation between his Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives with the People's Republic of China.

3. To promote nonviolence as a means of conflict resolution.

19 www.tpprc.org/scripts/wpctintro.aspx
The growing support of Nation-states, finally, showed the second policy to regain liberty. Though, Dalai Lama continuously tried to engage China to find out an acceptable solution.

The second aspect of 1st policy emerged in 1980's and 90's. Though, it was very much inherent in the beginning of Tibetan movement. But, the explicit reflection can be located in 80's and 90's. In this context, Tibetan Diaspora started mobilizing the masses all over the world. The peaceful demonstration, march against visit of Chinese delegations to address issue of atrocities in Tibet on Tibetans emerged another powerful tool. The Tibetan youth congress, Tibetan Women Association and students started campaign for awareness about Tibet.

(ii) Globalization of Tibetan Diaspora and Civil Society

Dalai Lama also started globalization of Tibetan issue at the second level to the carry on dialectical interaction between Nation-States as well as civil society. He realized that the globalization at Nation states for the cause of Tibet cannot be carried for a longer time without the support of masses of the different countries. Not only this, he started raising the exploitation of Chinese people in China. He said, “I would like to express my solidarity with many of the educated and intelligent young Chinese who are under going physical as well as mental suppression. Even the Chinese themse- selves, who have an ancient civilization, are deprived of individual freedom they are living in a state
of great anxiety about the present changes and uncertainty of the future”.  

This was one of the earliest efforts made by the Dalai Lama to mobilize people of China against ‘suppressive policies of Chinese government. Over a period of time, he made clear to the Tibetans that they had been victimized by the Chinese government not by Chinese masses. Further, the Dalai Lama started visiting distinguished people, universities and institutions to universalize the issue of Tibet.

Alice Thomson describes “The Dalai lama is no innocent when it comes to real politick he regularly chants with Nelson Mandela, debate ethical issues with the people and knows many world leaders personally through his attempts to highlight the Tibetan cause. Although, he appears not to approve off the march in Iraq, he, nevertheless, admires President Bush.  

Dalai Lama has followed a policy of mobilizing and interacting with the religious leaders for example he congratulated Pope Benedict XVI for wining elections.

Not only this, the Dalai Lama offered special prayers for H.H., Pope John Paul II on 2nd April, 2005. After the death of Pope John Paul II the Dalai Lama in his condolence message, “HH Pope Paul II was a man I held in high regard he was a determined and deeply spiritual minded person for whom I had great respect and admiration... the pope was very sympathetic to the Tibetan people of course as the head of an institution trying to establish good relations with China he could not express this publically or officially. But, right from the

---

20 Statement of H.H., the Dalai lama on the 28th Anniversary of Tibetan National Uprising Day.  
March 1987, page no. 2


66
start of our friendship he revealed to me privately that he had a clear understanding of the Tibetan problem because of his own experience of communism in Poland".22

Further, Dalai Lama joined a summit in San Francisco on United Nations of religion. "Imam Seyed Mehdi Khorasani said the idea came after he met the Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso in the state of Idaho (U.S.A.) late last year. Khorasani wrote to the Dalai Lama urging him to meet with religious leaders and scholars to construct a strategy that will unite over voices and express our common goals to live in world without violence".23

Apart from mobilizing religious leaders, the Dalai Lama has focused on the mobilization of other section of civil society of the world. In this context, the Dalai Lama has visited various parts of the world and interacted with civil society. Marc Kaufman says, "In an unusual marrying of science and spirituality the Dalai Lama addressed thousands of world's top neuro-scientist yesterday, telling them that society is falling behind in its efforts to make sense of their ground taking research... the author of a new book on conversation of Buddhism and science, the Dalai Lama has met with prominent scientists around the world for almost 20 years and has encouraged increasingly fruitful collaborations between trained researchers and Tibetan monks".24

Further, the Dalai Lama has been interacting students of various universities for the last 30 years. The student community constitute one of the

22  www.tibet.com
most powerful and inflammable segment of civil society. He has visited various universities such as Stanford University, University of Buffalo the state university, Indiana University, University of Texas etc. During the visit, the Dalai Lama has shared views on global issues affecting Human society. He has not used these visits only for Tibetan issues rather his concern is to construct an egalitarian and democratized society in the world.

During his visit to Stanford University, Michael Pema says, “Just before addressing the sold out crowd for the mass meditation and teaching events in Maples parcilion on Friday morning the Dalai Lama endeared himself to the approximately thousand student all and other guest with one simple gesture he took off shoes”.

Further, the Dalai Lama has emerged as one of the most powerful beloved spiritual leader in America and Canada. Charisma Magazine quotes, “A highly publicized visit in April of Tibetan Buddhism leader, the Dalai Lama to Pasadena California and three major Canadian cities motivated some Christians to pray and raised awareness regarding growing presence of a previously ignored religion. When he landed in Los Angeles, the Dalai Lama met by Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs Panila Dobransky and later whisked away to host three days of Buddhist of teaching at the sold out, three thousand seat Pasadena Civic Auditorium. He also spoke to 4500 school children, lectured many students of University of Stanford and dispensed

advise at $100 a head to a crowd of Business executives".²⁶

In order to create awareness among Chinese students for the Tibetan cause, the Dalai Lama has not only raised the issue of human rights of Chinese students at various platforms, but also interacted with them on various occasions. This policy has helped Tibetan Diaspora to pressurize the government of China. Addressing Chinese students and scholars on September 1995, Dalai Lama said “Today I am very happy to meet with Chinese students and scholars, I have always attached great importance of personal contacts with Chinese people and to establish a sincere dialogue with them... particularly after the Tiananmen tragedy, with large number of Chinese intellectuals and students coming into exile an opportunity was provided to establish a dialogue with the Chinese people and to develop an understanding between the Tibetan and Chinese society”.²⁷

In totality, the Tibetan Diaspora clearly reflects the policy to engage civil society of the world. Further, under the leadership of fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, the Tibetan Diaspora has also accepted radical modern and democratic transformation with reference to internal organization and championed the case of Tibet.

²⁶ Charisma- the Magazine about spirit led living (August 2004) p.1
2. DEMOCRATIZATION OF TIBETAN DIASPORIC STRUCTURE

(i) Context of Democratization in Tibetan Diaspora

The term democratization refers to a phase of transition from authoritarian or semi-authoritarian systems to democratic political systems. It includes universal voting rights, elected representatives, civil society, judiciary and rule of law. Democracy represents a transition from birth based civilization to contract based civilization. In the case of Tibetan Diaspora, democratization refers to the plantation of modern politico-economic structure.

The process of democratization is dependent on various factors such as the socio-cultural patterns, for example education. The education system plays crucial role in enlightening masses to carry on the movement for an egalitarian society. “Since education is a social process and there are many kinds of societies; a criterion for educational criticism and construction implies a particular social ideals. The two points selected by which to measure a worth of a form of social life are the extent in which the interests of a group are shared by all it’s members and the fullness and freedom with which it interact with other groups. An undesirable society, in other words is, one which internally and externally sets up barriers to free intercourse and communication of experience.”

Further, “The mass conversion of politicians and political thinkers to the cause of democracy was one of the most dramatic and

---

significant events in the political history” argues Andrew Heywood.29

The non-violent method to attain liberty and democracy can be sustained in a democratic society. The political formation is a reflection of a social formation. Tibetan Diaspora under the leadership of 14th Dalai Lama has left no stone unturned to maintain and fastens the process of democratization. The institution of Dalai Lama has been creation of 14th century. It was assigned monarchial powers.

The 14th Dalai Lama has, continuously, made clear to renounce the monarchical institution and establish a democratic set up. The greatest contribution of 14th Dalai Lama is vigorous desire of constitutionalism. “Constitutionalism, in a narrow sense is the practice of limited government brought about through the existence of a constitution. Constitutionalism in this sense can be said to exist whenever government institutions and political processes are effectively constrained by constitutional rules”. Or “Constitutionalism refers to a set of political values and aspirations that reflect the desire to protect freedom through the establishment of internal and external checks upon government power. Constitutionalism is typically expressed in support for constitutional provisions that establishes this goal, notably codified Constitution, a bill of rights, the separation of powers bicameralism and federalism or decentralization”.30

In 1963, the Dalai Lama presented a draft of democratic constitution for Tibet, "The constitution of the Tibetan exile community is known as the Charter of the Tibetans in exile. It is supreme law governing the functions of the Central Tibetan administration (C.T.A.). The charter was adopted by the assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies on 14th June 1991. The Charter draws largely on the U.N., Universal Declaration of Human rights and provides for equality before the law and the enjoyment of rights without any discrimination. The Charter provides for a clear separation of power between CTA’s three organs: Judiciary, Legislature and Executive".31

On 10th March 1961, the Dalai Lama said, "I am preparing a draft of the constitution and economic structure, which I visualize for our country and I shall place it shortly before the representatives of the Tibetan people in India and neighboring countries for their consideration. Ultimately it will be the whole Tibetan people who will have to decide".32 On 10th March 1988, he said "when elections to our parliament in exile, the assembly of Tibetan people’s deputies are once again held in July this year, the people must take their right to vote seriously and choose the candidates who best represent their interest. It is not good to rely on me for all major decisions. It is for the Tibetan people to assume the responsibility".33

31 DIIR Information Sheet Diaspora, Central Tibetan Administration, p. 8.
32 Statement of H.H. the Dalai Lama on the 2nd Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day, 10th March 1961, p.2
33 Ibid, 10 March, 1988
(ii) Democratic Political Structure of Tibetan Diaspora

The formal beginning of demonstrating Tibetan Diaspora can be located in Bodh Gaya summit (Jan, 1960). He asked the Tibetans to set up an elected body to maintain administration. The Tibetans elected representatives and the body was called Commission of Tibetan People’s Deputies (CTPD). It took office on September 2, 1960. Henceforth, the power and structure of elected body has been gradually expanded. The gradual expansion is due to opposition from Tibetan society against renunciation of Power by H.H., the Dalai Lama. The period of 1980’s witnessed the completion of Assembly House for the elected representative of Tibetans. In totality, 46 deputies and 8 Kalons work in the assembly. The elected body also represents the three provincial areas of Tibet and five Tibetan religious sects.34

Along with establishing of people’s representative state, Central Tibetan Administration established the Planning Commission in 1988. The Planning Commission aimed to institutionalize over all development programmes of Tibetan community. It plans for three years known as Integrated Development Plan (IDP). But, the essence of democracy was finally established when the Dalai Lama renounced the power of selecting Tibetan People’s Deputies. He said, “Regarding the assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies so far, I had the ultimate authority of selecting its members. Although, elected by the people, the final selections were done by me. This practice has to change. From now on, the people’s decision will be final. I feel that the Dalai Lama should have

34 DTIR Information Sheet, p.7
no role here. The future Assembly will be entrusted with the power of appointing the Kalons. The present assembly, which has come up through the old procedure stands dissolved from today. Let us immediately begin the work for the election of the next Assembly. Being a legislative organ, the next assembly will discuss the bye laws and take appropriate decisions.”

The Structure of Tibetan Government in Exile

- **Head of state**
  - His Holiness the Dalai Lama

- **Judiciary**
  - Supreme Justice Commission

- **Executive**
  - The kashar (Cabinet)

- **Legislative**
  - Tibetan Parliament in Exile

  - Election commission
  - Public service Commission
  - Audit commission

  - Kashag secretariat
  - Planning council

- **Depts:**
  - Dept. Education
  - Dept. Home
  - Dept. Religions and Culture
  - Dept. Info. & International Relation
  - Dept. Finance
  - Dept. Health
  - Dept. Security
  - Dept. Computer Resource Centre

Source: Information sheet, p.8

---

The constitution of Tibetan government in Exile consist of eleven chapters 115 Articles, 31 special Resolutions and fives appendix (notes). The chapters\(^{36}\) of the constitution are given below:

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-1</td>
<td>Fundamental principles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-2</td>
<td>Fundamental Rights and Duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-3</td>
<td>Directive principles of Tibetan Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-4</td>
<td>The executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-5</td>
<td>The legislature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-6</td>
<td>The Judiciary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-7</td>
<td>The administration of Tibetan settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-8</td>
<td>The Tibetan Election Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter-9</td>
<td>The public service commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter – 10</td>
<td>The Tibetan Audit commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter – 11</td>
<td>Amendment of the charter and Transitional provisions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{37}\) [www.tibet.net.com](http://www.tibet.net.com)
On 26 February, 1992, Dalai Lama said, "Among my initiatives in exile were to see it that the Tibetan refugees who were arriving in India in thousands were given proper education and rehabilitation facilities. I also set out to continue my earlier plans to democratize Tibetan society." 

Article 17 of the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile explicitly mentions governments' policy on Education. It covers various issues such as aims of education, area of learning, structure of education subjects etc. The continuous effort of the Dalai Lama to modernize education system is reflected in article 17 of the Charter.

"The purpose of the education is to develop Human qualities of wisdom, love and compassion and their dependent views, conduct and creativity; to define human perceptions, to initiate independent and valid investigations into phenomenal and ethical spheres, accomplishment of personal, national and universal goal; to empower people and nation to become self reliant without depending on assistance and support of others; and to generate other resources to achieve cherished goals of society and Nation".

Apart from this, the vision of the Dalai Lama becomes quite clear from article 4 of principles of the Tibetan Administration. It shall be the duty of the Tibetan Administration to the principles of Universal Declaration of Human rights as specified by United Nations, and also to urge and encourage all other countries of the world to respect and comply such Declaration and shall

---

38 DIIR Information Sheet, Central Tibetan Administration.
emphasize the promotion of the moral and material well being of Tibetan people, the safe guarding of their source cultural religious and political rights and in particular, the ultimate achievement of their common goal.40

In this context, chapter second of Charter of Tibetans in exile mentions fundamental rights, such as equality before law, religious freedom, right to vote and nomination of candidates; freedom to life, liberty, property, speech and expression, to assemble peacefully, employment, profession, religious association etc. These fundamental rights along with directive principles covered with in the framework of social welfare ensure construction of a democratic society.

The chapter VII of the Constitution explicitly mentions rules and regulation regarding the administration of Tibetan settlements. Article 71 ensures the office of Tibetan administrative office of every Tibetan settlement in exile. Article 72 mentions rules and regulation regarding appointment of administrator and assistant. It states, “There shall be a Tibetan administrator in every Tibetan settlement, and an assistant Tibetan Administrator in larger Tibetan settlements.

a) Any Tibetan resident of a Tibetan settlement, regardless of sex, lay or ordained, shall be entitled to stand for nomination for election as a Tibetan administrator subject to the qualifications prescribed in Article 11 and 38 of this Charter. Provided that the diplomatic representatives of

40 www.tibet.com/government/charter.
the Tibetan Administration shall not be elected as a Tibetan administrator.

b) An Assistant Tibetan Administrator may be elected by the respective Tibetan Local Assembly, as deemed necessary, without direct election by the general Tibetan public. Such an election shall require the support of at least a two-thirds majority of the total number of members of that Tibetan local assembly.”

The Tibetan Administrator is elected by indirect voting. The settlement is divided into committees of 25 Tibetan citizens. After voting the four representatives securing higher votes are again undergo process of election. Finally, the Administrator with higher votes among four is elected as administrator for a time period of 3 years.

The administrator combines judicial and executive powers at the settlement level. The article 77 describes the jurisdiction of administrator in the area such as administrative business, judicial responsibilities, law and order, oversee Tibetan local co-operatives. Further, the constitution ensures establishment of Tibetan local assembly of Tibetan settlement as mentioned by Article 78. It is an elected body and has limited legislative power in the area of settlement within the framework of Tibetan National Assembly. It can also remove an administrator if resolution is approved by 2/3rd of total members of local assembly.
But, the real cornerstone of democratization process lies in the emergence of powerful civil society in Tibetan Diaspora due to continuous interaction of Tibetans with various politico-eco & socio formation under the banner of the Dalai Lama has finally, created civil society such as Tibetan NGOs Tibetan Youth Congress, Tibetan Women’s Association, Tibetan Centre for Human rights and Democracy, Gu-Chu-Sum movement of Tibet (former Tibetan Political Prisoners Association).

The emergence of Tibetan NGO’s and Tibet support Groups reflects existence of a powerful civil society in Tibetan Diaspora. Tibetan NGOs based in Dharamshala are:

- Tibetan Youth Congress: [http://www.tibetanyouthcongress.org](http://www.tibetanyouthcongress.org)
- Tibetan Women’s Association: [http://www.tibetanwomen.org](http://www.tibetanwomen.org)
- Tibetan Centre for Human Rights & Democracy: [http://www.tchrd.org](http://www.tchrd.org)
- Gu-Chu-Sum Movement of Tibet (former Tibetan Political Prisoners' Association): [http://www.guchusum.org](http://www.guchusum.org)

Thus, H.H. the Dalai Lama has followed two-pronged policy for liberation of Tibetans and well being of Asia. First he has succeeded mobilizing U.N., U.S.A., E.U., Asia and Others. Secondly, he has established democratic structure in Tibetan Diaspora. Thus, he has transcended the position of human being like Mahatma Gandhi Ji by establishing well defined institutions built in the milieu of modernity.