CHAPTER- 2

TIBETANS IN TIBET AND EXILE
A. TIBETANS IN TIBET

THE TIBETANS : THEIR HISTORICAL ROOTS

The Tibetans call themselves Bod–pa, which means "people living in the Bod region." As early as the 7th century A.D. some Tibetans called themselves Bod. It is believed that the name Bod is derived from the name Bon, an animist religion followed by many of the Tibetans at that time (Furan and Wenqing, 1984). There are several interpretations concerning the origin of Tibetan nationality. In ancient times in Tibetan literature, Tibetans are frequently referred to as the descendants of the six children begot by a monkey who, after being enlightened by the goddess of Mercy, married a woman demon living in a mountain cave. In connection with this myth, a story goes that it was at Rtsed–thang (modern Zedang, meaning "flat play ground" in Tibetan), a place in Tibet, that the said monkey and his children played together. The cave on a local hill is said to be the habitat of the monkey's family. Such an interpretation of the origin of the Tibetans, while mythical in character, is widely current in Tibet and among the Tibetan communities in Gansu, Quinghai Siachuan and Yunnan provinces (ibid., 1984).

Western science places the Tibetan race among the Mongolian family of nations, which with their allied Turkish tribes inhabited high Asia from time immemorial. It is generally believed that the Tibetans came partly from the north-east and later from Assam and Burma in the south-east. Philologically the Tibetans belong to the same linguistic family as the Burmese. And, so far as the appearance goes, it is even now difficult to distinguish a Tibetan from Mongol, until he speaks. The early Tibetans would appear to have led an entirely pastoral life. It is
among the shepherds and the yak-herdsmen that will still find the purest type of race. (Bell, 1968).

It is a common assertion that Tibetans could not have inhabited Tibet in the remote past because of the harsh climate and tough life in Tibet.

To clarify this issue look at the archeological findings made in Tibet by People's Republic of China in 1949. Human bones found in Nying Khri (Nyingchi) country in 1958 were identified as belonging to the Neolithic age. Twenty-seven microliths unearthed in Gnya-lam (Nyalam) country in 1966 were identified as Mesolithic age period. In Nying-khri country 15 stone artifacts and hundred odd pottery shards were found in 1975 dating back to the Neolithic age.

All these findings in Tibet indicate that Tibetans ancestors had opened up the land on the Tibetan plateau and engaged in crop growing, livestock breeding and hunting. Thus it is wrong to assert that ancient Tibet was unhabited and the Tibetans ancestors were immigrants from elsewhere.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Tibet was known for centuries for its inaccessibility, it was one of the most remote as well as most mysterious country in the world. Geography and climate, in substantial measures, contributed to the mystery in which Tibet lay shrouded. People from different part of the world from time to time explored and informed the mysterious land of world and its people. Tibetans called their country with a respectful term, Po.

In early Arabian works Tibet has been referred to as Tebbat, Tibat, Tibet and other variants. The Tibetans recognize Tibet into two main regions- upper region (Theywpa) and lower region (Mehpa). For outsiders Tibet is known as the "roof of the world" because of its great
elevation which ranges from 9000 to 29000 feet. It is also known as the “Forbidden Land” since nobody went there because of the difficult terrain and its leaders had traditionally opposed the entry of any visitors except on rare occasions. (Lowell, 1962:606).

The geological theories about this vast, intermountain region state that millions of years ago “this fabled land was once the bottom of the Thethys Sea”. It has been further observed that Tibet “is not quite as flat as a billiard table, and it looses its regularity, especially in the south-east where by some freak of nature the meridional chains of Sikang province bar the way. The Himalaya chain sprawls along the entire southern frontier, a fit boundary for a country which bears the poetic name, Land of Snow (Shen, Lieu and Chi, 1953:9-10)

The vast plateau of Tibet comprises an area of about 471700 square miles, standing between the 28th and 36th parallels of north latitude and the 79th and 99th of east longitude. The temperature of the land ranges between 50 degree farhrenite to 68 degree farhrenite in summer and almost uniformly below the freezing point in winter. It is surrounded by mountain ranges on three sides. On the north area the Kauenlum and Tang la ranges, on the west the massif of the Kara Koram, and Ladakh mountains, and on the south for about 1500 miles, the Himalayan ranges.

The vast Tibetan plateau gives the birth to seven major rivers. The Indus in far western Tibet, cuts its path through the Kara Koram mountains and flows through Pakistan to the Arabian sea. The Brahmaputra rises near the Indus, but runs east through the heart of Tibet, and then turns south through Himalayan gorges, and continues through Assam and Bangladesh to the Bay of Bengal. The Salween rises in eastern Tibet and the Mekong, flow through eastern Tibet from its sources in Tsinghai where the Hwang Ho also originates (Arakeri, 1998:54).
Based on the land types, Bell (1928:1) divides Tibet into four regions. *Tang* are the uncultivable plains and valleys lying mostly at high elevations; *Gang* are the ridges which are like those round Gyatse as well as the uncultivated plains in which these ridges enclose; *Drok* are the upland grazing grounds, the areas around Nagchu-ka, north of Lhasa, is an example of *Drok* land; *Rong* areas are the valley regions.

The population of Tibet has been reported as six million. Tibetans can be divided into different population groups. On their own part they divided themselves into three groups viz., Khampa, Amdo and Bodpo. This is basically a geo-demographic division. It may further be observed that though there are no appreciable racial differences among these distantly living population groups, there are some remarkable cultural differences among them which have also formed some stereotypes. Along the eastern border, on the both sides of the Sino-Tibetan frontier, there is the war like people known as Khampas. The people of central Tibet look down the Khampas as the group having an inferior culture. Another group living in the north-west regions adjoining China is known as the Amdo. The Amdo people are reputed to be very clever businessmen and traders. In the central region, this includes the capital region of Lhasa live the Bodpo people. The Bodpos proliferate even to the regions further west and are reputed to be pick of cultural sophistication in Tibet (Saklani, 1984:57).

**FAUNA AND FLORA**

Animals found in the Tibetan forests are wild bear, wild goat, tiger, leopard, bear, langur, porcupine, jackal, wild buffalo. In the grass lands and dry bush areas, are found the brown bears, deer, wild and big horned sheep, musk deer, wild asses, wild yak, rabbits, wolves, foxes and rats. A number of animal species are endemic to Tibet, such
as wild yak or drong, takin, Asian wild ass or kyang, argali, Tibetan antelope, pika and Tibetan brown bear. The range of endemism in higher plant species is also high, estimated to around 25% within UTsang (Chang, 1981:29-48, Li and Zhao, 1989). Pasture and rangelands accounts for 70% of Tibetan total area, forest 5% and cropland 2%. The remaining 23% consists of desert, rocky and barren land, lakes, rivers and settlements (DIIR, 1992:20). Tibetans used to classify their land as rong (agricultural valleys), sgang (uplands), brog (mountain pasture grounds) or thang (high plateau).

Mineral resources of Tibet are silver, gold, sulphur, copper, brass, pearl, aluminium etc. Although the mineral resources were assumed to be of great importance, they were never properly surveyed nor there has been any attempt to exploit them till recently. However, gold was mined rather haphazardly in western Tibet and was produced by washing the sands of several rivers of the east. The Tibetan religious principles and the customs did not allow them to dig out gold. Tibetans who lived in such a physical location were happy with their land in all respects. But with advent of communists and the 1959 revolt in Tibet disturbed the calm and orderly society and many left their homeland and became refugees. They had cooler weather and customs and manners of their own. As such on becoming refugees they had to face considerable difficulties before they could adjust to new environment (Arakeri, 1998: 56).

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TIBET

There is no any systematic record of historic events of Tibet from which a proper and uniform sequence can be made. The famed Tibetans classic Chojung, written by an entire body of Tibetan scholars and dating back to the 13th century or even earlier, is a type of scripture in which history and legends freely intermix. In the Tibetan
history, as available today, there are large gaps in the annals that rather too often break the link. Even the facts available are not fully authenticated. It is acknowledged that it was from India that Tibet borrowed both its religion and philosophy.

According to Tibetan quasihistorical sources the first king of Tibet, Nytri Tempo, was the son of the Indian king Prasanjit of Kosala in 127 B.C. But the authentic history of Tibet begins only from 7th century A.D. when Tibet emerged not only as a strongly unified nation but also an empire under Songsten Gampo, the Great Tibetan king who ascended the throne in the year 620 A.D. and ruled till 650 A.D. (Saklanin, 1984:61). During the reign of Songsten Gampo, Tibet for the first time emerged as a strong military power and made its political impact upon the neighbouring countries. The Tibetan kingdom overran its geographic boundaries in the west right upto Persia and in the south to Nepal and upto the borders of India. He made the autocratic and turbulent and regional governors abide by his strong central authority (Shen, Lieu and Chi, 1953:61).

The reign of Songsten Gampo saw another landmark in the history of Tibet—triumphant entrance of Buddhism, which became the state religion during his reign. By 747 A.D. Padmasambhava and Shantirakshita, the great Buddhist scholars of India, were invited to Tibet to teach the Indian school of Buddhism, known as Vajrayana, to the Tibetans. This is based on the philosophical system of the Madhyamika process, combined with the teachings of Tantrism. This in course of time replaced the Bon-po religion completely. Later Bon-po religion moved to the eastern Tibet.

After Songsten Gampo, Tibet was bedeviled by internal turmoil and isolation of people from the rest of the world. It regained its strength under king Trisong Detsen (C. 755-797 A.D.). During this
king’s rule Tibet once again became a strong military power, extending its territories far and wide through conquests. Trisong Detson also invaded China and succeeded in making the Chinese emperor his captive. This memorable victory has been recorded on a stone pillar known as Shol Doring, in Lhasa. The love-hate relation between the Tibetan and Chinese, thus dates back to the distant past and this bipolar interrelationship has been operative ever since.

In 836 A.D. king Glang Darma came to the throne. He was anti Buddhist, and was, killed by a Buddhist monk. The king La-bla-Ma, invited Atisha, an Indian scholar, to Tibet and this scholar formulated the Tibetan calendar based on the Lunar system with sixty years cycles. He also founded a first reformed sect in Tibetan Buddhism. During the 13th century Tibet was divided among a number of local lords and religious leaders. Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419 A.D.), so named after his birthplace, the district of Tsong-kha-pa near the Koko Nor, was a monk of exceptional intellectual attainments. He started reformistic movements and many followers who aspired power and wealth. The practice of maintaining a spiritual lineage of lamas through reincarnation arose in the 14th century, when the then Karma-pa, the Rang byang rdo-rje (1284-1338 A.D.) proclaimed that he would be reborn and his incarnation would be found to be Rol-pai rdo-rje. Taking the clue the other sects also began to adopt this practice and each soon had its various lineages of reborn lamas. The third in the lineage, Bsod-nams, rgya-mtso (1543-1588 A.D.), was invited to Mongolia by Altan Khan of the Mongols. He was impressed by the Lama and so bestowed on him the title of Dalai Lama in 1578 A.D. Dalai (Talai) is a Mongol word of ocean. The title signifies the vast and deep wisdom of the lamas (Arakeri, 1998: 20-21). The nephew of the Tron-Kha-pa, the dge-dun grub-pa, was regarded as the first Dalai Lama who was also
the founder of the Tra-shi Lun-Po monastery. The Tibetans do not address the Dalai Lama by that title but refer him as Yid-bzhinor-bu (wish granting jewel) or Rgyul-ba Rin-po-che (Great precious conqueror).

In 1543-1588 A.D. Sonam Gyatso, became the third chief lama of the Gelukpa sect. He attained great historical eminence. He was the first to receive this high title of the Gelukpa order, later on the title was ascribed posthumously to two predecessors. The title is thus Mongolian in origin. It is the synonym of the Tibetan word ‘Gyatso’ which means the ‘ocean of wisdom’. Since that time title has been used by each of the successive high pontiffs of the Gelukpa order and has been retained till the present day. The fifth Dalai Lama was Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (C. 1617-1682 A.D.) who formally acquired temporal powers as well, sanctioned additionally by the contemporary Chinese emperor. He converted the Lamas of other sects to his own sect through terrorization like mass slaughter and massacre. He visited Peking to meet the Chinese emperor who accepted the Dalai Lama as ‘Head of the Faith’ and called him the ‘most Excellent self-existing Buddha, universal ruler of the Buddhist faith. Thus, the Dalai Lama became the trinity of God, Priest and King: even more powerful than the medieval Roman Pope who at least was not himself the God (Dhyani, 1961:4).

The fifth Dalai Lama was a man of great determination and force of character; he drew all the powers into his own hands, including that of the appointment of the Regent. As a result the Mongolians lost their control over Tibet, and made no effort to influence the Dalai Lama government and country. In 1659, Dayan Khan- the Mongolian king, once again helped the fifth Dalai Lama to suppress a revolt in Tsang. Qosot Mongols from Koko-Nor had a rival in the person of Galdan, the
king of Dzuengars (1676-1697 A.D.) who had founded a kingdom in Turkistan. The Regent Sangye Gyatso, as it happened, had made an ally of king Galden. Whilst Lhapsang Khan and Qosot king were allied with the emperor of China (Kang hsi) who had just been at war with Dzungars. The young man whom this same regent has recognized as sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangyang Gyatso (1683-1705), moved about with young women, and wrote love poems. The seventh Dalai Lama, who was born at Litang, and recognized as incarnate, was enthroned at the Po-ta-la (Kesang Gyatso 1708-1747). The walls of Lhasa was pulled down, a Chinese garrison was installed at Lhasa, and Khan and their representatives were placed throughout the eastern Tibet and the Lhasa (Arakeri, 1998:22-23).

HISTORY OF TIBET AFTER 1950

In 1950, Tibet was occupied by the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA). The following is an account of the invasion and its consequences, a description of developing relations between Tibetans and Chinese, and the creation of a Tibetan community in exile. The Peoples Republic of China (PRC) government implemented a series of so called reforms in Tibet. In order to understand Tibetan reactions to the “liberation” and its Chinese administrators, we need to look at how Tibetans were affected by the reforms. Why did some Tibetans turn to armed resistance? What led the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans to escape to India? What were the main reasons for the escalating conflict between Tibetans and Chinese?

Occupation and Resistance (1950-1959): By the end of the 1940, many Tibetan government officials owned shortwave radios and a few received foreign newspapers. This meant that they were able to follow the Chinese Civil War in detail (Goldstein, 1989:611). In July 1949, the Kuomintang Chinese mission in Lhasa was expelled from Tibet.
Towards the end of the year, Beijing radio repeatedly broadcast in both Chinese and Tibetan that the PLA was going to liberate Tibet from the imperialists (American and British). At that time there were no U.S. citizens and only three British in Tibet. The Lhasa government responded with their own broadcasts saying that since there were no imperialists in Tibet, Tibet did not need liberation, and that the relationship between Tibet and China was one of priest and patron (ibid: 623). The Lhasa government finally made a belated venture into international diplomacy, in an effort to secure and support from the USA or Britain. Letters were sent among others to U.S. President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson. The first contact with the Chinese communists was made through the father-in-law of the Dalai Lama’s elder brother Gyalo Thondup, a member of the Mongolian and Tibet commission office at Beijing. A team of negotiators led by Shakabpa was supposed to meet the communist representatives in Hong Kong, but British authorities denied them visas. The Tibetan delegation then went to New Delhi, where they were involved in a series of fruitless meetings with the British High commissioner, the Indian foreign secretary, the U.S. ambassador, Prime Minister Nehru, and finally the Chinese ambassador (Goldstein, 1989; Shakabpa, 1967).

The P.L.A. had taken control of the Kombum monastery, where the Dalai Lama’s elder brother Thubten Jigme Norbu (Tulku) was present. The activities of the monks were restricted and the Tulku himself kept imprisoned in monastery while the Chinese tried to indoctrinate him. After nearly a year, they finally told him that he would be set free if he went to Lhasa to persuade the Dalai Lama to accept Chinese communist rule. Thubten Jigme Norbu agreed to plan, and escaped to
the Lhasa (Dalai Lama, 1990:59, Norbu, 1986:217-222). In Kham, the Chinese communists had devised a propaganda campaign aimed at alienating the people of the Kham from the Lhasa government using Khampa leaders and religious leaders such as Guda Lama and Geshi Sherab Gyatso (Goldstein, 1989:640). In broadcasts and pamphlets the Chinese promised to protect religious freedom, eliminate heavy taxes and help to develop the area. The tenth Panchen Lama was chosen by the officials of the previous Panchen Lama, based at Jyekundo on the Tibetan border. When the Chinese communists took power in 1949, these officials sent a telegram of congratulations to Mao Zedong and Zhu De from the eleven year old Panchen Lama “on behalf of the people in Tibet.”

In the spring of 1950, Chinese troops moved into the adjacent areas of Kham. On October 7, the PLA troops crossed the Drichu river and started the invasion of Tibet. At Chamdo, the PLA captured the Tibetan army Ngabo Ngawang Jigme and other officials (Ford, 1957). After only two weeks, the main Tibetan defence was totally destroyed. 3500 regular soldiers of the Tibetan army were on the run, captured or dead. In response to the events, the Dalai Lama was formally enthroned on November 17, at the age of 16. The Lhasa government also sent an appeal for help to the United Nations. Meanwhile, PLA troops were moving towards Lhasa. The Dalai Lama and his government moved to Yatung, close to the Indian border, leaving two Prime Ministers in charge at Lhasa. On May 23rd 1951, the 17-point agreement was concluded, the Dalai Lama and his officials moved back to Lhasa where the assembly confirmed the agreement. During the next months several thousand PLA troops arrived in Lhasa. At Chamdo, a so-called people’s liberation committee had already been established by the Chinese to administer the area. An Administrative
Council maintained direct contact with Beijing and decided local affairs (Ginsberg and Mathos, 1964: 43).

**Tibetans Resistance For Liberation:** There were large numbers of Chinese army stationed around Lhasa. Because of this there was shortage of food which affected the prices of local products, especially grain. As a reaction to the inflation and the presence of the soldiers, a spontaneous popular movement called *Mimang Tsongdu* (Peoples Assembly) emerged in Lhasa. Leaflets and posters were distributed, stating “the Chinese should go back to china” and “we disagree with the 17 point Agreement”. Meetings were held, and Tibetan government officials were contacted. Finally a six-point memorandum was sent to the Chinese leader General Chiang, listing the complaints and demanding the removal of the Chinese garrison. Chiang accused the two Prime Ministers Lukhangwa and Lobsang Tashi of leading a conspiracy (Dalai Lama, 1990: 81).

Various branches of the Peoples Bank of China were opened in Lhasa, Shigotse and Gyantse, and started distributing a total of two million Yuan in interest-free loans to Tibetans (Ginsbergs and Mathos, 1964: 63). Furthermore, one half reduced old debts, and interest arrears and taxes were lowered in central Tibet. In order to educate Tibetans politically, several organisations were founded by the Chinese leadership. Within a few years, hospitals were reportedly opened in Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo, postal and telephone connections linked the cities with rest of China, airfields were being built, and 4400 kilometer of roads were finished. However, these impressive reports misrepresent the implications of “modernisation” for local Tibetans. Except for a few high ranking officials, Tibetans did not have telephones. In addition, public transportation was unavailable despite the construction of military airfields and roads. By 1955, roads
linked Lhasa with Qinghai and Sichuan road construction provided jobs and wages in cash for Tibetans and facilitated the movement of Chinese personnel and supplies to Lhasa (Norbu, 1974).

Chinese control in Chamdo area depended on the use of force. Expropriation of land (land reforms) and the arrival of Chinese settlers in 1954 provoked a violent reaction. Chinese response was to further military repression. A pass system was introduced in the area and freedom of movement was restricted in 1955 (Burman, 1979:80). In Kham and Amdo revolt was turning into war. In 1956, the PLA laid siege to the Lithang monastery for weeks, while 7000 to 8000 monks and pilgrims were caught inside. By 1957, plans for further “democratic reforms were delayed the central government. Most of the Chinese personnel and communist party officials were withdrawn from Tibet. Along with the rebel encampments, refugees and nomads camps were machine gunned and bombed from the air by the PLA. The war in Kham was spreading to central Tibet (JamyangNorbu, 1986, Andrugstsang, 1973). In March 1959, there was revolt in Lhasa itself, known as the Lhasa uprising (Barber, 1969 and Richardson, 1984). The revolt and the Chinese counterattack forced the Dalai Lama and Lhasa leaders, and eventually about 80,000 Tibetans to flee the country.

The Cultural Revolution in Tibet: The Cultural Revolution in Tibet started in 1965 and was over by 1970. The Red Guards who came to Tibet were mostly students between the age of 15 and 25, but their leaders were older. Some of the students were Tibetans, and soon more young Tibetans were recruited locally. The Red Guards claimed to be volunteers with a mission to destroy the four olds: old ideas, old culture, old traditions, and old customs. Anything connected with the religious practice was “old”. Rosaries, prayer-wheels, butter-lamps and altars were taken out of people’s houses and destroyed; pictures
of Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, and religious scriptures were turned into bonfires. The homes of Tulku and nobel families were searched for traditional costumes, old Tibetan currency, sacred images, etc. and the victims were paraded around the streets wearing or carrying whatever was found, or wearing dance caps and paper pinned on them listing their mistakes. Prayer –flags were torn down. Public trials and “struggle sessions” were held. Temples, monasteries and monuments all over Tibet were destroyed by Red Guards. Out of the 3000-4000 monasteries and religious monuments which existed in Tibet only a handful were left after the Cultural Revolution. The destruction was carefully controlled. First, experts came and marked the precious stones, and then metal experts marked the valuable metals for removal. The buildings were then dynamited and timber was taken away for the use of the local commune, and the stone was left for anyone to use. Explosives were used to ruin Ganden, one of the three great monasteries of the Lhasa area. The Red Guards were supported by Mao but operated outside of Communist Party control. Power struggle among the communist leaders led to the emergence of two factions of Red Guard, both claiming to uphold Mao’s thoughts. Violent clashes broke out between the two factions. In Tibet, the two factions received arms and ammunitions from PLA supporters. Adding to the chaos, Tibetan nomads attacked the Nyemo District Military Headquarters and started an uprising in the name of one of the factions. In some cases, Tibetan Red Guards of both factions joined together and attacked Chinese officials. These rebellions were finally suppressed by the PLA (Paljor, 1977:81-83).

No one knows how many killed in the Lhasa uprising which was repressed with a savagery reminiscent of the Nazis in Warsaw but the casualties may have been as high as 10,000. Not generally known is
the fact that two days after the uprising had been crushed several thousand Tibetan women marched through the streets of Lhasa and called for the Chinese to get out of Tibet. There followed mass arrests and many Tibetan women, including most of the leaders were imprisoned and tortured for years. Public executions followed later but most of those executed were unrecognizable as they had been so severely beaten (The Tibetan Review, March 1984:14). The last phase of the war occurred in 1965-74 when the mainly Khamba forces attacked the Chinese from bases in Mustang (North Nepal) about 1600 kilometers from their homelands. The Chinese only gained complete military control over Tibet in the mid 1960's. The rebellion finally ended in 1974 when the Nepalese army attacked the Khambas died or disappeared in Nepalese prisons while those that escaped this fate and were left after more than twenty years of fighting drifted southwards into India. Such was the end of Tibetan war.

B. TIBETANS IN EXILE

On March 31st, 1959, nearly three weeks after escaping from Lhasa, the Dalai Lama and his entourage crossed into India, physically and emotionally exhausted from their ordinal. The Tibetan leader was warmly received by the Indian socials and his was big news, as he quickly found out (Gyatso, 1990:144). “As I left the building at foothills and climbed into a big red car for the thirty mile drive to the station, I noticed large numbers of cameramen. It was explained to me that these were representatives of the international press. They had come to report on the “Story of the Century”. I should expect to see many more of them on arrival in the city” (Gyatso, 1990:145). With much more colour and irony, John Avedon describes the international press corps frenzy to get the story on the Dalai Lama:
Since the first word of fighting in Lhasa had appeared late in March, news of a revolt in remote Tibet had leaped into the world headlines. Over a hundred correspondents flew in from Paris, London, New York, Africa and East Asia seeking what was already build as the “Story of the Year” choosing Kalimpong as the best spot to begin their search, they converged on the Himalayan Hotel, run by Quaid McDonald, a former British trade agent in the Tibet and an acquaintance of the 13th Dalai Lama. While “Daddy” MacDonald took to his bed from worry on hearing of the 14th Dalai Lama’s flight, the press scoured the surrounding peaks with binoculars, accosted the town’s more prominent Tibetan citizens, drove a hundred miles a day back and forth to Gangtok in search of Gods and under increasing pressure from editors to provide front page news on the whereabouts of the mysterious “God-King”, began issuing fabricated reports over Kalimpong’s antiquated Morse-key telegraph with word of Dalai Lama’s crossing into NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency). However, they could, just by looking at the map, infer that he would eventually merge at Tezpur. Therefore the press corps decamped en masse, first to Shilong the capital of Assam, and then to Tezpur itself. Sleeping on the couches and billiard tables of the local Planter’s Club, they clogged the town’s tiny airstrip with single engine planes hired to race exclusive photos of the “God Kings” arrival to Calcutta’s Dum Dum airport and the presses of the world’s periodicals beyong (Avedon, 1984:67).

Upon arriving in Tezpur, the Dalai Lama was given “many hundreds of messages, telegrams and the letters.......all sending greetings and good wishes from people the world over (Gyatso, 1990:145). Throughout the train journey to Mussoorie - a hill station not far from Delhi where a house for the Dalai Lama had been arranged- thousands of well-wishers greeted the leader. The intense
international interest in the Tibetan “God King” reveals the fascination Tibet held for non-Tibetans, especially those from the West. The fascination helped ease the suffering of thousands of Tibetans who followed the Dalai Lama into exile, most of whom appeared to be facing a grim future upon their arrival, especially those who went to India. Not only were they entering a country “already overburdened with massive poverty and unemployment,” they were doing so without language facility, without knowledge or understanding of Indian social and cultural systems and without any potentially useful occupation skills.” With the exception of handful (mainly aristocrats) who spoke some English and/or Hindi, the refugees spoke only Tibetan. Meat eating Buddhists from the cold climate of the Tibetan plateau, they found themselves thrust into the sweltering heat of vegetarian Hindu India. The refugees were nomads, monks, farmers and petty traders, none of which occupations, on the surface, offered any competitive advantages in India. Almost all had no familiarity with modern technology (Goldstein, 1978:396). Yet by all accounts Tibetans have done very well in India. Overcoming these external obstacles as well as ones internal to the community, such as the fact that the refugees came from widely desperate regions in Tibet where they spoke mutually unintelligible dialects.

THE TIBETAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

The Background: In 1949 the People’s liberation Army of China marched into eastern Tibetan areas of Kham and Amdo and set in motion the occupation of the whole country which culminated in the flight of his Holiness the Dalai Lama to India and the crushing of Tibetan National Uprising in March 1959. His Holiness the Dalai Lama was followed in to exile by some 80,000 Tibetans, who settled in India, Nepal and Bhutan.
TIBETAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE
TIBETAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

** Figures in brackets indicate more than one settlement in that area.
Initially Tibetans that fled from Tibet were the one, ones who were most likely to be imprisoned by the Chinese. These were the families of the present and past Dalai Lamas, former government official and their families, large estate holders, important religious leaders and military commanders and troops (French 1991:190). Thereafter, Tibetans from all parts of the former Tibetan society escaped from their country. The then Prime Minister of India Mr. J.L. Nehru granted the Dalai Lama asylum and promised him aid. The fact that India is the birthplace of Tibetan religion in combination with the widespread respect and love for the Dalai Lama among the Indian people made India a relatively safe harbour. Nehru’s attitude was and remained one of nonalignment. He never recognised either the Tibetan Government or its independence from China nor would succumb to any of the Chinese demands (French, 1991:190). The support he gave however was enough to enable the Tibetans to start their long struggle for independence. In June 1959, the Dalai Lama issued a statement that the Chinese takeover and subsequent occupation of Tibet was aimed at the examination of the Tibetan religion, culture and race. He stated that his exile Government represent the only legitimate government of Tibet. With this declaration, the Tibetan Government-in-exile was formally launched into world politics (French, 1991:190).

Under the leadership of the Dalai Lama a non-violent struggle began. Some groups of Tibetan have used violent means but the non-violence policy of the Dalai Lama has obtained the support of the vast majority of the Tibetan people. Unfortunately the struggle has not persuaded any national government to recognise the Tibetan government-in-exile, for the matter, the sovereignty of Tibet as a nation before the occupation.
STRUCTURE OF THE TIBETAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

A. CONSTITUTION:

Charter of the Tibetan in exile: The Charter of the Tibetan in exile is the supreme law governing the functions of the CTA. It was drafted by the constitution redrafting committee and expressed to the Assembly of Tibetan people’s Deputies for approval. The assembly, in turn, adopted the charter on June 14, 1991.

The charter professes to adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as specified by the United Nation and to provide to all Tibetans equality before law and enjoyment of rights and freedom without discrimination on the basis of sex, religion, race, language and social origin. The charter provided for a clear separation of power among the three organs of government: Judiciary, Legislature and Executive.

Before the charter came into being, the Central Tibetan Administration functioned roughly along the lines of the draft democratic constitution for future Tibet, promulgated by his Holiness the Dalai Lama on March 10, 1963. (Charter of Tibetan-in exile (1991).

(i) Judiciary

Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission: The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission is the highest judicial organ of the CTA. According to the charter, the commission is responsible for adjudicating all civil disputes in Tibetan Communities. The commission, however, does not entertain any care if the doing of so is seen to be in contravention of the laws of the host countries. Similarly, the commission does not handle criminal cases as this is the pressure of the host government.

The Supreme Justice Commission is headed by the Chief Justice Commissioner (CJC) and two other Justice Commissioners are of whom are nominated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama for final
approval by the assembly. If the assembly does not reject the nomination by two-third majority. His Holiness will confirm the appointment. The Commissioner held the office till the age of 65. However the assembly is empowered to impeach them by two-third majority if they lose its confidence before the expiry of the term. The CJC and the other two Commissioners have equal power in adjudicating cases. The only difference in that the CJC is also the administrative head of the Supreme Justice Commission.

According to the draft judicial code and civil procedure, there will be three tiers of justice commission: the Supreme Justice Commission, Circuit Justice Commission (equivalent to a state-level high court) and Local Justice Commission (Lowest- Level Court). It is proposed that there will be 62 Local Justice Commissions: one in each of the major Tibetan settlements and scattered communities. In addition there will be five Circuit Justice Commissions to cover the six different zones into which the Tibetan Exile communities are divided.

The most important cases heard by the Supreme Justice Commission are those between the administration and people. When His Holiness first suggested the setting up of a Judiciary, he specifically pointed out that it should become an organ where people can bring their grievances against the administration. (Charter of Tibetan-in-Exile (1991) art 62-70.pp. 13-15.

(ii) Legislature

Assembly of Tibetan people’s deputies: The assembly of Tibetans people’s Deputies is the highest Legislative organ of the Tibetan refugee community. It was instructed in 1960 the creation of this democratically elected body was one of the major changes that his Holiness the Dalai Lama has brought about in his efforts to introduce a democratic system of Administration. The Assembly consists of 46

49
elected members. U-Tsang, Kham, Amdo, the three traditional provincial of Tibet, elect ten members each while the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and the traditional Bon faith elect two members each. Three deputies are elected by the Tibetans in the West: two from Europe and one from North America. In addition, three members with distinction in the art, science literature and community service are nominated directly by his Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies is headed by a chair and vice-chair, who are elected by the Deputies amongst themselves. Any Tibetan who has reached the age of 25 years has right to contest the elections to the Assembly. The elections are held every five years and any Tibetan who has reached the age of 18 years is entitled to vote.

Sessions of Assembly are held twice every year, with an interval of six months between these sessions. However this Holiness can summon extraordinary session of the Assembly in the case of nations emergencies, (Charter of the Tibetan-in-Exile (1991), art. 96-99, pp,19-20).

(iii) The Executive: According to the charter, the executive power of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile is vested in the Dalai Lama and exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinates to him. The Dalai Lama is empowered to execute the following executive powers, as the head of the Tibetan People:

- approve and promulgate bills and regulations, as passed by the assembly of the Tibetan people’s Deputies;
- promulgate Acts and Ordinances;
- dissolve or suspend the Assembly;
- confer however and patents of merit;
- summon, adjourn and prorogue the Assembly;
• send messages and address to the Assembly whenever deemed necessary;
• dissolve the kashag;

B. KASHAG (CABINET)

The Kashag (Cabinet) is the apex executive body of the central Tibetan Administration and its members are ministers of CTA. The charter of the Tibetans in exile stipulates that the Kashag should have maximum of eight members. The chair of the head is the Executive head of the CTA.

In April 2001, the Tibetan Parliament, on the advice of the Dalai Lama, amended the charter to provide for the direct election of the Kashag chair by the Exile Tibetan populace. The amendment provided for two elections to this effect: the first one to throw up six highest winners as the candidates and the second to confirm one among them as the chair. The Kashag chair will submit a list of his colleagues to the parliament for its approval. The Kashag is serviced by a secretariat. (Charter of the Tibetans-in-Exile (1991), art 20-30, pp, 5-7).

Major departments under the Kashag:

Department of Religion and Culture: This department was established by the Dalai Lama in 1959. It is responsible for the perseverance and promotion of Tibetan religion and culture. The department supports the different religious images, re-establishes monasteries in India and Nepal, tries to find sponsors for monks and nuns, and organizes various exchange programs and produces religious and cultural publications. (Tibetan Refugee Community, Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000, Summary (1994), p-4.

Department of Education: Except for the education falling under the autonomously constituted Tibetan children’s village and Tibetan home foundation, the department of education is responsible for all


The other important departments (which have not been discussed in detail because their non involvement in the thesis) in the Tibetan Government – in – Exile are as under:

**Department of Home**
**Department of Finance**
**Department of Security**
**Department of Information and International Relation**

C. THE ORGANIZATION OF TIBETAN SETTLEMENTS:
The charter gives a survey of the Tibetan Settlements-in-Exile:

- Agriculture settlements;
- Handicrafts and cottage industries and co-operatives;
- Religious institutions and centers;
- Schools and academic institutions;
- Self employed communities;
- Scattered communities;
- Other Tibetan residential areas;
Every Tibetan is led by a Local Tibetan Administrator. In the larger settlements there is also an Assistant Administrator. The charter ascribes these officers the following duties:

- to conduct all administrative business of their respective Tibetan settlements;
- to carry out judicial responsibilities as authorized by the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission;
- to adhere to the local laws of the area and respect the costumes and tradition of the locality;
- to carry out the official responsibilities and special guidelines laid down by the Assembly of the Tibetan people’s deputies, the kashag, the concerned department and the central Tibetan administration;
- to fulfill the objectives and oversee the efficient functioning of the co-operative society;
- Any other duties deemed necessary to be executed for the benefit of the Tibetan people, and according to prescribed rules.

Any Tibetan resident of the Tibetan Settlement, regardless of sex and status and with the same qualification required for the right to vote for members of the Assembly, may stand for nomination and be elected as Administrator or Assistant Administrator.

The Assistant Tibetan Administrator may be elected by the respective Local Assembly of that settlement without direct election by the general Tibetan public. Two-third majority of the Local Assembly is required for the election of a Local Tibetan Administrator; preliminary elections for nomination are held first amongst the general Tibetan public of the respective settlement. The top most four candidates will either the final election for Tibetan Administrator. More than 51% of the
votes is required. When the elected Administrator is a member of the Local Tibetan Assembly he or she must resign from his membership or position.

In each of the respective Tibetan settlements is a Local Assembly. The assembly has full authority respect to the formulation and approval of the regulations for the conduct of all business matters of the Tibetan settlements, in consultation with the Local Tibetan Administrator and the Assistant Tibetan Administrator. The Local Assemblies are comprised of members, regardless of sex, from amongst the Tibetan residents of their respective settlements with the same qualification required for the right to vote and for members of the Assembly. Other candidates for membership of the Local Assemblies are:

- Members of the regional committee of Bob Rangwang Denpai Legal elected by the general Tibetan public and
- Elected leaders and representatives of the villages, Tibetan co-operative Societies and the respective religious institutions and centers.

The strength of the Local Assembly is based on the population of the respective settlements and must be in between the minimum of 7 and maximum of 35 members. Normally the term of local assembly is 3 years. At the beginning of the first session of a Local Assembly, members elect from amongst them a chairman and Deputy Chairman by means of secret ballot by majority vote. These two officers can be removed by more than two-third majority of the Local Assembly. The Local Tibetan Administrator and the Assistant Tibetan Administrator may take part in debate, discussion, answer questions and provide explanation in sessions of the Local Assembly.
When the dissolution of the Local Assembly is necessary, the Local Tibetan Administrator and the Assistant Tibetan Administrator in consultation with the chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Local Assembly, refers the matter to the general Tibetan public of the respective settlement. The decision made by majority vote will be final. By majority of vote the Local Assembly can remove one of its members.

TIBETAN REFUGEES

About a year after his arrival in Mussorie, the Dalai Lama moved to Dharamsala, a former British hill station located on the northern edge of the Punjab, in Himachal Pradesh, 300 miles of northwest of New Delhi. There he established a government in exile, known as Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), with ten civil service ranks. At the same time, a bureau was established in New Delhi to serve as a link with the Indian Govt. and the various international relief agencies that were coming to the refugee's aid, with other offices eventually being established in Geneva, New York, Tokyo to act unofficial embassies for the new exile government (Avedon, 1984:87). Goldstein suggested that the "ready availability of a core of highly experienced and competent governmental administrators" who fled Tibet with the Dalai Lama highly facilitated the establishment of the CTA and provided a ready-made organization" through which to approach the daunting task of rehabilitating, monitoring and coordinating the activities of the approximately 80,000 refugees who arrived in India between 1959 and 1962 (ibid., 408) Fortunately for the Tibetans, the Govt. of India (GOI) decided from the outset to play an active role in rehabilitation efforts. Not only that, the ideological framework within which the GOI believed rehabilitation should occur was one that was not intended to discourage or destroy Tibetan
cultural institutions or traditions, but rather was compatible with the Dalai Lama's and CTA's goal of cultural preservation (Goldstein, 1978:397). According to Goldstein, the most successful of CTA's rehabilitation strategies called for the creation of a series of permanent agricultural settlements throughout India.

The GOI viewed the settlement plan as a kind of compromise, as it did not want to bring all the Tibetans together in one area, but also did not want to scatter them in too-small units. The emission size of 3,000 to 4,000 people was believed to be large enough to easily sustain Tibetan language and institutions (ibid, 398) Nehru began by soliciting offers of unsettled land from Southern Indian states which the refugees could use. The first offer came from the state of Karnataka which was willing to provide the Tibetans with three thousands acres of uninhabited land covered with dense jungle. In December 1960, 666 Tibetans were driven to the site; located fifty-two miles west of Mysore and left to build a settlement for themselves (Avedon, 1984:87). Many refugees described feeling completely forlorn and desolate in such an alien environment so far away from the Tibetan plateau. In the process of clearing the land, Tibetans regularly encountered enraged elephants and were sometimes trampled to death (ibid., 89). After much effort, the first permanent agricultural settlement, known as Bylakuppe, was created. Over time it grew and prospered (Goldstein, 1975, 1978). Eventually other parcels of land were made available to the Tibetans and soon small settlements dotted the subcontinent. According to Strom (in press), the CTA sought to contract Tibetan communalism by putting people from different regions together into single settlements (Palakshappa 1978). However there were settlements established independent of CTA which were formed on the basis of regional origin. The fact that some of the communities were uniformly
Plate 1: Old Tibetan ladies busy in chatting

Plate 2: Respondent (an old Tibetan lady) in front of Library of Tibetan Works and Archives
“Khampa” or Amdowa, for instance, is significant. It helps to explain the persistence of regionalism and factionalism within the exile community.

Since 1959, a total of 54 refugee settlements have been established in India, Nepal and Bhutan, 26 of which are agricultural, 17 are agro-industrial and 11 are handicraft-based (Tibetan Bulletin, 1995). The CTA claims that of the 1,20,000 refugees living in South Asia today almost 70,000 live in these settlements while another 50,000 live in scattered communities in India and Nepal and four and half thousand live outside South Asia (ibid., 89). The report estimates that thirteen percent of the total population is dependent on handcrafts, mostly carpet-weaving, which it notes provides a valuable source of secondary income for many more refugees; another twenty-nine percent of the population engages in sweater-selling and other petty trading; and the remaining 30 percent of the population is engaged in government service or work in hotels, restaurants or shops.

One of the things Goldstein noted during the course of his doctoral field work in Bylakuppe settlement in 1960 was the complete lack of tension between Tibetans and local Indians. Even after settlement surpassed surrounding villages in economic vitality, inter-ethnic relations remained smooth. This tranquillity grew out of a concerted policy by the Tibetan leadership to avoid direct competition for resources with their Indian hosts and was applied consistently to all the resettlement communities (Goldstein, 1975, 1978; Devoe, 1987).

While the official policy has been to select carefully economic activity that does not compete with that of local Indians, not everyone follows the rules, as Devoes notes: Tibetans are characterized as shrewd businessmen and women who have been able to monopolize
business in certain commodities by ignoring interstate laws limiting and taxing commodity transport and running black market goods into the country from Nepal. Their most well known market activity is sweater selling (1983:18)

In some instances, Tibetans seem to have become victims of their own economic success. This appears to be the case with the anti-Tibetan riot that broke out in Dharamsala in 1994 following the murder of a local Gaddi boy by a young Tibetan man. Upon hearing the boy’s death, local Indians rampaged through the Tibetan areas of Dharamsala, destroying shops and buildings and attacking Tibetans. A similar incident also happened in Manali in 1999. Malik suggests in a recent essay: It is interstitiality and liminality of refugees in the contemporary order of nation-states that pushes issues of nationality and national identity to the forefront among refugees. For refugees, as far stateless and other “displaced” categories of people, nation-ness is problematized (1990:55)

The link between their refugee status and Tibetans perception of themselves as a collectivity is underscored by Devoe who argues that for the Tibetan, the yellow paper certifying his or her stateless status is expressive of a cultural, ethnic and national identity, an allegiance to the past and a candid avowal of dedication to Tibetans’ future freedom (1987:56). Thus keeping refugee status is viewed an as action, an act of integrity in defence of the faith. A Tibetan who has kept refugee status is thought to have kept his Tibetan-ness, an ethos mutually understood by Tibetans around the world (1987:63).

TIBETAN CULTURE-IN-EXILE

Other than devising strategies for the rehabilitation of refugees, the Dalai Lama’s main concern upon coming into exile was cultural reconstruction. Thus process entailed a certain degree of self-
consciousness which is evident in the Dalai Lama's description of his approach to the problem:

“We divided our culture into two types. In the first category we placed that which, we determined, needed to be retained only in books as past history. The second category included whatever could bring actual benefit in the present. These things we resolved, must be kept alive. Therefore, many of our old ceremonial traditions, we discarded—no matter, I decided, let them go. However, our performing arts literature, science and religion as well as those crafts from which we could earn livelihood—painting, metal crafts, architecture, woodworking and carpet making—these, we took special pains to safeguard” (Avedon, 1984:92) The Dalai Lama made religious preservation his highest priority. This decision reflects both the centrality of Buddhism in Tibetan life and Dalai Lama’s recognition that Buddhism formed a basis for reconstituting a collective Tibetan identity in exile. From the Dalai Lama’s point of view, the small number of Tibet’s thousand of monks and Lamas who managed to escape (somewhere between 5,000 and 7,000, a tiny fraction of monastic population in Tibet) provided the key to salvaging Buddhism in exile.

As embodied representatives of Tibetan Buddhist practice, not to mention repositories of knowledge of astrology, medicine, logic, philosophy, divination, art, drama and literature, these individuals' survival was viewed as essential to the reproduction of Tibetan culture in diaspora. In the beginning, the CTA assembled monks and Lamas (the majority of whom were from the Gelugpa sect) at Buxa Duar, a camp in Assam near the border of Bhutan. Though initially, a transit camp for lay refugees, Buxa Duar became Buxa Duar Ashram, a kind of “Lama Camp”, after that refugees were transferred to other camps and rehabilitation centres.
Financed by the Indian Govt., Buxa was home to more than 1,500 monks until 1960 when the first settlements in Southern India were ready to begin receiving monks. In 1974, resettled monks from Buxa re-established in three great Gelugpa monasteries (Drepung, Sera and Ganden) amidst the refugee forming settlements in Karnataka. After six years each monastery had temples, assembly halls and quarters for approximately three hundred monks (Lopez 1995b: 264). Over the past ten years these monasteries have grown increasingly overcrowded as China has cracked down on religion in Tibet and large number of monks and nuns, many involved in pro-independence demonstrations, have sought refuge in India. According to Central Tibetan Administration, in 1994 there were 181 monasteries with a total population of 17,376 monks and 8 nunneries housing 549 nuns.

In addition rebuilding monasteries in exile, Tibetan refugees created other cultural institutions such as the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala), Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (Sarnath), the Buddhist School of Dialectics (Dharamsala) and the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (Dharamsala). These efforts were financially supported by the Dalai Lama and the CTA. In fact, according to Devoe cultural preservation and practice were the main aim of the CTA for the first twenty years of its existence, so much so that over thirty percent of its annual budget was spent on institutions and training (1987:59). This figure was dropped slightly in recent years as the CTA has concentrated its resources on socio-economic development, education and vocational training (CTA 1994).

Meanwhile a new source of financial support emerged in the 1970s after a number of high Lamas went abroad and founded Buddhist centres. Their success was due largely to the coincidence of
the Diaspora with a period of intense interest in eastern religions in the West. Within a few years, the Lamas were able to engender a body of westerners committed both to supporting the continuation of the Tibetan religion and preserving Tibetan culture (French, 1991:196; for a history of Tibetan Buddhism in the West, Fields 1986). A global network of dharma practitioners has evolved through which money is channeled back to India, Nepal and Sikkim where it is used to help support Buddhist institutions.

Once in exile Dalai Lama viewed education as one of the most important means of achieving his goal of “Keeping Tibetan Culture Alive”. Thus in 1959, he asked Jigme and Rinchen Dolma, well known aristocrats from Lhasa, to devise a programm for the education of Tibetans in India. The couple opened the first school in Mussoorie in 1960 (Nowak 1984 and Taring 1970). Soon the Council for Tibetan Education was established which facilitated the setting up of other schools, including one in Shimla and other in Darjeeling. Through discussions with late J.L. Nehru, who, the Dalai Lama recalls, was a keen supporter of Tibetan education efforts, another organization under Indian jurisdiction was created called the central Committee on the Education of Tibetan Refugees (Nowak, 1984:56), renamed as the “Tibetan School Society” in 1961 and again the “Central Tibetan Schools Administration” in 1969, this organization was (and still is) largely subsidised by the Indian government.

One of the Taring’s innovations, a plan to place every young child in a residential house watched over by a set of foster house parents was successfully implemented in all the new Tibetan boarding schools (French, 1991:196) whereas in the past, education has been limited to monks and aristocrats. For the first time in Tibetan history, secular education was made available to lay and monastic persons of
both sexes from all social classes. Emphasis was placed on giving the students a “modern” education, but one which would nevertheless “Keep their hearts as Tibetan as possible” (Tibetan Bulletin, March 1995).

Since their inception, these schools have played a critical role in creating a nationalist consciousness among new generation of exile Tibetans, one that centres on the value of Tibetan culture. In her book Tibetan Refugees: Youth and the New Generation of Meaning (1984), Margaret Nowak examines some of the processes through which this consciousness is created, focusing on the transmission of key symbols of Tibetaness to Tibetan youth in the context of education. The most important of these symbols is the Dalai Lama, who embodies the central formula of Tibetan politics, *chos-sridzunj-'bri*, or “religion and politics combine” and whom most Tibetans see as a divine living symbol of their history and aspiration for the future. While belief in Dalai Lama’s status was given for those refugees who came to India as adults, belief in his “sanctity and extraordinariness” (Goldstein, 1978:413), particularly if reformulated government was going to be able to sustain its legitimacy in exile. Nowak argues that this has been very successfully accomplished. For instance, all school children start their day by singing, along with the National Anthem, a prayer song composed by the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan leader’s picture hangs in front of every classroom and children learn early on to attribute their success to the “grace of the Dalai Lama”.

Along with a belief in Dalai Lama, Tibetan school children are taught the government- in-exile version of Tibetan history, i.e. that Tibet was a united, independent country before 1959; they are also taught about the universal values of Tibetan Buddhism. Through the transmission of these ideas, Tibet which is much emptier category for
Distribution of Male and Female Population by Age

Source: TDS '98

Age not stated
young refugees, becomes concretised as a lost homeland, one that is idealised as a spiritual Shangri-La in the past but which has become a land, full of suffering and destruction since China's occupation, Nowak argues, has an important subjective corollary:

The children are taught that their culture has unique potential for worldwide beneficial influences. They are also being given the most powerful reason of all to remain Tibetan: self esteem, meaningful identity, and even a sense of mission are all intrinsic to the self definition so carefully fostered by the supportive Tibetan environment of the schools (1984:103). As a result of refugee school system, for the first time, a generation of Tibetans has been produced which is strongly nationalistic and dedicated to the struggle for Tibet's independence.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE TIBETANS-IN-EXILE

According to Tibetan Demographic Survey, 1998, Tibetan population in India is 85,147, out of which 48,005 are males and 37,142 are females. Based on Indian regional classification, the following Tibetan settlements are grouped into five principal regions, with 28.84%, the northern region recorded the largest share of the Tibetan refugee population, followed by 27.92% in the south, 18.26% in the east, 9.83% in the central India and least in the west.

In Dharamshala, the total population of Tibetans is 8694, out of which 4711 are males and 3983 are females. On the other hand in district Kullu, total population of Tibetans are 1934, out of which 988 are males and 946 are females (Tables 2.1 to 2.6)
Table 2.1: Total Tibetan population in India:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>85,147</td>
<td>48,005</td>
<td>37,142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source - TDS, 98

Table 2.2: Tibetan population in Dharamsala and District Kullu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>8697</td>
<td>4711</td>
<td>3983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Kullu</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source - TDS, 98

Table 2.3: Number of Households and population by sex in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15078</td>
<td>85147</td>
<td>48005</td>
<td>37142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North</td>
<td>5616</td>
<td>28520</td>
<td>15218</td>
<td>13302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East</td>
<td>3711</td>
<td>18058</td>
<td>9340</td>
<td>8718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South</td>
<td>3741</td>
<td>27612</td>
<td>17462</td>
<td>10150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>9722</td>
<td>5345</td>
<td>4377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1235</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source - TDS, 98
Table 2.4: No. of households and population by sex in Dharamsala and district Kullu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>8694</td>
<td>4711</td>
<td>3983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Kullu</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>988</td>
<td>946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TDS, 98

Table 2.5: Households and population by sex in India:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Households</th>
<th>No. of Household</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunnery</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan Children’s Villages</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6026</td>
<td>3314</td>
<td>2712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential School</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2677</td>
<td>1406</td>
<td>1271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.6: Households and population by sex in Dharamsala and District Kullu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Types of Households</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharamsala</td>
<td>Monastery</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunnery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tibetan Children’s Village</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2297</td>
<td>1296</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential Schools</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Kullu</td>
<td>Monastery</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nunnery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tibetan Children’s Village</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Residential Schools</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TDS, 98.
LITERACY RATE OF TIBETANS IN INDIA:

A person who can read and write with understanding a message or letter in any language with understanding is defined as literate. To be literate it is not necessary that a person should have received formal education or should have passed any standard examination. However, a person who can merely read but cannot write is not considered illiterate. And the age group 0-5 is considered illiterate under the effective literacy criteria, is the ability to read and write with understanding is not generally achieved at that age.

In India there is about 27% Tibetan females literate and 17% females are illiterate. On the other hand 42% Tibetan males are literate and 14% of males are illiterate. (Table 2.7-2.8).

Table No. 2.7 : Total literate Tibetan population in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literates</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75278</td>
<td>33889</td>
<td>21518</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table No. 2.8: Total illiterate Tibetan population in India:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illiterates</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23871</td>
<td>10851</td>
<td>13020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source- TDS, 98

There are 2.6 % of the total population has achieved higher studies, with technical professions dominated by medicine and teaching skills. Like in the past, monasteries in exile play an important role in education. The student population currently attending schools or colleges accounts for 41% of the total exile population. Being in exile, it is important to ascertain the language capability of the Tibetan population.

The table 2.9 shows that Hindi and English are the two foreign languages spoken by the Tibetans in exile in addition to their native
tongue. Over 50% of Tibetans in exile speak Hindi and almost every second Tibetan converse in English.

Table 2.9: Tibetan linguistic competence (other language spoken)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Spoken</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>41.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>55.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>15.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Languages</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source-TDS, 98