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# THE TIBET JOURNAL



a publication for the study of Tibet

# The Tibet Journal

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# The Tibet Journal

*A publication for the study of Tibet*

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**WINTER VOL. XXXVII, No.4 2012**

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# *Restless Beings: Understanding Kashmiri Youth in Sociological Contour*

**Adfer Rashid Shah**

## **Abstract**

This paper is a general sociological analysis and a critical description of Kashmiri youth, reflecting the issues and challenges, confronting them in the prevailing turbulent times. The work covers the problems that Kashmiri youth have been facing since decades and their reaction and response to the conflict situation. This significant but most vulnerable section of the society is conspicuously at the risk of victimization of various kinds and it is also more likely that the socio-psychological consequences of their victimization have led to the psycho-social pathology that still haunts the region. Since Kashmir valley is confronted with the conflict atmosphere and political chaos for two and a half decades now, youths have turned more volatile and are vulnerable to a plethora of anxieties like joblessness, mental depression, dependence, criminal tendencies, etc.. On one hand, they are more worried about future, politically conscious and desire change in the overall system but on the other hand, their identity and personality crisis amidst the acute challenges of survival have turned them into the sheer despondent and alienated beings. This conceptual summary also pays a special focus upon the employment and social welfare/community welfare programmes and policies currently in place for the youth development and delves upon the need for youth engagement, empowerment, need for more provisions of social security and the timely interventions to prevent violence and societal disorder. There is a dire need for an effective, egalitarian, holistic and sustainable youth policy for their practical uplift and general welfare as the current policies in place for youth have not bore the expected fruit. The paper is mainly based on secondary sources, like books, journals, newspaper articles, e-sources, etc.. Further, the inputs have also been gained through observation and informal conversations with youths, to know their aspirations, anxieties and frustrations.

## **1. Introduction**

*“When educating the minds of youth, we must not forget to educate their hearts.” (His Holiness the Dalai Lama)*

Youth is not merely the period between childhood and adulthood but is typically regarded as an ascribed status or socially constructed label, rather than simply

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the linguistic equivalent of the biological characteristics and condition particular to the post infant stage of life. As per United Nations criteria youth has been categorized as people in the age group of 15-24 years & as per National Youth Policy 2003 of India they have been put in the age group of 13-35 years. Youth are typically characterized by freshness, vigor and spirit both physical and mental. It is the age when creational cadence is played on the chords of mind and miraculous tasks come about. Youth is the spring of life that revitalizes man's potentials and is an age of discovery and dreams. Youth is an important phase of life in the context that it forms the plinth of personality development and is the corner stone of future life. Youth have broadness of vision and universality in thoughts. When they dream they dream not only for the good future of themselves but rather take much broader stance by thinking also for the future of nation, community, country and entire humanity. It is the youth who have the potential to make or mar a society, to sew the fabric of society in best of forms or to deteriorate the social fabric altogether. The youth is undoubtedly the most important, precious and indispensable asset of a nation provided their executions tally the commandments and the forbiddance corresponds to prohibitions, if not so then the same youth can create social havocs and chaos of unexpected order, thus more often it is dangerous in that if it gets exposed to obnoxious influences hitherto vague in every social institution. Youth has the capacity to awaken the consciousness and sparkle the conscience of the nation and bring about desirable change in the existing system. Youth is the major part of society. Youth is that powerful resource, which can either construct or destruct the whole nation. Every society is incomplete without youth. Youth typify the hope and future of a country. Any idea of national development is just a parable without the active participation of youth. Youth play a major and key role in societal setup. Akin to youth in other parts, Kashmiri youth have never lagged behind when called upon to meet a challenge and to take active part in social construction. They have played a pivotal role in the socio-economic regeneration of the society and are expected to perpetuate their prominent character in social fabrication. Ours is a society ridden of many evil practices, diabolic dogmas and the pests of arrogance and ignorance. If the youth ensures its association in a drive against these practices, the results can be much more satisfactory. As Alvin Toffler<sup>1</sup>, an American writer and futurist says, 'the secret message communicated to most young people today by the society around them is that they are not needed, that the society will run itself quite nicely until they - at some distant point in the future - will take over the reigns. Yet the fact is that the society is not running itself nicely, because the rest of us need all the energy, brains, imagination and talent that young people can bring to bear down on our difficulties. For society to attempt

to solve its desperate problems without the full participation of even very young people is imbecile.

## **2. Youth, Conflict and Society**

Kashmir has witnessed a turbulent history since 1931 and especially in post 1947 period which later got transformed into a full-fledged armed conflict in 1989 being followed by mass killings, disappearances, alarming widowhood, and mass rapes and other myriad of crimes and human rights violations. It is worth mentioning that youth of Kashmir and Palestine are different from the other sensitive youth of the world. They are not what Alfred Blumstein, a renowned American researcher on criminology, calls "super predators", who have little regard for human life or what Goldstone, the American sociologist calls youth bulge<sup>2</sup> and youth bulge related bloodshed. No doubt they are both the worst victims and perpetrators of violence but their violent behavior is not without reason and carries a message and a deep meaning in terms of their feeling of a pathetic alienation in their own motherland. Their sufferings and agonies still remain uncomprehended psychologically, anthropologically, humanistically and philosophically. Their violent actions are actually their retaliation, protest, powerlessness, pain and anguish against their life at ebb and at odds. Their anti-social behavior is actually the vent against all that discrimination meted to and inflicted upon them and against their dear ones throughout the ongoing turbulence in the Vale and against their feeling of gasping life and feeling of being alienated, worthless, valueless, neglected and of suffocated and futile existence. They feel treated as non-living commodities because they cannot even express their anger against the mal-governance. The hard reality is they are not criminals, deviants or drug abusers; but are simply helpless, resource less, futureless innocent living creatures, who feel nobody thinks for them. Instead they are booked and even teens among them put in the company of hardcore criminals in jails, which worsens and erodes their personality development and those who escape tortures and arrests even after crossing their twenties feel a terrible burden upon their families primarily because of very limited domain of jobs, limited choices and the deficiency of income generating avenues in the state which is not the case with the majority of the youth in India. Labeling them violent, outlaws and rebels is simply a bureaucratic and state rhetoric and to justify the outrageous civilian killings, that reached to 117 in 2010 summers alone. Youth are weary of the conflict now and want to prosper in a cool, safe and secure atmosphere.

## **3. Youth Culture & Tradition and Modernity**

Youths round the globe have developed their own sub-culture (a distinctive culture that shares many elements of mainstream culture but maintains its own customs,

values, norms and lifestyles) called youth culture. It is their own distinctive social identity which is more clearly differentiated from that of their parents. However, in Kashmir, the major factor which has shaped up the dominant youth culture is the Kashmir Conflict and modern education. The factor which shaped the freedom loving culture among youth is mainly the violence prevailing in the Kashmiri society and the youth culture of modern education was mainly out of the big city schools and outer exposure given to Kashmiri students. As for tradition and modernity, there has been coexistence, witnessed in social practices among youth. Tradition is the set of social practices which seek to celebrate and inculcate certain behavioral norms and values, implying continuity with a real or imagined past and usually associated with widely accepted rituals or other forms of symbolic behavior and modernity<sup>3</sup>. To begin with we must establish what constitutes 'modernity': the expression encapsulates the progress of societies, from primitive civilizations which evolved steadily through distinct stages, arriving at a modern age characterized by industrialization and capitalism, culminating in the current, post-modern state of globalisation which shapes contemporary society with ever-increasing momentum (Giddens, 2002). Kashmiri youth particularly youth in higher education also share distinct youth culture<sup>4</sup>. Throughout the world, there is a multiplicity of youth cultures based on social class, status, gender identity, geographical location, etc. However talking of youth culture in college and University campuses, it may not be apt to talk of multiplicity of youth cultures over here. We have here no doubt the diversity of backgrounds like differentiated social class, gender, ethnicity, locations etc. Despite all this the youth culture of this university is almost the same. Expert participant and non-participant observations have revealed that the youth have consciously or unconsciously developed their own culture which is quite different from the culture of their parents and families. Despite diverse backgrounds youth in universities and colleges have many habits in common like food culture, dress pattern, working pattern, recreation and entertainment pattern, etc. But as far as the Kashmir University campus youth is concerned, they (youth) are a bit different from the general domain of youth culture.

The manifestations of distinctive youth culture at campus are more leisure, style conscious attitude, a high concern of personal appearance, fast imitation etc. University has turned into a modeling institution. More attachment to peers and colleagues gives rise to a distinctive mental and social setup of youth. It has made youth vulnerable to the new evils of modernity<sup>5</sup>.

Our youth culture is no doubt the culture of leisure. Both male and female students spend a lot of time in gossiping, chitchat, loitering, enjoyment of music, mobile playing etc. Social relations are organized round the peer group. Batch mates develop friendship and little consideration for individual friends who are

not from the campus. Especially the campus youth culture is manifested in the form of group formation. Youth sit, walk, talk, eat and spent time with particular colleagues and friends. This is also true that the campus youth are more interested in style like figure conscious, more after body centered commodities, use of distinctive language forms usually an amalgam of Urdu-English-Kashmiri, playing with cell phones, long time phone conversations, strange music tastes and a lot amount of idle gossiping. (Shah,2007)<sup>6</sup>

There are a number of reasons of this youth culture on campuses. The most important are the rise in disposable income available to the students, easy flow of pocket money and money got from other educational expenditures drawn from parents and lengthening of the period of childhood into adulthood, caused by a greater involvement in education up to the age of 27 or even above. Second, the societies in transition which till recent past were not so exposed to the modern world, now due to globalization, higher education, better exposure to outer world, etc., the cocoon burst and youth were immediately and highly vulnerable to every new style, fashion, practices, etc., and they did everything just to look modern, up to date. Cultural imitation also played its part. Thirdly, identity and personality crises give rise to the adoption and imitations of new styles. Students try to be the centre of concern. They feel lack of recognition and identity in the existing environment so they imitate every damn thing just to make others feel they are not different, low cultured, backward, e.g., rural-urban concern, racial or ethnic concern, etc.

However a functional aspect of our youth culture is that rural-urban differences and identities, regional images, status grin and its staunch consciousness, etc. is on a declining trend. However a pathetic reality and a doom spelling and career destroying practice of drug addiction and some other deviant tendencies have alarmingly crept in our youth culture which is enough to destroy its moral conscience and make it nothing but a deviant sub-culture.

Campus youth are between the devil and the deep sea. Confrontations of youth with the traditional value system, their limitations and handicap to adhere to the principal of continuity and change, identity crises, hollow and negative stereotyping about others, blind imitation of other cultures, volatile attitude, brisk response to new social phenomenon, misunderstanding modernity and development and ignoring contextuality of phenomenon are revolving round the moon of the campus youth culture, which if not realized and noticed at the right time by every youth of the campus may destroy its basic moral foundation and our traditional and cultural ethos in general.

Kashmiri<sup>7</sup> youth though bearing prodigious resilience and moral conscience, have been maliciously exposed to the whims of modernity in the form of certain dysfunctional cultural and social encounters. The prolonged socio-political

mayhem and a sort of frozen turbulence since decades have despoiled their individuality and liberty and have turned them into a confounded personality and tamed in them the passivity of identity and personality crisis. If treated in sociological terms modernity in real sense hardly connotes the total annulment of one's own traditions and socio-cultural ethos, which we as Kashmiri youth have imbibed wrongly and have forgotten the principles of continuity and change. We rebuff to acknowledge that no genuine and sustainable modernization is viable through mere blind imitation, as it is a multi-lateral process of expansion, elevation, revitalization of traditional values and cultural patterns. Modernity should be defined in relation to, and not in denial of, tradition. Kashmiri youth have been blindly entrapped in narrow well and have been consciously anaesthised in a state of sub-consciousness following a culture of hollow imitation which has led to declination and spurn of the spiritual tendencies, glorious vernacular chastity and local cultural settings.

Youth in today's time are bound to suffer when the system has out rightly been eaten by the dragon of corruption at every nook and corner and the pests of arrogance, ignorance, intolerance and hedonism have distorted the delicacy of our punctilious social fabric. The other aspect pertaining youth stereotyping is that there has always been a stiff tussle between our tradition and modernity and the youth have often been misunderstood by the elders and vice-versa. The elders feel that the youth being immature and inexperienced usually indulge in thoughtless and trifling activities which otherwise is not so but is shaping up and sharpening the growing "inter-generational gap". The fact is not only with the voting age of 18 years, the youth have increasingly become politically important but the state's high political culture since decades due to political instability, chaos and turbulence; youth are conspicuously politically conscious and seminal as well due to vested interests in them from all corners. Realizing this, they (youths) more or less shape Kashmir politics.

Furthermore, it is highly pertinent to mention that with the arrival of cell phones in the valley in 2004, instead of taking due advantage from it, a negative trend took place out of our transitional character as most of youth turned nomophobic and this mobile-mania has had lots of ramifications and social implications like fostered lavishness, loitering, excessive addiction to social networking, excessive and increased love affairs, misuse and immorality, etc. The dismal manner in which face-book, twitter and other social networks are misused and overused is a cause of grave concern. It has not only brought moral ramifications but has given birth to a society where laws of social science seem dysfunctional and thus it becomes herculean to ratify such an eroded social fabric. Besides it has metamorphosed the psyche of youth in an abhorable manner by reducing them from active bio-spiritual beings to techno-material puppets. The sociological analyses of Kashmiri youth reveals that they are anxious, politically neurotic

and have been caught in identity and personality crisis. As a result, a larger chunk of them has been adopting every cognizable hook and crook methodology to follow or fell prey to venomous, obnoxious and lethal ideologies and adopting practices without judging and applying their reason. They have developed a strange busyness and un-directional, unproductive and uncalled-for priorities for themselves in which media has played an active role by placing them on a new platform through advertising patterns, serials, unceasing reality and request shows, spread of new fashion channels, nude shows, etc, forcing them to exercise the experiences and be vulnerable to new situations like fantasy dressing, narcissism, vagrancy, vulgarity and thereby defeating the actual goal of modernization, religiosity, reasonable life and rational sense.

#### **4. Youth and Political instability: A Casual Glimpse**

Political Instability in Kashmir valley has had a direct impact on the youths. Seema Mustafa<sup>8</sup>, a well known columnist, writes, in her article, *'Driven into a corner, youth in Kashmir look back in anger'*, "*—Young, articulate boys who have been in and out of jail, beaten and tortured for doing nothing, let us know that they have nothing more to lose as they have lost it all. Their lives are ruined, their future is vacant, and they live with harassment and humiliation on a daily basis*". She reflects the actual feeling of the youth here who are confused about their future but individual and political. She further writes, "*...They dislike Pakistan, they hate India, they detest and despise the Abdullah's, they are critical of the separatists, and they do not know what to do, how to restore harmony in their lives, where to go from the point where the state and the Government of India have left them. Azadi<sup>10</sup> is the only hope, the only option that prevents them from turning into schizophrenic wrecks. And like children, that they are, they cling on to this as the only hope, their only option for a peaceful existence*" (*The Sunday Guardian*).

Youth feel labels on them, they feel they are being targeted by one and all, they are highly critical of Indian media which they feel is biased and does hardly cover their plight and sentiments. Many of them have been booked under public safety acts and served sentences over and over again in the last few years under the draconian laws which has also lead to distrust in the state and fuelled more anger toward the administration. Moreover, crisis mishandling by police and CRPF in the recent infamous uprisings have added to the public anger against the security system in place.

In addition to this, they are much more confused in other ways also. Education is their dream but selecting the right course becomes too difficult due to lack of orientation, guidance, home atmosphere, prevailing conflict, dependence frustrations, etc,. They often find themselves at the crossroads when it comes to make a career-choice. Although, the State Government is a high-wage place but

that is too super-saturated to offer any gainful employment and to ensure cent percent employment in government sector. Also the youth are witnessing a new mood shift in terms of late marriage trend as they have turned more or less carrier conscious. The reason for marrying late is not just unemployment but a change in their perceptions on the significance of the institution of marriage. Very earlier the government was needed to promote self-help, self-employment and vision for reaching the universalistic standards of educational pursuits but due to lack of efficient, sufficient and timely policy interventions by the state administration, the youth are caught between the devil and the deep sea, and have been set on the diabolic journey on a double-bladed axe and that too without a wayfarer. On one hand thinking to move ahead and while on the other dragging the burden of economic dependency. As a matter of fact, the youth remains susceptible and become an easy victim to despair and despondency. They are provided false optimistic hopes which serve as a mere placebo and hence remain unsolved and supplant in them the spirit of revenge and infuse in them the devil of pessimism and fatalism. This is entirely not their fault but partially because of the incompatibility and incoherence between various institutions like education and economy, family and religion, kinship and competition, etc. Education for instance has not been able to fulfill or inculcate the collective behavior or morality; even it is not compatible with justice or egalitarianism, as unemployment problem faced by Kashmiri youth can be attributed to aspects like curriculum-dysfunction, relationship between disciplines taught and job market value, lack of efficient policies and ample empowerment of student community. Another aspect of the said intimations reflect in the form of silent/polite violence in higher education like suppression of students and research scholars in universities, the growing moral corruption in academia and suffering of youth in many aspects, violence on gender basis, sense of feeling insecure among girls and violence of all forms inflicted on Kashmiri youth. Hence they are caught in a sort of a created vicious circle which is actually responsible for their frustration and may be youth bulge. Nevertheless, it will not be wrong to say that Kashmiri youth deserve applause for bearing it all and for their resistivity and moving ahead, proving themselves in country level competitions, elite services, writing, etc, despite all these odds and obstacles, be that lack of right guidance or economic crisis, no ample family support, etc.

However, it is also observed that today when many of the youths are shouting for social reconstruction, morality, socio-economic development, crime free society, religious revivalism, freedom, etc, the fact cannot be ignored that in the maximum of the prevailing chaos baring political scenario, youth are to a greater extent themselves responsible for the mess that still is prevailing. In the existing fragile atmosphere, they face acute repression/frustration at every step,

consequently the rest shun their responsibilities and even resort to live aimless, while believing in the empty slogan of “*Sab Chalta Hai*”<sup>11</sup>. It has to be acknowledged that the youth in itself are responsible by and large for the social degradation, social pathology, inter-generational conflict, culture of perpetrating violence upon others and blind imitation of alien cultures not suitable to Kashmiri normative structure and cultural ethos.

### **5. Youth’s Response to Conflict Situation**

Jeopardized by the hovering clouds of political uncertainty in early 1990s, youth naturally joined the chaos and turned themselves into a chaotic mob rather than an ordered group because of their being the most vulnerable, devoid of guidance and counseling, less parental control and exposable section of the society. With the arrival of gun-culture in the valley every one suffered to the worse and youth deteriorated to the most. The weird dance of unaccountable deaths and destruction dramatized on the screen of “independence” on a large scale continued and youth responded to it group wise. One which was send outside the state by parents to suffer, another which crossed LoC<sup>12</sup> to suffer forever, other group popularly known as Ikhwani’s<sup>13</sup> (surrendered militants) who joined armed forces, resided in military camps were another threat to the peace and security of the common man. Such self styled men were very arrogant in nature that used ferocity for all the purposes and thus marred the whole regulatory system, turning the valley into a land of lawlessness, anarchy and escalating the enormity of prevalent socio-political entropy. Another section of youth included those who simply lived with this frozen turbulence and witnessed the things as they happened. Last but not the least that section of youth which left their motherland out of fear, compulsion and helplessness (Pandit youth) in that tumultuous situation, thus lost their cultural, ethical, moral and social roots to their indigenous land and faced tremendous difficulties in adjustment outside, the female Pandit youth turned more vulnerable in alien settlements outside the state or Kashmir division, there by disturbing their psycho-social development and education and career prospects. In addition to this Pandit youth lost their sense of secure psyche both inside and outside the valley. In all this chaos female youth suffered the most. During the initial phase of armed struggle, the female youth rubbed shoulders with men, and in many cases proved more effective than men, especially when the forces would pick up the youth, etc. They even resisted the detention of any youth, and protested along with men against the atrocities of the State.

Thus conflict made Kashmiri female youth to acquire new roles, and with it came its own set of problems and responsibilities and women have proved to be oceans of sacrifice and courage and with a smiling face they are delivering what these roles demand from them. But there is a flipside of the conflict which is

having an adverse effect on women and has made them more vulnerable to various evils, mental/psychological ailments for their rights were violated with impunity and were subjected to suffering and pain.

So it can be argued that youth irrespective of gender suffered to the worst in post 90's. In short, some were guided and some unguided and still more pathetic, rest was misguided, shaping up Kashmir as the icon of growing anthropological heterogeneity and an abode of anger, chaos and unholy slaughter. Besides conflict situation amidst growing unhappiness, frustration, mental trauma and above all economic crisis and acute dependence culminated into different nature of crimes and undesirability's in the valley which had negative ramifications mostly for youth like drug abuse, torturing thefts, eve-teasing, smuggling, murdering and many other sorts of deviant and anti-social behaviors.

## **6. Kashmiri Pandit Youth: Response to Government Welfare Schemes and Return**

With regard to government's welfare and Pandit's return rehabilitative initiatives and schemes, baring a few who embraced jobs, Pandit youth have paid deaf ears to the call of return, probably because of certain social factors like their adjustment outside the state, their inter-marriages with other groups, the education and their new job orientations as well. In fact, Pandit youth who hardly are now aware of Kashmiri culture as many of them were born out of Kashmiri fathers and non-Kashmiri mothers or vice versa hardly feel about Kashmir in terms of their absolute return. However, it is true that the community of Pandits, who actually faced the pain of forced migration, still crave for Kashmir (Mouj Kasheer)<sup>14</sup>. For Pandit youth, now Kashmir can be the choicest and dearest summer and winter vacation destination. Rather it has remained a picnic spot not just exclusively for the Pandits but for all those who had migrated long before, either due to conflict situation since 90's or due to other reasons. But new settings of life style, new job orientations, relationships, security issues, unceasing social and political tensions in Kashmir, future prospects and education of their children stop them from returning to the state. Probably such social factors are now a big bar in their return. It can also be a reason that certain agencies out of their vested political interests are playing politics with the sentiments of the Pandit youth and create unforeseen fear/panic in their minds. They have not returned despite being welcomed by the separatist leadership and lot many efforts by the centre and the state government itself. This fact cannot be ignored that even at present a good number of non-Muslims including non-state subject Hindus are living in the valley without any fear or threat to their lives. Even some Kashmiri Pandits who were offered jobs by the state government in the valley, after joining, preferred to live in Muslim houses as tenants instead of putting up in government housing

colonies established exclusively for them. There are certain instances where Kashmiri Muslims have even performed last rites of those Kashmiri Pandits who died in Kashmir during all these years<sup>15</sup>. Besides, the holy shrines/temples of Pandits were also taken care of by the Kashmiri Muslim community. The glaring example of communal attitude of Kashmiri Muslims can be also observed through their living in harmony with non-Muslim community of Sikhs who have not migrated from the valley, despite their population being less than Kashmiri Pandits.

However, Fear cannot be without reason, we need to see even after invitations by all sections of Kashmiri Society along with the Centre why Pandits seem reluctant to return. It is not that they do not love their motherland but still they feel alienated and unless and until their alienation especially within the political framework is not addressed and they will not return for further alienation and security issues. Also it can hardly be argued that their reverse migration is not possible now despite their settlement outside. The plight of Kashmiri migrants and the historical wrong that went against them needs to be addressed in proper and collective perspective, so that they can actually think of return. It is a bitter truth that the seeds of alienation of Pandits were sown even before the start of the unrest in early nineties and later the involuntary displacement of about two and a half lac Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley left indelible scars and caused a number of psychological and behavioral problems in them besides weakening the pluralistic ethos of centuries together. Majority of them felt as if they had been thrown away by a strong volcano, a storm of immense magnitude into a state of wilderness and their roots almost cut off. The plight of Kashmiri Pandit youth has been so far immaturely compensated by mere economic packages and jobs only, forgetting that the actual political scenario and their sense of insecurity needs to be addressed and they need to be given their rights in full and truly empowered without making much ado and politicizing their return for petty political gains. The administration has failed in restoring their faith in the community and nothing positive has been done to stop this effectively. Government has to understand that their migration has not taken place due to any economic reasons and hence government of India should not hope that their return can be ensured by mere economic packages. Therefore some sincere, pragmatic and productive decision will have to be taken, involving Pandit leaders with due respect and heartily listening to their woes. Government of India must set return of all Kashmiri migrants to Kashmir Valley as priority for the welfare of all be that Kashmiri Pandits, Sikhs, Christians or Muslims. Delay in their return is causing more and more damage to the people of Jammu and Kashmir as a whole as every Muslim believes that Pandits are the part and parcel of our society and without them Kashmiriyat<sup>16</sup> and Kashmir's pluralistic ethos is incomplete. Also it will be a tragedy and a heinous crime to deny their contribution towards

their motherland in diverse fields of activity. It is therefore high time to think in terms of their safe, secure and respectful return.

### **7. Tibetan-Kashmiri Youth: A Saga of Identity Crisis**

Kashmir Valley's, one of the significant sections of youth but cruelly neglected probably because of their being in utter minority, is the Tibetan-Kashmiri Youth. Amidst the whole Kashmir crisis, this section of youth though remained alien to the direct involvement and fallout of the political uprising; however their survival was badly affected by the conflict situation like one and all in the burning valley then (mid 1990's). This young generation (about 60% of the total Tibetan population living in Srinagar city, who migrated from Tibet to Kashmir in 1961-62 to escape the communist Chinese oppression, tracing their ancestral link to Kashmir) witnessed conflict like a great confusion and double tragedy for their deep sense of Tibetan identity and high sense for the need of adjustment even in the turbulent environs, because there was nowhere to go situation for them. Though all of them were born in the valley only but the label and the unforgettable ethnic identity was strongly recognized by them. While living in Kashmir amidst conflict, they are just sure about one thing, i.e. their retuning to Tibet (their original homeland) as a dream is fading day by day though pay a great reverence to their spiritual leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama but have realized that their idea of freedom for Tibet is losing momentum and His idea of peaceful dialogue with China has hardly bore any fruit so far. More than 40% of them are first generation learners and to their misfortune and double tragedy, they are yet to be allowed to have access to higher education in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Though none of them is illiterate today but they have more been subjected to religious education for two reasons, one, the Islamic ethos of the Tibetan Muslim family, culture of meditation and serenity and second, the lack of access and acceptance by higher education centers for their lack of state domicile. Such a problem has virtually been pressing them for decades and victimizing them even in this age of globalization. They have been facing tremendous difficulties to make their identity visible here in valley for they lack higher education and equal citizen treatment.

Despite being Kashmiri's they are still bearing the brunt of the refugee label and the prevailing conflict has impoverished them more in terms of the increased barriers to progress and development. Also State's or Centre's youth friendly or welfare schemes are not for them and resultantly they have been marginalized in every developmental arena and feeling of alienation has increased among the Tibetan-Kashmiri youth. Though they have been used as vote bank in state assembly elections with the promise of giving permanent state domicile, employments,

proper housing facilities and access to education but so far nothing has actually happened on the ground.

Tibetan-Kashmiri youths<sup>17</sup> also feel the lack of acceptance both by the state and society as the local atmosphere has not proved friendly to them, therefore giving them the sense of avoidance, rejection and unfriendliness by the society around. Probably they have not been able to understand their local atmosphere or the locals have developed a plethora of negative stereotypes especially against Tibetan youth. They deal with handicrafts, needle work and embroidery besides some of them also work in Tibetan public School as teachers or clerks now but generally speaking, they are yet to take advantage of any state or centre's welfare schemes. Even the refugee status-the big label on them has not been proving useful to them due to lack of any concern by the state and society. They witnessed conflict as the rest of the common people witnessed and did not participated in processions or protests mainly due to their inner sense of not belonging to Kashmir holistically despite residing here since more than five decades.

Such a section of hardworking youths (all Sunni-Muslims) has been ignored to go astray and hardly any concern is being paid to their welfare, education, employment and other provisions. The Tibetan Muslim Youth Federation-a local welfare body of Tibetan youth, also has not succeeded considerably in its objectives and to give Tibetan community/youth their due in Kashmir, probably because of the institutional collapse in the beginning of the turmoil (since 1989-1997) and then ailing work culture, corruption in the system, politics and tussle over refugee issue, delaying tactics, etc.,. The fact remains that this hardworking chunk of youth has been pathetically neglected in all respects since their arrival to Kashmir (1961-62). Therefore, the need of the hour is to have a rethink on this social class and subculture and their plight and treat them equally a significant ethnic community in Kashmir. They need to be understood and merged into the services of the state and society and need to be accepted with open heart, as they are a part and parcel of this society and their issues and problems must be addressed with equal concern and interest. Till date Tibetan-Kashmiri youth are more hopeful about Tibetan Government in Exile (at Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh), than the respective state government and are feeling alienated in the very ancestral land, they rightfully belong to. Especially the Tibetan-Female youth who are beset with a plethora of identity crisis and feel no space for them. There is just one small job avenue, i.e., Tibetan Public School, where some of these females work as teachers or as clerks. They lack the support of all be that state, media, civil society, local society, NGO's, self help advocates, Banks, etc.,. Tibetan-Kashmiris need justice as they have been driven to the life of alienation and

negligence. They need empower themselves through education and merge with other fellow locals to create their full identity, which they have not done so far. Therefore, Tibetan-Kashmiri youth need to come to front to strive for their rights and space in this part of the world.

### **8. Youth and Migration Pushes: the narrative of a Turbulent Past**

The prolonged turbulence of more than two decades induced the push factor among natives especially youth to move outside the conflict torn region for various purposes like career, education, safety, etc.,. The plight of Kashmiri Pandit migration is worthy of mention here, who left out of the law and order collapse in 1990's. The migration factor not only lead to forced internal displacement but shaped up a new but drastic social relations among different religious communities, people of the same valley, despite being the equal victims of the conflict ridden situation, began to group themselves along communal lines. Kashmiri Pandits (Brahmin's of Kashmir) who till recent past shared a pluralistic ethos developed a different and pseudo-exotic outlook after migration. Addressing the question of de facto of their migration impulse there prevail myriad schools of thought regarding their causes and forces of exodus. Most of the Kashmiri people aver that Pandits being the vulnerable minority by then fell dupe to hate-mongers and various unknown agencies that exploited them and later indoctrinated them for petty political gains. While some of the Pandits hold Kashmiri Muslims responsible for exodus, still others feel that certain radical factions or militants responsible catalyzed their migration. However, Kashmiri Muslims retort that by then a chaotic situation prevailed in vale where things were running out of hands and who did what was hardly cognizable. On one hand, Pandits blame their Muslim neighbors for not safeguarding them and on the other; the majority of the Muslims argue that, nobody dared to stand against guns and bullets. Also it is pertinent to say and must be taken into notice that by then only Pandits were not killed but everybody faced the brunt of turbulence and the atrocities. If pundits were compelled for exodus Muslims were also not spared but many families lost their nears and dears and some families vanished altogether in wake of prevalent gun-culture. Many of the Kashmiri Muslims treat the then government responsible especially the Governor of the State of the time. The Governor was indicted of creating misunderstandings to the Kashmiri Pandits of having a threat to their lives at the hands of the majority Muslim community. This conspicuous sense of insecurity triggered their migration to various parts of country and consequently thousands of displaced Kashmiri Pandits were left with no other option than to find shelter in refugee camps where they are living still in slummy situations. Their status has been portrayed as "*Refugees in their own country,*" and they remain the only internally displaced group within India to remain in

refugee tents. A majority of the Pandit refugees live in filthy camps with escalating health and economic problems. Social workers and psychologists working among them bear out that living as refugees in such conditions has taken a severe toll on their physical and mental health. Confronted with the phantom of cultural extinction, the incidence of anxiety and mood disorders such as depression, PTSD (post traumatic stress disorder), GAD (generalized anxiety disorder), OCD (obsessive compulsive disorder) have increased alarmingly.

### **9. Youth Unemployment: The Deepening crisis**

One of the parlous and grave issues which the Kashmiri youth are facing today is the ever spiraling unemployment hitch in the state that has been the cause of concern for government as well. There has been an exponential increase in the population of the valley but unfortunately job opportunities have not kept pace with the population growth and have failed even to ensure arithmetic growth. At present around six lakh youth are unemployed in the State. They are energetic, enthusiastic, talented and even well qualified and full of zeal and fond of work but unfortunately they lack the imperative ingredient of direction. For every young, responsible and conscious person, a decent work is an important step in completing the transition to adulthood, a milestone towards independence and self-reliance and the cornerstone of his further life. For young people living in poverty and in other disadvantaged and loathsome situations, employment is often the main means for attaining a better life. The unemployment snag has given birth to multitude of problems of sociological and psychological nature among the youth. Unemployment problem has increased their frustration and made them more vulnerable. In fact, it is the mainspring of widespread corruption and bribery culture in the state. Due to lack of employment and dearth of satisfying jobs the youth often seem willing to pay huge amount for jobs and many employers take undue advantage of this situation. They take bribe and give them appointment letters or otherwise turn away after collecting a huge amount. In the former case, the appointed employee uses all means (legal & illegal) to recover his lost money as early as possible, while as in the latter case it takes toll of entire family by poking them into utter financial crunch. Hence unemployment breeds corruption and corruption leads to crimes of unthinkable nature. In Kashmir paying bribes and influence peddling to get jobs done in public offices is a routine activity now and as such unemployment remains unaddressed. Therefore in order to tackle the unemployment issue various self employment schemes have been introduced in the J&K State for providing self employment to the unemployed educated youth.

### **10. Issue of Youth Engagement: A Grave Concern**

It is not so simple to engage youth as everyone casually argues like politicians or activists demand from J&K Government of engaging youth in bulk to avoid youth bulge and related violence. Infact the grave issue of mounting youth unemployment has been highly politicized and elections are fought on the slogan of youth engagement in this part of the world. Still the haunting issue remains where to engage such a large and diverse quantity of youth. It is a question with a challenging question mark at its end to engage more than six lakh of such youth. Though it is a fact that regular/permanent government jobs cannot be given to all and sundry in the state which is already impoverished due to rampant corruption, heavy expenditure on defense, numberless ministers and their infinity vehicles and security, supplanted by the heavy expenditure on the great “*Darbar Move*”<sup>18</sup>, etc. Therefore, to engage lacs of unemployed youths seems a challenging as well as highly strenuous task to the state. The fact remains that youth get insufficient scholarships, fellowships, stipends for higher education purposes as well, despite high claims of the authorities.

There is a need of a well thought, a collective consensus, well laid and expert model of youth engagement at suitable places, where their sustainable development, interpersonal and economic empowerment is possible. The Model Policy for youth is the need of the hour which will look into the issues of tackling with such a large army of youth and to absorb them as per their talent, health status, gender, location, education, vocation, trainings and technical know-how, etc. Also there is a considerable need to address their grievances of insecurity, safety chaos and lack of freedom of movement and expression. For that we are in a dire need of think tanks and our learned academics to work for functional engagement, effective and sustained participation of youth in the state itself to see peace as a reality and to ensure secure societal pyramid standing on the base of stability, harmony and integrity. Over and above, there is an ardent need of a proper academic, scientific, empirical and objective assessment of the gravity of the problem of youth unemployment, proper statistics of all youth and exploratory search and research for their engagement to build peace, harmony and economic growth eventually. There is a dire need of building youth friendly socio-economic institutions to promote well-being and a buffer or an antidote against psychological disorders among youth, which is though not a growing threat but is in fact the grievous challenge at hand this moment. Moreover, there is an exigency of what psychologists call character development and psychological capital that can be developed only through social responsibility, moral commitment, and functional engagement of youths, which can be inculcated among and vested in them by engaging them socially in a practical manner.

This Herculean task of dealing with youth unrest and their issues and challenges is piling up day by day and is therefore the most credible test of the state, civil society, academia and government together in collaboration, because voice from pressure groups, intellectual support and theory or model building from academics and civil society, policy formulation from bureaucracy and final empowerment by implementation of proposed policies and schemes by the government, that can actually pave the way forward and contribute to peace.

Youth engagement means building and strengthening the growth of youth by creating and exploring our own assets and resources and also the most important one by renovating, upgrading and extensive developing of our own income generating institutions like tourism, agriculture, horticulture, Auqaf, PDD, Irrigation, veterinary and livestock, Fisheries development, geology and mining, apiculture and sericulture, need for a new model policy of land use, more development in saffron cultivation, etc. Further there is a need for the construction of some more colleges, training institutions, local craft training houses, IT institutions, more rural and agriculture welfare schemes like Haryali (IWDP), NREGS, IAY, Social forestry and development institutions, a massive live stock raising policy with modern infrastructure, sufficient poultry raising policies and loans for self establishing units at large scale, funded by government on rebated interest basis and less stringent bank formalities for youth. Moreover, government should help in the mobilization of youth by campus recruitments, police and army recruitments, should sign MoU's with foreign and national institutes, companies, agencies, travel agencies, forces like air force, Navy, Gulf jobs ,overseas employment and business which can absorb a large chunk of youth and simultaneously make youth of the state feel that they are the real concern of the centre and have every right to have the real, economic and beautiful taste of the country.

One more important facet of this schema is that youth in Kashmir are marginalized from political activities and separated either directly or indirectly from the political process as today we see a miniscule section of youth have their active participation in political activities just because of the unprecedented fear created by the state like arrests, unnatural bans, incarceration, slapping of safety acts, and other draconian laws against this future of the society and nation, image of politicians amongst masses, exploitation of government machinery, misuse of posts and power, etc, politics has rather been presented in the avatar of poly-ticks which will have its dysfunctional and harmful ramifications in the future in terms of political non-participation of conscious, well read and intelligent youth, problems in patriotism being projected on the radical display of chauvinism, nation building spirit etc. Also they are hardly listened to by the political parties, as they still simply treat them, "angry young men and radicals

or radicalized stock”, who in no way can be fruitful to the common good, which is a blatant lie and a fatal myth. Nevertheless, majority of Youth in Kashmir have developed a strong hatred and uncalled for reservation towards politics despite it is an important institution of the society and negative politics prevails mostly. One of the premier reasons is that they have lost confidence in the integrity of their leaders. Also they have been caught between sea and devil in view of the plethora of political ideologies they are presented with by so called leaders.

They can be transformed from stone-hurling and stick-swinging to the reasonable citizens by generous redresses of the general political disputes, larger social issues and more importantly youth issues. They need to be engaged well in the affairs of the state to get rid of alarming crime rate, to censor their atavistic tendencies and larger social pathology, provided their psyche is understood seriously and they are helped to come out of the stage of transition of their childhood to adult hood in the environs of freedom and security of thought and living. Also they must be given an opportunity to relish the fullness of democracy characterized by freedom of speech, guaranteed livelihood, social security measures and above all oppression free atmosphere.

We must also acknowledge at this stage that youth are devoid of good parenting, they have developed pathological relationships with peers and associates, inadequate socialization, lack of positive role models, functional and disciplined institutions, and a big dearth of various youth counseling and development programs ,which otherwise could have played a timely important role in the development of character strengths among this vulnerable chunk and last but not the least ,dearth of broad-protective factors as larger economic factors are breeding youth violence epidemic, which calls for the immediate redressel not just band-aid solution treatment but a serious examination into their agonies and pains. In fact state has still a long way to go to work for removal of their feeling of social exclusion due to its failure to transform them into socially responsible adults, for which they need practical empowerment and security assurance not mere lip service.

## **11. Youth Employment Schemes and Government’s Response to Youth Issues**

The various self employment schemes introduced by the State and Central Governments in Jammu and Kashmir State include the following:

### **I. Jammu and Kashmir State Self Employment Scheme<sup>19</sup>:**

The Department of Employment is implementing the “Jammu and Kashmir State Self Employment Scheme” since 1995 for providing loan assistance to the educated unemployed youth of the State for establishing their own employment generating units.

## **ii. Special Recruitment Drives for recruitment of unemployed educated youth in Indian Navy, Indian Air Force, JAKLI and Assam Rifles, etc.**

On the request of State Government and in coordination with the Employment Department, various defense agencies like Indian Navy, Indian Air Force and JAKLI have been holding recruitment rallies at frequent intervals since 1998 for enrolment of educated youth of the State in their organizations for which the administrative/logistic support is being provided by the Employment Department to the recruiting team. Besides, pre-recruitment coaching for appearing in the said examinations is also being provided by the Employment Department.

## **III. Career Counseling and Guidance**

In order to enhance the employability of the educated youth career counseling has been made a regular feature in the State. During the last two years, reputed counselors of the State were invited to deliver career counseling talks to the 10+2 level students in different educational institutions in the State covering various Districts of both the Divisions. The students are mostly perplexed at this point of life and require exhaustive guidance and counseling at this corner. The misguided youth often develop a myopic insight by deeming entrance tests as graves whose aftermath is either a dell or demon, but the realistic situation lies in between. Youth need to be exposed to the outside literary atmosphere to come out of entrance cocoon. No doubt, competitive exams benefit those who qualify the same, but it in no way imposes a status quo on the future of disqualifiers. But aversely it has been noticed that most of the youth turn pathetic towards education due to their lapse in competitive exams.

## **IV. J&K State Overseas Employment Corporation**

The Jammu and Kashmir State Overseas Employment Corporation has been setup in J&K State vide Cabinet decision No. 151/12/2009 dated 29.10.2009 with an authorized share capital of Rs. 100.00 lacs with the purpose to facilitate the educated and / or skilled labor force of the J&K State to search employment within and outside the country. There still prevails a label of home-sickness on Kashmiri youth, that they are home sick and do not want to go outside for jobs, etc, but the fact is till the recent past it was so but now they are not home sick and once getting a chance to prove themselves outside the state and even abroad, they live up to the expectations of everyone and adjust well with the situations and circumstances.

## **V. National Rural Health Mission in Jammu and Kashmir**

National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) was launched at the National Level in April 2005. However, in J&K State it was started in December 2005. The Goal

of the Mission is to improve the availability of and access to quality health care by people especially for those living in rural areas. NRHM aims to undertake architectural corrections in the health system enabling it to promote policies that strengthen public health management and service delivery throughout the country with special focus on those States which have weak public health indicators and/ or weak infrastructure. Jammu and Kashmir State is one of the focused States. NRHM is a platform to provide affordable, equitable and accessible health services, especially people residing in rural areas. (Operational Guidelines for State Programme Implementation Plan (2012-13), NRHM, J&K)<sup>20</sup>. The Objectives of National Rural Health Mission is to reduce Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR), to reduce Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and to reduce Total Fertility Rate (TFR). This programme with huge funding by the centre has been quite successful in the state as youths trained in medical and Para-medical courses have found employment though on contract basis. It has absorbed thousands of professionally trained youths and a great chunk of non-professional unemployed youth be that doctors, trained nurses, MPW's, pharmacists, lab and X-ray assistants/technicians, other Para-medics and clerical staff and managers. A doctor is paid 19200 bucks per month and 10800 per head to other paramedics. However, youth working under such schemes demand their regularization after three years of joining, timely salaries and enhancement of salaries, etc.,

Moreover, teaching jobs in government schools has also provided livelihood to a good number of educated youths and craze for jobs in education department (both higher and school education) has given rise to the increasing demand for educational/professional training courses like B.Ed (Bachelor of Education) and M.Ed.(Master of Education). The demand for pursuing such courses for the adjustment as a teacher has given rise to the establishment of a chain of private B.Ed Colleges round the valley, which has turned into a highly profitable business. Education has been merely reduced to pursuing B.Ed<sup>21</sup> followed by M.Ed<sup>22</sup> to find the post of a teacher under *Rehbar-E-Taleem* (RT) or *Sarve Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA). Likewise, the employment of youth trained in agricultural sciences as *Rehbar-i-Zirats* under National Saffron Mission.

Also there is a dire need of a scheme like NRHM in social welfare and state run industry sector as well, so that the six lakh unemployed youth of the valley can find place.

## **VI. New Employment Policy Sher-e-Kashmir Employment & Welfare Programme for Youth (SKEWPY)**

The Government has recently announced the Employment Policy named as “Sher-e-Kashmir Employment and Welfare Programme for the Youth” (SKEWPY) envisages providing of Voluntary Service Allowance (VSA) to the registered

unemployed youth by following certain criteria. The program was implemented from April 2010.

However, more than a year after the government announced Voluntary Service Allowance (VSA) for jobless educated youth under this much-trumpeted SKEWPY, the allowance has suddenly been stopped, raising apprehensions among the unemployed class. A senior official confirmed to Greater Kashmir that due to budgetary limitations and growing figures of youth registering under the program, the VSA has hit a “temporary roadblock.” The official said the VSA is witnessing growth as people are very keenly registering themselves under the program.<sup>23</sup>

The successive governments have been taking several steps for the over all well being of youth but the targeted people hardly get benefited from such welfare programmes due to multiple reasons. One of them is lack of awareness among the youth about the schemes being implemented by the government. The other causes are heavy competition, misappropriation of funds by the officials and politicians, etc. There is lot of corruption, misuse and malpractice in the implementation of these schemes. Facilities have been abused and funds misused. Though crores of rupees were spent they could hardly reach the needy hands. These schemes brought disappointment to many and prosperity only to a few. It seems as if all this money is incurred to pragmatise Marx’s epithet that “rich grows richer and poor becomes poorer”

However, it out-rightly does not mean that the programmes have not achieved anything. It only means that in comparison with the amount of money that is spent, and the time that is taken, performance of these schemes is not up to satisfaction and input and output are out of phase. Therefore, there is an ardent exigency for thorough revision and honest implementation of these schemes. They need reconsideration and greater intensification of implementation. Though these schemes have their limitation but they should not be dropped down.

Furthermore, the Department of Youth Affairs, Govt. of J&K<sup>24</sup> is implementing a number of schemes for youth development. The Department caters to the personality development aspect of school children by encouraging and engaging them in various social activities at the State and National level. It covers a wide spectrum of activities like organizing Domestic & National level competitions in various games and sports for school children, conducting Physical Education activities like Mass Physical Display in various schools, promoting adventure sports, promoting talented school children in extracurricular activities like dance and drama, organizing Youth and Cultural Festivals across the State and outside, promoting Scouts and Guides activities,

besides providing opportunities to school children for participation and excellence in various sports activities.

## **12. UDAAN and HIMAYAT Job Initiatives**

These are basically the special industry initiative programs initiated recently by the government of India to increase employability skills for the youth of Jammu and Kashmir. Like Sher-e-Kashmir Employment and Welfare Programme for Youth (SKEWPY), State employment scheme, Voluntary Service Allowance Scheme, Himayat and Udaan schemes have been launched for tackling the unemployment in the state. Launched on March 26, 2012, Udaan<sup>25</sup> is targeted at helping the youth of Jammu and Kashmir who are seeking to enhance and grow their careers. The basic objectives of Udaan are to enable a greater number of J&K youths to view and register easily for the training and employment opportunities, to allow partner corporate to reach out to a larger talent pool in J&K and effectively shortlist candidates for their projects and to assist NSDC in effectively monitoring the implementation of Udaan projects by partner corporate.

“UDAAN<sup>26</sup>” aims to provide skills and consequently employment to 8000 youth from J&K per annum over a 5 year period in key high growth sectors. The programme is targeted at providing well-paying jobs to the trained manpower<sup>27</sup>. “Udaan” will be providing jobs to 40,000 youth (8000 per year) over the next five years<sup>28</sup>. Whereas, HIMAYAT, Launched on December 17, 2011 by the Union Minister for Rural Development and Panchayati Raj, Shri Jairam Ramesh, is a Centrally-sponsored programme aimed at providing employment opportunities after training to one lakh youth of the state over the next five years. It provides for training and placement of the educated unemployed youth of the state through the public private partnership. Himayat<sup>29</sup> is a training-cum-placement programme for unemployed youth in Jammu and Kashmir. Youth will be provided short-term training for at least 3 months, in a range of skills for which there is good demand. At the end of the training, the youth are assured of a job and there is one year post-placement tracking to see how they are faring. the basic objectives of this scheme is the that the implementation of Himayat will be done by private companies or NGOs, The scheme aims to target 1,00,000 youth in 5 years, Training centres will be developed at the block level where youth will be trained and the Support will be available for trainees after training, during placement as well.

In the mean time More than eight thousand youth both male and female (named as Volunteers of National Youth Corps (NYC) were appointed as volunteers in different departments under ‘Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan’, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports on merit basis. This recruitment was primarily done in the

peak unrest in 2010 but now the government is planning to stop the scheme, which has raised hue and cry among the youths working as NYC's.

However, the fact is that most of the unemployed youths are still not embracing this opportunity on the pretext of treating such programmes as mere short term and initiatives of private sector job settlements and are solely seeking permanent government jobs. Till date youth have hardly availed this offer and it is also believed that such programmes cannot be the soul solution of the state's unemployment for it can accommodate just a chunk of youth and those who have already been working in different departments under this scheme are apprehending the closing of this scheme by the government and believe that such a imitative was taken in 2010 summer just to curb the youth unrest.

### **13. Last Word**

There is a plethora of negative stereotyping and false labeling against Kashmiri Youth in the holistic country but the need of the hour is to understand them, listen to them and address their socio-political whims and aspirations and most importantly creating ample provisions of social security for them. To the dismay of the holistic State, Kashmiri youth have often been wrongly portrayed, presented shabbily as violent minds, badly misinterpreted in reports, writings and debates. To understand this section of the country, one has to mix with them, debate with them, listen to them and reply them benifittingly so that a sense of belongingness to the country develops in them. They have been used and exploited by every stake holder for petty politics, vote bank or support simply to gain fame and capital. They are still devoid of a quality education, ample exposure to the rest of the country, provisions of a respectful livelihood, a safe life with honour and dignity, etc., They have been misrepresented in academics as well, because there has hardly been any integrated approach being used as methodology to evaluate their psycho-social and economic crisis.

In the given circumstances, one can safely conclude that common people mostly youth have suffered at large during the turmoil continuing decades now. Whether Kashmiri Pandits or Muslims or from other communities, wrath of the political instability has fallen on them brutally. Many of them still avoid living in valley, given the insecure geography. It remains to be seen whether young Pandits (children of Kashmiri Pandits) will ever return to their mother land or they have adjusted for ever outside, owing to never ending chaos back home or their settlement outside and is it just government's lack of foreseeing vision for luring such youth with residence settlements or job offers without ensuring their security on priority basis. The fact is their return needs Government's practical will but in the first place we should be adamant that if the Pandits or other displaced beings return and assimilate themselves, they shall be treated on an exact equality

with everyone else, for it would be an offend to discriminate against such fate bitten people. Hence, it is the duty of all the stake holders to look in their grievances with a sincere heart, cutting across their ideological, religious, regional and political differences and sentiments.

The fact is that all Kashmiri youth are in dire need of sustainable and overall social development which could be met with many primordial elements like education, employment opportunities, health, justice, economic security, self-employment schemes, proper regulation and disciplined operation and activities of police and other armed forces.

This chunk of population can do wonders out of their fertile minds, provided their enthusiasm is harnessed in a positive direction for development and progressive work of the state and society. The positive aspect with them despite prolonged suffering, conflict atmosphere and mental chaos, they are not morally corrupt, they love their roots and culture. They have embraced modernization but still retain the valley's age old traditional ethos with them. Kashmiriyat is their craze and hall mark of identity and they are not communal, what has been unfortunately labeled against them. They have still a great regard for societal norms, values, religious beliefs, ancient heritage and glory, etc.. It is also worth mentioning that, conflict has turned every youth of Kashmir a sociologist, a politician and a historian. Irrespective of gender, they are politically and socially conscious, are fond of debates and have learned out of the decades of the turbulence. Last but not the least, they have continued their education despite the doom spelling turmoil in the valley and are pursuing research, higher education and striving for elite services even and proving their metal. The fact is they have strived hard for their sustenance and survival and despite lots of hurdles and unmet needs, are moving ahead with confidence and enthusiasm. The need of the hour is to address their grievances, render them ample platforms to give vent to their thoughts and frustrations and check the state repressive apparatus against them. Besides provision of youth friendly schemes and one time solution of the political chaos in the state, there is a dire need to make them feel secure in terms of security and employment.

Also the need of the hour is to equally own the Tibetan (Tibetan-Kashmiri) youth, Gujjar youth, Pashtu Youth, Ladakh and Jammu youth, Sikh youth, Christian youth, illiterate and deviant youth, incarcerated youth and Female youths belonging to the far-flung areas and lacking access to education and employment and all youth who have been incarcerated for anti-national activities and thus marginalized after their return. Youths in this part of the world need to be owned equally like youth from the rest of the country, they feel alienated because they have more seen the ugly picture of the state's regulation and less the beautiful part of the country. Therefore all stake holders be that state government, Centre, civil society,

NGO's, Military institution of the country, policy makers, intelligentsia, and others need to think about this bruised section of the Kashmiri populace and try to deliver in their own capacities, so that a long lasting peace is manufactured and the goals of progress and development are achieved. They are not just 'young and angry' as understood blindly but State has to understand that youth cannot be empowered by MGNREGA or Haryali (IWDP) or through *Bijli, Pani and Sadak*, but something that really touches their skin and makes a difference in their lives.

I believe three things can really make a considerable difference in Kashmir and can actually manufacture peace in this peace fragile zone. I.e. The Just and egalitarian treatment to the masses of Kashmir, Curbing politicization of government jobs and proper redress to the frustrations of the State's youth and most importantly the skillful policing to avoid crisis mishandling. Moreover the provision of more government jobs is a must for valley is not an industrial zone like other places in India. Also Self employment schemes have not proven fruitful and despite all the schemes mentioned, there remains a greater quest for jobs, which is the first issue confronting majority of the youth today. There is a greater need of a victimization survey to evaluate the level of crime against the youth in the armed conflict situation.

Rachel Jackson says, "Our youth are not failing the system; the system is failing our youth. Ironically, the very youth who are being treated the worst are the young people who are going to lead us out of this nightmare."

In the same vein, Youth in this part of the world need a special attention, guidance, counseling, and above all opportunities to go forward and prove themselves. They can be enabled to contribute for both the state and society, provided they are treated equally the part of the system, that has failed them till date. Lastly, it is important to build up the autonomy of the cultural fields such as filmmaking, music and journalism, fine arts, etc, among Kashmiri youth so that to widen their horizons. Also there is a need to help them to acquire the cultural capital among them so as to develop aesthetic preferences, general cultural awareness, educational and environmental credentials, etc., Kashmiri youth have to achieve potential in all competing fields and make themselves able to strive for their excellence. In Dalai Lama's opinion:

*"With realization of one's own potential and self confidence in one's ability, one can build a better world".*

### Notes

1. Toffler, Alvin. (1974). *Learning for Tomorrow*. USA: Random House, P.15.
2. *A belief that excess in especially young adult male population predictably leads to social unrest, war and terrorism.*
3. Indeed, Cohen and Kennedy (2000) trace the emergence of modernity back to the 17th Century and the dawn of the revolutionary age of Enlightenment.
4. It is a culture of leisure rather than work. Social relations are organized round the peer group rather than families or individual friends. Youth groups are particularly interested in “style”, by which is meant an interest in external markers such as the use of distinctive language forms, taste in music and clothes, adoption of particular leisure pursuits or a concern with personal appearance.
5. Modernity refers to a post-traditional, post-medieval historical period, one marked by industrialization, secularization, rationalization, etc. Conceptually, modernity relates to the modern era. ‘Sociology’, according to Peter Taylor (2000), ‘is a product of modernity’ – by which he means it has its origins, as an academic discipline, in the development of ‘modern society’. The sociological understanding of modernity typically rests on ideas of the modern world emerging out of the processes of economic and political revolution located in Europe and underpinned by the cultural changes brought about by the Renaissance, Reformation, and Scientific Revolution.
6. *Greater Kashmir, 18 November, 2007.*
7. Kashmiri is the one who belongs to Kashmir valley in India, Kashmiri youth is an umbrella term for all the population between 15-35 irrespective of caste, creed, religion, gender, ethnicity and status.
8. <http://www.sunday-guardian.com/analysis/driven-into-a-corner-youth-in-kashmir-look-back-in-anger>
9. Seema Mustafa, (10 April, 2011). Driven into a corner, youth in Kashmir look back in anger. *The Sunday Guardian*. <http://Sunday-guardian.com/analysis/driven-into-a-corner-youth-in-kashmir-look-back-in-anger>
10. Azadi in local lexicon means freedom, it also means freedom sentiment.
11. Callousness, ease loving and ignorance. A state of negligent attitude among youth.
12. LoC means Line of Control or the de-facto border between India and Pakistan.
13. Government sponsored militia. Ikhwan was the name of a pro-government militia in Jammu and Kashmir, composed of reformed militants who are mostly local Kashmiri men. They have been organized and supported by Indian security agencies to counter the terrorists groups operating in the state.

14. Mouj in the local understanding means Mother, and Kashmir is also called as Kasheer by locals. So Mouj Kasher stands for Motherland or Mother Kashmir.
15. A typical example of which was presented during the peak turmoil of 2010, in Habba kadal, where the funeral of a pandit was performed by the local Muslims.
16. Kashmiriyat simply means Kashmir's pluralistic ethos and sense of brotherhood. Kashmiriyat is believed to have developed under the rule of Muslim governor Zain-ul- Abedin and the Mughal emperor Akbar, both of whom gave equal protection, Kashmiriyat is believed to be an expression of solidarity, resilience and patriotism. Importance and patronage to Kashmir's different religious communities. Kashmiriyat is infact, nectar churned out of the interaction of the Principles of Kashmir Shaivism and Islamic sufi-ism. The writing of great sufi poets like Shams faqir, Samad Mir, Lal Ded, Nunda Rashi, Ahad Zargar, and many others having tasted this nectar have given us a great wealths of guidance. *It is* an age-old tradition characterized by the philosophy of love, humanism, communal spirit, composite culture, syncretism which has been replete with cooperation rather than confrontation, reconciliation rather than retaliation.
17. There is a great dearth of literature on Tibetan –Kashmiri Youths (actually Tibetan Muslim youths who belong to the Tibetan-Kashmiri's settled in Badamwari, (Hawal), Gulshan Mohhala (Makhdoom Sahab Area) and Idgah (Srinagar), are about 1500 in number. Tibetan-Kashmiri Population is increasing since their arrival to Kashmir in 1961-62 but they are facing lots of problems be that land problem, job issues, poverty issue, educational issue and the issues of proper housing with well maintained societies and sanitary or municipal facilities. They are still treated refugees by the local populace despite their ancestry from Kashmir through the Kashmiri Traders who visited Tibet in 12th Century AD and married Tibetan Women, Converted them to Islam and thus a progeny got developed called as as Kache (Kashmiri) in Tibet.

Recently an M.phil study has been conducted by a female scholar of Sociology at Kashmir University on Tibetan Community in Srinagar, under the supervision of Valley's eminent Sociologist Prof. Dabla. However, there is a greater need to produce ample literature in this regard and to explore all the socio-cultural and historical aspects of the same. Tibetan-Kashmiri Youth seem to be intellectually ignorant and have not been observed appearing in Newspapers or writing about themselves and their culture or agonies. It is always that other people are highlighting their problems but the community is more or less passive in achieving their lost identity.

Tibetan-Kashmiri youths needs inclusion into the system, jobs, education, social security support, access to higher education, special quota and reservation. They need scholarships and unemployment stipends also. State has to address their alienation and ignorance by the mainstream society must be addressed by the civil society.

18. Since Srinagar is the summer capital and Jammu the winter capital of the state, The Darbar move refers to the shifting of secretariat to Jammu for winter and back to Srinagar for summer. Such a move has been proving too expensive as the phrase rightly explains about its royal shift.

19. <http://www.jakemp.nic.in/>

20. In the first phase of NRHM (2005-12), the focus was on bridging infrastructure gaps and augmentation of manpower to improve the delivery of health care services. NRHM is now poised to enter the second phase and the focus in this phase would be more on health system reforms for sustainable turnaround of health system in the State. The State would focus on strategies/ interventions which are aligned with key goals of NRHM viz reduction of MMR, IMR and stabilization of TFR.

Youth of all the rural Kashmir must be selected on priority basis in NRHM to empower rural J&K both in health and employment sector. Also NRHM needs to be sustained and most importantly the funds allocated must be properly utilized and in full.

21. Bachelor of education is pursued after Graduation (10+2+3), which is a teacher training degree.

22. An in-depth Post-graduate teacher training programme of one year.

23. Ali, M. (2012). *SKEWPY: Govt's flagship scheme falling apart?* Retrieved February 16, 2012, from <http://www.greaterkashmir.com/news/2012/Feb/16/skewpy-govt-s-flagship-scheme-falling-apart—54.asp>

24. <http://dteyssjk.nic.in/youth-sports/introduction.html>

Also the second Rangarajan committee, constituted by the Prime Minister in 2010 to look into employment for youth in Jammu in Kashmir, made a series of recommendations that included public-private partnership. Under this partnership the Confederation of Indian Industries has started a training and placement program, whose first two batches have started jobs. While the scheme is, in its first phase, limited to 1,000 youth, it can be expanded with the support of MLAs and MLCs. The Ministry of Home Affairs is also working with a number of public and private enterprises to get similar schemes off the ground.

25. "Udaan"- A program to deliver skill and higher employment for the youth of Jammu and Kashmir.

26. As per the Udaan Scheme, the identified companies will screen and select students from the State. The duration, place and nature of training will be decided by the company after considering the profile of the candidates and their skill gap. After completion of the training, the company will take necessary measures for placement of the trainees in association with NSDC (National Skill Development Corporation).
27. The details of the program are available on the NSDC (National Skill Development Corporation) website ([www.nsdcindia.org](http://www.nsdcindia.org)). This program is unique partnership between NSDC and the corporate sector.
28. Eight Corporate has entered into an agreement with National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) for providing employment oriented training for about 8000 youth from the state over five years covering various sectors like business management, software, BPO etc. He also said that the Centre and State government are the felicitators to increase the opportunities and employability of the youth of the state. Government of India will bear the expenditure on travel from J&K to training destination, boarding & lodging, stipend and placement fee in respect of trainees. Corporate will bear the cost of training. In case the trainee is employed by the same corporate for minimum one year, 50% of the training cost or Rs.62,500/- whichever is less will be reimbursed to the corporate. The total budget of the Scheme is Rs. 1,000.00 crore in five years.

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# *Life in Flames: Understanding Tibetan Self Immolations as Protest*

**Swaleha A. Sindhi & Adfer Rashid Shah**

## **Introduction**

Tibet-the roof of the world has been peacefully protesting since the communist Chinese oppression and crackdown in 1949. Since then the world's high altitude plateau came to more limelight in the international debates but even after decades, the country with lost identity is struggling for a genuine autonomy. Tibet was affected in all aspects, be that demographic engineering, cultural and religious encounter, attack against faith, traditional serenity and culture of meditation. The country before was simply a religious peace loving society of nomads, farmers, monks and traders.

Tibetan mass migration to different parts of the world especially to India shaped up a full-fledged Tibetan Diaspora in the Indian sub-continent. The Tibetans under the spiritual and charismatic leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama found home away from home in India and formed the Tibetan Government in Exile, officially called Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), to give a very peaceful but wise message to the oppressor that we still exist and will never let our identity extinct.

Tibetans protested a lot since decades but peacefully because peace is an important aspect of their religious and cultural ethos. Love and harmony are dearer to them than a mere territory. The passion for Rangzen (freedom) is tremendous among the younger Tibetans who hardly have seen their mother land but realize the wrath of the ugly turn of history created by powerful enemy against them. Though they all pay a great reverence to His Holiness's idea of peace as a weapon and respect his "middle path" but the prolonged agony has frustrated them and their hopelessness is obvious in the change of the mode of protest that is quite unlike their socialization, religious teachings and cultural and normative social structure. However, the reality is that the Tibetans have moved towards the idea of self sacrifice (self immolation) to give the world a message of both peace and suffering. They do not kill others but sacrifice themselves to keep their cause live. Their philosophy of not hurting others reveals their peace-loving mentality and ethos but their self sacrifice reveals a plethora of messages to the world and can be understood from diverse perspectives.

### **Understanding Self Immolation**

Self-Immolation is the act of lighting oneself on fire, often in a statement of resistance. As of March 30, 2012, thirty-four Tibetan monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen have pursued such means to draw attention toward the increasingly desperate situation in Tibet. These demonstrators have called for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, and for freedom inside Tibet. They have given their lives for the religious freedom of their people, and have departed from their friends and family in the hopes that their sacrifice would be the last of its kind.

Self-immolation has little to do with suicide. “Suicidal tendencies almost never lead to self-immolation,” says Michael Biggs<sup>1</sup>, one of the few sociologists who have studied the phenomenon systematically. Self-immolation is a deliberate, determined and painfully expressive form of individual protest. The gesture of an individual self-immolator is enough to ignite large-scale social movements. Self-immolation is a fearsome, compelling act, but it would be wrong to infer that whenever it occurs it has significant political consequences. Michael Biggs estimates that between 800 and 3,000 self-immolations may have taken place over the four decades after 1963. Yet, only a handful of them had any political impact. What makes a death by self-immolation politically consequential is its capacity to become the focus of a community’s social life. Self-immolation is “successful” in this sense when it is not anymore about the one who performs it, but about the community in the midst of which it occurs and which suddenly recognizes itself in the predicament of the self-immolator, it feels “shamed” by his gesture and compelled to act. Thus, that individual death is re-signified, and turned from a biological occurrence in the history of someone’s body into a “founding” event of mythical proportions.

### **Self Immolation as Protest.**

The practice of self immolation as protest by Tibetans has gained momentum since 2009 especially by virtue of which the historically known peace loving people have shown a different but shocking trend, the practice of self immolation or self annihilation. However it must be taken note of that the oppressed have still abstained from creating any fear psychosis, terrorism stunts, gun culture, and insurgency. Practice of daily bandhs (shut downs) as routinised in many conflict zones, the habit of sloganeering against the power regime, routine uprisings, and bloodshed, etc.,. Therefore, self immolations as a mark of protest need to be analyzed in a proper perspective and this tool of dissent needs to be understood in a wider outlook. The self immolation trend speaks of the prolonged Tibetan suffering at the individual level, collective level, psychological level and the social level.

### **Self Immolations: The precedents**

Politically-motivated self-immolation originated in 1963, when a South Vietnamese Buddhist, Thich Quang Duc, burned himself in protest of Diem's discrimination against religious minorities. Four monks and one nun followed his lead, and eventually the Diem regime collapsed. Self-immolations succeeding Thich Quang Duc confirmed that this practice had been adopted as a form of political resistance. The first Tibetan to commit self-immolation in 1998, Thubten Ngodupiv, lit himself on fire after Indian police halted a hunger strike in New Delhi organized by the Tibetan Youth Congress. Columbia University Tibetologist Dr. Robert Barnett asserts that self-immolation is an uncommon practice in Tibetan History. "There are records, a very few, but references to self-immolation as a religious practice in the mythical past, where people did it to show devotion to Buddha. So we cannot say completely that this is not a Buddhist practice, it has happened in the ancient past," he said. "We have to be clear. This form of protest by burning oneself to death or setting oneself on fire is really completely new in modern Tibet. We do not really have any precedent for this... As a political practice this is completely new." As Kalon Tripa Lobsang Sangay recently reiterated that the Kashag discourage Tibetans inside Tibet from taking extreme measures.

### **Who Self-Immolates and Why?**

In Tibet the justice system is not designed for the protection of its citizens. "The primary goal of the justice system in the TAR<sup>2</sup> is the repression of Tibetan opposition," says the International Commission of Jurists. Many Tibetans, particularly detainees, are deprived of even elementary safeguards of due process."

"Before (protests) used to be just in the main city among the lower middle class groups, but now we are seeing also farmers and nomads in the countryside, and even some student demonstrations. It's not just monks anymore. And there have been trials of famous leaders from the Tibetan business community too, extremely wealthy Tibetans who stood to gain the most from loyalty to the state," recalled Dr. Barnettvi<sup>3</sup>. Since February 27, 2009, 29 men and 5 women have self-immolated, and 24 of the 34 are known to have died following the act. Their ages range from 17 to 44, and their occupations range from monk to nun, from student to official, and from farmer to mother. Some have come from the Sichuan Province, some from Qinghai. A few were well known in their communities, while others resided as simple citizens. Tibetans from all walks of life have demonstrated against the injustice consuming their homeland.

An anonymous letter written by an exiled Tibetan from Ngaba<sup>4</sup> and released by the International Campaign for Tibet stated that over 100 monks and other locals have disappeared, and that the immolations were a response to the repressive conditions. “In short, the occurrence of suicide as protest in Ngaba is because many people there cannot see how to go on living,” the letter said. “To have to relinquish our ethnic-national identity and culture is to relinquish the point of living for Tibetans, so the present repressive and punitive policies are literally tearing out the hearts of the Ngaba people.” The worldwide response to the Tibetan self-immolation epidemic seems to confirm such desperation as tragically effective: numerous government officials around the world have begun calling for a response to this practice. Many point to the self-immolation of a cart owner in Tunisia as the catalyst for the Arab Spring, a revolution in the Middle East and Northern Africa that spawned dozens of additional self-immolations. Notably, the first Tibetan self-immolation occurred 21 months before the self-immolation of Tunisian vendor Mohammed Bouazizi’s tragic that fuelled the massive Arab Spring.

### **Tail Piece**

As the global community now grieves for many individuals who have given their life in the name of Tibetan survival and the advancement of human rights everywhere, the time to ask difficult questions and pursue a solution is long overdue. Self-immolation is no longer conveniently an Asian issue. This practice and the worldwide response to it touches each and every nation that is guilty of withholding fundamental human rights from any citizen. The brave, unimaginable sacrifices of those who have self-immolated will be forever honored. Tibetans and the holistic human loving global society is indebted to those who have given their lives so that the rest of the oppressed might see peaceful days ahead. Though as some continue to render life expendable, a forecast of greater peril also lingers on the horizon. The choice to determine the future has not yet left their hands. The world can no longer ignore the power of self-immolation: humanity is embarking on a deadly and slippery slope that is raising the cost of freedom and deafening the ears of those who sell it. A dangerous precedent is forming as the world continues to address the Tibetan plight delicately. This trend has to be taken seriously by the world as it is the question of the precious human life and the sufferings that Tibetans face need to be addressed on priority. Moreover, the trend of self-immolation is not to be encouraged, as it is not a solution for any problem. Therefore, better and more peaceful ways need to be explored to give vent to such a disappointment, anger and suffering. As a spiritual leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama should discourage this destructive, hazardous and inhuman trend. How so ever noble the purpose is, the means to achieve it should

not be destructive and at the cost of any one's life. Tibetans or others suffering in the Diasporas of the world should never resort to such extreme acts that reduce human beings to a mere commodity or simply a log to burn at ease.

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## Notes

1. Michael Biggs Sociologist at Oxford University, who studies social movements and political protest. He contributed a chapter on self-immolation to *Making Sense of Suicide Mission*.
2. Tibet Autonomous Region
3. Dr. Bernetti's Study of Tibetan Self Immolation; February 27, 2009-March 30, 2012 The History, The motive, and The reaction
4. Ngaba is a commune in Mont Amba Dist-of Kinshasa, the capital city of Democratic republic of Congo

# ***Tibetan Diaspora in India: Longing and Belonging***

**Javeed Ahmad**

## **Abstract**

*The Tibetan Community has been facing a constant human rights violation following the Political instability in the region particularly after 1950 as a result of which, they have been in a state of hopelessness. This has in turn, resulted in their exile into the neighbouring countries especially India. Given the forbearance shown by this community while in exile, this community has invited the attention of one and all. The present paper, therefore, represents an attempt to understand the Tibetan Diaspora in India from the historical view point and also by analyzing the various issues confronting this community while in exile. Besides this paper highlights the role of Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) towards its exiled Tibetan community and in chasing the long cherished dream of free Tibet. The paper is based on the quantitative analysis of factual information available through print and electronic media.*

## **Introduction**

The volatility in the world social, economic and political order ever since the dawn of 20th century has been transcendental as a result of which the nations across the globe have been witnessing phenomenal changes in all the aforementioned arenas which directly or indirectly has generated large movements of people in almost every region today. As migratory trends have registered a tremendous accline at all the regional, national and international levels, so too has the formation of diasporas or translational communities leading to increasing number of people with allegiances straddling their place of origin and their new homelands. Today, the ambivalences can be seen in the country's responses to the identity status of their expatriates as well as their attempts to expand their ambit of their non-residents (NR's). Further various latent but important issues such as those of exclusive loyalties on the behalf of immigrant populations to their host countries have been inviting the concerns across the various quarters. Given the various push and pull factors such as economic, religious and political uncertainties or the processes of industrialization, modernization, globalization etc. and the

attendant virtues such as revolutionized real (locomotionary) and virtual (telecommunication) communications, the level of mobility among the people has increased tremendously and, hence, diasporas are on increase, which has, therefore, generated a need to understand and classify them. While the Cohens historical approach of classifying diasporas into five different categories of victim (African-American, Jewish and Armenian), imperial (British), labour (Indian), trade (Chinese) and cultural (Caribbean)<sup>1</sup> based on the forces underlying the original population dispersion may not exemplify the Tibetan Diaspora, Gabriel Shaffer's<sup>2</sup> classification of diasporas into "state linked diasporas" and stateless diasporas" based on their identity/linkage/non-linkage with the nation states exemplifies the Tibetan Diaspora in a much comprehensive manner. Elaborating his distinction of Diasporas into "state linked Diasporas" and "stateless Diasporas", he mentioned that "state linked Diasporas" include all those Diasporas which are connected to societies of their own ethnic origin that constitute a majority in their own in established states", while "stateless Diasporas" to which the Tibetan Diaspora also belongs, include all those groups of dispersed people, who have been unable to establish their own independent state. Though Tibetan people are spread throughout the continents of Asia, America, Europe and Australia etc. in more or less concentrated communities, but given the huge population of Tibetans living in exile in India, Tibetan Diaspora in India comprises the largest Tibetan Diaspora in the world today.

### **Migration of Tibetan's to India and Emergence of Tibetan Diaspora**

The history of Tibetan migration can be traced back to communist China's invasion of Tibet in 1949 and the subsequent perpetration of human rights violation till 1959 when a revolt broke out in Lhasa, Tibet's administrative capital and when China annexed whole of the Tibet. What followed was the historic, infamous and heart wrenching exodus of approximately 80,000 Tibetans who fled to India along with His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. This was continued by a steady flow of Tibetan migrants filtering into India in the years that followed. Fundamentally, three phases of displacement can be broadly traced in the history of Tibetan displacement as:

#### **First Phase**

The first phase began in 1959 with the Tibetan uprising, when communist China invaded and illegally occupied whole of Tibet. This resulted in the escape of His Holiness 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama into India through Himalayas followed by Exodus of some 80,000 Tibetan's between 1959-1960.

### Second Phase

The second phase of Tibetan influx into India began in early 1980's when a chunk of approximately 3,100 Tibetans entered the country from Bhutan between 1980 to 1985 in the wake of Citizenship crises, where under the exiled Tibetans were forced by Bhutanese government to owe allegiance to the country by accepting its citizenship and adopt Bhutanese culture. Unwilling to do so and following the India's approval, the country witnessed an indirect, but historic influx of an aforementioned and approximately 3,100 Tibetans from Bhutan. Another 25,000 Tibetans arrived in India, when Tibet was opened to trade and tourism between 1986 and 1996, thereby raising the percentage of the Tibetan refugees in India.

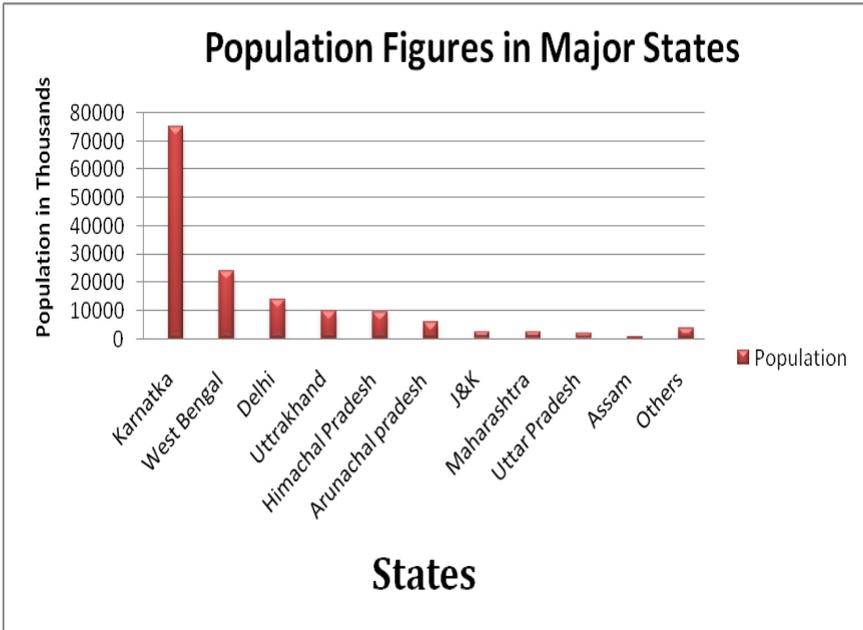
In addition to the above two phases of displacement, the third phase of Tibetan displacement can be said to have started from 1996 till date. But this phase not being so distinct can be treated as an extension of the second displacement phase.

Today, there are approximately 150,000 Tibetan refugees living in India in almost 37 diverse settlements and 70 scattered communities. The below given table presents the population figures of Tibetan refugees in major states of India as:

### Population Figures of Tibetan Community in Major States of India

| State             | Population     |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Karnataka         | 75,000         |
| West Bengal       | 24,000         |
| Delhi             | 14,000         |
| Uttaranchal       | 9,800          |
| Himachal Pradesh  | 9,600          |
| Arunachal Pradesh | 5,700          |
| Jammu & Kashmir   | 2,300          |
| Maharashtra       | 2,200          |
| Uttar Pradesh     | 1,800          |
| Assam             | 800            |
| Others            | 3,800          |
| <b>Total</b>      | <b>149,000</b> |

**Graphic Representation of above Population Figures**



**Source: <http://www.joshuaproject.net/people-profile.php?peo3=15468&rog3=IN>**

In order to rehabilitate the exiled Tibetans and restoring freedom and happiness in Tibet, the democratic administration in exile was set up by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the city of Dharamsala in India in 1960. Working under the name of “Central Tibetan Administration” and also referred to as “Tibetan Government in Exile”, the organization claims to be the rightful and legitimate government of Tibet. Though the “Central Tibetan Administration” (CTA) is not officially recognised as the ‘government-in-exile’ by any country, it still receives huge financial support from various governments and international organisations across the world. The CTA’s structure is analogous to a constitutionally democratic state, with an elected Parliament and Prime Minister. The tradition of regarding His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the divine leader still stands strong in the Tibetan community which represents a departure from the democratic set-up of the CTA. However to maintain the democratic sanctity of the CTA, His Holiness Dalai Lama has himself many a times offered to give up his position and also went to the extent of making a clause which provides for his impeachment by the people

subject to their desire. Today, he is being treated as the undisputed leader of Tibetans in exile and majority of the Tibetans recognize the CTA as the only form of legitimate Tibetan government being headed by His Holiness Dalai Lama. In the words of Lhasang Tsering, a Tibetan writer and activist, “He is our greatest strength and our greatest weakness”<sup>3</sup>. The Tibetans greatly depend upon him as a leader. The structure of the CTA, thus represents a polar opposite of the largely feudal and oppressive institution of the government in Tibet, predating the Chinese occupation. Its structure reflects the egalitarianism and magnanimity of its founding father for having allowed a combination of the principles of Buddhism and the political concepts of the West. Today, the CTA has been successful in garnering a huge amount of international support and aid for the struggle. It also works towards creating unity among the exiled Tibetans by promoting Tibetan culture and religion besides working on the image of a non-violent, eco-friendly and Tibetan nation. By putting to use the traditional symbolism, it has performed a dual role of invoking the Tibetan identity and arousing a sense of national loyalty in its people.

### **Tibetan Diaspora: A Case of Heuristic Binaries**

Tibetans in exile today are grappling with the problems of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation. The problematique of “in between” identities of Tibetan refugees imbricated in these processes is crucial. The problem has got further compounded in the wake of variations in the legal status granted to Tibetans who arrived in India since their first exodus in 1959. Today, the Tibetans in exile are dwindling between the two polar ends of foreigners and refugees. The acronym “RC” which stands for “Registration Certificate” and not a conceived misnomer “Refugee Card” delimits the otherwise myriad privileges that would have been available to this exiled community had they been granted the true refugee status in the legal sense of the term. India being neither a party to the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of refugees nor to the 1967 Protocol is devoid of any specific legislation about refugee rights and protection. These informal refugees were allotted residence permits and identity certificates which facilitated their movement out of India. Although, the government of India allowed the Tibetans to enter India even after the first phase, those who arrived in India after 1980’s and particularly of late, have to manoeuvre the huge crusts and troughs while ensuring the needed registrations and to have the required documentations. Granting “Registration Certificates” to this exiled community, in other words, confers a “Foreigner’s Status” upon them, which unfortunately deny them or snatches away from them many fundamental humanly rights such as right to expression; to assembly and right to protest viz-a-viz Indian citizens. More so, it also squeezes their job incentives, besides keeping them away from the ambit of

various prestigious scholarships, that too, despite of their qualifications and educational eligibilities. In the absence of these privileges, the Tibetan people in India cannot work, book an apartment or for that purpose open a simple bank account by their names. With the miniscule authority in hand, the government in exile cannot do much except encouraging these Tibetan refugees to take a backward recourse. Unfortunately, this severely tarnishes the long constructed image and, hence, harms the goodwill that the government-in-exile has built over the years. On the contrary, the refugees who continue to live in the host country carry a constant fear and threat of being deported or being put behind bars. Further, as illegal immigrants, they possess a blurred future. Moreover, the Indian government assisted the Tibetan refugees till the 1980s. However, it stopped encouraging them after the 1980s, given its national interests, overpopulation of the Tibetan settlements, shrinking land area and also in its pursuit to improve relations with China.

The biggest challenge confronting the Tibetan migrants in India is the preservation of their native culture, while adapting the modern ways of life. Today, the Tibetan Diaspora in India has reached its third generation. While one side of this continuum is represented by the first and second generation Tibetans, the other side of the continuum is dominated by the third generation Tibetans in exile. Though the Tibetan refugees are keen to retain their native culture, a number of third generation Tibetans are somewhat estranged from the traditional way of life. Further, in the wake of economic and other benefits that the host country offers, remaining committed to the cause may be a very difficult ask. They have become more used to the democratic and modern way of life. Going back to Tibet would mean leaving behind a comfortable life. The older generation, on the other hand, dreams and longs of/for the day when they will be able to return to the land which had once been their home.

### **Socio-Economic cum Educational Status of the Tibetan Diaspora in India: An Overview**

The rehabilitation process of the Tibetan community in India following their exile in 1959 can be said to be par excellence, given the acceptance and firmness of the resolve of the first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of the host country to provide all possible assistance in order to resettle the exiled community and also because of the priority, this exiled community is held in comparison to other refugee settlements in India. Thus began the settlement process of Tibetans in India with Lugsum Samdupling (Bylakuppe Settlement) being their first settlement following the nod by Karnataka state government, the then Mysore government. Today, of all the 37 settlements of 70 Tibetan scattered communities in India, almost half are agriculture based, one-third are engaged

in agro-industrial pursuits while one-fifth thrive on handicraft business. Alternatively speaking, most of the Tibetans in India are either peasant farmers or nomadic shepherds. Some Tibetans living in northern India have become rulers and nobles. Others are lamas (monks) who live in monasteries and spend their time in prayer and meditation. The education responsibilities of the children are taken care of under the banner of the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA) with a seat in New Delhi. It is an autonomous and umbrella organization established in 1961 with the objective to establish, manage and assist schools in India for the education of Tibetan children living in India while preserving and promoting their culture and heritage. As of 2009 the Administration was running 71 schools in the areas of concentration of Tibetan population, with about 10,000 students on the roll from pre-primary to class XII, and with 554 teaching staff<sup>4</sup>. Further as of 13th January 2009, there were 28 CTSA schools whose enrollment was 9,991 students. The first Tibetan higher college in exile was established in Bangalore which was named as “The Dalai Lama Institute for Higher Education”. Along with the goals of Tibetan language and Tibetan culture, instruction of teaching of science, arts and information technology also takes place in this college.<sup>5</sup>

The institutions of marriage and family have registered various if not sharp changes among exiled Tibetan community in India. Though the traditional system of joint families still exists in exile, however, the joint family system couldn't resist the changes as a result of increased diffusion and exposure to the modern and western education. This has resulted into a reduction in the number of joint families to a large extent. With modern methods of family planning being increasingly practiced by this exiled community, the maximum number of children in most of the families is limited to three today. Likewise, the institution of marriages has also registered myriad changes over time. The traditional Tibetan society being quite open in nature was a witness to all the three forms of marriage such as monogamy, polygamy and polyandry. But, today the polygamy and polyandry as major forms of traditional marriage have yielded to modern form of marriage i.e., monogamy which is a common form of marriage nowadays among the modern Tibetan community particularly those in exile. Among other changes that the institution of marriage has registered is trend of love marriage which has dominated the practice of traditionally arranged marriages. However, the prevalence of late marriage can't be evidenced out within this exiled community. This can be accrued to the increased emphasis on the educational and career pursuits among the exiled Tibetan men and women. The institution of marriage is usually viewed as a non-religious joining of two households except among Tibetan Muslims where marriage is a religious affair. Moreover, the role of astrology and cosmology in mate selection process is not uncommon.

## Conclusion

Tibetan Diaspora today is running in its 53<sup>rd</sup> year –a fact which can give Tibetan Central Tibetan Administration or Tibetan government in exile and the people back home some reasons to celebrate. Also while the fact of being the world's largest Diaspora in India complimented by the fact of adoption of non-violent path by Tibetan people in their struggle for freedom adds resolution and new dimensions to Tibetan Diaspora, it also speaks volumes about the tenacious tolerance, sustainability and the noble character the Tibetan Diaspora is grounded in. However, this is the only the one aspect of the story as no one can deny the cataclysms this exile community has passed through. Among other problems, the main issues that Tibetan government in exile is grappled with today range from legal status issues through unemployment and cultural identity issues up to schism in the exiled Tibetan community between the conservative Tibetans who have adapted a middle way approach and the various organizations such as Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) who being radical in their approach want complete independence. The feeling of disillusionment and frustration which has been brewing among the young Tibetan generations was evidenced in the uprising of March 2008. All this can severely hamper the assistance and support received by CTA from the West as most of the support and recognition that the CTA receives from the western part is because of the representation of Tibetans as a symbol of peaceful and spiritual people under the headship of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Among other problems that are confronted by Tibetan community in India is the grave problem of growing unemployment which is steering directly on their face with more and more inflow of the Tibetan refugees in India in the search of better employment opportunities. Moreover, the differential treatment which is being meted out by the host country India to the Tibetan refugees of the first phase i.e., those who arrived in India before 1980 and those who did so in post 1980's has increased the intensity of difficulties to this already suffered community in exile. Pertinently, the Tibetan refugees who entered India after 1980's and particularly of late, had to undergo various tribulations in order to acquire the so called "Registration Cards" given the complexity of the tedious and changing procedures of the registration process over time. Their stay in India is temporary and subject to the good will of the host country. Their ordeal, therefore, is not ordinary but heart wrenching, which an outsider can't perceive and define. This is not all which is faced by Tibetan community. On cultural front, they are facing the problems of Ethnic identity which is more a problem of their internal strife as more and more younger generations are carried away by the modern appeals today while their traditional part is still longing and looking for their traditional ethos. Though the host country India has held the Tibetan community in priority over and above other refugee communities, the biggest

challenge today before them is the stalemate and the inertia that Tibetans find them in with the Chinese republic. With no party willing to budge from their present stances, the long cherished dream of free Tibet as envisioned by this ever suffered but diligent community seems to be in jeopardy if not far from realization. In the light of above facts and experiences, there is an utmost need for both the parties to devise some catalytic measures so that tale of sufferings faced by the Tibetan people comes to an end. Alternatively, it calls for a much needed ethnographic attention on the behalf of International front so as to back track the long derailed peace in this region which in other words can prove highly beneficial for the countries of Asian continent in particular and the rest of the world in general.

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## *From Lhasa to India\**

### **Gendun Chophel**

Because of the examples set by the bodhisattva kings and ministers of our country, all our people irrespective of status - high, medium or low- has tremendous reverence and love for India, the land of exalted beings, extraordinary land whence the Buddhadharma arrived in Tibet. Every aspect of physical, mental and verbal attributes of Tibetan scholars, such as their imaginative quality, literary style, dress and rituals bear Indian characteristics, just as sesame seeds and sesame oil are inseparable. Even in metaphoric examples in Tibetan verses, the names of Indian mountains, rivers, flowers, and others Indian names are used. For an example:

sbigs byed ri bo lta bur brjid p'ai sku//  
Gang ga'i rgyun ltar dag cing dri med gsung//  
(The body is graceful like Mount Vinvya;  
The speech is as clear as the stream of the Ganga.)

The verses with such examples are considered beautiful. Look at the example below:

rma rgyal spom ra bzhin du brjid pa'i sku//  
rma chu bzhin du rgyun chad med pa'i gsung//  
(The body is graceful like Magyal Pomra;  
The speech is ceaseless like the stream of the Machu.)

In this example, though the first words of the two lines rhyme with each other and the diction style is beautiful, the verse as a whole appears risible. Because of strong tendency to use Indian names, sometimes [our writers] use in their writings the names of very common things in India merely on assumption of their meanings, without knowing their real meanings. By doing so, they unintentionally write many humorous things. Actually, we should see or hear about a thing to gain precise knowledge of it. Although it does not mean we will become learned if we know about them or vice versa, if one describes something just by guessing, it obviously becomes a lie. Moreover, sometimes it might give

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\* This is the first chapter of Gendun Chophel's *Golden Plain: Pilgrimage to Various Holy Places in Tibet and India (rgyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gтам rgyud gser gyi thang ma)*. Translated by Yeshe Dhondup.

a significantly different and wrong meaning. If we know the exact meanings of the things we write, it will make a great difference. Therefore, whatever I saw and heard during my pilgrimage to various holy places of Tibet and India, I shall write them down altogether in one section. I will not write anything merely on false assumptions, nor shall I write baseless fanciful tales that will please many people. I even do not have the courage to write real facts to avoid hurting others' feeling. I will not write anything for the benefit of my own livelihood. I do not have the aim to earn good reputation. I will write down on the spot whatever I find at a particular place, just like a conversation, and compile a book for the sake of only a few wise people who are devoid of partiality. If I remain too timid and fear that I will deviate from others' trend, I cannot write anything that can improve knowledge. However, if I point out honestly what is correct and what is incorrect, I will hurt many people of both high and low status, and I will become a target of abuse and criticism. Being a Tibetan and knowing my own country well, I understand that this will put me in a great danger. Unconcerned with this danger, I will nevertheless write here honestly, and I pray a hundred times that the humble ones may not get angry with me.

Exaggerated statements which amaze fools,  
 Flattering words which please people of high position, and  
 Fictions, which arouse faith in people—  
 I renounce these and follow the path of honesty.

I, at the age of thirty-two, in the Wood-Male-Dog year [1934] of the 16<sup>th</sup> *Rabjung* Cycle, set off for India. The year coincided with the 2,476<sup>th</sup> parinirvana of Lord Buddha in accordance with the Theravadic tradition of Sri Lanka. This date system is followed by all those countries where Buddhism flourished in later times. The advantage of this date system is that it makes study of history easier. Therefore, I will base all the historical dates on this date system. Some great scholars of Tibet carelessly said that this date system is not reliable because the Theravadic monks mistook the date of the construction of the image of the Buddha at Bodhagaya for the date of Buddha's birth. This statement is highly controversial.

Since the days of my youth, I always had a desire to visit India. When I went to Central Tibet and spent seven years at Drepung (*'bras spung*), I met an Indian monk called Pandit Rahula [Shantirakshita] who urged me to go to India. So my dream came true. I accompanied him to India. Initially, we went on pilgrimage to many places in Tibet, such as Phenyul (*'phan yul*) and Radreng (*rwa greng*). At the same time, I started to learn basic Sanskrit from him. He had plenty of money. He could speak Tibetan almost to the level of a seven-year-old Tibetan

child. He was good at making friends with Lhasa aristocrats. Therefore, with the help of some aristocrats in Lhasa, we were able to visit monasteries and see the holy images very closely. Phenylul is located between Lhasa and a mountain, and the number of monasteries in Phenylul is more than in Lhasa. The upper part of Phenylul is like a nomadic region with vast plains and its scenery is so beautiful. Most of the famous Kadampa monasteries such as Langtang (*glang thang*), Poto (*po to*) and Dragyab (*brag rgyab*) are located either at the upper or lower part of this region. All those ancient Kadampa monasteries had many stupas. In India also, the remnants of Sarnath and Nalanda monasteries have countless stupas of various sizes. So it was an ancient tradition. The oldest temple in Phenylul is Gyal Lhakang (*rgyal lha khang*), which is located in the upper part of Phenylul. It was founded by Zhang Nanam Dorje Wangchuk (*zhang rna nam rdo rje dbang phyug*)<sup>1</sup>, disciple of Lumé (*klu mes*), who was in turn a close disciple of Lama Chenpo (*bla ma chen po*)<sup>2</sup>, around 113 years after King Lang Darma suppressed Buddhism. According to Gölo, this monastery was one of the four great Buddhist centers established in Tibet. Therefore, it was one of the earliest monasteries built during the period of later dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet. Inside the shrine of the prayer hall of the monastery, there was a huge statue of Maitreya and very high stacks of scriptural texts without wooden covers. Such texts are also found in Radreng and Sakya monasteries. Most of these texts were written in ancient scripts. I shall discuss the different forms of these ancient scripts later in a separate section. At one corner of the shrine, there was a life size stone image of Maitreya flanked by his two retainues, in the pure Indian style. Pandita (Rahula) was surprised to see the image and said that it was brought from India. When we took a lamp and looked at it closely, we found a banner hung behind the image that read:

This holy image of Maitreya  
 Was installed as the crown of this holy place  
 By the devout patron Tsang Do kon tsegs;  
 May I attain the fruit of enlightenment!  
 Om me ha ra na hum!

Therefore, the image seemed to have been constructed in Tibet by an Indian artisan. Rhymed verses of this kind were also found on ancient stone carvings. Although many scholars have strongly protested against the writing of འུ་ཨོ་ཨོ་ with a long sound, most ancient texts have this. In antiquity when Indian terms were transliterated into Tibetan, exact Indian phonetics was hardly maintained. Even in some texts which have the translators' names at the end, “z ² ĩ” has been written as “° z ° - ° ²¼-”. So the writing of Sanskrit terms in Tibetan in Sanskrit

style seems to have been introduced by modern scholars. However, though in modern times the Sanskrit term *prajna* is written in Tibetan as “སྔ་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མོ་” in Sanskrit spelling, it is pronounced as “མྱེ་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མོ་” like a Tibetan word. In most ancient texts, it has been written as “མྱེ་མཁའ་ལྷོ་མོ་” which can be pronounced better. More details shall be discussed in later chapters.

Rahula told me that among the stocks of Indian metal images and scroll paintings amassed like stores in the old monasteries of Tibet, he had not seen an Indian style stone image such as the stone image that we found in a dark room (of Gyal Lhakang).

Gyal Lhakang is close to a southern mountain. Nearby is Riding Mountain, which could serve as a very good site for the present monastery. However, the monastery was built on the plain instead of the mountainside. In general, the monasteries and temples built by early Dharma kings of Tibet and those that were built in the early years of the period of later dissemination of Buddhism were built on plains. Later, the monasteries were built on hills with increasing height. In Central India, there were few mountains and all monasteries and temples such as Nalanda Monastery and Mahabodhi Temple were built on plains. Therefore, I think the above monasteries were modeled on Indian style. In India when people find even a small hill, they will give it a particular name, such as “the king of mountains” and regard it as very sacred. They will build temples on it. Vikramala is located on a high rock on the bank of the Ganges. Except the rock in the middle of the river and the rocky hill on the bank of the river, there is no mountain in that area. Sakya Pandita rightly said that Vulture Peak is a huge mountain of India. In early times, India was referred to only central India; otherwise, there are mountains in south India such as Vinaya and many mountains facing the northeastern ocean.

At the gate of Gyal Lhakang, there was a four-sided stone pillar as high as a standing man. All the four faces of the pillar had crossed-vajra designs. The eastern face of the pillar bears the following inscription:

btsugs pa la spyi ding sang gi dus  
dge ba la blo gcig legs pa la gros mthun pa ni nyung na 'o na yang  
dkon mchog gsum la skyabs su 'gro ba 'i myi  
rnam kyi ni/ lhar sangs rgyas bzung gros  
phugs chos la gtod/ gtsor lta ba sbyang/ tshig  
spyod rnal du dbab/ 'tsho ba gtsang mr sgrub/  
byed dgu chos dang sbyar/ spyi gros gcig tu  
bzlum/ sgo gnyer so sor blang/ ngan 'gro dgag tu  
dbyung/ bden gtam dang du blang/ 'dir bcu  
byas na/ tshe 'di dang phyi ma gnyis gar bde bar

'gyur bas/ tshig bcu po 'di ...

(There were one or two lines difficult to read.)

...

yid la m brjed par bzung//

(rough translation)

Installed here, nowadays

Generally people rarely have a common mind for virtuous acts and good deeds;

But those who seek refuge in the Three Jewels should

Hold the Buddha as the god;

Entrust their destiny to the Dharma;

Purify their minds;

Purify their bad conduct;

Earn un-perverted livelihood;

Make all their actions conform to the principles of the Dharma;

Take joint decisions through discussion;

Neglect evil plans, and

Speak the truth,

It will benefit this and the next life.

These ten words...(there are one or two lines which are not clear)

Keep these in minds, without forgetting.

There are a few other lines after this, but they are illegible. In the above lines, the word “uŪ-” in the first line had no suffix “¼”. Similarly, the word “±ŪĜĀ-” was written as “±ŪĜ-” [without the Ā- suffix]. Very ancient texts have reversed gi gu ( 1 ), but here all the gi gu are normal. It is not known which lama or king installed it. The words “installed here” (*btsugs pa la*) shows the installer’s power. From the statements “sgo gnyer so sor blang/ ngan gros dgag tu dbyung,” it appears that it was installed by a king, who could be Tri Dharma’s (*khri dar ma’s*) nephew Tashi Tsek (*bkra shis tsegs*) or the latter’s son King Wöde (’*od sde*). There was also a pillar in a courtyard of a house, but on that day, the family was not at home and the door was closed. We were told that there were one or two pillars somewhere in Phenyul. Those pilgrims who are not in a hurry, it would be good if they could copy down the inscriptions on the pillars. I will write the inscription of the Lhasa pillar later in this section when I write some new historical facts that I have found.

A little distance from Gyal Lhakang was a small nunnery on a pleasant mountainside. We were told that it was Patsab Nunnery. It was the seat of the great Lotsawa [Patsab]. There was nothing except for a small temple in bad condition. When I chanced upon such great Buddhist centers, whose exact

locations are not mentioned (in Tibetan sources) except saying that they were in U-Tsang, I had a mixed feeling of extreme joy and sadness. Most of the Kadampa temples have simple design and they have wooden pillars, which have become crooked. However, they seemed to me a source of blessing, and faith and joy arose in me just by their sight. Phenylul is a very pleasant region and its people are good-natured.

Thereafter we went to Radreng Monastery via Taklung (*stag lung*). We looked around at the images and juniper trees at the monastery. I wondered if there was any sacred place as beautiful and pleasant as it. I heard that there were a few Indian manuscripts, but the monastic manager, suspecting the pandita as a foreigner, did not let us in. The pandita was pure Indian with dark complexion and there was no chance of mistaking him for a foreigner. The monks were not to blame—it was due to their lack of knowledge of foreign countries. The people of western and northern India, except for their dark complexion, look similar to Russians in all aspects, complexion and physical character. If they go to other countries, they might be mistaken for Russians.

Jonang Kunkhen said, “I found in Radreng many texts such as commentaries on the Shantipa’s *Hevajra Mulatantraraja* (*brtag gnyis*) and *Anutaratantra* (*dgra nag gi rgyud*) which bear Atisha’s name at the end. I randomly took two folios from the beginning of the texts.” Given that what he said was true, the texts in the monastery might be the ones that he mentioned. However, according to his autobiography, Drom dispatched all the texts to India after Atisha passed away. So there might not be many Indian manuscripts in the monastery. We were told that the total Indian manuscripts contained in the monastery would fill a small suitcase for a man. Besides, there were hundreds of thousands of texts in the temple, which are believed to be Indian texts by innocent people. They are all in fact Tibetan texts. Most of the Indian manuscripts were written on palm leaves and their length cannot be more than four finger’s width (*sor*). The tips of the leaves were long, so how can they be so broad? When Lord Mila asked cowherds where Marpa lived, a little boy named Darma Dodé (*dar ma mdo sde*) said, “Oh, you are looking for my father! He will come, carrying lots of thin and long scriptural texts from India.” Details about these Indian manuscripts will be mentioned later in this section.

The caretaker of Radreng Monastery explained the holy representations to us. There were two juniper trees on the circumambulation path. “This one is white sandalwood, that one is red sandalwood,” explained the caretaker. Pandita laughed mockingly and said, “Sandalwood trees need an extremely hot climate to grow, they are not found even in central regions; they are found only in the southern region. How come they grow here?” However, he was not aware that our people talk of many wondrous things, without thinking about the places, times and reasons. From there, we returned to Lhasa and then headed to India.

In around the seventh month of Hor, by way of Yamdrok (*yar brog*), we reached Gyantsé (*rgyang tse*), which is separated from Zhalu and Tashi Lhunpo (*bkra shis lhun po*) by a river. From Gyantsé, after a one-day journey by foot towards the north, we saw a small monastery called Pökang (*spos khang tshogs pa*) on a mountainside. We visited it. This is one of the four monasteries called Chölung Tsokpa, established during the time of the great Indian Mendicant Mahapandita (Shakyashribhadra). Originally, it was built at the foot of the hill, but later it was rebuilt on the present site. There was an old temple near it. It is said to be one of the border-subduing temples (*mtha' 'dul*), but I do not think this is true. The temple had robes and bowls of Mahapandita Shakyashri, among other sacred objects. The robes were dark brown. Burmese monks wear robes of this color. When Naktso (*nag 'tsho*) met Atisha, Atisha was said to be wearing brownish robes—this brownish color was not the result of a dark stain. Sakyapas wear brown robes of only *ther ma* (woolen fabric) quality. The early images have golden faces and brown-coloured robes, and I wonder if this tradition is the same as the one which is popular in Kham. In one of the letters sent by Je [Tsongkapa] to Khedrup [Gelek Palzang], it mentions, “I am sending you special brown robes as gifts...” Therefore, the custom of wearing brown robes became very popular during a particular period. In the *Flower Garland* (*me tog phreng rgyud*), maroon, red ochre (*tsag*) and blue are allowed for the color of robes. Here red-ochre or *tsag* might refer to this brown color. Sri Lankan monks wear only saffron-colored robes with lotus symbols. Nowadays, Indian monks do not have any labels. Their alms-bowls are similar to those of monks of Sri Lanka in shape, and their insides are cream-colored. They have no high base, so they can be easily placed on the ground. The Indian monks wear shoes, which have soles made of cloth, and upper parts that are red with black edges. I have made a sketch of these shoes. Thinking that these monastic outfits are exemplary and have authenticity and background reasons, I have written briefly about them here.

The most amazing thing is that there was an Indian style scroll painting of the five tantric manifestations of Avalokiteshvara (*don zhags lha lnga*), the tutelary deity of Mahapandita Shakyashri. The painting was of high quality and beautiful. It is said that this is the one mentioned in his biography. This kind of excellent painting of the Gupta period is not found in India or Tibet nowadays. The image has endured intact without much damage. In the painting, the Hayagriva in the retinue had upper canine teeth like tusks of an elephant. In the temples of early kings, the deities in wrathful manifestation are depicted in this manner. I heard that this style of painting still exists in Kham. This kind of wrathful faces, with mouth, which has canines and look like that of a tiger, widely open making the neck hardly visible, looks absolutely magnificent. This style of painting was introduced into Tibet not long ago.

We found some Indian manuscripts there, including some parts of *Prajnaparamita in Eight Thousand Verses*, which was said to be the personal text of Shakyashri. There was Ashvaghosa's *Three Usual Practices*. There was an Indian text on *yongs kyi gtam*, without the author's name, at the end of which had been written "Bhiksu Dipamkara Putkia", meaning "Atisha's Texts". It had 56 pages of long size with five lines on each page. There was also a text of *Abhisamaya Alamkara*. There was a short text on *chos gnyis rnam 'grel*. It cover bears a line saying "donated by Yatsé". We found an Indian text donated by Yatsé in Zhalu too. Some of the descendants of the Dharma kings were called Yatsé kings, so this region I think is a part of Ngari. The Indian texts were written in the 1,370<sup>th</sup> anniversary of King Vikramasila's enthronement. Up to that Tiger year, 1,074 years [according to the western calendar] had passed. The dates written at the end of most of the Indian manuscripts were based on this date. Later, in a Tiger year [1938], Pandita and I, along with two Indian companions, came to Tibet to search for Indian manuscripts; we searched for Indian manuscripts for many days. I got the opportunity to look at them closely. I shall write whatever I have seen during my both visits.

Zhalu and Sakya were similar to others. Thereafter, via Tashi Lhunpo, we arrived at Zhalu Ripuk. Kunkhen Bu's [Bu ston's] residence had only one pillar and the walls were without paint. There were no windows to allow light into the room; light came only through the door. Even the quarters of present monks were in very poor condition. Some important texts had been put in two gray wooden boxes, sized three arm spans in length and six thos<sup>3</sup> in height. We were told that these two boxes belonged to Butön. There were also many Tibetan texts. There was a text wrapped in about nine pieces of cloth, which was not known to anyone. When I opened it, it was the first version of Butön's *sgron gsal bshad sbyar mtha' drug gsal ba*, commentary on the Chandrakirti's *Pradipoddyotana*. In the introduction of the text, it said that the text was written in the handwriting of his spiritual son Lotsawa and should not be lost. There were yellow lines on which the text was written in short ume script similar to the present *kham bris* script and the condition of the text were so fine that it appeared to be only one or two years old. Thinking that the text was written by Jé Tsongkapa, without any particular reason, I had a sad feeling. Very little care had been taken of the other texts. At Gorum Temple of Sakya Monastery, once when we tried to sort out some damaged manuscripts, five volumes of Indian texts got mixed up. Saying that keeping disordered texts would bring misfortune, some religious people threw all of them in a lower room amongst heaps of garbage. The texts were wasted. Palm-leaf manuscripts are extremely rare even in India. It is shocking if such valuable things are treated in such a way. Some devout people steal one or two folios from a complete set of texts and use them to wear on their neck as an

amulet. Some cut the page into pieces and eat them as blessings. Some people put them inside statues and stupas as relics. These texts will never see the light again. Such acts terribly harm the stream of the Dharma, yet they still boast of their act to others.

At Ripuk we classified the Indian manuscripts and sorted them. There were 42 large and small volumes of texts, some of which included the following:

| <b>Name of text</b>  | <b>Author</b> | <b>Condition</b>  |
|--|---------------|---|
| Tarkajvala (second vol.) <sup>4</sup>  | Bhavaviveka   | complete; this is the root text, not a commentary.                              |
| Abhidharma-Samucchaya  |               | incomplete  |
| Prajnaparamita   |               | incomplete  |
| Guhyasamaja  |               | incomplete  |
| Boddhiscita  |               | incomplete  |
| Trisamvara   | Pravedha      |   |
| dam tshig gsum bkod<br>pa'i rgyal po'i sngon du<br>bsnyen p'i cho ga   | Jayaprabha    | long, 6 leaves with different number of lines                                   |
| The average length of the long sheets have about 1 <i>khru</i> (cubit) and 1 <i>mtho</i> (distance between the tips of thumb and middle finger.) |               |   |
| Prajnaparamtatika  |               | incomplete  |
| Manjushrinamo Samagati   |               | complete; written on papers   |
| Sidhikabiratantra  |               | incomplete; 14 sheets, short size   |
| Taratutratika  |               | incomplete  |
| Trishinka  | Vasubandhu    | complete  |
| Prajnaparamitapindarth   | Dignaga       |   |
| Trishirtikarinka (in prose)  | Asanga        |   |
| Guyhondratilakalparaj  |               | folios missing from the beginning and end, short length, pages with eight lines |
| Khams le'i dri-med 'od   |               | complete; 46 pages in excellent condition                                       |

There are also the second to the sixteenth sections of the *One Hundred Thousand Verses* written on long leaves. The text has been preserved well. One of the four volumes of the texts composed and edited by Jetsun Drakpa Gyaltsen (*rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan*) in Nepal is found here, and the other three are

at Sakya Monastery. There is also a well-preserved manuscript of *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita*. There was a text with about 16 folios of long length with several Tibetan subtitles such as *de nyid bcu nyid* (Ten Natures of Mantra), *sbyin sgregs kyi cho ga* (Fire Ritual), *sangs rgyas kyi le'u nyer gcig pa rdzogs so* and *gtor ma'i de kho na nyid* (Torma Ritual) authored by Lopon Rinchen Tsultrim (*slob dpon rin chen tshul khrim*). It comprises sixteen volumes.

There were works of Jnashrimitra including: *Kalachakra Tikka*, 46 folios in fine condition, *Yogaprabhasadhna*, *Boddhisttavajra tikka*, a text on medicine by *Bibhutichandra*. There were other texts by him, such as *gzhan gsal gyi rab tu byed pa*, *thams cad mkhen pa grub pa* (long and 16 folios), *skad cig gis 'jig pa grub pa*; *tshad ma nang du grub pa*; *dbang phyug rnam par spyod p*. Among these volumes, there were texts without the author's name - *ldan grub kyi rgyu dpyod pa*, *sems gnyis med pa dpyod pa'i rab byed* and *yan lag can med pa*. All these texts were in almost equal in size and they were in good condition. They made twelve sections of a thick volume.

We discovered a text with title *sangs rgyas 'khol gyi nyis khri'i man ngag* and *'phags pa de 'dun phal chen pa'i 'jig rten las 'das par smra ba'i 'dul ba* (1 vol. long sheets, fine condition). Gölo in his *Blue Annals* stated that the text was on alcohol. Panchen once said that texts *tha nyad gcig pa* and *'jig ten las das pa rma ba* belonged to the same sutra and were based on sexual misconduct. I suppose he was referring to these texts. However, his statement is slightly wrong. We also found incomplete texts of *Mahayanottaratantratikka* and *Abhidharmapradipabharti* written in *vartu* script (long, nine lines, 70 folios). The latter text was a combination of both the root text in verse form and its commentary. There was also a palm-leaf text of *Vigraha-vyavartani*, with self-commentary done by Nagarjuna, written in Sankrti with Tibetan notes, at the end of which had a line "written by Nub Dharmakirti." The leaves were long and had eight lines. The author was said to be a disciple of Jo rtsa mye. There was a text of *Vinaya-sutra* authored by Gunaprabha, with an incomplete commentary. On its heading had a line "Annotations by Shila Akara" and at its bottom had "Written by Nub Chandrakirti in the middle spring month at Vikramashila". This text was written in Sanskrit and Tibetan scripts. The longer "ÍÛ" was written as "ÍÛ°Û-" . Similarly, " ; Û-" was written as " ; " with double *zhabs kyu* (! Ý). Except for these, the rest was written in the modern style. Vikramashila now lies in ruins, in such condition that even its trace is almost not visible. But the texts are still fresh. I think Shilaakara was Tengpa Lotsawa Tsultrim Jungé, who was a disciple of Jowo Tsami Sangye Drakpa. He spent fifteen years in India, totaling the years he spent there during his all visits. He made several corrections on *Vinaya* and *nyis khri* texts. He was said to have brought many Indian texts to Tibet. These Tibetan texts were believed to belong to him. He was born shortly after the death

of Ngok Loden Sherab. According to Gölo, he was the chief lama of Chak Drachompa. His time was marked with the period when many Tibetans used to visit Vikramashila. It is said that the University had a common dormitory for the Tibetans.

There were some disarrayed texts of Tibetan commentary on the Madhyamika written on palm leaves in Indian and Tibetan languages in Nub's handwriting. This was a commentary on the *Prasana-pada*. Its homage verse praised Nagarjuna's special qualities. The text describes how Chandrakirti supported the doctrine of middle-way in order to fulfill the wishes of Buddhagaya. Chandrakirti recalled his previous life in which he was born as Buddhagaya and strove for his wishes ('bad pa'o). Some writers write "o" like this. In this text, the translator had erroneously written that in Tibet "darkness" is considered as non-material, and said that the word "bhya" of Abhya-bhya means light, honour or sun. Without this means "darkness". This is a Tibetan commentary, between each two lines having annotation written in Sankrit language.

| <b>Text</b>        | <b>Author</b>      | <b>Remarks</b> |
|--------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| Dohakoshatika      | -                  | incomplete     |
| Bartikalmkara      | -                  |                |
| Sadhishanta        | -                  |                |
| karambrit          | -                  |                |
| Abhipodkarm        | -                  |                |
| Panchkaramaktri    | -                  |                |
| Anutasatabitriti   | -                  |                |
| Kabyaprakash       | Rajanaka and Mamta |                |
| Heksadhan          | Darika             |                |
| Nimasamtiti        | -                  |                |
| bodhistamalankram  | Kamalashila        |                |
| Kurukulasadhana    | -                  |                |
| Lokiteshvaramandal | -                  |                |
| Adibudha           | -                  |                |
| Yogasharsh         | -                  |                |
| Srbhatra           | Sarahjananmitra    |                |
| Bhuddhanamkara     | Kutili             |                |
| Kalachakratika     | -                  |                |
| Mahayanlakash      | -                  |                |
| Mulde lakshashstra | -                  |                |
| Kamshsra           | -                  |                |
| Shandtotika        | -                  |                |
| Sudrhasri          | -                  |                |
| maha yatna         |                    |                |

d????dboc

It was composed during the time of King Sirupala (of the Indian Pala Dynasty). Each line has about 130 characters. From this, we observed that Indian texts have more number of words. However, it is common that the words in the translation are more than in the source text. The main thing is that letters of Tibetan words are stacked. For example, in the Tibetan word “bsgrigs” we have to arrange seven letters. The expressive power of the words is different, so it is doubtful why there is an imbalance in the number of words. For example, “agni” is for “me” (fire), “jal” is for “chu” (water)—two or three Indian letters can be sufficed only by a single Tibetan letter.

There was a large volume of palm-leaf Tibetan manuscript, but it was so illegible that I could not read even a few words. I guess it was a Prajnaparamita text and was the original text used by a translator. There was a large well-preserved collection of mantras, such as the Five Types of Dharani (*grwa lnga*).

| Name                         | Author                            | Condition                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Trilochana                   | -                                 |                                 |
| Sarahmanjuri                 | -                                 | complete                        |
| Caturasangasadhanatika       | Samandrabhadra                    |                                 |
| Rahapratisavarahsynibandh    | Lopon Rinchen Jungne <sup>5</sup> |                                 |
| Krishnayamaritantratikka     | Kumar Chandra                     |                                 |
| Vajramrta-tantra             | Vimlapraba                        | 11 lines in longer folios       |
| Kalyankamadhanu              | Arya Nagarjuna                    | 5 pages with seven line         |
| Pratishavidhi                | -                                 | incomplete                      |
| Kalachakratikavimalprabha    | -                                 | 46 pages in good condition      |
| Yogamabarhsanda              | -                                 |                                 |
| Boddhistavvatikka            | -                                 |                                 |
| Jotsihabodpatra              | Bidhitachantra                    |                                 |
| gzhan sel gyi rab tu byed pa | Jnashrimitra                      | Tibetan translation unavailable |
| Tham cad mkhyen pa grub pa   |                                   | pages, short size               |
| Mahayogatantra               |                                   | incomplete                      |
| Abhidharmapratibabhisah      |                                   |                                 |
| Dohakoshtika                 |                                   | incomplete                      |
| Vartikalankar                | Prajagupt                         | incomplete                      |
| Svadhish-tankamavivarti      | Kutli                             | complete                        |
| Abhisambodhikam              |                                   | complete                        |
| Panchkamvivarti              |                                   |                                 |
| Panchkamvivarti              |                                   |                                 |
| Anutarastva vivarti          |                                   |                                 |
| Svapnadhya                   |                                   | incomplete                      |

|                                   |                      |   |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Kavyaprakash <sup>6</sup>         | Rajangak Mamat       | incomplete; 3 pages, 8 or 9 lines                         |
| Herukasadana                      | Mahasiddha Darikapad |   |
| Namsangiti                        |                      | incomplete  |
| Bodhisttabavnakam                 | Kamalashila          |   |
| Kurukullasasan                    |                      |   |
| Lokishvarmandala                  |                      |   |
| Adibuddha                         |                      |   |
| Yogsarbashya                      |                      |   |
| Saragarastotra                    | Swarajmitra          |   |
| Buddhamaskar                      | Kutli                |   |
| Mahayanalakshan-<br>samuchya      |                      |   |
| Vajrabhairava                     |                      |   |
| Vajrabhairavatrapanjika           | Kumarchandra         |   |
| Vajrabhairavatantraraja           |                      |   |
| Muladevakysashastra               |                      |   |
| Kamashastra                       |                      | complete  |
| Shatannyogatikka                  |                      | complete  |
| Vasudhadarani                     |                      | incomplete  |
| Mahamayatanra                     |                      | complete  |
| Panini                            |                      |   |
| Chandrabyakaranvivarti            |                      |   |
| Chandrabyakaran                   |                      |   |
| Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita     |                      | palm-leaf manuscript with fine images of the Buddha       |
| Chakrasamvivarti                  | Bhavbat              | small size, 53 pages, 7 lines on each page                |
| Vajravarahitika                   |                      | 26 pages, each with seven lines                           |
| Ambogpashakalparaja               |                      |   |
| Panchvishtisatrika Prajnaparamita |                      |   |
| Kriyatantravartipanchika          |                      | Trilocandas   |
| Anudhi                            |                      |   |
| Chandrabyakaranvivarti            | Chandramgomin        | complete; material Tibetan traditional paper              |
| Chandrabyakaranvivarti            | Ratanmatri           | long size; 200 pages, 8 lines, fine condition; incomplete |
| Chandrabyakaranatikka             | Purnachandra         |   |
| Chaturangsadhnatikka              |                      | incomplete  |

|                                      |                        |  |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| theg pa chen po nyi zhu pa           | Arya Nagarjuna         | incomplete   |
| rgyan snang                          |                        | incomplete   |
| mdo sde rgyan                        |                        | incomplete   |
| Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita        |                        | incomplete   |
| rgyal dbang blo'i rab byed gsal ldan |                        |  |
| le'u tshan gnyis                     |                        | incomplete   |
| bde mchog gyi bstod 'grel            | Bodhisattva Vajradhara |  |
| rnam bcas bsdu ba'i mdo              | Pandita bshes gnyen    |  |
| gdan gzhi sgrub thabs                |                        | 10 pages in long size, each page with 7 lines                  |
| rnam bcas bsdu ba'i mdo              | Ye shes bshes gnyen    | 208 pages of medium size with 7 lines                          |
| sdud 'grel                           | Seng ge bzang po       | incomplete   |
| Raktyamrajantra                      |                        | short size, 34 pages, 6 lines; complete                        |
| Samajamandala                        |                        | long size 7 pages, 7 lines                                     |
| Sub-commentary Pramanavarttika       | Manortandi             | paper manuscript, more than 100 pages, with 7 lines, long size |

According to the biography of Sakya Pandita, he heard the *yid kyi shing rta la dga' ba*, a commentary on the tshadma from Pandita Shakyashri, and the above text was the one they used. There was no mention of the name of the translator. I think he might have heard the commentary from the Indian source.

|                                   |  |   |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| Shravaka-bhumi & Pratyekabuddha   |  | pages missing from the beginning and end.   |
| Samaputa                          |  | long leaves, six folios   |
| Vajradakinitikka                  |  | long, 26 folios, seven lines  |
| Shravaka-bhumi & Bodhisattvabhumi |  | short, 206 folios, fine condition, 35 lines, slightly damaged, It has a note saying "Offered by Lopon Wozer Senge of Yatse; |
| rgyal po'i lugs kyi btan bcos     |  | short, 3 lines, 35 folios,  |
| rin chen 'phreng sgyud            |  | palm-leaf, 23 pages, small leaves, each with 3 lines  |
| A grammar text with title         |  |   |
| Vimshaka karika                   |  |   |

“spyang gsum pas rnam par dpyad  
pa’i dka’ ’grel gyi byed pa can  
gyi rkang pa, bsdu ba’i rkang pa,  
de phan gyi rkang pa zhugs shing  
chud ma zos”

small volume

gsang ’dus rdo rje sems  
dpa’i sgrub thabs

Limlavajra

short sheets, 4 folios,  
slightly damaged from corners

Nayabindupanchikara  
Kalachakra (tranliteration of  
Sanskrit into Tibetan)

Palm-leaf,

nag po pa’i rdo rje’ ai glu  
’phags pa gnyis su med par  
mnyam pa nyid ranm par  
rgyal b’ ai rtogs pa

23 folios, seven lines, long  
leaves, first page missing,  
22 sections

This text was of Tharlo was discovered from Nyangtö Möndro Temple, and this was surely the one translated by Butön. Therefore, the text before the line “Therefore, the solary system of the thousand was blessed...” were gone with the missing folios. The rest was in fine condition. This is only the Kangyur text translated from Chinese sources.

Kriyasmuchar

Mahasidha Darwan.

We searched everywhere, including the residences where there were Indian texts, in the back of the garden, even in garbage heaps, but we did not find more Indian manuscripts other than the above-mentioned ones. There might still be some Indian texts mixed with large volumes of texts. So, interested people are requested to find them. It is indeed difficult to read the Indian texts, but I write here with great effort thinking that it would be beneficial to clarify doubts on even a few terms. Some translate texts from Tibetan to Mön language in lanza script, which is then decorated by pata design and dragons in the borders. After three days, even the writer himself does not understand what he has written. Instead of putting effort in such works, it is better to simplify it by writing Indian language correctly, even if they are extremely difficult terms, to try to make it easy. By so doing, then even if there are no results, one does not have to feel embarrassed.

After that, we arrived at the Ngor Evam Monastery, the monastic seat of Khedrup Chenpo Kunzang (*mkhas grub chen po kun bzang*). Because there are many monks from Kham in the monastery, the presence of Kunkhen Gorampa seems to be still fresh there. The texts of Ngorchen are found in the lower room of Khangsar Labrang (*khang gsar bla brang*). There were a complete Tengyur volume, which are all in fine condition. There are more than 30 volumes of small and large Indian texts. The fourth part of the *One Hundred Thousand Verses Prajnaparamita* was in very fine condition. According to the *Blue Annals*, I think this is the one offered by a Nepalese trader to the Sakyapas.

In the past, there was not a tradition of writing many texts, and the contents of the texts were passed from a teacher to their disciples through oral tradition. In Tibet, it was extremely difficult to get such texts. I am saying this not because I am too eager to talk about this, but because, for example, if we find a sheet of Indian manuscripts of Old Tantra in Nartang, we can trust that it is the one read by Rigral and others. Those who are not aware of the rarity of Indian texts should not spread many rumours.

There were a texts of commentary on Bhakshyatrityi, commentary on the Sramanera by Gyalsung and *Pratimoksha Vow Liturgy* with annotation in Tibetan by Mati. As for the last one, it is not the same as the present one we have. It has the following concluding verses:

This Indian text of pratimoksha vow liturgy  
 Was written with reverence by Mati  
 To make comparative analysis and  
 To clarify some doubtful meanings.  
 ... (one line is missing here)  
 Some such differences are found there.  
 There are some correct ones  
 Which should be examined by scholars.

This stanza was written in extremely beautiful calligraphy of the Tibetan uchen script in Sazang Panchen's own handwriting. The bottom half of page number 23 had been torn out. The pages were short in length with five lines, and between the lines were annotations. There is a fine Indian text of *Pradipoddyotanatika*, which has five or six lines written in excellent handwriting.

| Name                       | Author | Condition   |
|----------------------------|--------|---|
| sgron gsal<br>brgyad stong |        | Indian text, fine condition<br>5 vols, some incomplete,<br>with fine illustrations, |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| ka la' pa'i 'grel pa<br>Supramath  | Durgasingh<br>Chandra  |   |
| rtsod rigs kyi 'grel pa<br>dga' ba'i rol mo<br>Pratimoksha Sutra<br>legs bshad rin chen<br>mdzod   | Koga   | incomplete<br><br>collection of verses of<br>Dharmakirti, Kalidas<br>and other ancient scholars<br>complete, fine condition   |
| chos mchog chung ba'i<br>'grel pa<br>rtsod rigs  |  | 2 texts, complete, good<br>condition  |
| Sahadohakosh<br>dri med 'od  | Saraha   | complete<br>short sheets, five or six<br>lines, excellent handwriting,<br>one volume  |
| snyan ngag me long   |  | short size, 23 pages, 8 lines<br>complete   |
| Commentary on the<br>Dakinisadhana   |  | short size, 23 pages, 7 lines   |
| Commentary on the<br>rdo rje snying 'grel  |  | 31 pages, 8 or 9 lines  |
| rdo rje gsum gyi rin chen<br>phreng ba<br>Commentary on<br>Hevajra Mulatantraraja<br>Kye rdo rje'i grub thabs<br>it has<br>de kho na nyid 'byung ba<br>Second part of the Amarkosh<br>rang sbyin rlabs<br>Commentary on the Chakrasamvara<br>Commentary on the grammatical<br>analysis on Ti and Si of Kalapa<br>One sutra without a title | Kalikulashi<br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br>Lopon Jamdrak | 13 pages with 6 lines;<br>Tibetan annotations<br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br>74 pages, at the end is a<br>short chapter titled rtog<br>pa chunb ngu bcom ldan<br>mas mdzad pa |

Commentary on the Vasubandhu  
 Vimshaka-karika  
 Commentary on the sher 'byung blo  
 Bodhicharya Avatara

chos kyi bdud rtsi'i tshigs bcaad Dhamapada and  
 Udanavarga mixed up  
 pages

Dhamapada is the most important Buddhist text of the Theravada tradition and it has been translated into about 100 different languages. The credit for arising faith among many westerners toward Buddhism should go to it. This is the *mdo phran*, which belongs to phran tshigs, one of the five classes of Sutra. Most of the verses of the Tibetan tshom are also from this.

There were some manuscripts such as *nags rin gyi bstod pa* and one small palm-leaf manuscript with the title by Sakya Lotsawa, written in Sukhi language by stenciling on palm-leaves. There are five complete and incomplete large volumes of *Eight Thousand Verses Prajnaparamita* with amazing images.

Some knowledgeable monks there criticized Jé Tsongkhapa for treading on an inferior path. They should not do so. It was of no use to explain to them by citing any logical reasons. Then I said to them, "If that is so, then the Dalai Lamas also follow an inferior path, for they were the followers of Je Tsongkapa." Their arguments were stopped. It is clear from this that such logic is a big trick in modern logic.

After that, via Shabshung (*shab gzhung*), an extraordinary holy place, where once the great pandita Mitri worked as a shepherd, we arrived at the glorious Sakya. We visited the Gorum Temple, where the texts of former Sakya masters were kept. There were several thousand volumes of scriptures in the temple. I randomly took out a large bundle of texts, which I found to be Indian manuscripts. It was a glossary on Pramanavartika written on papers in Pandita Vibhuchandra's own handwriting. In the hope of discovering some more Indian manuscripts, my companion Pandita, with the help of others, searched for Indian manuscripts in the room, but this was the only Indian manuscript we found in that room. If someone else were in our place, he would have surely been amazed to discover such a text. We then went to Chakpe Lhakang (Temple Library) which was located to the right side of a staircase which had many steps leading to Lhakang Chenmo<sup>7</sup>. There we found the following Indian manuscripts lying amongst more than 30 volumes of Indian Buddhist texts:

Pramanavartika-bhasya—self-commentary on the first chapter of the  
 Pramana-varttika

Pramanavartika by Karnagomin—it has two versions and one is missing

The first and second chapters of *Vartikalankara* by Prajnakaragupta—the leaves are broad with a pointed end and contain 13 lines. It was written at *Sa ska* by Vibhutchandra, who accompanied his teacher Mahapandita Sakyashri to Tibet, in his own handwriting. At the end, there were many short verses in Indian language that show that he faced great difficulties at borders. According to Taranatha's 'Khri don lhan lhan thabs, Vibhutchandra did not prostrate to Jetsun Drakpa, so he was not attended well.

| <b>Name</b>                      | <b>Author</b>  | <b>Description</b>    |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| Amarmkoshtika                    | Chandrakirti   | incomplete            |
| Navshloka prajnaparamita         |                | complete              |
| Astahasrika-tayata               | Kambalapa      |                       |
| Aryagulidhrna and Aryamgulikalpa |                | complete              |
| Akashdhan                        |                | complete              |
| Manjushriguhyachakra             |                | incomplete            |
| Vinayasutravrtti                 | Gunaprabha     |                       |
| Prtimokshsutratika               |                | incomplete            |
| Vinayakarka                      | Vishakh        |                       |
| Bodhicharya Avatara              | Shantideva     |                       |
| Triskandeshana                   |                | complete              |
| Mahamayatantratika               |                |                       |
| Yogacharyabhumi                  | Asanga         |                       |
| Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita    | Ratnakarasanti |                       |
| Adhyardhashataka                 | Matrceta       |                       |
| Dasrasyanam                      | Nagarjuna      | complete              |
| Chandravyarkaran                 |                | incomplete            |
| Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita    |                | incomplete            |
| Yugtipradip                      |                | complete              |
| Guyasamaja mandalopayika         | Badrapath      | -                     |
| Dashbumika sutra                 |                | incomplete            |
| Karandavayu Sutra                |                | incomplete            |
| Saddharma Pundarika Sutra        |                | complete              |
| Panchraksha                      |                | complete              |
| Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita    |                | incomplete            |
| Prajnaparamita Sutras            |                | 3 sets                |
| Shikshasamuchya                  | Shantideva     | incomplete            |
| Poshdhanushamsa                  |                | incomplete            |
| Visanatar-jataka                 |                | Sinhalese             |
| dri-med 'od                      |                | Sinhalese, incomplete |

The last two texts in the Sinhalese language were written (in Sri Lanka) and were brought to Tibet by Nagrin (*nags rin*), abbot of Dukhor. These are the Indian manuscripts we found in Tibet. There was an amazing Indian manuscript written on roll-papers being preserved at Gorum Monastery.

Tanak Thupten Namgyal (*rta nag thub bstan nam rgyal*) Monastery was in possession of some incomplete Sutra texts such as Lankavatara sutra, some pages of which were missing. Somewhere in Dakpo, may be at Dakla Gampo, we found a root text of *Pramanavartika* (*tshad ma nam 'grel*) some pages of which were also missing. [My friend Pandita] copied it and took it to India. At the library of Kundeling Monastery in Lhasa, we found a short-length text containing the commentary by Shantirakshita on logic. Pandita copied it also. There were also *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita* and *Namasangirti* (*mtshan brjod*). We also found a copy of Tibetan work *Supplementary Chapters to Bashé Annals* (*sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*), which is rare to find.

At Nartang, we did not find even a single page of Indian manuscript despite making a thorough search. There were more than 500 volumes of [Tibetan] texts that were said to belong to Chim-rnam<sup>8</sup>. There were commentaries to the *Bodhicarya Avatara* which titles I had never heard, such as chu mig ma and yang dgon ma. The one most amazing thing is that there are two pairs of model of Bodhgaya, including the Mahabodhi Temple and all its sacred places—one constructed from black stones and the other made from white sandalwood. We were told that the stone one was brought from India. Regarding the quality of the stone, they were the same as that found along Sitavana and Bodhgaya. The wooden model was said to have been commissioned by Chim Namka Drakpa and constructed in China. If we compare all four—the models, the real Bodhgaya, Comden's *Flower Ornament: Exegetical Commentary on Prama Gaviniúcaya* of Dharmakirti (*rgyan gyi me tog*)<sup>9</sup> and the Chak Lotsawa's travel diary—they appeared to be done by one person. Some Tibetan lamas say that this Bodhgaya was named by some Tibetan lamas who arrived in India, and the real one is somewhere in the north. We should ignore this kind of deceptive statement, just as we spew sputum from our mouth. Though we had the greatest expectation on Samye treasury to possess Indian manuscripts, we were told that there was nothing those days, and it seemed true.

The canons of the Theravedic tradition of Sri Lanka written in Magadhi cited in the above list are followed by Indian Buddhist manuscripts. Those were what we found. Tibet still has the highest number of Indian manuscripts. Among them, a commentary titled yid kyi shing rta la dga' ba and Karnagomin's works are available nowhere else in the world except in Tibet—I am not sure if they are found in the library of the land of northern Shambhala. This is also true of other Indian manuscripts such as *phal chen dul ba*, *ye shes dpal gyi tshad ma*, *rdo rje*

*mkha' 'gro'i 'grel pa* as well as *Bodhisattva Bhumi* and *Tantra Pitaka*. Other Indian manuscripts are also in the same condition. Therefore, it is extremely important to preserve these texts and not let them fall into the hands of cunning and greedy people of other countries. Those helpless people like me are needlessly worrying about these texts. Henceforth, it is extremely important to beware of cunning Indian thieves who bear the name *panḍita*. These Indian manuscripts are very important. Moreover, for easy location of these texts in our country, I have listed them here. I have also made a list of canons of Theravada and Indian texts that are important for us. Among them are many single page manuscripts, which could be very useful to distinguish whether those Tantra *patikas* are Indian or Tibetan. Without listening to those who have renounced the world and say everything is unessential, one should seek the joy of attaining new knowledge.

Tavelling southwards from Sakya, crossing the *Maja (rma bya)*, we arrived in *Drangso (drang so)* [in Tsang]. In the north of that region, there is the famous sacred site called *Gyalshri (rgyal shri)*, the meditative cloister of naked ascetics, located on the northern bank of the river. When I approached it, I found it a dusty mountain. Crossing *Dingri (ding ri)* and *Nyanang (gnya' nang)*, we arrived in Nepal. Throughout the journey, *Pandita* treated me very kindly, so I did not face much hardship. However, without any particular reason I had melancholic feelings several times. Here I shall not bother to narrate all the experiences that I had during the journey, as this would eclipse the main theme of this book.

Nepal is situated on a plain surrounded by mountains. One third of its population is of Tibetan origin. There are many names of places such as *Phenpo ('phan po)*, *Phamtang (pham thang)* and *Tamang (rta mang)*, *Tsangkhug (gtsang khug)* and so forth, which are similar to Tibetan names. Some homes have religious texts written in Tibetan script but are difficult to read. As for their language, they say “*gcig ga*” for “*gcig*”, “*gnyis ka*” for “*gnyis*”, “*gsum ga*” for “*gsum*”, “*mig ga*” for “*mig*”, “*rna po*” for “*rna*”, “*sne*” for “*sna*”, “*la lag*” for “*lag pa*” and so on. It seems to be a new Tibetan language. These are aboriginal Nepalese people. Later, Nepal was occupied by *Gorkhas*, who are descendants of *Rajputs*, one of the Indian races. I am sure that during the reigns of *Manglon Mangtsen (mang blon mang btsan)*, *Tride Tsuktsen (khri lde gtsug btsan)* and other Tibetan kings, this whole country was under the rule of Tibet. This shall be discussed in the later chapters rather than creating unnecessary controversy here.

It was said that when *Lama Ralo (rwa lo tswa ba)* visited Nepal, there were only about 500 buildings there. Nowadays, it has widely flourished so much that there are more than 20,000 buildings in *Yambu* alone.

We met *Hemaraja Sarman (gser rgyal)*, the royal court chaplain of Nepal. He is said to be very famous in India and Nepal for being expert in all the Buddhist and non-Buddhist doctrines, which are as wide as an ocean. When the *Hindus*

invaded Nepal, they overwhelmed the few Buddhist inhabitants, and he was the one who was responsible for it. He practised Vedic rituals. I heard that once he said that there was an obstruction to the king's life and a ritual should be performed so that he could regain life. He constructed a hollow woman's figure out of gold. The king was put inside the woman's image and taken out from the bottom of the body, pretending that he was reborn from the womb of the woman. He took the golden image as a reward for his ritual performance. He had some disordered texts of *Pramanavartika*, composed by him. I read the Tibetan text and they [pandita and others] translated it into Hindi and arranged the text in order. In refutation of the Vedic view, there was "eat dog's meat" in the Tibetan text, but there was only "eat meat" in the Indian text. He said, "Your lama translator had a bad feeling towards us, so he inserted the word." At that everyone laughed. The Indian text does not say anything about whether this is ethically right or wrong, it seems true that the word was inserted by Sakya Pandita.

One day, he [Hemaraja] told us that modern researchers had found that the brain reflects everything that is in the mind. He further said that from the brain, we could tell whether the person is learned or not, as well as about his inner feelings, such as desire and hatred. According to him, we can tell exactly without error the level of a person's education or knowledge. However, the brain itself, which looks like curd, is a non-living thing. The element of the brain that is responsible for sense is separate from the body. We spent half a day in discussion on this, amidst laughter. Some call this part of the brain *alayavijnana*, which means all ground consciousness. Some call it *akash*, while some call it *atma*. It is also called *neutron*, or *selfless*. The fact is that it is self or consciousness (*atma*). In India, some new studies say that "self" is in the brain and that it is permanent (similar to modern science).

Hemaraja was around seventy years old, with gray hair and a big paunch. He used to recite Sanskrit verses in a very enthralling tune. Even some of his servants talked about *pramanavarttika*. They told me that they wished to meet a real Tibetan scholar. He narrated to me the tale of *The Taker of Girls (gzhon nu ma len)*<sup>10</sup> and I have written it separately. He said that by reading *Pramanavarttika*, one could understand many essential meanings of *Zhönnumalen*. The custom of keeping a priest in the king's court was popular in India, and it still exists in some small independent regions. The priest reads Vedic texts and performs rituals for the king, so they are called *prohit*, or "mdun na 'don" in Tibetan, meaning "the one who is present near the king". Tibetans later used the title "mdun na 'don" as a title for the royal ministers. Lotsawa Shambhala remarked: "There were only Redapa (re mda' ba) and myself in Tibet who can identify Liyul." This is quite true. Nowadays, everyone mistakes Liyul for Nepal, and says that everything including Gopalgandh mentioned in the *Prophecy about Liyul* (Li yul lung bstan)

(Kamsadesha-vyakarana) are in this country [Nepal]. Liyul is called Khotan by Tibetans, and Xinjiang or Hotan by the Chinese. It has India to the west and Amdo to the east. Indians call it Kamsadesh (the Land of Jade).

The Chinese Emperor Jayang and his minister Changsho together conquered this land and established their capital there; one can ask Chinese historians for confirmation. The Goma River and Yutian as well as Shiti are still in this country maintaining their original names. According to Galo (*sga lo*) and others, Tibet is to the south of Shiti. Drolungpa (*gro lugng pa*) said, "To the east and west of India are Khotan and Nepal." He is correct in mentioning Khotan and Nepal separately. A prophecy said that Tibet and Sum pa would conquer this land. Regarding this, not long after Songtsen's reign, Tibet conquered Khotan and divided it into five administrative divisions called the "five ten-thousand families." There are ruins of many old Tibetan army camps from where many Indian and Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts and images of deities are discovered beneath sand even these days. Many of them were taken to India and I saw them preserved in the Indian capital city. The ruins of Goshranga, or Langru Temple, are also in Khotan. Presently, the place has become like a native land of Hetien and it is said that they have an important sacred place called Hama there. Hetien people in Dome have come from this land. In the *rgyags rngan chen mo*, Longchenpa<sup>11</sup> said, "lcang ra rmug po (in Khotan) and so forth are in the country of Sokpo." This is quite true.

After crossing Chandragri, a mountain to the southwest of Nepal, we soon happened upon the Indian railway track. At the age of 32, on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the last winter month, I drank water from the Ganges. I spent the entire winter in Patliputra, with a melancholic feeling, just like a bee fallen into a lake.

## Notes

1. Zhang Nanam Dorje Wangchuk (976-1060) founded the temple in 1012.
2. Lachen Gongpa Rapsel: Tibetan Vinaya master who preserved the Vinaya lineage during the period of disruption in the ninth century.
3. The distance between the tips of the thumb and the middle finger.
4. The medium version of Madhyamaka-hrdaya-karika. This is the root text and not a commentary.
5. slob dpon rin chen 'byung gnas.
6. This text is nowadays prescribed as a course for students.
7. It was built by Phak-pa (1251-80 AD).
8. Chim Namkha Drak (mchims nam mkha' grags, 1210-1285) was the seventh abbot of Nartang Monastery.

9. Full title: *tshad ma'i bstan bcos sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog ces bya ba bzhugs so* (Exegetical commentary on Prama Gaviniucaya of Dharmakirti).
10. *Zhönumalen* (The Taker of Girls) is a Tibetan name of the teacher of Vaishnavas. See Jeffrey Hopkins, *Maps of the Profound*, (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2003), 134.
11. Kunkhyen Longchen Ramjam (1308-1363), a major lineage master and writer of the Nyingma lineage.

# **His Holiness's Advice during the 3rd Tibetan General Conference on Education at the Main Temple,**

**McLeod Ganj, Dharamsala\***

**23 June 1985**

Initially, I had planned to come down [to Gangchen Kyisong].<sup>1</sup> However, as I am short on time, and as the purpose of our meeting is to share our opinions, I don't see any reason to turn this into a grand function. At present, we should focus our attention on work - it is not the time to stress on pomp and circumstance. Therefore, I thought it would be fine if we met here today. This is a general meeting, and I hope that you will have open discourse among yourselves. As you have come from all sorts of different places, I am sure that you will be able to contribute new ideas and suggestions. I hope this meeting will be successful.

The most important thing we need to concentrate on is our day-to-day responsibilities. If we speak much at meetings, as though we are having an elocution competition, yet in practice fail to put special effort towards our work, then the meeting has no significance. Our shortcomings are neither due to a lack of speeches nor shortage of resolutions at meetings; our flaws are the result of our failure to perform our daily responsibilities properly at our own workplaces. As I always say, it is extremely important to work diligently and sincerely. Perhaps new ideas will come up at today's meeting through our discussions. In addition to this, by reviewing the resolutions made at prior small and big meetings, you must discern what has and hasn't been accomplished and the pertaining reasons why. It is important to place emphasis on what is practical in this way. I have nothing special to add here.

Generally, the history of our overall task, including educational development, can be divided into two phases. The earlier 25-year period was used to lay new foundations, and in the present period, we must improve these foundations and make them successful. In this period, though we still need to create new plans and lay new foundations, the most important thing for us to do is to apply our efforts chiefly to improve the already established foundations and to implement them successfully.

It is generally said that the education standard of [our] schoolchildren is declining. This impression is prevailing. Some people attribute this to a lack of quality of Indian teachers. However, we need to express our opinions, taking into consideration the whole picture. It is not right to blame Indian teachers or the Indian government because of one particular individual's behaviour. Overall, the Indian government has offered excellent support to us Tibetans, as much as it could. We should try to enhance and improve the Indian government's support

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\* Translated by Yeshe Dhondup.

for us, and this is possible. So, although there are complaints of negligence against Indian teachers, these might be based on a few individuals' behaviour, and it is important that we view the situation from all perspectives. It is not right to put all the blame on Indian teachers alone. The number of Tibetan teachers increases year by year, so before we point our fingers at others' faults and shortcomings, it is important for us first to examine ourselves to see whether we are really doing well and working to a high standard if judged by others.

In terms of our Tibetan teachers, it is a mistake if they have taken up teaching simply as a way of making a living. Teachers, on the one hand, are responsible for the future prospects of each of their students. They have to take accountability for the future of every student, remembering that this directly rests on their shoulders. Perhaps, teachers do not have the same obligations as foster parents, but since they are the educators, half the responsibility for a child's life lies with them.

It is extremely important for teachers to bear in mind their responsibility for each child and to nurture them with pure affection, a benevolent mind and love. If they have no love and compassion for their students, then even if what they teach is perfect, it will be as though they have simply pushed play on a cassette recording. I think this definitely makes a difference to the students' minds. If students are taught with human affection, they not only gain new knowledge, but also develop love and respect towards their teachers. Because of this, the teaching of a single word can make a lasting impression on a child. Similarly, any advice the teacher offers will become embedded in their students' minds. If teachers compassionately and affectionately care for those children who stay here at school for months, far away from their homes and parents, then these children will feel like they have a second family here and people to whom they can entrust their minds. This will have a very beneficial impact on their studies, the development of their personal integrity, and their progress will occur at a faster rate. They will also be able to study with peaceful and calm minds. If there is no human love in schools, and teachers merely explain each subject without affection or a sense of responsibility as though a tape recorder is being played, then the students will go to school just as a monk goes to perform a ritual in a village. A teacher's pleasant expression and attitude are extremely important as this imparts an immediate mental peace to the students. There is a definite difference between the learning processes of two children when one child feels they have no one to depend on and no protection, and the other studies with the feeling that they have someone who loves and nurtures them. Since this process lasts not just for one or two days, or a month, but for many consecutive years, as the children spend most of their early lives in this environment, this definitely influences their way of thinking when they start their adult lives after leaving school. Teachers have a

special responsibility for each of their students. If the teachers shoulder that responsibility and work with dedication, it will be beneficial and significant. If you are a monk or a religious practitioner, this is even more relevant. We normally sit on a cushion and pray for the benefit of all sentient beings—but instead of this, you hold in your hands the actual futures of people, regardless of what you can do for their next births.

Teaching religion is not just sitting upon a throne; you don't need to speak extensively on religious topics. You can advise people to be virtuous, compassionate and honest people; these are the essential points of spirituality. If we boast that we are receiving empowerments<sup>2</sup> or teachings, and reciting prayers or mantras, and so forth, while failing to correct our deceitfulness and bad qualities from the very beginning of our lives, we are lying. The basic point of Dharma has nothing to do with receiving empowerments; it is to become a genuinely honest, virtuous and kindhearted person. It is extremely important to create people like this in schools. As for myself, although I hold the title of lama and give Dharma teachings to people, this happens only upon special occasions. Since you teachers spend months and years with the children in your classes, the task of shaping their minds is in your hands. It is not good for teachers if you feel bored at the very sight of your students, if you waste your time and ruin the children. For example, if a person like me, pretending to be very kindhearted, smilingly advises the children to be compassionate, this won't have much impact on them. From a religious perspective, teaching is really a marvelous job. On one hand, it is an excellent means for teachers to accumulate merit, serve humanity and to benefit the community. On the other hand, it is a service to the Tibetan people as a whole.

Under what conditions have we Tibetans come into exile? What is our present situation? We always say that future destiny should be decided by the next generations, and this is definitely true. Earlier, in Hyderabad House in Delhi when I met Pandit Nehru and asked him whether I should appeal to the UN about the Tibetan problem, he replied, "The issue of the future of Tibet is related not to the UN, but to the education of Tibetan youth living in India." This is absolutely true. As for the common cause of the Tibetan people, it is fine if you shout out slogans such as "Free Tibet" or "China out of Tibet." Nonetheless, you need to use that nationalistic feeling in the classroom; you need to teach to your students with an aim to groom them into Tibetans who have courage and capability to fight for Tibet's independence. Teachers have to take responsibility for their students even when it comes to the students' personal lives, in addition to their contributions to the Tibetan freedom struggle. You must teach in your classrooms keeping in mind that you have such great obligations. You have completed your teacher training and have arrived in a school where you receive a good salary and

enjoy nice facilities. If you spend all your time counting your earnings, you are of no use at all. It is wrong if you simply hoard your money and teach only for the sake of passing time, thinking it does not matter what you do when no one is watching you. I don't know whether it is true or not, but I heard that in earlier times some Tibetan language teachers encouraged their students to study Tibetan subject after school hours and voluntarily supervised their study. These days the overall importance of self-study has lessened. Some teachers are reportedly giving private classes and taking fees from students. Those teachers are only doing this for the money. If they really have a sense of responsibility for the education of Tibetan children, there is no need to teach one or two students privately and collect fees from them. They can teach the whole class in any spare time. What this indicates is that those teachers are doing hard for money, which is not good.

Similarly, due to the failure of our schools to give proper educations to our children, some Tibetan school graduates occasionally resort to petty theft and deception. Of course, not everyone can be one hundred percent perfect, but this is a sign of our shortcomings.

It is our immediate task to make efforts towards the improvement of the foundations we have laid so far and to maintain them successfully. Making efforts does not just mean passing resolutions and putting forth suggestions at meetings, which does not bring results. You have to work sincerely in your workplaces, keeping in mind the saying "your conscience is more important witness than other people"<sup>3</sup>, whether or not there is someone else is supervising you, and you should work in a way that will leave you free from any regret. In retrospect, if you think, "I didn't do well; I made many mistakes, but at least others didn't find out; there was no inquiry from the Department of Education; I deceived them..." really, you are sadly mistaken. It is extremely important to do things that will leave you thinking instead, "I have worked hard and have no regrets at all," and feeling confident of this.

Regarding Tibetan people as a whole, till now, the people of the world have had good impressions of Tibetans in exile. To what should we attribute this? The old Tibetan society was said to be a feudal society. Regardless of what type of social system it was, there was peace of mind and an abundance of love between people in that society. Those who grew up in Tibet were naturally broadminded, calm and kindhearted. Even after more than twenty years in exile, this social character continues to have a great influence on us. There are people in our society who tell lies and cheat others. However, on the whole, when I meet with senior members of charitable organizations they say they are happy to help us because they can see the fruits of their donations after ten or fifteen years later. They do not feel like their support has been wasted, as if "a drop of water disappear into

sand.”<sup>4</sup> So far, our exiled community has been unique among many in the world. But if we don't do well in this present generation, the quality of our work will gradually decline and go from bad to worse, and we could easily lose the reputation, positive image and praise we enjoy at present. And this will be very difficult for us to reestablish when once lost. It is extremely important for us to safeguard the status and reputation we enjoy in this world.

We have held discussions several times recently; however, as many of us have gathered here, I want to reiterate that when we first arrived in a foreign country like a lost people, the immediate problem we faced was our lack of knowledge of the local foreign languages. At that time, the urgent need was learning these languages, so we made a special effort to accomplish this goal. Several years have passed, and if asked which language our adult children know better, Tibetan or English, the answer now is probably English. It seems that the younger generation are even unable to understand Buddhism taught in the Tibetan language, and have to depend upon English to understand their own religion, despite English cannot explain Buddhism properly. We are now facing such situations. What was the purpose of our making special efforts to learn new things and new languages when we arrived in exile? We started to acquire modern educations with the aim of accomplishing the common cause of the Tibetan people; our endeavors to obtain modern thought was not to forget our national cause, and then to assimilate ourselves into the outside world. We must not deviate from our initial aspirations. We started educating our children in order to maintain Tibetan culture and Tibetan identity so we could accomplish the common goal of the Tibetan people. The result of their education should therefore be a strong Tibetan identity and an undeniable sense of being Tibetan in their hearts and minds. It is not good if we don't pay special attention to this matter.

Many of us say we should improve the Tibetan language. One of the main aspects of the Tibetan issue is the preservation of Tibetan culture, which in turn, relies on the Tibetan language. So we must pay special attention to our language. We need to enrich the vocabulary. If we possess something that is necessary and useful, we wish to take care of it and protect it. If it is neither needed nor beneficial, then even though we may attempt to care for it, we won't consider it valuable. In the same way, we must preserve and nurture our Tibetan culture and language in order to ensure their obvious value. The Tibetan language, in its true nature, is a language that is capable of serving any purpose well<sup>5</sup>. As proof of this claim, we can look at Sanskrit, which is a rich language in today's world. The entire scope of meaning within Buddhism that was originally in Sanskrit can be completely expressed in our Tibetan language, indicating its complexity. Despite this richness, we have only employed the Tibetan language in the context of a Tibetan culture based on Buddhism, and have failed to use it in modern fields of study such as

political science and law, let alone scientific studies. Due to this, we have failed to establish some specific new terms in Tibetan. Nowadays, when we start to use Tibetan for these modern studies, we face problems with vocabulary due to a lack of established Tibetan terminology. We must solve this problem, and we must do so practically and slowly.

Earlier, maybe between 1961 and 1962, Powo-la (Freeman)<sup>6</sup> and others emphatically suggested that we teach all subjects, from the lowest grade in school right up to university level, in the Tibetan language. They further remarked there was no need to translate all subjects into Tibetan simultaneously, or to prepare elaborate textbooks at that exact moment, but instead one should proceed by translating the material to be taught the next day the night before the class. Initially, instead of being in book form, the lessons can be printed using a manual copying machine, and then, as we gain experience, we can make improvements to the written texts day by day. Otherwise, if we set out to translate all subjects in the best possible way, without mistakes, and to print textbooks of a very high quality before introducing them in schools, it will take quite a long time and be very difficult. This is what they told us. Many years have passed since then, yet we have not been able to put this idea into practice; this is our shortcoming. This problem exists in the Tibetan community in both India and in Tibet.

One year ago when I went to Mongolia, I visited a college there. The college was first established with a mere fifty students. I was told that during those early days what subjects could be taught in the Mongolian language—such as grammar, orthography, medicines etc, were taught in that language, and other subjects were translated into Mongolian day by day and taught in the same way. I had the impression that what Freeman had suggested to us earlier was being applied there. We have a tradition of traveling to Outer Mongolia, so if time permits, it would be good if Samdong Rinpoche, for example, could go there as he is shouldering the responsibility for CIHTS<sup>7</sup> in Varanasi. If you are able to go there, you will find something different. We need to learn from their experience. On that trip, I made just a brief visit to that college, and didn't discuss this matter in detail. I told them that I would send some people to study their experiences in setting up their college. This has yet to happen. I am mentioning this today as I just remembered it now; it will be good if you go there and observe. Samdong Rinpoche can make a plan to visit, and take one or two people with him. I have already spoken to him about this. If you continue the work by going there and studying their successful experience for a few days, it will be valuable.

Some countries have only a spoken language and no written script, and they have to invent their scripts from the very beginning by using symbols. We already have a complete written language. If we cannot enrich the Tibetan language by making it applicable in every situation, we will continually face obstacles. The

Tibetan language will be in danger of gradually losing its value. There is no reason for us to lose face or feel ashamed about this. It is only from a lack of use in newer areas of study that the Tibetan language has failed to develop its vocabulary. For example, when we explain Buddhism in languages such as English, French, German, etc, which haven't been used to explain Buddhism before, we face great difficulties. There is no option but to introduce Buddhist terms into these languages and gradually establish them. Our Tibetan language has not encountered modern subjects before, so it has not been used in these fields of studies. Otherwise, the reason for not using the Tibetan language for those subjects is not that it is poor or insufficient. We must consider these things.

We held a discussion about this matter a year ago. Regardless of other considerations, it will be valuable if we teach all school subjects up to the fifth or sixth grade only in the Tibetan language, and then gradually the higher classes one by one. This may cause us problems in India with respect to examinations, but we must find ways around such challenges. If we leave all projects unimplemented saying that we will face this or that problem tomorrow, then this amounts to abandoning them. It is certain whenever anything is proposed that some voices will predict certain obstacles; nevertheless, we have to think about progressing to the next stage and think about what we can do to solve such problems. It would be a different matter if there were no solutions or alternatives at all.

Actually, we talked about this yesterday when the annual report was read. I see it as an important point. In any case, the schoolteachers definitely possess a large responsibility. We are contemplating the future status of Tibet in accordance with our policy, making plans in graduated stages, and applying our efforts accordingly. The execution of those plans depends on our people, particularly on our children who will grow up in the near future. The successful implementation of our goals is extremely important because it is linked with our national cause. It is crucial that everyone performs their daily duties carefully, without falling under the influence of laziness and apathy while always thinking they are shouldering a great responsibility.

Generally speaking, if we compare the standards of education in Tibet and in our exiled community, our education here has so far been superior. Even the Chinese seem to accept this. We have achieved results that should make us proud, so there is nothing we cannot also achieve in the future if we are determined. At present, China has drafted a new policy on Tibet and is seriously thinking about directing energy towards education. In the so-called "Sixth Document of the People Republic of China," for example, the need to make the Tibetan language the medium of instruction in all parts of Tibet as well as the need to improve the Tibetan language has been emphasized. We do not know whether the Chinese can

put what they say into practice, as they rarely follow through with their verbal promises. Even if they do implement their suggestions, it is natural that they will face various problems and obstructions. Nevertheless, if by chance, they genuinely make an effort to improve education in Tibet and if true development naturally occurs as a result, it would be time for us in exile to contend with them.

If the Chinese are willing, they can surely spend huge amounts of money on developing education in Tibet. They ought to do so, because they have already stolen everything from our country. By taking control of Tibet's natural resources, they have killed, destroyed and consumed everything at their whim—the Chinese have extracted the core of Tibet's natural resources. Considering this, it is an obligation of the Chinese to invest in education in Tibet, and they have no reason to boast and remind us of their efforts. Recently, some Chinese exaggerated by saying that the central government of China, with a due sense of responsibility, had already spent three-billion Chinese Yuan in Tibet. Why should they boast? As those among us who have visited Tibet know clearly, the Chinese confiscated all valuable religious articles from even the smaller monasteries, not to mention the larger ones, as well the treasured belongings of every Tibetan household that had been passed down from generation to generation. They destroyed clay statues for the sake of using them as fertilizer. They forcibly seized others made of gold and bronze. As everyone clearly knows, the Buddha statue installed in the Ramoche Temple in Lhasa was broken into two parts: the upper part turned up in a firewood-shed in Lhasa and the lower part was later found in a storehouse in a Chinese factory. The Chinese have also taken many useful Tibetan goods to China. For example, I met up with an Amdo friend a few years ago. He told me during our conversation that most households in his village used to possess large bronze ladles and water containers. However, when he visited there after having been away for two or three years, he found no one in his village possessed them anymore. They hadn't hidden their bronze ladles in the ground or thrown them into the water, but rather they were forcibly taken by the Chinese. Therefore, though the Chinese boast off their assistance and service, this is hardly the reality of the situation.

Anyway, the Chinese have spent comparatively large amounts of money in Tibet, and they might continue to invest a great deal in the future. If the Chinese make a concerted effort to develop Tibet, we might not be able to compete with them in some areas. Although money is an important resource for educational development, the most important instrument is the human mind. Regardless of how much effort the Chinese teachers try to put forth, I think there will surely be an imbalance with regard to the mental abilities of Tibetan children living under Chinese rule and those living in a free country as refugees. Fundamentally, China is undergoing great changes. Their communist ideology has engendered a very

strong sense of centralism, so in practice it is as though the people are deaf and blind and will never be able to see or hear the facts about what is actually occurring. In recent years although the Chinese government has changed its policy and embarked upon a slight liberalization in China, its people remain oblivious, as they do not receive proper information from the government. Those children who have grown up unable to hear the truth are similar to the hearing impaired, and though not completely deaf, they can never be equal to our children who have grown up with their ears open and who have been educated in a free country. This is our main advantage. Where there is freedom, people can be innovative; if there is no freedom and people's minds are restricted, creativity is stifled. If you use your mental faculties creatively while studying, then your efforts will be successful. If you are unable to use your creative faculty, learning becomes like listening to lessons on a tape-recorder with no effect. We might not be able to compete with the Chinese in terms of the financial resources available for educational development in Tibet, but we have better opportunities in other areas, so we have to progress with determination.

At present, the Chinese claim there is religious freedom in Tibet, yet I doubt whether educational development in Tibet has any relation to religion, (apart from people being asked to recite "*A-ra-pa-tsa*,"<sup>8</sup> as advised in the Dharma, to improve their studies). Here in India, whether or not an educated person is also a virtuous person depends greatly upon spirituality. We have opportunities here that do not exist in Tibet. Whatever the Chinese say, they ultimately consider religion useless. For example, either in the 19th or 20th "Chinese Secret Document (?)" it was written that so-called religions are useless, and that they will gradually disappear. It says that as human knowledge develops, people will find religion needless, and religion will naturally and progressively vanish. Therefore, the Chinese will never introduce religion into a school's curriculum.

As religious subjects are not taught in schools, it is very difficult for people to acquire an ethical attitude. For example, the Chinese spend a lot of time learning to kill and torture human beings based upon the ideology of their policies; and their society has become full of deceitful people. Now they claim that morality is important, and sometimes they even hold one or two-month long conferences in Lhasa on the promotion of ethical discipline. If one does not eat nutritious food daily, how can one derive benefits from consuming healthy fare for only one or two days? So long as their people are taught to believe in killing and destruction and to practise attachment and hatred, the occasional claim by the Chinese that they should promote morality and virtue is a joke. Recently I met an American journalist who told me that he had spent some time in China. He praised Tibetans, saying that he found their nature and moral fiber distinct from the Chinese. Similarly, I met another man who made a very vivid observation: he

noticed a clear distinction not just between Tibetans and Chinese in terms of their character, attitudes and ethics, but even between the Chinese in Mainland China, and those in Taiwan and Singapore. They are the same Chinese people; they are identical in that they all speak Chinese and eat Chinese food. They are the same people who eat insects; they share the same culture. So despite these facts, why are they different in their ethical conduct? It is probably because of the influence of various religions in other countries. The ancestors of these people, such as Kungfu Tse (Confucius), spoke emphatically about respecting elders and being a moral person. These same people are then indoctrinated into the communist ideology and taught to promote socialism as well as to make sacrifices for the benefit of society. Though this socialism may be rooted in virtue, in actual practice, whether the Chinese admit it or not, they rely on desire, hatred, and especially conflict as the means to achieve such goals, which guarantees that the results will never be positive.

In reality, Tibetan children who have grown up being taught subjects designed and approved by Chinese authorities can hardly be expected to have cultivated virtuous thoughts. Those of us who are in other people's countries have much more positive conditions so I think that we can definitely compete with the Chinese in the field of education. I am not saying that we must deliberately force our schoolchildren recite prayers. In any case, we must make them good, moral people. It doesn't matter whether one believes in reincarnation, karma, and the Three Jewels or not. It is enough if a person refrains from lying and stealing, and is truly compassionate and virtuous until one's last breath. This will benefit their future life. If one is genuinely unethical, cruel, and lacks altruistic thought, even if they wax poetic about "karma" and "cause and effect" a hundred or a thousand times, it will provide no benefit, as we all know. There is no need to boast about impressive accomplishments outwardly, if we can quietly fulfill our own goals. My wish is that all the people of our present generation be virtuous individuals; it will be excellent if this happens. This will benefit them in future lives. I think we have a good opportunity to accomplish this here in India, but the Chinese cannot do this.

Considering this, we have valuable opportunities to educate our children, despite the fact that we are refugees and live in poor conditions. If we can make the best use of these opportunities and produce results, I think we can set a good educational example to other people of the world. At present, many European countries are fielding many complaints about their education systems. Even in the USA, the same thing is happening. In the East, Japan is the best and most developed in terms of the standard of education. Although it is a small country, Singapore is considered highly successful. Two or three years ago, I heard there was a new wave of interest in religion, especially in Buddhism, in that country.

They have developed faith in Buddhism not out of love or respect, but perhaps the wisdom that it is beneficial and necessary.

We Tibetans have a definite advantage in this respect. If we do well, we can produce a people who possess both education and altruism. The Chinese claim to be communists as well as educated people. Likewise, we must be a people endowed with education and pure motivation. Altruism indicates a mind intent on benefiting others, so the root of altruism is the benefiting mind. If each person possesses the intention to serve others, as we all have to live together in human society, then more altruism will flourish in our society, and the resulting society will be a much happier one. We don't need any proof or explanation of this as we can see it with our own eyes. It is a different matter if all of us wish to live in isolation like rhinoceros or "solitary realizers,"<sup>9</sup> or if we are selfish and think only about our own goals, deceiving whomever we meet for personal gain. That is not our situation. Humans are naturally social creatures who feel lonely without company and who feel happy when they see another human. Under such circumstances, if people are compassionate and affectionate with one another, how happy the people of the world will be! While circumstances require that people live together, if we fight, quarrel and deceive one another, it is a natural violation of our instinctive humanity, isn't it? This is my observation. Being kindhearted and altruistic is not only a spiritual point of view; it is an important aspect of life in human society.

Here, we have only a few hundred thousand Tibetan children. The goal behind providing all of them with an education is to instill in them an altruistic mind. If this root is properly planted, then when these children become parents, their children will acquire moral fiber directly from them and will be led by their positive moral examples. Gradually, we can transform our population, be it one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand, to a noble people who live by the highest standards. After more than twenty years [in exile], many foreigners are now coming here to research Tibetan society, our ways of thinking, habits, marriage traditions and lifestyles, and many more will visit in the future.

Concerning our education system, instead of being designed to create individuals who are only well-spoken and efficient, we must produce people who can understand the nature of life and live their lives peacefully; then we can be an example to the rest of the world. If those of us who grew up in the old Tibetan society can become the yardstick of virtue in the world, then I think we can have a Tibetan community made up of people endowed with both education and virtuous behavior, provided we put forth efforts and strive diligently towards this purpose. This is spirituality! Sometimes, when explaining the Four Noble Truths, I jokingly say that when we talk about "liberation," it refers to the liberation which every individual has the right to attain. We talk about "perfection (*rdzogs chen*);" if we

can create a community where people have no malevolent thoughts or actions, and where they have benevolent minds and live virtuous lives, that would be a truly liberated society! Therefore I am saying that there can be two kinds of liberation: liberation of the whole society and the liberation of the individual. We have to contemplate such things; you all need to reflect about this, and think about how it can be actively achieved. I have nothing to say other than this. Keep this in your minds. Have you understood?

You must be very mindful when you work, rather than simply going through the motions as a way to pass the time. You must be careful; it is not good if you drop your standards. Some of the foreigners I know wrote to me after visiting certain schools, saying that they had witnessed various gaffes, and they were seriously upset after their visit. Surely, the mistakes they witnessed in the schools concerned were not deliberately committed by those responsible, but these blunders might have been perpetrated unknowingly or out of negligence. We must be mindful not to make such mistakes in the future, and should make every effort to be more attentive to our responsibilities. Everyone needs to be careful.

### Notes

1. The meeting was slated to be held at Gangchen Kyishong, the CTA compound, in the presence of His Holiness, but later His Holiness called the participants to his temple, the Tsuglagkhang.
2. In Buddhism, ‘empowerments’ are the conferring of power or authorization to practice the Vajrayana teachings, the indispensable entrance door to tantric practice.
3. The Tibetan proverb *dpang-po-gnyis-kyi-gtso-bor-zung* means to hold the main witness as more important out of two witnesses in your mind when one undertakes any action. The two witnesses are yourself and others. Others will judge and see your actions, but you yourself know what you are doing and your true motivation, which is why you are the more important witness.
4. Tibetan saying: *bye me’i nang chu thims pa*
5. Tibetan saying: *btang ‘gro bzhang sdod ‘pher ba*
6. A Polish man who was popularly known as Poland Powo-la, an old Polish man. His name was Freeman.
7. The Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies.
8. *OMAHRA PA TSA NA DHI*, the mantra of Manjushri, recited to gain wisdom.
9. In Buddhism, “solitary realizers” (Sanskrit: *pratyeka buddha*) refers to those buddhas who attain enlightenment through solitary efforts, without relying on teachers.

## ***Book Reviews***

### ***Political and Military History of Tibet***

Gyaltse Namgyal Wangdue (Yeshe Dhondup: trans.) 2 volumes.  
Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2010.

This two volume work presents the history of the Tibetan army within the wider context of the political history of Tibet, with its central aim being to highlight the independent nature of the Tibetan state historically and particularly vis-a-vis China. The author, who served in both the Tibetan and Indian military forces, states in his preface (p.x) that ‘a country’s military history is the most important evidence of the historical status of the country’, and indeed most of Tibet’s military conflicts have been with its eastern neighbours.

Originally written in Tibetan, this work relies almost entirely on Tibetan sources, notably the oral history material collected by the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. While the translator has recourse to Western sources in the explanatory and source notes that have wisely been added, the only Western work cited by the author (aside from the Dalai Lama’s autobiography) is Michael van Walt van Praag’s study of Tibet’s position in international law. Teichman is also briefly referred in the text, while Shakabpa’s two-volume Tibetan-language history is the main source for the political processes discussed.

The work begins with the military actions taken under King Songsten Gampo in the Yarlung dynasty period, and in this and many other senses it is a traditional Tibetan historical work. Given that there are a number of accounts of the Tibetan political engagement with their neighbours and the imperial powers, it is the military aspect of this work that is of greatest interest. Indeed this is a groundbreaking study of Tibetan military history. While there are one or two scholars now looking into the topic, and Carole McGranahan’s *Arrested Histories: Tibet, the CIA, and Memories of a Forgotten War* (Duke University Press: 2010) has analysed the “deliberate forgetting” of Tibetan military resistance to communist China after the 1950 invasion, the image of a peaceful non-violent Tibetan state has been exaggerated to the point where the very existence of a Tibetan army has been air-brushed from many fanciful histories and imaginings. But Tibet, like any other polity, had its military wing.

For those who lack any knowledge of the history of Tibet, particularly the Chinese invasion and the subsequent imperialist policies of the communist state, this work will provide an introduction to the main issues:- Tibet’s historical

distinctness and the religious context of the relationship between the Dalai Lamas and the Manchu Emperors. But while emphasising Tibet's independence is a major part of the author's intent there are numerous other works that serve that purpose and those familiar with the field of Tibetan studies will be most excited by the content concerning the military. Indeed those readers may feel that would have been wiser to have separated the political and military material into distinct publications, with the political focus on historical conflicts also being a fresh and illuminating approach.

What makes this work an essential addition to the library of anyone concerned with Tibetan history and culture – or to students seeking a realistic yet fascinating picture of Tibetan society – are the actual accounts of the Tibetan army, its structure, organisation, training, and performance on the battlefield. Particularly interesting alongside details of such matters as how weapons might be issued from the government armoury, military law, culture, and so on, are descriptions of daily routine, rituals, protocol, and the military role in state festivals, where the vivid accounts of their participation will be of considerable interest to anthropological understandings of Tibetan society. There is also a section containing the Tibetan language commands for military drill, marching, coming to “attention” (*blo sgrims*), and so on, commands that replaced the original use of English language terms that had been introduced when the Tibetan armies adopted British military methods and training in post-1913 society.

The details of various military campaigns are also of great interest. These include not only the 20<sup>th</sup> century battles against Chinese and British forces, but also the earlier campaigns, six in all, against Bhutan. Accounts from any battlefield are of course, one-sided, but we now have easily accessible eye-witness reports from Tibetan soldiers that may be compared to those of their opponents, and which will enable more balanced histories of the wars Tibet has fought against imperial armies, and neighbouring forces. Similarly this work provides a counterpoint to the many disparaging comments by outsiders concerning the worth of Tibet's military forces, although there is no attempt here to engage with those claims.

Many Tibetan soldiers are identified by name here. Naturally officers predominate, not least outstanding figures such as Jampa Tendar, appointed as the first Commander-in-Chief of the modern Tibetan army in 1913 and later victorious in the Kham campaigns against China. But there are also many mentions of ordinary soldiers who distinguished themselves, including monks, for we learn here that in times of conflict many monks volunteered to join the army in defence of their land. We also receive new insider perspectives on inter-monastic conflicts, such as those surrounding Sera monastery in the 1940s, and the author himself appears briefly, albeit modestly. The history ends in 1963, in the exile

community, with the establishment of Est.22, the Special Frontier Force of the Indian Army, which was largely composed of Tibetans. Their abilities at high altitude have well-served India in its conflicts with foreign forces.

One omission is any proper analysis of the intelligence failures in the campaign against Younghusband's forces in 1903-04. While ultimately vanquished by the superiority of British weapons and tactics, the British advance into Tibet required a lengthy supply-line which, if broken or even severely threatened, could have denied them the means to reach Lhasa. The absence of guerrilla style attacks on those supply and communications lines, or even the poorly defended British position at Phari, might have delayed an advance that was already threatened by political opposition in India and the U.K. Also absent is any note of the British General Neame's caustic summary of Tibet's military capabilities in the late 1930s, but given that prevailing foreign view, this work does advance a contrary perspective to be considered in any conclusions on the subject.

The *Political and Military History of Tibet* is completed by an Appendix of Treaties entered into by Tibet over the past 1500 years, and both volumes are illustrated by a collection of photographs. While some are of great interest, others are poorly reproduced or available elsewhere, while details are lacking from the captions. In areas beyond the author's field of expertise there are several unfortunate errors. Dates are often wrong or untenable (i.e.: vol.1: p.30; 1912). Kapala [sic: *Kabbalah*] is not a 'a city in Mecca' (v.1: p.107) but rather the sacred stone at the centre of the Islamic circumambulation route there. The German 'Dr Sheppard and his servants' (vol.2: p.71) must be Ernst Schaeffer and his party who reached Lhasa in 1939 (not 1937), and Richard Parker, the English teacher is one man, not two! (vol.2: p.179). Then too it is Lahaul not Lahore that is intended in vol.2, p.185.

None-the-less, there can be no doubt that, as Library of Tibetan Works and Archives Director *Geshe* Lhakdor states in his Foreword; these volumes, 'may not be technically a scholarly work, but as the first comprehensive history of the Tibetan army ... will definitely serve as an important source of reference for the study of Tibetan history and its political status pre 1959 in general, and about Tibetan military history in particular.' They are also well-presented and very reasonably priced; LTWA may be congratulated on bringing out these volumes.

— A.C. McKay

***Tibet: Writings on History and Politics***

Parshotam Mehra, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Professor Parshotam Mehra is well-known for his work on the history of Tibet, most notably the events surrounding and the period immediately after, the Younghusband mission (1903-1904). This work brings together a series of Mehra's published and unpublished papers from the past half-century and more in which he has been active, and is the second such volume of his writings to appear (following his 2007 OUP collection, *Essays in Frontier History: India, China and the Disputed Border*). Such collections are, as we have also seen in the case of compendiums by Samten G. Karmay, Hugh Richardson, Luciano Petech and Gene Smith, invaluable in bringing together disparate papers originally appearing, in many cases, in obscure or hard to obtain publications.

*Tibet: Writings on History and Politics* consists of twelve chapters divided into sections headed : 'Evolution of Tibetan Polity'; 'Tibet and the Raj'; and 'Bibliographic Surveys'. To these have been added an Introduction, Conclusions, an Epilogue, and – pleasingly - an Index. Several of the papers included are unpublished conference papers, including one given as a respondent which in the absence of the original papers might have been better omitted.

Mehra's essential concern is with China-Tibet relations for, as he notes (p.11) 'Conflict over [Tibet's] status has been a conflict over its history' and thus the events that draw his attention are those flashpoints. Mehra is schooled in the colonial records of the National Archives of India, which present a far-greater picture of individual agency than do the records of the India Office Library (OIOC), in London, and perhaps the most attractive aspect of his work is his ability to put a human face on history, while fashionable theorising finds no place here, meaning that his earlier writings are by no means dated. His qualities are seen to their best effect in the chapter entitled, 'The Last Decade of Qing Rule in Tibet' which includes an interesting discussion of strategies and actions by the Ambans and other relevant Chinese officials.

Most of the papers included here are reflective studies of the works of the others, although Mehra is not necessarily inclined to judgement as to the quality of their arguments. None-the-less students will appreciate his narratives around their findings. His opinions, however, may not be universally appreciated. This reviewer is certainly unable to concur with his conclusion (p.9) in the context of the failure of Tibet's modernization project that: 'Sadly for all his bluster the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama proved to be a weakling whose one great anxiety appeared to be to save his skin and the throne he occupied.' That the Dalai Lama survived for 20 years as the head of a Tibet entirely free of Chinese officials is surely a tribute

to his religio-political and personal skills as well as his innate command of the multi-faceted power sources of Tibetan culture and society. The Tibetan leader's periods of exile should surely be seen in the context of "saving the regimental colours"; that is, that in the face of external threats the centre of the Tibetan Buddhist government (Ganden Phodrang), the person of the Dalai Lama, could not be sacrificed or even risked without risking the eclipse of the institution itself.

While there is much that is worthy, there is inevitably a degree of repetition in this collection, noticeable not only in the lengthy introduction but particularly in the review articles that form the final section. These are not, by their nature, essential inclusions of lasting value, and the editing process seems to have rather collapsed here. A paragraph concerning the work of Warren Smith (pp.352-53) is largely repeated in the Conclusion (pp.365-66), which repetitious paragraph then appears again in its entirety a few pages later (p.370) in the Epilogue. While the only obvious error is the quite common statement (p.298) that the Gyantse English school closed down before it even opened, when in fact it functioned for three years, sometimes in repeating the views of others (i.e., those of Israel Epstein, p.336) Mehra does not point out their errors of fact (in this case Bell being in Lhasa at the same time as Huang Musung,) and one is sometimes left unsure as to whether what is being stated is by the reviewer or the reviewed. In sum, however, this a convenient collection that may be recommended to students and also serve the general reader.

—A.C.McKay

## *Contributors*

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