

Tibetan Youth Activism: Role of Government-in-Exile, 1959-1976

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

FWJAKHANG BRAHMA



CENTRE FOR INNER ASIAN STUDIES

SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled **Tibetan Youth Activism: Role of Government-in-Exile, 1959-1976** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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List of Abbreviations

ATPD	Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies
BRDL	Bhod Rangwang Denpai Legul
CPPCC	Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference
CTAO	Canadian Tibetan Association of Ontario
CRCT	Central Relief Committee for Tibetans
CIA	Central Investigation Agency
CTA	Central Tibetan Administration
CTPD	Commission of Tibetan People’s Deputies
CIA	Central Investigations Agency
CTE	Council for Tibetan Education
CTPD	Commission of Tibetan People’s Deputies
GOI	Government of India
ITSN	International Tibet Support Network
NWC	National Working Committee
PAP	People’s Armed Police
PLA	People’s Liberation Army
PSB	Public Security Bureau
PRC	People’s Republic of China
PSB	Public Security Bureau

PAP	People's Armed Police
PWA	Patriotic Women Association
SFF	Special Frontier Force
TAP	Tibet Autonomous Prefecture
TYC	Tibetan Youth Congress
TAR	Tibetan Autonomous Region
TCCC	Tibetan Canadian Cultural Centre
TNUD	Tibetan National Uprising Day
TWA	Tibetan Welfare Association
TAP	Tibet Autonomous Prefecture
TCHRD	Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy
TGIE	Tibetan Government-in-Exile
TIRS	Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society
TWA	Tibetan Women Association
TUP	Tibetan United Party
UFF	United Front Figures
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

DEDICATED

TO

ALL WHOM I SEE IN MY EVERYDAY LIFE

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Date- July, 2018

FWJAKHANG BRAHMA

Chapter: One

Introduction

The role of Tibetan youth has been influenced hugely by their freedom struggle. They have been maintaining contacts with each other and those who are living in outside of Tibet. Tibetan living in some cities across the world engage in demonstrations stopping traffic flows, raising slogans of free Tibet. During 1959, when China invaded Tibet since then, some Tibetan youth and community members have been supporting in continuing struggle for their independence against the Chinese government. They were forced by the Chinese people to assimilate with them in their homeland and forced into exile from their region. Nevertheless, it had not marked a shift in attitude among youth Tibetans in Tibet region and those who exiled into other countries. On March 10, the National Tibetan Uprising Day (NTUP) it is celebrates mostly by Tibetan youth in every year. They try to bring together and awareness through this events across the exile Tibetans. Therefore, in order to get into connection with different exile Tibetans participants, they have formed a several Tibetan organizations (Nyanang, 2015).

Thapa (2003) explains that on March 17, 1959, the Dalai Lama and his some followers fled from the Lhasa. However, in India, his party had reached by the end of march. In the years immediately following his escaped, nearly 15,000 Tibetans settled into exile. Then, steady streams of an estimated 3000 thousand Tibetans have crossed across the Himalayas into Nepal, Bhutan, and India. Since then the Dalai Lama has been the leader for the people of Tibet and leader of a spokesperson from his exile home in Dharamsala. However, after the Tibetan revolution of 1959, it has marked a change among Tibetan youth who carry on an essential incident as the day of entire Tibetan who escaped out from their homeland.¹

Differently, this enforced immigration reveals the continuing fight of Tibetans throughout the displacement to succeed independence, acknowledgment of religious autonomy, a national Tibetan identity, and elementary human rights. So, the Tibetan exiled groups are manifest in their political struggles to found a new Tibetan identity. The Tibetan youth might not be conscious that several of the pictures were born and that these pictures provided growth to a different Tibetan patriotism. Describing the initial existences of exile these pictures strictly

¹ Dev Thapa Bahadur (2003), *Tibet Past and Present*, Delhi, Kalinga Publications. p.27.

handled to the political thoughts supported by them. In illustrating the political belief of Tibetan youth, it is common that it can only assume in the background of the Tibetan community history in exile. Particularly in refugee and migration, it is the youth establishments that save the whole of the nation related through entire distances. Therefore, the attraction with a missing native land appears to be growing among them existing all over the displacement, as per their dream for the sovereign state mainly founded on a mutual reappearance to Tibet. The Tibetans successfully appealed to the United Nations (UN) and had three resolves approved in 1959, 1961 and 1965 about the condition of Tibet they all distributed with human rights violation rather than with problems of independence (Dolma, 2016).

In 1960, Tibetan parliament or a Tibetan Government-in-exile (Central Tibetan Administration, CTA) established by the Dalai Lama in India. The Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD) was founded by 13 members, with one representative from each one of the four traditional Buddhist groups Nyingma, Sakya, Kagyu, and Gelug and three legislatures from each one of the three traditional areas Dhotoe (Kham), Dhomey (Amdo), U-Tsang. On February 19, 1964, the first CTPD was called by Sangay as bring about the actions leaders of different areas and regions who were requested to handle elections for the assembly in the particular settlements. Many NGO's contributor assistances and the administration of India have found the CTA beneficial for the deal out relief. Therefore, the government of India would deal with it as a de facto government part within the Indian administration and permit exiles to stay without getting residency. The first Tibetan political activity was the Tibetan Welfare Association (TWA) which performed from an exile between 1954 and 1959 (Wangchuk, 2012).

The Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) founded on October 7, 1970, by four Tibetan youth namely Tenzin Geyche, Lodi Gary, Tenzing Tethony and Sonam Topgey with the support of the Dalai Lama and soon became a thunderous voice for all the Tibetan youth in exile against the Chinese government. They collaborated to create a representative youth organizations by recruiting delegates from Tibetan settlements in India, Nepal, and Bhutan. This organization has representatives from every corner of the world, and it has been instrumental in shaping this Tibetan youth movement. As a result, these organizations have developed a new stage where they can raise their voice and challenge China's illegal occupancy in Tibet throughout the transnational activities such as political activism. Consequently, these Tibetan youth led with an

action-oriented view of politics as they believed in immediately seeking complete independence of Tibet from China. Today this organization has 71 regional branches and over 15,000 members across the world, and membership and voluntary donations have funded it (Roemer, 2008).

As Boyd writes, "The Tibetan Youth Congress has been the main ingredient in this growing awareness of the place of dissent in a democratic polity." On its establishment, it included the Dalai Lama's aim of independence – a goal that the Dalai Lama held at the time and continue to fight for an independent Tibet. Despite organizing political campaigns such as the protest of human chain and hunger strikes, TYC holds in educational campaigns and social, and also conduct workshops, for example in leadership training for Tibetans. However, apart from outside their region, it is clear that the Tibetan youth leaders have the chances to gain education and some other political opportunities in such countries like Nepal, India. Their movement led by networks such as the Tibetan Youth Congress which is a worldwide organization composed of Tibetan youth seeking the restoration of complete independence for all of Tibet. Also, this political youths' movement is also encouraged by other Tibetan organizations such as "International Tibet Support Network" (ITSN) which helps coordinate campaigns among the more than 300 Tibet support groups which have found in over some countries (Lehman, 2009).

As a result, each year on March 10, known to Tibetans as the Tibetan National Uprising Day, thousands of young Tibetans take to the streets and demonstrate outside the Chinese consulate and some other countries. As youth Tibetans' movement at New Delhi, Bangalore in some Indian cities, etc. which were the initiative of youth Tibetans' movement to recreate their sovereign state of Tibet. They are engaging in transnational political activism to influence activities in the homeland. Most young Tibetans have educated in India, and the environment has naturally changed their cultural point of view. Tibetan organizations not only reflect the political concerns of Tibetans and other countries but also prioritize keeping traditions and memories alive by organizing and promoting various events that connect young Tibetans to the homeland. Besides, these organizations work to change the living conditions of Tibetans inside Tibet by denouncing abuses and restrictions. The Tibetan organizations led mostly by young with a total membership of over 10,000 people. Thus, by establishing ethnic networks of social, cultural and economic capital the Tibetan community is simultaneously sustaining and reproducing a politicized identity of Tibetan nationalism, and developing transnational social fields that provide

cross-border opportunities for the Tibetan youths. Through their engagement in organizations such as the Tibetan Youth Congress, it is clear that Tibetan youth can engage in cultural activities that not only highlight their Tibetan identity but also exhibit their status in their daily lives. Consequently, these mobilizations represent the existence of transnational social fields as Tibetan youth navigate simultaneously in more than one space that goes beyond one geographic border. The honors and affection have moved to the younger generation of Tibetans in regions still captured by China. The role of religion considered as a vital to understanding the life of Tibetan exile. Buddhism, the belief of Tibet influence Tibetan art, music, and literature (Nyanang, 2015).

Tibet, the highest place on earth, is among least populated areas of China. It is currently the autonomous region of China. Tibet is also as the "Forbidden Land". It has rich history and cultures that can witness through Buddhism in the area. Tibet came under the influence of many king, priest, and dynasties. The Land of mountains, The Hermit Kingdom, monasteries and Monks, The Hermit Kingdom, The Land of Women, Dogs, and Dirt, The country of the great unwashed, The Roof of the World, etc., almost expressive of the land. In spite of this living on the Roof of the World, Tibet is a place of incredible for everyone as it has some real surprises for the travelers. "As it may be the Cynic will say that the Tibet have advantages of being cut out from society, it covered by the highest mountains of the world, which is shared with India on south Mongolia and China on the northeast and the east, Eastern Turkistan on the North, and Nepal and Kashmir on the west." Most of the significant sources of rivers are the origin of the entire earth's surface in the Hermit Kingdom of Tibet. The T-sang-to river which also flows from west to east area of the country emerging in Assam which is known as the Brahmaputra (Hedin, 1988).

Tibet is an ancient region covering much of the Tibetan plateau in Central Asia which is the top region on Earth, with an average elevation of 4,900 meters. The Mount Everest is the oldest height in Tibet which is Earth's highest mountain growing 8,848 m (29,029 ft) beyond sea level. There are some other ethnic groups with the native Tibetan people. Tibetan identity historically has been indicated by various legends like Chiang, Mon, and Indo-European who are migrating from the north. The Tibetan mythological says that six tribes were the fundamental sources of the area of the eastern and southeastern of the Tibetan plateau is close to them (Srivastava, 2009).

They were settled on the edge of the Central Tibet some of them choose as an agriculturalist and others are pastoral nomadism for their daily life. Tibetan mythology says that the Mon were native people of the central area of Tibet who considered the Qiang as the foreigner. The population of Assam and Burma are very carefully related to the Mon people. However, it is known that they are the earlier residence of Himalayan edge, so it is possible that they are covering the area of southeastern and southern Tibetan plateau. In some history, it described that Mon narrated carpenters and smiths who served the name of Qiang knows artisans. The ethnic identity of the plateau also has by relatively modern migrations of peoples of Mongolian ethnicity. Substantial movements of Mongol tribes to the northeastern plateau began during the period of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth century and increased upon the fall of the Mongol dynasty in China in the fourteenth century. Later conflicts between Mongol tribes forced many to seek refuge in the Kokonor area of the northeastern Tibet. These Mongols with a few exceptions have been Tibetanized in language and culture. On the other hand, since the time of immemorial Chinese people were also settled in Chiang province perhaps, some were indigenous and migrated for trade in this region. So, the central conflict had begun between the Chinese and Tibetan due to the former and later settlement records in Chiang province. Chinese people had been using forced assimilation to Tibetans in this region during that time. Moreover, it's trending slightly towards multi power existence. The international scenario, particularly the Chinese foreign policy in Asia has a tremendous impact on Tibet's freedom movement. China has endorsed extreme corner of South Asia, South East Asia, including West Asia and Inner Asia for their economic interest (Smith, 2008).

Review of Literature

This chapter reviews the theoretical framework of transnationalism, and the different types of transnationalism found in the literature. Since the study explores the transnational practices of Tibetan youth as a form of transnationalism, it subsequently focuses on the research on transnationalism among Tibetan youth as well as discussing the derivative concepts including transnational social spaces and social fields. The final section of this chapter reviews the existing literature on identity construction and transnational identities.

Tibetan Identity

Tibet is a beautiful isolated land high up in the mountains of the Himalayas border with India and China and yet still almost wholly untouched by the outside world. Tibetan society was both feudal and deeply religious Buddhism had the profound effect in shaping as culture and traditions. Tibet is the only country which possesses a theocratic form of Government and also the country which is ruled over by a god with the person of the head of the Yellow School of Lamaism. Tibet has a few roads, the area of northern and western is barren and infrequently populated, and feudalism is rampant in every part of a city. The undoubted democratic nature of the human as an entire the patriarchal state acquire in many areas of the land, the surface or mean area approximately 15,000 feet above the level of the ocean. There was no other religion except that the Tibetans people. Indeed, it is probably the unique country in the whole world (Tuttle, 2005).

During the empire period Tibet's national identity based upon, population, region, nation and the government which had established during the subsequent periods of domination by Chinese dynasties of non-Chinese origin. Buddhism is known as the main religion of Tibet. The Buddhist monks move to Tibet from India, Nepal, East Turkestan and China and finally, Tibet turns into a center of Buddhist culture. Tibet developed a different culture due to its geographical and climatic environments. The relations between Tibet with China afford ample evidence of Tibetan freedom struggle. The national identity of Tibetan revealed the battle with China. Buddhism has used a mainly strong effect on Tibetan culture. Buddhist missionaries generally developed from Nepal, India, and China. Tibetan territory was defined and administered by central Tibet and thus became a national and state territory. Buddhism has adopted a distinctive form influenced by the Bon tradition and other native beliefs. (Yeh, 2013).

The Tibetan mythological says that the six tribes were the primary fundamental sources of Tibetan identity, namely the Don (IDon), Ton (soon), Se, and Mu (rum). The Se, Ton, Don, and Mu are their ethnic associates with very nomadic hunter-gatherers in character. The Don, Ton Se and Mu were the ethnic groups who migrated into the area of the eastern and southeastern of the Tibetan plateau whose identities have become similarity in nature with Tibetans (Smith, 2008).

Later on, they were settling or spreading on the edge of the Central Tibet. As an agriculturalist ethnicity, some of them choose agriculture once again in Tibet also to live or survive in their day to day life, and others were becoming pastoral nomadism for their daily life. Tibetan mythology clarified that the Mons were native people of the central area of Tibet who considered the Qiang as the foreigner. Historically, it is precise that they are covering the area of southeastern and southern Tibetan plateau. In some history, it described that Mon narrated carpenters and Smiths who served the name of Qiang knows artisans. The ancient native tribes of Tibet could everyone recognized as being of eastern Sino-Tibetan area line origins and if not most of them can identify as those similar people who were known as Qiang. The testimony of this known from the close linguistics connections in the stories of the origin of the Qiang and Tibetans, and the affirmation from Tibetan myths that the Tibetan native residence expanded by assimilation of the groups of people who may identify as Qiang. Perhaps, the Tibetans and Qiang were closed or connected following in their linguistics interpretations, culture, etc. as well as also primarily the identity of them. But, R.A. Stein mistakenly expresses that these (Tibetans and Qiang) two groups are not identical though the later is one of the principal elements which contributed to the formation of the former. The ethnic identity of the plate has also significantly influenced by relatively modern migrations of peoples of Mongolian ethnicity (Ibid).

During the empire period of 1959, Buddhism becomes a distinctive characteristic of Tibetan culture. The Tibetan king Srongtsen Gampo has two princes. One is Nepali another is Chinese as well as they were Buddhist followers. Being of Buddhist follower princes, they make him convert into Buddhism and spread to all over Tibet. After the marriage, the two wives slowly turned him into Buddhism from the Bon faith and also approached him to wear silk instead of sheepskins. A fortress on Red Hill (the first Potala) was being built to live in both the princes by Srongtsen Gampo. He also created the Ramoche and Jokhang temples for their sacred Buddhist statues (Thapa, 2003).

Since, Buddhism has been taking part in their development, living style, etc. and also vitally seemed to be changed a distinctive characteristic of Tibetan culture. This era was the starting point to preserve once again Tibetans' identity which is merely influenced by Buddhism, for this reason. China implicitly provided adequate evidence of Tibetan independence in Tibet province unwillingly. Albeit—empirically—the national identity of Tibetan showed the conflict with

China. The inferiority complex always existed between them. Chinese people were envisaging eliminating the status of Tibetans. This ideology appears in their region hitherto. There are nearly twenty different dissenting Buddhist sects in the Tibetan area. According to official statistics, about 1,110 monasteries distributed all over the country that is related to the Yellow School with a population of over half a million monks and around 1,400 monasteries are the Red School which is a total population of a quarter of millions of monks (Srivastava, 2009).

Though the collapsed structures of the building there are believed 2,500 monasteries in Tibet a million monks with three-quarters belonging to every area of the school of thought in the Tibetan Pantheon. A decade ago there are few Convents in Tibet, so the number of nuns is small. The country is approximately total 25 Convents, and less than 500 of nuns were living with them. In 1675 the monastery of Sambada was founded. Sambada is a small village near the road Gyantse, which comprises about 200 villagers, most of them is wretchedly low-income family. In this monastery, 300 monks are constructing around the commonplace of lawn. In Tibetan, monastery known as Gom-pa meaning a solitary place or hermitage. Most of the monasteries are far away from the rest of village and situated in isolated areas. In the Swiss Alps, few monasteries located that have been placed there for the same reasons. The location of the Tibetan monasteries has reference to penance what the monks wish is meditation, and this can be best to get inner peace through meditation. The majority of the Tibetan monasteries live over 14,000 feet above the height of the sea that has never come outside and does not know to read nor write. Their horizon expands no further apart from the grounds of the monastery. The site chosen is usually both commanding and picturesque, and some have so built that they overhang a dangerous precipice. These monasteries are too many old and remote areas which they cannot access to ordinary tourist in the country (Ibid).

Language

Language is a communication. It is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols using which human being interact and communicate with each other. Like many other major languages of the world Tibetans also have their language which is known as Bod-Kad. It is the most commonly spoken language in Tibet. Officially, Tibetans did not have a written script (literature) until the 7th century, when Thonmi Sambhota began working on it. All Tibetans use only one language for written and spoken but there are several dialects, and it spread over the entire Tibetan region.

There are various dialects of Tibetans languages such as the north-eastern (Am-Kad) and central (U-Kad), the eastern (Kham-Kad)--since that times--these difference dialects creates difficulties for their everyday conversation of life. However, U-Kad dialect worked as a generally used for some other dialects. Though the Tibetan language has been affected by different dialects, it still heard in its pure practice. The script of Bod-Yik which is developed from the Brahmin and Gupta writings of initial India (around CE 350) and used in all geographic areas of Tibet. It has no connections with Chinese pictographic language. But in South Asia, this language is seen as a decline in speakers as a percentage of the population. Tibetan language speaking also found in the neighboring countries such as Bhutan, Ladakh, Sikkim and throughout the Himalayan region. Though, the language family status of Tibetan is not without divergence. Despite the differences, it still believed that Tibetans language is part of the Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burman. Beyer, a noticeable Tibetan linguistics scholar, in his ten-year education indicates that Tibetan are more far associated to Burmese than more vaguely still to Chinese. According to Tibetans, Chinese and Tibetans are two absolutely divergence languages. They never agree between these two languages are the same.²

Now a day in Lhasa, some Nepalese traders and Chinese speak English, but few Tibetans do, as it was not taught in schools until recently. (Now, gift of books and English-language cassettes are greatly appreciated). Many Tibetans speak both Tibetan and Chinese, but few Chinese speak Tibetan. Most signs are written in Tibetan and Chinese. Some travel agencies can provide interprets if necessary but most travellers manage without them (Booz, 1997).

Religion

The meaning of Buddha means the enlightened one. Buddhism is a way of life apart from religion. In Tibet the majority of the people believed Buddhism. For Tibetan youth, a Buddhist identity has enforced a more profound loyalty towards the Tibetan nationalistic struggle and has subsequently encouraged more transnational activities such as political activism. It is one of the earliest faith systems across the world wherein the philosophical ideas were deeply delved into as

² Dawa Dolma, (2016), *Survival and Revival of Tibetan Ethnic Identity in India*, Budapest, Hungary: Central European University, p.18.

we could see a close relationship between religion and a philosophy. At present world, a lot of people as over 350 million have been following the Buddhism belief systems (Nyanang, 2015).

Since the ancient period the Tibetans had gone to encrust the monastery, while the leading monks formed a vast dependent social stratum. In the eighteenth century, according to Melvyn Goldstein's estimation about 13 percent of the people were monks and, nearby 26 percent of Tibetan males. Each Tibetans have to donate a significant part of their particular wealth to spiritual activity constructing monasteries provided that for nuns and monks carrying out ceremonials creation pilgrimages and so forth. Under the Dalai Lama's management around 92 percent of the budget was dedicated to religious disbursement. Now a day, for some estimation, the Tibetans pay of their yearly income to the monasteries. This was financial that would not be alter into useful investment nor used to progress the people's live (Lixiong and Shakya, 2009). Buddhism plays a role in influencing the Tibetan, and there are also other social, cultural and political factors that shape their cross-border activities. Religion is an essential to the Tibetans and also has a strong impact over all phases in their surviving.

Many people feel attracted to a faith which empowers the human individual. Buddhism numbers grow year on year. The Buddha according to Buddhist scriptures made his way to this spot and determined not to move until he found an answer to the world's suffering. The Bodh Gaya temple is the Mecca of Buddhism it is where the Buddha attained enlightenment. According to their belief and the Bodhi tree, or a great-grandson of the Bodhi tree still grows there. So Buddhist goes there to remember the tremendous breakthrough that was the Buddha's discovery of the true nature of the universe. All Buddhist are encouraged to model their approach to life on his. The most important single point in the Buddha's teaching and one that distinguishes it very sharply from other religions is that the Buddha taught that each of us is entirely and solely responsible for our own lives and our salvation, no one can be responsible. For the Buddhist sources having seeded a radically new worldview, the life of Buddha was very short as he died at the age of 84. After passing away, according to the sources, his body was remained unburned in the cemetery (Srivastava, 2009).

Buddhism consists as far as Buddhists are concerned in three things which they call the three jewels, and those three things are intimately connected. The tradition of Buddhism across the world was founded or spread by Buddha. The Sangha took the second initiative to sprinkle in the

world whatever Buddha taught about the principles of Buddhism. Basically, Sangha people belonged to the community of monks and nuns. The third initiative was taken by Buddha followers through the Dharma. The Dharma refers to the preaching, the teaching of the Buddha. In other words, it's what the Buddha discovered, and it is also the truth. The Buddha did not assert any heaven prestige nor did he confess to be a particular protector which he entitled himself a guide and teacher. His message fascinated to all the people including merchants, farmers, and entire social classes in ancient India and to the untouchable caste (Sen, 2012).

The Buddha in the course of his spiritual awakening rejected a good number of aspects of Hinduism. He dismissed some philosophical components of Hindu beliefs, and he was very critical of the position of the Brahmins or Priests. In society at that time, this was a very elitist position. He was similarly critical of the caste system. He positioned himself as a result outside of the caste system. He spent his remaining years traveling through thick forests, across mango groves, from village to village. The curious would bring food and clothing for the philosopher and his band of followers. And in turn, he encouraged them to reconsider the purpose and point of life to recalibrate their moral compass. Although the Buddha did not establish a church or a temple system as such, over time the significance locations in his time gradually turned into shrines. Initially, Bodh Gaya was just a pastoral sanctuary, marked out with a stone balustrade, 200 years or so after his death, but by the 6th century A.D a full-blown temple the Mahabodhi temple marked the spot. Buddha never denied that there were Gods; he just said you do not have to rely on the gods to make everything ok (Norbu, 1996).

During the Chinese occupation, Tibetans have suffered from different situations. In the 17th century, Chakpori Tibetan Buddhist Schools demolished by the Chinese in 1959. In central Tibet, it was to be the four holy mountains. Most of the Tibetan exile history and the westerner's scholars to the Tibetans say that in 1959 there were 592,000 monks and nuns with 6,259 monasteries in Tibet. Before democratic reform, the 10th Panchen Lama considered that there were approximately 2,500 monasteries in May 1962, but after the democratic change in 1959, there was a small number the government maintained approximately 70 monasteries. But many social networking websites show that there were only eight monasteries in 1976. The Tibetan Government-in-exile, also accept with the data of 6,259 monasteries before and eight

monasteries after. The 10th Panchen Lama and the Tibetan Government-in-exile are both genuine sources as well as their figures vary (Roberts and Elizabeth, 2011).

During the early 1960s, the Cultural Revolution has starts destruction of monasteries. The clergy members who were not in prison earlier or labor camps were in many cases subject to more struggle sessions and public humiliation. Some monks and nuns were imposed to break their oath of celibacy by marrying. During the Cultural Revolution, people were forced to condemn the Dalai Lama public struggle sessions. Pictures of the Dalai Lama and religious scriptures were burned ablaze on the streets. The Red Guards ruined monasteries, temples and holy places in every corner of the Tibetan plateau. According to the Tibetan exiles, approximately 6,000 temples, monasteries and shrines that they asserted remain in Tibetan areas, few dozens were undamaged. The Tibetans got some information from the Chinese government officials that monasteries destroyed in all the regions. According to PU Wencheng, the four monasteries were left undamaged in Qinghai and Gansu after the Cultural Revolution. It noted that Labrang Tashikhyil and Kumkum are the most famous monasteries and political, economic as well as religious centers in the region. In Qinghai, Kumkum and Jotshang could allegedly be survived by rest of others destroyed. The monastery reestablished in 1963 but the number of monks did not return, while monks who had married lived in the monastery. Then enter the Cultural Revolution, when all monasteries destroyed in every of parts of the country. Some of the villagers started to use which the priority had owned grasslands and fields, and ultimately the monastery became a commune (Smith, 2008).

Consequently, in contextualizing the nationalist experiences among Tibetan youth, it is important to emphasize that for many young Tibetans living in exile a true Tibet lies not in a national homeland but in a body of religious and cultural practices that have traveled with the Dalai Lama into exile. For many Tibetan youth, the Tibetan nation is embodied in culture rather than territory, since the spiritual leader of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, is still in exile. Therefore, considering the Dalai Lama's centrality to cultural nationalism, in particular, it is important to note that the Dalai Lama's broad influence on the Tibetan youth movement, as he has come to symbolize the religious-cultural versions of Tibetan nationalism (Drissel, 2008).

Tibetan Youth Struggle in Exile

On March 10, 1959, the Tibetan people reasserted their independence in the capital of Tibet, Lhasa, through a spontaneous uprising against the Chinese government, which they later crushed by military force. This date is highly significant for all Tibetans living in the diaspora since it marks the day when more than sixty thousand Tibetans, including women and children, surrounded the capital city of Tibet to protect the Dalai Lama from being taken away by the red Army of Communist China. However, ever since the initial Tibetan uprising of 1959, it has marked a shift in attitude among Tibetans, particularly among Tibetan youth who forced out of their homeland (Wijer, 2010).

Some of the young Tibetans namely-Yeshi, Shudrun Lobsang, and Sampo Jigme and one Manag in secret started to trainee Lhasa residents to join the revelries in the highlands. It was in south of Lhasa. Manag Abu was a chief leader among others. Yeshi, Shudrun Lobsang was a former monk approved favorite of the Regent Tagta Rimpoche. He was considered the top Tibetan leaders among the young administrators after considerable instruction by the communist. It was this position which gave him the chance to protection his other nationalistic activities in forming the anti-Chinese Lhasa group. The anti-communist organizations were formed in Lhasa and Peking by the Tibetan young students who had been studying in Peking. The Tibetan families were detained for this action one of them belonging to the Pangdat-shang family and the Chinese authorities refused the appeals of their mothers for their release until they had openly pleaded guilty their faults (Thapa, 2003).

Consequently, every year on March 10th, Tibetan youth living in major cities around the world to press their demand for Free Tibet. On 31st March, Dalai Lama fled with his 15,000 thousand retinues into an India many Tibetan youth have been struggling for their rights in exile. They settled in Bhutan, Nepal and some parts of the Indian states like Sikkim, Assam, and Uttarakhand. Finally the Dalai Lama founded the Tibetan Government-in-exile in 1960. The main head office of this government is in Dharamsala. Most Tibetan residing in Dharamsala today were born elsewhere, but live there because of studies or work. For a majority of Tibetan youth living in the diaspora, the most influential forums where their political identities formed are youth organizations such as the “Tibetan Youth Congress” who handled the need to use their newly-acquired knowledge for the upcoming of Tibet and the Tibetan peoples (Wijer 2010).

The exiled Tibetans have been settled in different areas of India. From Mussoorie fifty five Tibetans were selected to be the soldiers and monks. Among them Kundel Jigme, Lhadingsay were store-keeper and the school was inaugurated by Dalai Lama holiness on 3 March, 1960. Young Tibetans aged eighteen to 25 were in rags and had no toilet facilities, which had no proper facilities for their life. They were all the time hungry yet they never complained. Various individuals and international charitable organizations helped at first and gradually the government of India took charge of school, which has now become a recognized high school with Jigme as principal. A year later the young men dispersed 20 of the most promising going to Denmark for vocational education and the rest becoming teachers of Tibetan people. They were replaced by boys and girls and now there are about 600 students at Mussoorie. Jigme is also education director of the Tibetan Government-in-exile (Taring, 1970).

“The Tibetan Parliament-in-exile located in the hill-area of Dharamsala on the part of the Dhauladhar range closes the Himalayas in northern India.” It is also the residence of the Dalai Lama’s place of worship and a numerous of Tibetan NGOs, building this a small hill station of political center in exile and Tibetan religious site. The amendment of an essential feature provided constituent to the proceedings of the parliament where the Kalons are at present essential to define and safe the events and to govern of the administrative. The amendment has had to dissimilar far-reaching special things connections of parliament and lay down dealings on topics which formerly were the reserve of his guides and Dalai Lama’s holiness. The Dalai Lama is the spiritual and administrative leader of the exiled Tibetan and this conference of influence is dominant. The existence of Tibetan government and lifestyle has affectedly changed in exile. Not only were people quickly concerted, but the constant and established universal Hierarchy created by land holdings and monasticism that had occurred in Tibet suddenly had no base in exile. A new survival in exile formed new group spaces, especially in India; all Tibetans were migrants (Roemer, 2008).

A Patriotic Role for Tibetan Youth

The main features of an actual patriotic battle for freedom depend on challenging the matters equally from privileged the disputed region and outer it by the displacement in exile. As, the Tamil, Kurdish and Sikh migration had been effective in preserving the separatist plan active by organizing with the political powers inside their states. On the other hand, most of the time,

Tibetans have chosen like a brain-drain nationalism which inspires those dedicated protesters who are connected with symbols of Tibetan independence to escape Tibet. In the matter of the youth Tibetan effort, this has been negative to the development of a Tibetan nationwide movement from the time of the Tibetan migration autonomy can only develop in aggregation by the political powers inside Tibet (Singha, 2012).

A much more convincing disagreement about the Tibetan national struggle such as he contends that in the Tibetan case independence is a manufactured article of the development of the diaspora. Such as Anand (2003) explains that the refugee was full of responsible for a development of an identifiable new Tibetan national awareness.

After the 1970s the education of Tibetans has been increased in exile. Most of them are graduate from different colleges and universities, which was extremely critical in their philosophy than their family. Suddenly, the young Tibetans in exile decide to conduct a meeting with the aim of complete expulsion uniting youth. The Dalai Lama approved the decision and helped all the expenditures for the discussion in the conference. Then the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) was established on October 7, 1970, with the help of the Dalai Lama which they can raise their voice against the illegal Chinese occupation in Tibet. Criticism from the younger generation has not been greeted by the migrate leadership but somewhat seen as discourteous and most horrible intimidation to their appropriate power. The TYC also has a disputed image in the exile community as numerous levels the association as anti-Dalai Lama for their effort on free movement. In a democratic society, the people can have their own opinion for their rights. For the whole city, it is the fundamental right in their own country (Nyanang, 2015).

Dharamsala is the main center of TYC which resolutely holds supports in freedom as the group's primary objective. With the support of some NGOs, the TYC conduct a meeting for their independence against the Chinese rule. The TYC run by Tibetan exile community people who have played a significant role on the political issue. The members of TYC spawned very quickly. Since the very beginning, its leadership elected democratically. The primary aim of this organization was to "propagate a sense of unity and peace among young Tibetans, to encourage and awareness in Tibetan culture and to struggle for the freedom of the native land". French attributes a central role to the Tibetan Youth Congress in creating an atmosphere conducive to common functions because it has "confronted the cabinet and on occasion gone outside of the

Tibetan administrative system to negotiate on its own for changes vis-a-vis the Indian government". As a result, she argues that the community's perspective on authority has shifted from "resignation to the inquiry, and slowly democracy has grown through the processes of enfranchisement, representation, and accountability". The TYC also served as a social standing ground for new social worker leaders and lots of essential supporters went on to embrace positions in the CTA. It was not long before the TYC mobilized with thousands of workers in November 1973 they issued their first set of "bold and concrete" demands. In 1971 with little influence the TYC start promoting for electoral reform. They required the conventions from the diverse religious groups transferred to the Religious Convention and needed to grant every Tibetan the right to vote for the representatives of all three sections. The TYC ask for their plans were in the importance of harmonizing the patriotic spirits to the delegates and turn the Commission into a morally administrative group. At the ninth yearly administration broad CTA discussion, the president of the TYC said that the union and its association would refuse the forthcoming legislative election if their recommendations were accepted. Their proposals are seen by robust and firm disagreement, especially from the religious assistants. They described in the conference that regionalism and sectarianism are the essential portions of any civilization (Gill, 2015).

Some of the representatives casually clarified that the TYC as the suggestion of youngsters who although literate has no sentiment of what Tibet was alike. TYC representatives reacted by demanding that the voting system was out of touch with the realism of current and forthcoming Tibetan condition setting the period for an inter-generational struggle. By passing the time, everything modifications to voting regulation had to be prepared by the National Working Committee (NWC) which comprised of the Kashag, the memberships of the CTPD, and a representative from each one of the CTA sections which are the final verdict creating organization focus only to consent of the Dalai Lama. However, the NWC had not started to discuss over the probable variations it eventually finalized that as planning was already proceeding for the election of the seventh legislative body, it would approve under the prior procedure. The TYC came to know the information of their official judgment through the National Working Committee letter. At the moment, the TYC leadership was making speechless because of the NWC verdict was sealed with the agreement of the Dalai Lama. After getting the NWC's retort, the seventh TYC overall conference fixed that they would not reject the election.

The assessment prejudiced by the Dalai Lama's guidance to the Delhi Tibetan youth that the present condition of the Tibetans in exile is not auspicious to radical improvements in the election system yet. Unlike the TYC and the CTA has continuously conserved a pro-independence department. However, the group also creates its loyalty to the Dalai Lama unambiguous even though the statement that it disagrees with his existing reconciliatory procedure toward China as well as his non-violent method. Lodi Gyari wrote: "As founder and former president of the Tibetan Youth Congress I can firmly state that there has never been any question of challenge to the leadership of His Holiness both as a supreme spiritual head as well as our political head from any section of the Tibetan community. I need not assure that the Tibetan youth have always had the highest esteem for His Holiness and will continue to look forward to his leadership and do his bidding at all times, even at the risk of their lives." However, knowing the power of the Dalai Lama, TYC members have made it clear that they are ready for the violence to succeed an independent Tibet, in direct antagonism to the non-violent method articulated by the Dalai Lama (Roemer, 2008).

A January 1976 monthly in the Tibetan review discussed several of the complications in the argument over a peaceful effort and the personality of guidance in the Tibetan society. Though mentioning an active unit of the youth that has at least bid adequate audacity to contest the heaven destined rules of their leader, it was also precarious of the fact that there has been no formal protest of the victim for the state reason by any youth. There have been no hijackings, no bomb atrocities or remarkable kidnappings. According to the Tibetan Review, the unsuccessful of a Tibetan equipped fight restored with the unique nature of the Tibetan leadership. Although criticizing the largely bravely quality of the Tibetan leadership, it stopped small of condemning the Dalai Lama himself and despite concentrated on a vague administration that does not seem like to take store of the flying condition guidance that does not venture to take threats a leadership that considers in endurance. On the other hand, the editorial suspected that any alternative administration was potential though the Dalai Lama was about and demanded that equipped struggle would only be successful was if the Dalai Lama led it himself tremendously unlike assumed his location as the bodhisattva of sympathy (Lehman, 2009).

The argument over the assurance to non-violence encouraged by the Tibetan review was not inadequate to the youth, and they opened their sides to both of the issues. In a message to the

Tibetan review, one young reader described that the Dalai Lama along with a part of his followers moves toward in exile not only to survive their exists and bread but to protect and conserve the actual liberty of Tibetan religion, race, and culture. Independence will be significant merely with the pre-security of these things. Nonetheless, the TYC's effort toward armed fighting was not without instance. Although Tibetans in exile together fought and succeeded in their different situation, conflict in Tibet also continual. Since 1951 to 1974 Tibetans taught through the United States, Central Intelligence Agency (USCIA) run an opposition movement in contrast to the Chinese armed forces in Tibet. These guerillas continued severe intimidation to Chinese rule till 1971, when Nixon's visit to China, coupled with Nepal's suppression on the militaries who had been working out of Mustang subsequent in quelling the association. However, military solutions under the supports of the TYC had none of the success of the CIA-backed guerrillas (Thapa, 2003). The TYC established with the help of the Dalai Lama, so it is possibly not astounding that by the mid-to-late 1970s essential TYC workers employed to serve such as position representatives in the CTA, but sometimes it leads to clashes in which they discontinue their working in the TYC. There is some organization such as the Regional Tibetan Women's Association of Dharamsala, Regional Tibetan Youth Congress of Dharamsala which they always support the Tibetan events like candle-light vigils for self-immolators, Tibetan Independence Day and the celebration of the Panchen Lama's birthday.

Role of Tibetan Youth and Religion

Tibetans establish their identification primarily throughout Buddhist descriptions of their land, linguistic, backgrounds of their race and ceremonial performs. Thus, a Tibetan Buddhist narrative shows that "Tibet" is not only a geographical area but a heavenly environment. Although with certain consequence for assimilation in the host society, Tibetans are more probably to utilize their religious identification as "Buddhist" to resist assimilation into the host society, as preserving a "pure Tibetan identity" means resisting a dual identity. The multinational political identification of Tibetan youths, many scholars have alternatively stressed the significance of "religious identity" over other feature in creating their transnational activities (Dorjee and Giles, 2005).

The Tibetan youth experience create and arranged identities while continuously revealing to transnational community spaces in which characters can be reformed based on cross-border

flows of information. In spite of the fact that Tibetan Buddhism has always portrayed as a religion in the Western perception, it has come to be observed into a different sense among Tibetan youth, as it has become a leading instrument in attaining various political objectives. As a result for Tibetan youth, a Buddhist identity has imposed exceptional reliability to the Tibetan independence struggle, and eventually supported more transnational activities such as political activism. The involvement of youth is necessary for negotiations of culture, religion, and identity for new stage relations in migrations and exiled experiences. The custom is a social construction, rather than being something that is a fixed and stable reality (McLellan, 2002).

Kolas (1996) explains that the returning of the 13th Dalai Lama of Tibet, he is the only unquestioned leader of the Tibetan peoples, as not only contributes persistence to the history of Tibet but incorporates the community of Tibetans itself. Therefore, in contextualizing the patriotic experiences among them, it is necessary to intensify that for many young Tibetans living in exile, "a true Tibet" lies not in a national homeland, but in a body of cultural and religious exercise that has travelled with the Dalai Lama into exile. In the same way in her work on Tibetans immigrants to western countries themselves tend to be a little less grandiose but advocate that the Tibetan culture especially Buddhism might have something to provide for others people. Though, in order for this effort, one must associate nation with culture which she argues is in fact the case for many Tibetans who feel this way.

Tibetan patriotism is not a unified discussion, but a site of disputation, where different perception challenge for the obedience of Tibetans. For instance, the present condition classified by the reciprocal intervention of at least two disproportionate nationalisms, to which one is territorial that is predicate in the physical land of Tibet. From another point of view, the other system of nationalism situates the "genuine frame of Tibet" in the incorporeal body of the Dalai Lama. Undoubtedly, for many Tibetan youth, the Tibetan nation is incorporated in "culture rather than territory", since the Tibetan spiritual leader of Dalai Lama, is still in exile. Thus, taking into considering the Dalai Lama's midpoint to cultural nationalism indistinct it is significant to note the Dalai Lama's broad impact on the Tibetan youth struggle as he has the approach to symbol the cultural-religious kind of Tibetan nationalism (Falcone and Wangchuk, 2008).

The importance of the Buddhist identification and expression the procedure of ethnicization of faith refers to the notion that religious identity has become a marker among diasporic youths,

such as in the case of Tibetan youth. Thus, to promote local border between themselves and the customs of the host societies, they assume a Buddhist religious identification, and it has now become a significant principal on forming how Tibetans form themselves in assist of the political cause (Gill, 2015).

Although the impact of religion and culture in the forming of Tibetan youths' identity shows that the resurrection of common Tibetan culture represents not only single belief obedience to Buddhism but more importantly, it signified their allegiance to Tibetan national identity. Such as during the time of self-immolation protests, both inside and outside of Tibet are led mostly by monks, the hunger strike and protests are considered by most Tibetan youth as Tibetan independent movements struggle against the Chinese government, in preference as an entirely religious act. Therefore, a significant number of "non-Buddhist Tibetan" nationalists engage in religious, cultural activities merely to maintain their national identity (Smith, 1997).

Undoubtedly, Buddhism performs a vital role in supporting a sense of "Tibetanness" among the Tibetan youths in some other countries. Although, at the same time, it is essential to stress that the identification of the Tibetan youth is particularly fluid with loyalty to both their region and their host culture, as they also impacted by other elements such as their social and political background. Thus, while Buddhism performs a role in shaping the transnational practices of Tibetan youth, there is also other social, cultural and political feature that develops their cross-border activities (McLellan, 2002).

Imagining the Tibetan Nation-State

According to Tibetan youth those who are living in exile, their imaginings are important to their independent movement and their transnational struggle to provide ties with the homeland. Memory is essential to comprehension transnationalism among Tibetan youth since memories support develop a social group and it permits a collaborative understanding of what each single has suffered as well as strengthening an agreement that brings society closer together (Bakhtin, 1981).

Halbwachs (1992) explains that collective memory is not a false notion of parapsychological connections; though the collective memorial sustains and draws power from its improper in a rational practice of individuals, it is persons as group associates who recollect. However, this

process of the mind deeply embedded in the past, it nonetheless plays a vital role in the course of future events as it acts as a social force.

Anderson (1983) explains in contextualizing the diaspora identity of Tibetan youth, it is useful to consider the work of who directs attention to the set of social circumstances in which authoritative discourses are strategically and actively engaged, as they inserted into identity processes of those groups that are forced to relocate. All communities are imaginary, communities are to be illustrious, not by their deceptiveness, but by the style in which they are fictional. Therefore, while all communities are conceived, what separates each nation is the way in which these nations come to imagine. However, for Tibetan youth who are part of the diaspora, the concepts of nation and nationalism take on new meanings since the traumatic nature of forced exile cannot be compared with the experience of voluntary migration.

Existence as a refugee is not a culmination in itself, but it is means to an end. While voluntary migrants may capitalize on the opportunity to develop a global identity, people forced into exile by an oppressive regime live in a diaspora in which they face a daily threat to life and culture (Venturino, 1997).

Lavine (2001) defines that how assembly and distinct uniqueness in the displacement focused on ideas of defeat, refugee, dislodgment, commemoration, faith, and predicted reappearance. As a result, this idea of an imagined homeland that sustains the culture and identity of the migration people becomes an important one especially for Tibetan youth in exile. Also, that the memorial of life formerly displacement and exile, the worship of the native land and attitudes of durable connections with other memberships of the group through a shared remembrances culture and identity are all precarious to keeping harmony amongst the exile or migration community. Therefore, in many ways, diaspora and exile have taken Tibetans nearer together as an obstinate society functioning for the same principal to ultimate return to Tibet. As regards to the notion of “collective memory and longing for the homeland,” there is a clear emphasis on place and place-making among diasporas populations that forced out of their homeland.

Marsden (1997) explains that a new geography may be emerging for the younger generation; one that is about the reconstitution of identity and place and one that is more relevant to the interaction between “what is global and what is local”. Since it is highly unrealistic for Tibetans

to gain full independence or autonomy of their homeland shortly, creating a physical place through a shared collective memory that resembles the motherland subsequently becomes essential in understanding a Tibetan population that longs for a distant home.

Appadurai (1990) defines that the idea of the homeland lying as the symbolic center of diaspora groups is in fact an invention produced by the imagination of people who are outside of their homeland. In many cases, this is the reality for members of conflict generated diasporas and include those who originate from violent settings.

Halbwachs (1992) explains that memories are socially constructed and negotiated between individuals collective memories also sustain a narrative that affected people's identification and provides significance to the lived practice of individual's and society.

Yeh (2007) defines that an outstanding example of group recollection in her work on Tibetans overseas, with her imagination that they are frequently characterized as having an imagined or mythical home. In view of the most Tibetan youth have never returned or experienced the "homeland", one response has been the disclosure of a substitute visualize the natural geography of homeland in which Dharamsala, the political capital of Tibetans in exile and the seat of the Dalai Lama has moved Lhasa the previous capital city of Tibet as the midpoint of Tibetan diasporas geography. Comparably, the portrait of Tibet as a visualized homeland can also associate with the experiences of the exile emigrations. In exile that was once aspiration of as being rooted in a particular region and now expand elsewhere to the extent of the nation. Comparatively, in any way, it is sure that the craving for home has reformed over time, from the return to destined villages to an insistence on a cooperative national return to their region that thought of more intellectually along a shared sense of collective memory. Thus, the Tibetans also visualize of a common homeland throughout average retention as they attempt to generate an envisaged home that encourages the vision of a free Tibet.

The role played by collective memory in identity creation by examining remarkable stereotype in ancient national narratives in which competent reign and malicious is either destroyed or specifically excluded. In this regard, memory helps conserve the collective gain that individuals aspire to follow, shaping history as a teaching mechanism for an actual way of life. The developing phases of comprehension the association between history and memory is to involve

the relationship between history and memory the contradictory between history and memory and the interdependence between history and memory. All three of the periods are essential for the third and ultimate phase of history and memory has led to the identification of mind as existing proceedings. Consequently, pervasive consciousness has directed to operating another phrase like collective remembering to strengthen the subjects matter involved in developing memory preferably merely the narrative itself (Nyanang, 2015).

Undoubtedly, the concept of collaborative retention is exceptionally relevant among the Tibetan youth owing to the certainty that portrayal of memories has the perspective to form an envisage homeland that scarcity the destitution that explains life in exile, especially in a country such as India. Along with a shared sense of collective remembering, the former homeland of Tibet represented a land of calm and independence where Tibetans can exist peacefully at present among other Tibetans who are within in Tibet. As a consequence, it is distinct that different description of memory is manipulating within political protests on March 10, which permit the Tibetan youth to prepare an imaginary nation-state of Tibet. So, the Tibetans have been providing with an imaginary version of Tibet, as memory is exercised to portray this idolized version of the nation in pursuance of distributing particular consolation as well as to consolidate collective resolve among the Tibetan. With regards to the Tibetan youth, this is a significant stage to consider their transnational experiences as they are more opportunities to engage in different multicultural movement such as political movement struggle in their daily lives. Thus, although operating transnational social spaces there is intersecting identification encourager for Tibetan youth as they can transform through identities of both Indian and Tibetan's.

Research Gap

There have been many studies on Tibetan issue. However, there has been a drastic change in the Tibetan youth activism which is the International mediations substantially attracted on the subject over Tibet. The purpose of this research is to analyze the importance of Tibetan activism particularly the youth and nuns who have self-immolated during their protests. The proposed study has been planned to be carried out in this perspective.

Definition, Rationale, and Scope of the Study

Tibetan youth might not be aware that many of the images were born in the fifties and sixties, and that these images gave rise to a new Tibetan nationalism. Depicting the early years of exile, these images closely tied to the political ideas promoted by Tibetan youth in the present day. In describing the political mindset of young Tibetans can only understand in the context of the history of the Tibetan community in exile. Generally in exile, it is the youth associations that preserve the whole of the nation related through all area of distances. Thus, the fascination with a lost homeland seems to be increasing among Tibetan youth living throughout the diaspora, as their vision for the nation-state primarily based on a consolidated return to Tibet. Therefore, this exploratory research concerns itself with the transnational identities of Tibetan youth in as they engage in the creative process of identity construction as individuals and as in collective.

This study has following **Research Questions**

1. What are the origin, geography, economic condition, etc. of Tibet?
2. What are the main reasons for migration of Tibetans out of Tibet?
3. What are the factors that motivate the youth of Tibet to be politically involved in the demonstration?
5. How has exile government influenced the Tibetan youth?
6. Has the population of Tibetan youth been diluted after 1959 revolution?

The study has tested following two **Hypotheses**

1. Chinese indifferences towards Tibetan aspirations have accelerated Tibetan youth movement.
2. In the present context, Tibetan youth activism has changed which is the International mediation substantially attracted on the issue over Tibet.

Research Methods

In the proposed research study, a critical analysis of past events, current situation, and applicability of theories will be done to understand various issues related to the youth activity and free movement of Tibet. The study will adopt a qualitative method to analyses different data and to understand the nature of freedom movement and the role of youth Tibetans. In this

research, primary sources of data will consist of government documents, records, and reports as well as UN and other agencies reports of youth participation. The secondary sources of data will include books, articles, periodicals, etc.

For a clear understanding of the subject, this research study has arranged in the following five chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter will give a historical background of the Tibetan identity and its religion and language.

Chapter 2: Tibetan Youth Struggle in Exile

This chapter examines the Tibetan freedom movement and its genesis along with various conflicts to the Tibetan ordinary people. It also tends to analyze Tibetan youth of committing suicide for free Tibet. This chapter will also provide how the Tibetan youth engaging the yearly political events in exile India and the feelings of their participation. It also provides the expressing of Tibetan or Indian identity.

Chapter 3: Role of Tibetan Youth and Religion

This chapter analyses how a Buddhist religious identity becomes an essential feature in shaping Tibetan youth frame themselves in support of the political cause. This chapter will also provide about Buddhism and how it influence the Tibetan culture.

Chapter 4: Changing Dimension of Tibetan Youth Activism and the Role of Government-in-Exile

This chapter examines the Tibetan youth activism and their changing strategies to free Tibet in recent past which is the educated youth participation and their view of freedom of Tibet. It also analyses the role of Tibetan exile government and its power and functions which influenced in the freedom struggle. Further, the study tends to look at the response from the international communities.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Summary and findings of the study.

Chapter: Two

Tibetan Youth Struggle in Exile

The goal of this chapter is to put into the background the patriotic struggle of Tibetan youth who involve with transnationalism and the type of different political events they support for their independence. One of the essential aspects of the Tibetans is that they always dream of going back to their homeland in Tibet. This chapter is an attempt to understand the first hypothesis of the study which states that "Chinese indifferences towards Tibetan aspirations have accelerated Tibetan youth movement". This chapter provides a comprehensive understanding of Tibetan youth and the impact of Buddhism in strengthening a national Tibetan identity which connected with both of the 14th Dalai Lama and the native land of Tibet. Also, the chapter also describes briefly about the influence of collective commemorations in influencing the transnational Tibetan youth struggle as the entire Tibetans through the migration have never been to native land. This chapter will also provide of my field work experiences with young Tibetan at Majnu-ka-tilla in Delhi where they settled since 1959.

Tibetan Youth Political Movement

Since China Invaded Tibet in 1959, the Tibetan youth have supported in an ongoing protest for their independence. For many of them living in exile they have had to no direct experience with their homeland. Thus, this presents unique challenges for young Tibetan youth who are involved in the task of cultural continuity, reconstruction and formation of Tibetan identities in their respective host societies.

On Monday, March 10, 1959 crowded alleys near the northeast of Lhasa where thousands of youth monks had gathered for the rally in the center of the city. The security personal wants the protesters to move away from their monastery and stopped them within miles. The protesters insisted on allowing of five monks who have arrested on October for celebrating the award of the Dalai Lama in Washington, D.C., of the Congressional Gold Medal. There were some Tibetan people including Drepung monks staged a protest for the last of the day and later did not enter to come outsiders. The monks and laypeople showed a Tibetan flag (as a mark of protest) and shouted slogans for Tibetan independence. However, Public Security Bureau (PSB) police resorted to a mild lathi-charge, and some of them also detained. Later, they were arrested

on sedition charges of raising reactionary slogans and premeditatedly carrying flags. A day after reports suggested that the monks and laypeople which were being circulated on police by shouting “Long Live the Dalai Lama”, and “The Dalai Lama should return to Tibet” more accused continue to arise on Tibetan people. In Lhasa, the police tried to find some incriminating documents from the former political prisoners such as cell phones, CDs of U.S. Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony, computers. At Jyekundo in Qinghai police vandalized houses in the midnight and confiscated some of the pictures of the Dalai Lama (Wijer, 2010).

Tibetan youth believe that when many Tibetans were killed, the Lhasa River had turned red with the blood of the martyrs. This is obviously an exaggeration, but that’s how memories are transmitted across generations as vivid simplified images. A persistent story heard in Tibet was about how during the construction of the Lhasa Ngachen Hydro-electric Power Station every day three or four dead prisoners were either tossed into the river or cremated (Srivastava, 2009).

The next day on 11th March another major area in Lhasa nearly six hundred monks' protesters are making it more inconvenient. The Chinese army arrested them for demand the release of their supporters detained the day before. The People’s Armed Police (PAP) fired up tear gas although they could not control the monks which they continue protests by sitting down on the road near Sera. The peaceful march became disruptive as police surrounded the monastery. For the consecutive day, two Drepung monks, from Ngaba Tibet Autonomous Prefecture (TAP) Kirti monastery of Ngaba TAP, Sichuan, and protest against the Chinese (presence in Tibet) rule by cutting their wrists in Lhasa. It was the anniversary day for Tibetan on 12 March 1959 where they used to celebrate each year. Security forces detained them from protesting against China's illegal occupation of Tibet which has been organized by the Tibetan youth monks and Nuns. Some protesters have injured which they refused to take to a hospital. The strategies of throughout monasteries both to detain furthermore demonstrate and to promote an upcoming inquisition was to develop a feature in next meeting. As some monks arrested were allegedly maltreated, which turn into an origin of more discontent (Wijer, 2009).

On 14th March again a protest continues to arise in the city of old Tibetan section, Ramoche against the Chinese occupation of Tibet. This movement coincides between some monks and police around 1:00 pm which the police roughed up the monasteries in response. The situation turns to a different way which the Tibetan youth activist burn approximately twelve hundreds of

Chinese shops, residences, and offices in the area and to overturn and set fire to nearly eighty-four vehicles. It was a clash between the both Chinese and Tibetan groups which were mostly Han Chinese were injured, and some of the twenty-two people killed. The accuracy of damage estimated at 280 million Yuan (40 million U.S. dollars). After few hours at the same day at least 50 to 100 Tibetan youth were killed and injuring many others which were given order by the People's Armed Police (PAP) and impersonated units of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Many of the injured were refused to take care of medical facilities. Approximately four hundred Tibetan monks of Labrang Tashikyil monastery were protesting in solidarity of Tibetan people in eastern Tibet a part of Gansu province. As some people are used Tibetan flags and shouted slogans for Tibetan independence, "Long Live Dalai Lama", and "Restore Religious Freedom". In Nagchu some Monks of Dreru Wangen monastery near the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) north of Lhasa, protested and later they dispersed, and the security police surrounded their monasteries (Smith, 2010).



Sources: Tibet's Last Stand, (2010)

Images of Chinese army arrested Tibetans protesters. A Tibetan young boy shows his broken tooth.

On 15th March some Tibetans had already been prevented, and a deadline of 17th March specified for all those involved in the event of smashing, beating, burning and looting for those who have committed the offense and oppressive measures for those who did not. The central theme of the rally, organized by the thousands of Tibetans which took place in Phenpo, near north of Lhasa. Labrang Tashikyil was the part of a protest of some laypeople and monks, who burned the shops of Han and Hui area nearby the town of the monastery. Chinese militaries allegedly murdered most of the Tibetans crowded to the city. Some other information got from Tibetan areas of Gansu, Qinghai, and Sichuan. Official Chinese details received with damaging of 4,279 shops and houses and 1,500 some other public facilities. At the time of the incident, many Tibetans were beaten and tortured in front of their families. During the violence, Tibetan area suffered the maximum loss of an estimated 230 million Yuan (33 million U.S. dollars) among hit areas such as Labrang and Gansu. Rampal had later detained after a tense standoff between some of his followers and the police after close to 15,000 of his groups displaced from the rambling premises (Smith, 2010).

On 16th March more than forty protesters were paraded over the roads in two army vehicles. The Chinese police arrested the Tibetans and tied behind their backs and head each of them. Demonstrations informed from different places in Central Tibet as well as at the Panchen Lama's Tashilhunpo near Shigatse. Some monk's activist is raising slogans with Tibetan flags for freedom and independence in the Ngaba (Ch. Aba) area of Sichuan. Other activists are demanding the return of the Dalai Lama. Monks joined by laypeople and burnt down more than twenty-four shops and other eighty-one vehicles Lhasa witnessed a spate of violence and protests. Destruction estimated as equal to the country's total incomes for the past ten years. The epicenter of violence, Lhasa, which witnessed maximum violence and led to the killing of eighteen Tibetan by Chinese security forces in Nagba. The details of the dead bodies' photos have sent for their evidence in the worldwide press. But this violence case against Chinese military has been dismissed by China for inconclusive. More demonstrations continued in some other Tibetan places of Qinghai and Gansu. However several areas became peaceful, but some

resulted of burning Chinese vehicles and shops. There were isolated crashes of some demonstrators struggled to hold their ground (Ibid).

On 17th March the Tibetan revolutionaries sent a clandestine message, which the Chinese interrupted, to their separatist group that had been working in Kalimpong in India since the early 1950s. The memorandum read in part: The liberated country of Tibet was formed on the first day of the second month of the Tibet calendar that is 10th March of worldwide calendar, the day on which the uprising started. Please broadcast this too wholly. What produced forcefulness was an event that further advocates the anti-Chinese character of the revolt. Some in the fearful mob that assembled nearby the Dalai Lama's palace on 10th March seeing a Tibetan aristocrat-official who was renowned as a Chinese agent and the annoyed gathering raised voiced at once: “Chinese spy! Chinese spy! “He was stoned to death”. A little late a supporter of the Kashak (Dalai Lama's Cabinet) reached in a Chinese jeep with Chinese accompanies. The angry public started at once attacking with stones at the Tibetan high official, but he able to manage loss of life, cheers to the Chinese jeep (Norbu, 1979).

On 19th of March similar protests and strike also held at Amdo and Lhasa areas such as Qinghai and Gansu. During marches, they continued slogans for Independence and let down of Chinese flags and flying the Tibetan flag. Arrests of Tibetans took to the streets across the Lhasa with police proving the IDs of all Tibetans on the roads and searching families seeing for those persons without Lhasa residency grants or those who took part in the uprisings and rallies The major was in Kham, Kanze where a lot of Tibetans marched and were ablaze on from nearby roofs by People Armed Police (PAP), with some Tibetans killed. In Lhasa area the vast monasteries such as Drepung, Sera and Ganden were still surrounded by security armed forces with no one permitted inside or outside and food and water supplies cut off. The “Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy” (TCHRD) in Dharamsala informed that sixty-five Tibetans had murdered. More than one thousand Tibetans had stopped in Lhasa. March still took place in different places. Before getting arrest by the Chinese police, three Tibetans commit suicide by jumping off from top of the building. Later police forcefully took the activists down from the top of the building (Smith, 2010).

At early morning 10.00 a.m. on 20 March 1959, the PLA command in Tibet was orderly to proceeds disciplinary act in contrast to the group of defectors who had committed immoral

criminalities. The agitation was repressed after more than two days of aggressive fighting continuously (Norbu, 1979).



Sources: Tibet's Last Stand (2010)

Above is a picture of Tibetans burning a land indenture contracts ^{during} a demonstration in 1959 period.

The Chinese authorities asserted to surrender by 25 March those who destroyed public property such as burning Chinese shops and government officials. Generally, undertakings prepared for lenient action for those who turned themselves in voluntarily and harsh response for those who are not following the rule. In Lhasa CCTV shows a unique feature titled "A Record of the violent conflict connecting robbing smashing and thrashing". This evidence was often announcement and was defined by Tibetans as deliberately meant to and as influencing growing Chinese hostility toward Tibetans. Government management, initiatives, organizations and different areas groups held conferences to prepare the communications of Tibetan officials and Chinese leaders. Throughout the conferences all Tibetan units, staff, and inhabitants were necessary to "depiction,

renounce and criticize the immoral actions of the Dalai clique and confidently fight against the supporter of independence.” Tibetan executives of different types of administration groups, United Front Figures (UFF) and spiritual leaders of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) delivered lectures and performed on TV to condemn the Dalai Lama. Even some of the middle and primary schools students were required to convict the Dalai Lama. The PSB's most wanted list simplified to twenty-nine Tibetans (Smith, 2010).

In Golok TAP, Qinghai, Tibetans demonstrated by dragging down a Chinese flag near a local government office and changing it with a Tibetan flag. 350 riders congested Chinese armed forces directed to reply. Lamas of the native monastery interfered to safe a momentary harmony, but police forces later prevented some 100 Tibetans for those who involved in the protest. Tibetans escaped to the nearby hills and surrounded by a police force of 800 Chinese PAP. The arrogance of Chinese armed forces toward Tibetans was hostile, and Tibetans were crushed at the slightest provocation or without provocation. Though PAP was surrounded to the region and in the next early morning families of doubted leaders were attacked. Some Tibetans were in prison, and warnings were issued giving a limit of three days for leaders of the “unlawful rally” to surrender or else severe punishment willingly. There was a huge march by nuns, monks, and publics in Durango, Kanze TAP, supposedly including more than a hundred people, who raised “Long Live the Dalai Lama”, and “Tibet belongs to Tibetans”. The security police opened fire, injuring ten and killing two. China’s description of this incident was: "When much-armed police were on duty they were violently attacked by some lawless people. One armed policeman died, and many others were injured. The lawless people killed armed police with sharp knives and stones. At that time, the armed police were forced to fire into the air to warn these lawless people and disperse them.” The Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) circulated an estimation of 79 Tibetans killed by Chinese militaries. It challenged the statement that some Tibetans had “volunteer surrendered”, saying that “surrender is a willingness on the part of an individual who surrenders under everyday situations and not under pressure of intimidations by the ability in power by convincing in the thoughts of persons that if they do not submit they would get punished much more severe effects”. It voiced the anxiety that those arrested under any conditions would be exposed to compulsion and cruelty to present information about others. It also informed that Lhasa and other sites of demonstrations had overcome by the attendance of great Chinese militaries and security armies. Lhasa TV program the Public Security Bureau’s 6th,

7th, and 8th the most wanted lists add the pictures of 4 (women), 7 (six women and one monk), and 8th Tibetans, respectively, a total of 53 (Ibid).

On 26th-30th March, similar protests had been continued and most of the monks and nuns arrested by Chinese militaries those who have been involved in the Durango strike. Authorities allegedly apprehended the dead body of the two Tibetans killed and set fire on them nearby the canal, further annoying the monks, who prohibited from carrying out the collection of demise rituals. A young lady rejected and in its place she raised for the coming back of the Dalai Lama. She was lathi charge by the township party secretary, probably a Tibetan, but she screamed that she would certainly not condemn the Dalai Lama even if she were murdered. The time of the day her son move forward to protect her but he also beat by the party secretary, who came along with some woman who got injured and the son was escaped. In Lhasa the first group of foreign journalist permitted into Tibet reached on a controlled group official visit. Tibetans informed that security armies and check-points damaged from the roads in order to make for the journalists the presence of a “man-made harmonious society”. Though, this presence was dismissed for the next day while 30 young monks of the Jokhang broke into a conference between the temple and reporters authorities to raise that what they were said were all deceits, that the Dalai Lama had nothing to do with the strike, that Tibetans had no independence, that they had been restrained to the Jokhang ever since the 14th March and that the Tibetans evidently liberally pray to the temple were Tibetans corps who had been orderly to act as ordinary worshipers (Joseph, 1975).

Likewise, when the reporters members went to Sera the monks were said to make a presence of spiritual liberty by holding a ceremonial generally joined by 700 monks. But the monks rejected the ceremonial, at which there were merely about 10 monks. Sera continued surrounded by the Chinese forces, as did Ganden and Drepung with water, food, and transportations cut off. Lot of monks was believed to lost, most probably having arrested. Similar situations seem like overcome at almost all monastery in Tibet where demonstrations took place. Ngaba Lhamo Kirti monastery, the home of protests and loss of life on 16th of March was attacked by military forces that investigated for illegal materials such as Tibetan flags, Dalai Lama photos, and arms. About 100 monks were taken away to nearby local custody center. Later information show that the invasion nonstop for the next day and that security personal examined for monks with cameras, cell phones, and computers who might have connected with the other outside world. Monks were

allegedly apprehensive and compulsory to pose with weapons or Tibetan flags to involve them. Police forces were also said to have taken valued things from monks' places. Antique armaments usually preserved at monasteries or weaponry given to the monastery by those who had abandoned hunting were seized and showed as an indication of illegal actions by the monks. A total of 572 monks were said to have been arrested. 30 Tibetans, together with some monks, were walked from side to side area in a truck to threaten others (Ibid).

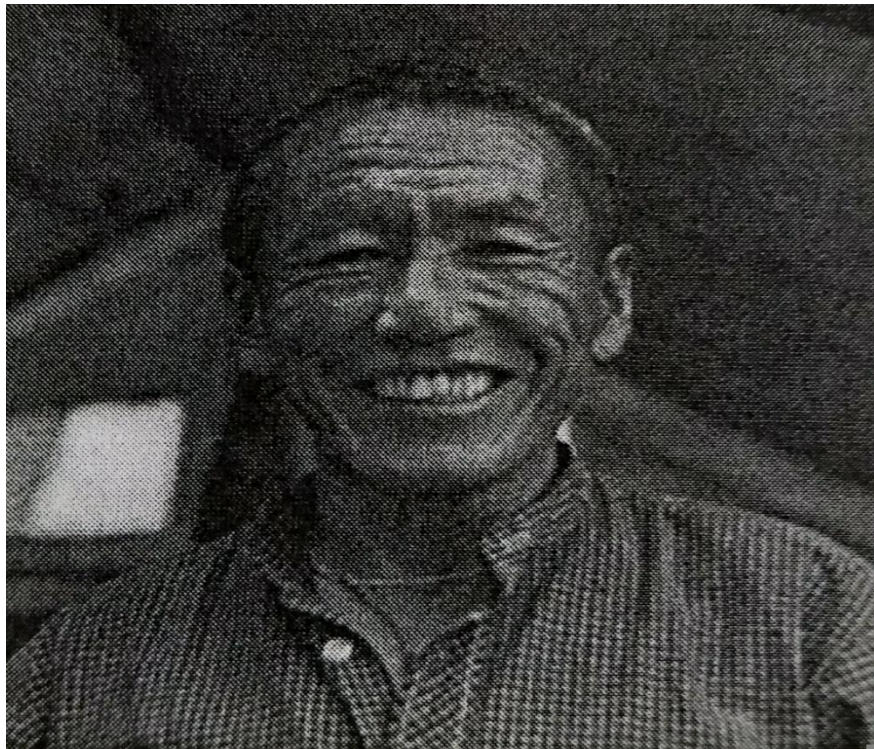


Sources: Tibet's Last Stand (2008)

After 1959 revolt Tibetan monks surrendering weapons.

Military armies invaded at least 4 other monasteries in the region and arrested many monks. On 16th March, 23 Tibetans were informed to have been killed. Later TCHRD printed pictures of the Dalai Lama images smashed or damaged by the security forces. On 27th March, a 32 year old monk, Lobsang Jinpa, of Ngaba Lhamo Kirti monastery, committed suicide. Lobsang Jinpa a 32 year old monk who committed suicide on 27th March and blamed the Chinese government. A note found he was committing suicide because the Chinese government falsely complained against the monks of Lhamo Kirti monastery and for leaking state secrets to the other countries

(photos of dead bodies of those killed), then he only was in charge for that, for care the dead bodies from the security forces and for continuing the demonstrations. He finished by saying that he could not live under Chinese harassment for one more minute. Another monk, Legchok, 75 years old, who had been severely, beaten by Chinese police a few days earlier, committed suicide on 30th March. He had told his disciple that he could not bear the oppression anymore. On 30th March, Legchok 75 years old has also committed suicide which he mentioned that the Chinese subjugation on Tibetan is a cause behind his death. He has been beaten very cruelly by Chinese forces that strongly affect him. In a bid to escape from all these issues, he committed suicide (Smith, 2010).



Sources: Tibetans Self-Immolation: Sacrifice and the Tibetan Freedom Struggle in Exile, India (2015)

Thupten Ngodup was born in 1938 in the village of Gyatso Shar in Tsang, and fled to India after the Lhasa uprising in 1959. He joined the Indian army in 1963, serving in the Special Frontier Force (SFF), a secret unit with many Tibetan ex-guerilla fighters. After retiring from the Indian army, he moved to Dharamsala and began working as a cook for Tsechokling monastery. Thupten Ngodup actively participated in all kinds of demonstrations and meetings for Tibet.

Before joining the TYC “Hunger Strike unto Death” in 1998, he had told his friend Tenzin that in case he died, Tenzin should sell all of his things and donate the money to TYC. The Tibetan Government-in-exile (TGIE) predicted that 140 Tibetans had been killed in total and declared the names of only 40. Bodies were being cremated by the Chinese to eradicate proof of Tibetan losses. Military units (PLA) allegedly removed from Lhasa, but PAP and PSB forces remained. Beijing based ambassadors from 15 states reached in Lhasa for a one day stay. The ambassadors stay in the Jokhang but were able to meet with the monks who had prohibited the former reporters’ visit, because the monks’ reading could not be bothered. Protests increased at the Jokhang after that day, probably by Tibetans who expected to show the ambassadors group that the condition had not returned to normal as the Chinese demanded, but they had already gone. Han Chinese Shopkeepers got information to have prepared to protect their shops with iron pieces even though police force runs out of escape to oppose the marches. Retired Tibetan officials had been said to stay the Potala, Jokang and some other monasteries to carry out new religious events such as circumambulation that generally prescribed for them to make a presentation of normality and spiritual liberty. Loyal learning was informed to have strengthened in monasteries in the different area of Tibet. There were reports from some other regions that monks who denied to contribute to loyal learning or who denied to accuse the Dalai Lama were oppressed and detained. A Tibetan in Lhasa who failed to stop his bike at a spot check was the gunshot and killed. The government in Tibet prior to the Chinese invasion was a theocracy where ultimate temporal and spiritual power rested with the Dalai Lama (Gill, 2015). Considering the original motivation behind China’s liberation of Tibet from its feudal oppressors, it is ironic that these days, Tibetans and Chinese inside Tibet live under tyrannical Chinese rule, even though Tibetans who escaped into exile have established a successful independent form of government.

Role of Dalai Lama

On 31st March, by “CIA (Central Investigation Agency)” support the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, fled from Tibet into India. Approximately 15,000 thousand retinues followed with him and settled in India. Some of them resolved in Bhutan, Nepal and some parts of the Indian states like Sikkim, Assam, and Uttarakhand. He immediately starts developing a basic needs and organization for the Tibetan exile democracy.



Sources: Tibet's Forgotten Heroes, (2010)

On April 29, 1959, he publicly declared the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). The Dalai Lama has given in his first statement in Tezpur has mentioned that the Tibetan administration did not appreciate any extent of independence even their internal issue, and the Chinese people implemented complete controls in Tibetan matters (Wijer, 2010). In addition to this, large scale-immigration and colonization by the Chinese had started in eastern and northeastern regions. In the press conference held at Mussoorie the Dalai Lama stated:

In his press announcement of June 20th, 1959, he said:

Although they had solemnly undertaken to maintain my status and power as the Dalai Lama, they did not lose any opportunity to undermine my authority and sow dissensions among people. In fact, they compelled me, situated as I was, to dismiss my Prime Ministers under threat of their execution without trial, because they had in all honesty and sincerity resisted the unjustified usurpations of power by representatives of the Chinese Government in Tibet. "Far from carrying out the agreement they began deliberately to pursue a

course of policy which was opposed to the terms and conditions which they had themselves laid down. Thus commenced a reign of terror, which finds few parallels in the history of Tibet. Forced labor and compulsory exactions, systematic persecution of the people, plunder and confiscation of property belonging to individuals and monasteries and execution of certain leading men in Tibet these are the glorious achievements of the Chinese rule in Tibet.³

In addition to this, large scale-immigration and colonization by the Chinese had started in eastern and northeastern regions. In the press conference held at Mussoorie the Dalai Lama stated:

The ultimate Chinese aim concerning Tibet, as far as I can make out, seems to attempt the examination of religion and culture and even the absorption of the Tibetan race. Besides the civilian and military personnel already in Tibet 5 million Chinese settlers have arrived in eastern and northeastern Tso, in addition to which 4 million Chinese settlers planned to send to U and Sung provinces of Central Tibet. Many Tibetans have been deported to China, thereby resulting in the complete absorption of these Tibetans as a race, which is being undertaken by the Chinese.⁴

The organizations so called the Ten-Soung-Ma-Ghar and the National Voluntary Defence Army (NVDA) of Tibet have been founded by the Dalai Lama on the same day. A recent statement by the leaders of this army reveals that on January 1, 1959 a statement prepared by them set out major modifications in political and social organizations of the country, which they advocate.⁵

In February 1960, the Dalai Lama proclaimed the establishment of “Tibetan democracy at Bodh Gaya, where the Buddha attained enlightenment”. In 1961, he formed an essential second democratic stage by allocating a draft of a new constitution of Tibet and finally on March 10, 1963, and he announced a final version. Even though officially planned to administer for a free Tibet, it, however, founded a simple structure for the working of the exile parliament and administration, as well as elections (Wangchuk, 2012). Finally, the Dalai Lama is the most

³ Dev Thapa Bahadur (2003), *Tibet Past and Present*, Delhi, Kalinga Publications, p. 23.

⁴ Ibid, p.24.

⁵ Ibid., p.25.

distinctive personality of the Tibetan community in exile. He is also known as the spiritual leader of Tibetans. As the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, he predominantly stresses on holiness and worldwide human existence. The way of his illustrious as a perfect number has ascended to extreme heights, and currently, he is one of the most renowned spiritual leaders across the world.

Progress work of the Dalai Lama

The Dalai Lama's surprising nearness to the international public and Indian, along with the migrant Tibetans, formed both an initial perception and a different audience, which has expanded in the current years. Most of the Tibetans who have faith in the Dalai Lama showed liberty to practice as one of their chief encouragements their religion. Though, in the discussion of differences and seeing at Tibetans polling with their bases, revolutions and demonstrations surrounded by Tibet, as well as the continuous way of life of an exile administration the ability of the Dalai Lama is significant and long life. The Central Tibetan Administration rapidly progress to standing as representatives of the exile community because of its connections to the Dalai Lama. The essential character played by this prominent nature and the first representation of Tenzin Gyatso or the 14th Dalai Lama generally known by the homeland and the Tibetans in exile. Although on superficial level this could be understood as involving of religious conviction with governments a more in-depth exploratory reveals that for some activity which purposes surrounded by a proper background that the Tibetan reason is humanistic. In the Tibetan Government-in-exile, the Dalai Lama offers a dynamic role to build up a sense of coordination within the Tibetan migration in exile. He carries out as the unifier of religion and politics associate a non-violent kind procedure. However, he has to be fruitful in the depiction of the Tibetan case as a defensible one within this universalistic basis a cause that has made some condemn him. Such as Tibetans dissimilar a lot of other migrations have not resorted to vicious means to be successful liberation but to a certain extent resolutions within an appropriate and anxious building as lectured by the spiritual leader of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama's teaching can never overemphasize in the thoughts of Tibetan people. According to Tibetans both the Potala Palace in Lhasa and Dalai Lama denote their significant socio-political identification. As a Buddhist spiritual character, the Dalai Lama also related to the Tibetan Buddhist descriptions in which Tibet portrayed along the fantastic region. Tibet is not just any natural land but an extremely heavenly location of Buddha of excessive kindness which is also known as

Chenrezig. As Dalai Lama shows in his response to this proclamation organized by the communist party the ultimate decision regarding his reincarnation rests with the Tibetan people. It is a fact that China is alert for the Dalai Lama uniting representation entire Tibetans and is therefore involved in an information conflict which asserts that the Dalai Lama is not only has a right to reincarnate but also even if he reawakens after his passing away the communist party can be able to his reincarnation and consequential presence. If they need him, then he would be reincarnated. Although a lots of dedicated Buddhist this claim by a non-believer party does not generate natural sense this is revealing of the declaration that the unbeliever communist party can go to any level to offend the Tibetan beliefs. The association will close for him if not as for the last Dalai Lama. This statement by the Dalai Lama is a repetition of the significance meaning of his featuring role as a uniting power of Tibetan nation.

Tibetan Organizations/Associations in India

Since the 1959, Tibetan uprising against the People's Republic of China in Tibet ultimately resulted a Tibetan diaspora community in India. Then they started living outside from their homeland. The migrant's number is extremely uncertain. The rest of Tibetans as national minorities whose extraordinary native land has assimilated into a more state through settlement. The Tibetan migrant's population in India is total number of approximately 94,203. The migration of Tibetans people has been increasing very rapidly. They were mostly Tibetan youth. Some of them attended schools and colleges which specially established for the Tibetans in exile. As a finally, the Tibetan Government-in-exile establish with the support of the 14th Dalai Lama. The headquarter located in Dharamsala where a lot of Tibetan people come across to meet the Dalai Lama. "The Tibetan Government-in-exile" and its continuing struggles in various planes achieved in the perception of socio-political effort have also been motivating. The Tibetan Government-in-exile concerns the help reduced by India right from the primary stage of disaster as extremely productive and dynamic to the achievement of its objectives. Since 1959, Dalai-Lama has used to stand the effort at different levels beginning with exemplifications prepared to the United Nations in 1959 and the situation of Tibet deliberated in the parliament of different areas and nations periodically. It observed that Tibetans' decision to come out of Tibet, especially that of Dalai Lama's was tactically a positive and productive initiative. In Tibetan Government-in-exile, there are some volunteer organizations of Tibetans involved in continuous

struggles towards Tibetans' main aims of sovereignty, Independence, autonomy, and right to self-government. It also discovered that guidance of these organizations prepared association and through this, they directed the whole community about their continuing effort.

Wijer (2010) examines that in Tibet the military group's organization is known as Chushi Gangdruk. When they reached in exile in Mustang, they formed a new organization named Lo-Drik-Tsug which was situated in Yarabug. At new place they got lots of trouble and still they were struggling the Chinese almost day-to-day.

Tibetan Youth Congress

Tibetan Youth Congress is the most important and largest Tibetan NGO in exile. In 2002 its members are around 20,000-23,000. It was established in 1970, it unified most of the young Tibetans who was the first group in exile that had completed its study. The members saw the TYC as a social prosperity organization and a reliable opposition to the CTA. The aims of the TYC is to help its country and persons who supports the 14th Dalai Lama, to promote and protect national unity and integrity by giving up all differences based on regional loyalty or social status, religious conviction, to preserve and encourage Tibet's culture and traditions, religion, and to fight for the full freedom of Tibet even at the cost of one's life. During the established of TYC, it mainly concentrated on public work in the exile community, which it has continuous now a days. In this regard, the TYC has been involved in the CTA moving and reintegration programs and in addition carried out informative programs at monasteries, school, and local public centers to increase consciousness for the exile Tibetan effort, among exile Tibetans and in recent times also among the native Indian residents.⁶

From the very beginning, the TYC led by example, and democratically elected its leadership. The group was founded with the aim to “instill a sense of unity and purpose among young Tibetans, to promote interest and identification in Tibetan culture, and to strive for the independence of the homeland”. One of the admirable features of the Tibetan Youth Congress is that it is not an organization of young Lhasawas or young Khampas, but that of young Tibetans.

⁶ Stephanie Roemer (2008), *The Tibetan Government-in-Exile, Politics at large* , Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, p.107.

The TYC claimed their suggestions were in the interest of balancing the nationalistic feelings toward the deputies and turn the commission into a purely political body. At the ninth annual administration wide CTA conference, the president of the TYC announced that the organization and its membership (then 5,000 strong) would boycott the upcoming parliamentary election unless their suggestions were adopted. Their suggestions were met by strong and stiff opposition specifically from the sectarian deputies. They explained in the meeting that regionalism and sectarianism are the natural part of any society. Some of the deputies casually explained away the TYC as an association of children who though educated has no knowledge of what Tibet was really like. TYC representatives responded by claiming that the election system was out of touch with the reality of the present and future Tibetan situation, setting the stage for an inter-generational conflict. Through such work, the TYC struggle to connection the generations through the promotion of aims and objectives and beliefs of the seniors those are suitable for young exile Tibetans. Over the years, the TYC has changed into a springboard for administratively involved young Tibetans and many of the current CTA executives and deputies used the TYC as teaching ground for their positions. On the surface, the TYC backs up the official political progress of the CTA, once again over its social events, but also as an association that discusses the exile Tibetan community and the native people to progress an awareness for the exile Tibetan effort. But the TYC also contests the CTA because it condemns the ‘unique Tibetan democratic system’ as being not anything more than a diverge of secular and religious concerns, which has little to do with western democratic ideas. The TYC is also in favor with the idea of an independent Tibetan native land despite of the official political development that concentrations on genuine autonomy. Freedom as the final aim is taught among the exile Tibetans and also, the TYC known as the exile, Tibetans to deny their involvement in the 1995 referendum. Moreover, the TYC shows the Tibetan and mass people a more force political approach than the CTA. It does not approve with the non-violent approach of the CTA because of its incomplete achievement to the contemporary day. In this context, members of the TYC, who need to persist unknown, associate the CTA’s non-violent struggle with a non-action plan and blame the CTA for misinterpretation Gandhi’s philosophy. They again dispute that the grouping of religion and politics in the exile Tibetan perspective is a problematic combination

because each act to fight for a free native land, even self-sacrifice (for instance, hunger strikes or self-immolation) can be interpreted as a violent action.⁷

According to the TYC, during present years, the exile Tibetan effort has changed into a victim of celebrity and western style of non-violent means but has also disappeared its key energy in struggling for liberated of Tibet.

Ardley maintains that the TYC as an “organization is seen as being the de facto opposition in the Tibetan polity, mainly because they are radical and disagree with the Dalai Lama’s policy of total non-violence”. Yet the TYC was founded with the support of the Dalai Lama so it is perhaps not surprising that by the mid to late 1970s key TYC leaders were recruited to serve as ranking officials in the CTA, which sometimes lead to conflicts in which they gave up their role in the TYC. Under these circumstances, the TYC at times acted in contradictory ways, both criticizing the CTA and, in another instance, calling for the government take-over of the Tibetan review since “some of the contents of the journal are anti-social and should be censored and kept secret until Tibet becomes independent”. Through this space of conflict, a new civil society began to emerge within Tibet’s exile polity, and would continue to grow in the following decades (Roemer, 2008).

Tibetan Women’s Association

The Tibetan Women’s Association (TWA) is the second largest exile Tibetan NGO with, at present-day nearly 11,000 supporters. Since the overthrowing of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, several women’s organizations had to come into being calling for political rights for women, especially the right to vote. The first formal Tibetan women’s organization was set-up by the Chinese PLA. One of the most important of these organizations was the Lhasa Patriotic Women Association (PWA), which was inaugurated in 1953. Following Alex Butler’s historical account, the founding of the PWA was highly significant because it introduced a radically new concept in Tibet, organized political activities by women. This concept was taken up a few years later during the Tibetan Uprising in Lhasa After 1959, a few women managed to escape to Kalimpong

⁷ Sophie Behrens Lehman (2009), *Tibetan Elections in Exile: From Theocratic Monarchy to a Developing Exile Democracy, 1959-2009*, Durham: Duke University. p.34-6.

where they revived the organization. For the first two decades of its existence, the organization focused only on the preservation of Tibetan culture through the creation of educational and working opportunities for exile Tibetan women. The TWA maintained a low profile during the 1960s and 1970s when it opened three handicraft centers in India. There, exile Tibetan women produced voluntarily and without receiving salaries traditional Tibetan clothing and carpets, which were offered to the CTA. The CTA in turn sold them for profit. According to a present member of the TWA, despite the limited amounts of such handmade products, this offering was for the women a suitable way of supporting the political struggle of the CTA.⁸ With the changing position of women within exile Tibetans politics women were permitted to enthusiastically join in policies and seats in the exile parliament were particularly reserved. The TWA also shifted its focus more and more to the political sphere, in particular to the international community.

At the beginning, the CTA was not fanatical about supporting the exile Tibetan struggle in the case of women's privileges, as it dreaded of negotiations about gender discrimination of the traditional Tibetan view. It was presumed that this may loss the exile struggle instead of maintenance it. The effective involvement of the TWA at the fourth United Nations (UN) world discussion on Women at Beijing in 1995 represented an important development for the association. Tibetan women turn into the global women's rights arena as during the session they had various chances for communication with some other worldwide representatives and were able to expression attentiveness for the Tibetan issue in their region. On this subject, the Tibetan taking part in the UN meeting helped significantly to develop and re-frame the exile Tibetan struggle as an entire through the new framework of the Tibetan women's treatise. Therefore, the CTA's support of the TWA's universal practices was limited. But with the achievement of the exile Tibetan women and the improved international consciousness the TWA could mobilize, the CTA reformed its perspective and acknowledged this viewpoint to motivate the Tibetan reason. (Pike, 2001). During the last period, the CTA focused that the Tibetan struggle has been factually feminized.

⁸ Stephanie Roemer (2008), *The Tibetan Government-in-Exile, Politics at large*, Routledge 270 Madison, Ave, New York. p.110.

Despite a constant elaboration of the TWA's international focus, it also acts as a social organization, which performs community services such as childcare, help in finding jobs and educational opportunities for women and consultations in health matters. In such positions, the TWA functions as a social interface between the CTA and the exile Tibetan women in the settlements. In this regard, it supports the political claims of the CTA. The TWA also works, as does the TYC, as a political training ground for the few female deputies of the ATPD (Reomer 2008).

Gu-Chu-Sum

Besides the respondent's information almost other associations and organizations, the extra information achieved from them tells that Gu-Chu-Sum is also most famous organization among the supporter participants succeeded by Tibetan Youth Congress and Tibetan Women Association. Both of these two are the most followed organizations. It reminded that Gu-Chu-Sum being the party of ex-political convicts from Tibet who have contrived in Chinese jail during the period of their detention. It observed that supporters of this organization are more uttered and rather antagonistic in their department. The organization of Gu-Chu-Sum is to enable settlement of governmental convicts free from prisons in China occupied Tibet and who have succeeded to reach McLeod Ganj.⁹ The progression of assistance includes providing the fundamental requirements of life to these migrants instantly after their arrival. Later they have slowly developed their settlement with their capacities and abilities. A different large number of respondents informed that their relevant organizations are working for the Tibetan independence.

Exile Tibetan NGOs

All exile Tibetan NGOs act within the CTA framework and support its official policy through their high specialization in various fields. Such support is due to the fact that they have all received the blessing and acknowledgment of the 14th Dalai Lama at the time of their establishing. This approval provides them with a secure position within the exile Tibetan community but also defines an obligation of loyalty to the Tibetan leader and therefore also to

⁹ Harmandeep Kaur Gill (2015), *Tibetan Self-Immolations: Sacrifice and the Tibetan Freedom Struggle in Exile, India*, Norway: Oslo University. p.15.

the CTA. The gesture of blessing by the divine leader makes any opposing activity, which is not explicitly welcomed in exile politics, almost impossible. Consequently, all NGOs have firmly anchored in their programs the support of the Dalai Lama, his policy the struggle for unity and the preservation of national traditions. In this regard, through the institution of the Dalai Lama all Tibetan NGOs are interconnected despite their various specializations. This becomes obvious as the NGOs work together on religious and political occasions. They plan protests, perform prayers for the well-being of the 14th Dalai Lama and organize campaigns for their independence Tibet. The CTA provides some NGOs to be politically involved for their struggle. They instruct their national compatriots in schools, monasteries and at the settlement level in community centers. Through their branches in almost every Tibetan settlement, the NGOs reach all social strata and consequently link the CTA work with ordinary Tibetans a fact that is especially important because it also secures loyalty to the CTA among those who are illiterate, not in educational training or religiously occupied. Hence, the exile Tibetan NGOs play an important role in creating unity among the exile Tibetan community beyond religious, regional and social stratification. This in turn supports the CTA's political within the exile Tibetan community.

In the international sphere, the exile NGO's specialization and their non-governmental status provides them with a base from which they cooperate successful with other activists. Through their links to international NGOs the exiles have access to modern communication system and political tools. Furthermore, international TSGs financially support the exile NGOs with donations as the usual small membership subscriptions are not sufficient for most of the organizations survival. Regarding the support of the political course in exile, the only exception represents the TYC, which officially disagrees with official CTA politics, yet explicitly supports the 14th Dalai Lama. Because of the close ties between the Dalai Lama and the CTA, the TYC members find themselves in a contradictory situation by serving their compatriots in exile and in the homeland in struggle for an independent Tibet, even with violent means and being loyal to the 14th Dalai Lama who promotes insistently a non-violent exile struggle.

Transnational Political Role among Tibetan Youth

Political global connections must reflect as wonders that have occurred about both the immigrants' people of leaving and settlement, mainly between the younger who to an extent are acquainted with both perspectives. In spite of the argument over the length of connection with

transnational activities, it is precise that cross-border political relations are not only a Tibetan phenomenon, but it also connects with the politics of their homelands (Fouron and Schiller, 2002).

For Tibetan youth, transnational political participation might be encouraged by different kinds of reasons. In the Tibetan case, the youths generally involve those who are born outside the prior native land of Tibet and then they ultimately engaged through the state of being in exile (Yeh, 2007).

Though, due to the survival of transnational connections of young Tibetans to Tibet, there are chances to reproduce figures about the prior native land in global social spaces through different transnational actors such as family members who maintain connections with Tibetans in Tibet. On conceptualizing the conception of diasporas as the transnational social field where people are thought to be engaged in more than one society. In this way, the population is simultaneously invested socially, economically and politically in more than one space. Consequently, any assumptions regarding social institutions, family, citizenship, and nation-state should re-examine within this transnational social field context. Tibetan youth continue to celebrate the events on March 10, as they take to the streets around the world to participate in political demonstrations. Although they do engage in transnational political activities, the degree of their involvement in transnational politics still debated. Similarly, building on to this reconceptualization of the Tibetan diaspora as transnational social fields, it is clear that the term diaspora should be expanded beyond actual transnational activities that include activities such as home visits and remittances to include “imagined” returns to homelands through cultural rediscovery, sentimental longings, etc. (Nyanang, 2015).

Particularly in relevant among Tibetan, the idea of transnationalism on a symbolic level is highly prevalent as many have never been to their native land. Therefore, through increased exposure to transnational social fields, the identity of the Tibetan youth is fluid, as they can traverse through multiple identities at different times and during different situations.

During my field work at Majnu-Ka-tilla in Delhi when I asked Tibetan refugees about their perception on Tibet then they replied that each of them always support the program of Tibetans protests in India. Mostly they participate on 10th March to support their independence struggle

for the homeland as well as to remember the China's illegal occupation of their native land. The Tibetan youth are always struggle for their independence movement. The exile Tibetans always celebrate every year on March 10, Tibetan Uprising Day to touch an expressive connection to the native land as well as for their certain political reasons. On this day every exile Tibetans participates in political protest.

Following are some of the opinions and observations made by Tibetans youth. They shared of their living experiences in India and also of their stand on Tibetan struggles in Tibet.

One of Tibetans, who always help in the protest, he said that he participated in the Tibetan march because: "As a Tibetan, I feel that it is my duty to participate to each protest to support unites all Tibetans living in exile. The kind of violence our publics is torturing in China is extremely cruel and this type of actions by the Chinese government is really shocking. Therefore, I think that it is my responsibility to do the whole thing that I can to representation these human rights violations taking place in China against our people." (Choedon, Male, 44).

"Tibetans in Tibet live in horrible conditions, and they have no legal rights or freedom because of the Chinese government. I live in India and since I have the right to go out in the street and protest, I will do anything it takes to fight for my homeland. Our people are suffering under China's rule and I always hear about young monks in Tibet that are self-immolating themselves to raise awareness for the international community to do something. You see, as a Tibetan monk, when they are helpless under China's rule and can't resort to inflicting violence on others, then they give their own life for the sake of the people and the homeland. It is sad and even His Holiness the Dalai Lama doesn't encourage this type of act, but I can also understand why Tibetans sacrifice their own life for Tibet." (Karlha, Female, 34).

"I attended the 10th of March demonstration because it is something that happens only once a year and I can plan ahead for this demonstration. But in my daily life, I am not really involved in Tibetan politics or other Tibetan cultural events or anything like that. If I had more time, I would join some Tibetan organizations but I don't think I can commit to something because I am a shopkeeper." (Namdol, 32, Male).

"Since I have to take care of my younger brother who is only 10, there are not a lot of opportunities for me to engage in. For me, I have lost contacts with many of Tibetan friends

because my parents are working more hours now, and the responsibility falls on me to take care of him when they are not home.” (Zaya, 44, Female).

“It is a way for me to connect with some of my family members that are still in Tibet. I can’t go to Tibet because I fear for my safety, and I don’t have much contact with most of my family members currently in Tibet because there is high surveillance by the Chinese government on my people. So, taking part in a demonstration like this is the only way for me to connect with them.” (Gyurmey, 46, Male).

As indicated from the above reply, some of the Tibetans noted that they involved in the political rally since they cannot physically enter Tibet due to security worries. Especially for Tibetan youth who have never stayed or survived in their parent’s homeland, it is obvious that they can participate in activities such as political activism that is not limited to physical mobility. At the same time, another Tibetan said that they joined in the protest to give awareness to Tibetans in the native land who are presently under Chinese rule. Thus, their strong sense of connection to the homeland is showed when the supporters frequently use the terms my people and my homeland.

“I want to give a voice to my people in Tibet who do not have any right to demonstration or express their issues. They are preserved like second-class people by the Chinese administration and I want the world to know that Tibetans in my native land are suffering because of Chinese domination.” I regularly support the Tibetans demonstration because it is a part of my life and the cause is I am a Tibetan. So many people have died, either directly or indirectly due to Chinese’s illegal occupation of Tibet, and this National Uprising Day is to focus the distress of Tibetans and since it is part of my life, I have to respect my culture and do something about fellow Tibetans.”(Lolha, 33, Female).

“During my childhood, my ancestors would tell me stories of their personal experiences fleeing Tibet by foot, and walking a number of days through rugged terrains to reach in India where they were permitted exile. By the time I became a young person, I had already known a lot about the history of my Tibetan people and my homeland. Even today, my grandparents continues to maintain contact with some of their family members that are in Tibet and always keeps me informed with any recent conflict or development that relates to the homeland. So, because of the

fact that I was informed from a very young age about the homeland and our people, it has really motivated me to participate in activities that raise awareness about our cause, which is ultimately a Free Tibet.” (Samaya, 38, Female).

“I feel that people throughout the world are still unaware of the fact that Tibetans inside Tibet have no right or individual autonomy. Some of my relatives back home in Nepal would always keep me updated about some of the issues that is happening in our homeland and that is how I hear about some of the issues such as ‘self-immolations’ in Tibet. Our people are closed off from the rest of the world because countries like the US and Canada don’t want to confront China about their human rights violations against the Tibetan people. So, being involved in this demonstration is one way for me to raise awareness about Tibet.” (Karma,67, Male).

For these Tibetan youth hearing direct familiarities of the hardship suffered by their ancestors in order to escape Tibet was an encouraging aspect to involve in this Tibetan political protest. Therefore, the communication of these personal stories within multinational social fields took an important role in their decision to appear protest.

“When I hear the news about how Tibetans in Tibet are treated by the Chinese government, it is really sad because no one is standing up to China except for the Tibetan people. Even when something major happens to Tibetans in Tibet, the media don’t cover it for some reason and the world just turns a blind eye on the Tibetan people. I believe that as a Tibetan, I must support our cause and fight for those that are in Tibet right now because they don’t have any rights or freedom inside China.” (Kelsang, 23, Male).

As evident in the incident of Tibetan who are able to go their homeland for many reasons, the information on the homeland and the diaspora spanning borders has led to their commitment in political activism. As a result, political matters that concerns the native land, and which flow within transnational social field’s effect their political involvement in demonstrations.

Identity building during the protest

Some young Tibetan shopkeepers were asked whether they felt more Tibetans or Indians then they replied for them India is also a second homeland wherein they can survive their life. But they always dream to go back into their native land in Tibet.

A Tibetan expresses that “I definitely felt more Tibetan because I was fighting for my homeland and for every Tibetan in Tibet who do not have a political voice. When I was leading the demonstration, I wasn’t thinking about anything else except for how proud I was to be a Tibetan. Still, I wouldn’t say that I was confused about my Indian identity because at that time, I chose to feel more Tibetan. When I was demonstrating, I definitely felt more Tibetan because I was in this space where people were waving Tibetan flags, chanting Tibetan slogans, and speaking to each other in Tibetan. Also, I didn’t feel confused because even though I was born in India and consider myself as Indian-Tibetan, I knew that I was just expressing my Tibetan side at that time. So, I knew that I was expressing my anger and frustration with everyone else.” (Gyatso, 45, Male).

For most of them who did not have a leading role in the rally, perception of attachment to their Tibetan side were not as strong as those members that had played a leading role in the Tibetan march program.

As one said, “I did feel a little more Tibetan than Indian because I was with my Tibetan friends. But at the same time, I also proud to be Indian because me and my friends could go out there and protest without any fear. So, in a sense, I was proud of both my Tibetan and Indian identity.” (Tsono, 21, Male).

Another was interpreting that “while protesting, I would definitely identify myself more as a Tibetan, but I also value my Indian side at the same time since being Indians allows me to have the freedom of speech to express myself.” (Ema, Female, 42).

In spite of getting closer to their Tibetan side, most of the Tibetans still recognized that they were aware of their Indian identity during the interview. This indicates that of personal identification is voluntary among them as they can switch between one identities over the other based on social, cultural, religious, and political factors. Clearly, the Tibetans are aware of their bicultural identities and this contradicts studies must sacrifice the other culture to embrace the culture of the mass civilization. Rather, it is clear that among the Tibetan youth, being bicultural does not always have to finish in struggle of choosing between one identity over the perceived other.

“Even though I felt more Tibetan in that kind of environment, I feel that I was expressing both my “Tibetan and Indian” identity. I was proud to support Tibetans in our cause for a “Free

Tibet,” but I was also really proud of my Indian identity because I felt that I also had the support for Indians in the streets that joined in our demonstration. I remember that on March 10, I brought a couple of Tibetan flag and also an Indian flag to the demonstration, and I gave some of the flags to other protesters. So, this is why I also keep my Indian identity because of our freedom here in India to gather for political events like March 10.” (Bhuti, 55 Male).

By joining in the protest, the Tibetan was not only linking to strictly one nation since they were also acting within a transnational social field that incorporates both India and Tibet. Therefore, it is evident that transnational social spaces permit for the assertion of her double identity. During the demonstration, various narratives of memories relating to the homeland were also used to allow the Tibetans youth to cultivate an imaginary Tibetan nation-state which subsequently makes them feel more Tibetan than Indian. For instance, some of the participants stated hearing encouraging stories of Tibet which made them feel more Tibetan during the march.

During the march, “I witnessed Tibetans who were retelling stories of Tibet and it really made me feel more Tibetan because I wished to go back in time to experience what they felt. When I heard those stories, I knew that my people were truly happy in Tibet because they were able to live their life the way they wanted to and they had the Dalai Lama to guide them. Also, people were playing some traditional Tibetan music and the lyrics of the music made me think about the Dalai Lama, and all of the Tibetan people inside and outside of China.” (Nima, 61, Female).

One explicitly analyses that every family whether it is their parents or their grandparents did live in Tibet and it hasn't been that long since we lost our country. Therefore, the time frame of losing our homeland is still fresh for our generation and memories is passed down through each generation. Therefore, it is really important to mention and hear these memories in the rallies. However, while some people said hearing positive and uplifting stories of Tibet and the Tibetan community, other recalled hearing gloomy stories from those who were forced to leave Tibet. For instance, one Tibetan felt upset during the interview when he witnessed older Tibetan recounting terrible stories of the violence, exploitation, and loss they suffered at the hands of the Chinese military. In the interview, there was some older Tibetan who was telling people about their horrific experiences leaving their loved ones behind in Tibet in order to escape the Chinese military. I also remember talking to an older Tibetan gentleman who told me that he had to walk by foot for several days in order to reach India. During this journey, he mentioned that he had

lost several close friends who didn't survive that journey. These stories that I heard was really heartbreaking for me to hear but I think that it is something that all young Tibetans should know because it motivates us to keep fighting to return back to Tibet one day.

For Tibetan youth, it is evident that hearing personal and collective memories of Tibet during the protest provokes them to be more involved in transnational practices that relates to the homeland. Clearly, for them living in exile, their imagining of the nation-state is significant to their political struggle and to their transnational efforts to maintain ties with the homeland. Among all of the participants, it is evident that during their participation in transnational social spaces, they negotiate between both their "Indian and Tibetan" identity. However, the level of their attachment towards feeling more "Indian" or "Tibetan" is based on their level of involvement in the demonstration as some of the participants had helped lead the protest on March 10 through the delivery of speeches, chants, or other leadership roles. While all of the Tibetans mentioned that they never felt that they were privileging one identity over the other, it was evident through their responses that in most situation, they overwhelmingly felt "more Tibetan" during the demonstration. Consequently, this type of identity distinction among the Tibetan youth a result of the influence of the transnational social field in which they were demonstrating, which refers to sets of several interrelated linkages of social connections through which practices, thoughts, and incomes are replaced, and renovated.

When the Tibetans were asked who influenced their transnational practices the most of the youngsters emphasized that their parents played the most significant role in reinforcing the preservation of Tibetan identity by encouraging them to speak the Tibetan language at home, as well as within the Tibetan community. In the analysis of a Tibetan's experience indicates that "Ever since I was young, my parents always encouraged me to speak the Tibetan language at home because language is an important part of preserving the Tibetan culture and Tibetan identity for not only my generation, but also future generation of young Tibetans. If I ever spoke English at home with my sister or with my cousins, my mother would always tell me to stop speaking English because she would remind me that as a Tibetan, it is important to speak the Tibetan language in our own household." (Nyima, 34, Female).

One Tibetan said that "I would definitely say my parents influence my transnational practices the most. They are really religious and they follow any advice given to the Tibetan people by our

spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. So, even though I can't read Tibetan, my parents always encourage me to listen to the speeches given by the Dalai Lama, and to apply the lessons that he gives in his speeches into my daily life. For my parents, what matters to them the most is that I strive to be a good human being by helping that in need, instead of hurting or putting them down." (Lumo, 32, Female).

One interprets about his life experiences as "I came to India 41 years ago and before I came to India, my parents never really encouraged me to go to Tibetan cultural events or anything like that. But, after coming to India, they play a major role in my life because I feel that they fear I might forget different aspects of my Tibetan identity like the Tibetan language and culture. One example is that my parents always remind me that it is important for me to preserve the Tibetan language because they tell me that if I don't value the Tibetan language, my son or daughter in the future will also abandon the Tibetan language because of my choices. This is why I always try to speak Tibetan when I am with my parents, my cousins, or other Tibetan." (Khando, 60, Male).

However, some of the Tibetans also stated that the 14th Dalai Lama has been the most influential person in shaping their daily transnational practices. The Dalai Lama is the spiritual leader, and he is always an inspiration for every Tibetan way of life which is a spiritual and compassionate one.

In terms of individual experiences one said that, "I would say the Dalai Lama is someone that I look up to as a role model because he is our spiritual leader. Therefore, I definitely feel that the Dalai Lama is someone that connects me to the homeland because he represents things like compassion, hope, and hard-work for the Tibetan people who need to be empowered." (Yangkey, Male, 55).

As evident by the responses, all of the participants felt that the preservation of Tibetan culture and identity was not only important for themselves and their parents, but also for the future generation of young Tibetans who will adopt the Tibetan culture and identity.

Indian Tibetans' interpretations on Culture, Identification and Society

When the Tibetans were asked if they could choose one ethnic identity over the other in their personal lives some emphasized that they felt elements of both cultures existing together, as they described a kind of hybrid identity that was produced by being in a dual cultural environment. Nonetheless, most of them noted that they more often than not felt more “Indian” outside of their home.

A Tibetan envisages that in my everyday life, “I would say I feel more Indian because I deal with people that are not from my culture and being more Tibetan does not help me with my job. In my job, everyone speaks Hindi and I have to look and sound professional when I deal with customers. However, when I am at home with my family, I definitely feel more Tibetan because there is no reason for me to act more India in front of my family.” (Jangchup, 51, Male).

“Since I work a lot of hours and I do not get to spend a lot of time at home, I would say I definitely feel more India in most context and situation due to my work. Just in the daily day to day life going about your job, you feel more Indian in this society. However when you are outside of the 9-5 job where you are more with your family or friends such as going to the Tibetan monastery or celebrating Tibetan new year, there are different situations where I feel one and vice-versa.” (Tsundue, 21, Male).

“I express my Indian identity almost everywhere outside of my home. So, it can be whenever I go out with my friends to the theatre to watch movies, or when I go to school. In terms of my Tibetan identity, I express it mainly by speaking more Tibetan at home, wearing traditional Tibetan clothes to cultural events and by following the religious teachings of the Dalai Lama.” (Wangchuk, 44, Male).

However, for him the feeling of being in between two contrasting cultures created a sense of confusion in his identity since he could not locate or identify himself in either culture.

“Growing up, I have always felt that I was in this hybrid type of environment where I taught by my parents to follow the Tibetan culture in my household, and was taught the “Indian” ways outside of my home by peers and teachers. In some ways, I still feel confused because even though I identify my ethnicity as a Tibetan, I am still leading my life in the outside world as an

Indian. So, I wouldn't say I identify more Tibetan than Indian now because I am always questioning where I actually belong." (Maya, 41, Female).

As evident by these different responses, the Tibetan youth are continuously discussing their sense of identity by navigating between two different cultures. They express how difficult it was growing up not knowing where he belonged and how this led to the foundation of a cross identity whereby he cannot choose a single identity over the other. Obviously, while embracing a cross identity can be a progressive experience, they are voiced in a bi-cultural setting are not exempted from feelings of segregation and confusion since they do not fully identify themselves with either one of the two cultures. With regards to the participants, they continue to preserve several cross identity that associate them to both India and Tibet. As a result, it is clear that all of the Tibetans were concurrently being showing to international social fields in which cross border runs induce feelings of connection to the native land, while also participating in mainstream activities in India.

Chapter: Three

Role of Tibetan Youth and Religion

In the Tibetan community, the Buddhist religion plays a prominent role. It has influenced in maintenance a sense of Tibetan's among the Tibetan youth in exile. One of the most noticeable appearances of their culture has been their faith. It is a part of their culture that those who can put infinite struggle into the conservation of while out of Tibet. The role of religion is crucial to understanding life as a Tibetan in exile. Tibetan culture is fully dominated by Buddhism, the religion of Tibet. Buddhism pervades every part of Tibetan art, civilization, medicine, dance, literature, even in politics. As a result, tens of thousands of ordinary Tibetans devoted both Buddhism and their religious leader Dalai Lama. Many Tibetans who followed the Dalai Lama indicated freedom to practice their religion as one of their primary motivations. Although not all Tibetans are Buddhist there are small Christian, Muslim, and Bon (a pre-Buddhist, indigenous faith) minorities any discussion of the Tibetan situation cannot exclude the cultural and historical centrality of Buddhism. Within the Tibetan tradition the Dalai Lama is important because he is the highest spiritual leader. However, his position as temporal leader adds another layer of complexity. Buddhism does play a role in influencing the transnational practices of Tibetans. There are also other social, cultural and political factors that shape the transnational activities.

Inspiration of Buddhism and its Effect

In Tibet prior to the Chinese invasion, monks accounted for a large proportion of the adult male population. Even today, many Tibetans see life without their spiritual leader as unfulfilled and make the arduous trek across the Himalayas to see the Dalai Lama take his teachings and receive his blessing before they die. Rebecca R. French explains it thus:

To every Tibetan, on the plateau or in exile, he is the living god who is the patron deity of their country, he is the head of their nation, he is the reincarnation of their leaders for the past 300 years, he is a trained monk of the

highest rank of learning, and he is a wise, compassionate, and honest human being.¹⁰

It is impossible to validate French's sweeping claim of every Tibetan as there are surely those who do not recognize the leadership of the Dalai Lama. However, in speaking of majorities and looking at Tibetans voting with their feet, uprisings and protests within Tibet, as well as the continued existence of an exile government the authority of the Dalai Lama is remarkable and long-lasting. In Tibet, if somebody had a photograph of the Dalai Lama, despite the fact that the Chinese government has banned their image.¹¹

The Dalai Lama is the "executive and religious head of the diasporic nation," and this meeting of power is extremely potent. An Avolokiteshvara, he is the bodhisattva (enlightened) of compassion and as a religious leader he commands supreme allegiance. But at the same time, this presents a series of problems. The influence of the Dalai Lama both within the Tibetan community and in the international arena cannot be understated. India was flexible in permitting Tibetans to reside in the country without assimilating or seeking citizenship. Buddhism has four factors. If someone has to adopt Buddhism he or she must be accepts of four truths of Buddhism. These are: All things have no natural survival. Everything compounded things are temporary. Nirvana is outside perceptions. All sentiments are hurt. These are called the four truths and they are believed to comprise all of Buddhism. They are direct instructions of the Buddha, unaffected over the 2500 years of Buddhist preparation and can be complicated to know, even at a primary level. One of the main points in Buddhism is in fact sympathy and kindheartedness for all emotional beings where the purpose for this is no mystery. Day to day offerings of small plates of water in multiples of seven is also a mutual everyday ritual in Tibetan Buddhist preparation. This offering is like to encourage compassion. Usually water is special because it is considered abundant and trouble-free to offer, as the inspiration behind a contribution is to provide without concerns to self. Clean water is necessary to the contribution because offering non-clean water is measured to be non-selfless (Reich, 2014). Generally, the young Tibetans feel that being Buddhist means having humanity for all sentimental existences. Besides this, the lessons of Dalai

¹⁰ Sophie Behrens Lehman (2009), *Tibetan Elections in Exile: From Theocratic Monarchy to a Developing Exile Democracy, 1959-2009*, Durham: Duke University. p.19.

¹¹ Ibid. p.20.

Lama Holiness give emphasis to these beliefs with every observer that he expresses to and his Holiness has an important influence on the day-to-day survives of almost every Tibetan.

The institution of the Dalai Lama had its beginnings with the Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Sonam Gyatso (1543-88), visited the chief of a Mongol tribe, Altan Khan (1507-79). Sonam Gyatso worked successfully to convert the “Mongols to Buddhism a responsibility for which he received as indebtedness from the Khan, the title Dalai Lama”. This title is a mixture of the “Mongolian word Dalai, meaning Ocean, and Lama” the Tibetan comparable to the Indian word “guru”, which it means teacher. The title was applied by the Gelugpa sect and bestowed posthumously, based on the tulku concept, to Sonam Gyatso’s two predecessors. Consequently, Sonam Gyatso goes down in history as the 3rd Dalai Lama. The 5th Dalai Lama was finally offered the governance of Tibet by the Mongol, Gushi Khan, after defeating the Mongol’s rival, who supported the powerful Kagupa sect. When the 5th Dalai Lama acquired temporal and spiritual authority over Tibet, the supremacy of the Gelugpa sect in Tibetan political life was established, which has since prevailed (Roemer, 2008).

Offerings are a central aspect of the daily religious practice among Tibetans. Geoffrey Samuel argues that Tibetan Buddhism is relevant to lay people as a practical religion, its main goals being protection of the communities and ensuring the good health and prosperity of its members. The act of offering is an important part of this practical religion, as both modest daily offerings and occasional large-scale ones are part of a transaction which serves to gain merit and ensure good karma. The most common form of offering is that made to monks, monasteries and lamas, in the form of food, clothes or money. Making offerings to monasteries on a regular basis is regarded as the most important kind of offering, since lay people depend on the monks for carrying out significant rituals, such as the death rituals. An important category of offerings performed by monks are “fire offerings” (Gill, 2015).

During my interview I asked to conduct with everyone Tibetans. Each person was interviewed individually and each interview lasted 30-50 minutes. With regard to the interview questions, some are open minded and others are does not want to express about their perceptions. More importantly they contain predetermined open-ended questions with as many pre-probe questions as possible. In addition, by employing a semi-structured interview style, they can elaborate in their responses and in turn allow the researcher to reply. Consequently, the majority of them felt

that their “parents and the 14th Dalai Lama” helped shape their daily transnational practices the most. Subsequently, Tibetan youth follow the advice of their parents by speaking more Tibetan at home, as well as following the teachings of Buddhism by following the 14th Dalai Lama. All of them identified themselves as Buddhist and lived in India.

The question precise that when a person asked about the self-immolations, he will begin by asking the following open question, how would you describe these acts? Some referred to the self-immolation as either a sacrifice or a non-violent act, or both, in the first sentences of their answers, while others did not. Therefore, I asked the latter further questions about the sacrificial and non-violent nature of the self-immolations. The answer was usually an immediate yes or definitely, while some who were in doubt, contemplated for a moment before answering.

Based on my fieldwork among Tibetans living in exile in Majnu-ka-tilla, Delhi, I explore why this has come to stand as the dominant understanding, and how the self-immolations are made meaningful as a sacrifice. The self-immolations can be viewed by exile Tibetans as an attempt at substantiating a new kind of beginning. For exile Tibetans, this beginning, should be seen as a potential for changing the present political situation in Tibet.

One Tibetan said that “None of them have tried to harm anybody else,” They do not have anything to do; “the only thing you can do is sacrifice your life.” The self-immolations reflected the desperate situations in Tibet. I don’t think it is about right or wrong, he said. That is the only thing we can do without hurting other people. That is the best way to get the world’s attention (Pema, 48, Female).

“Self-immolations is very sad for us, But people inside Tibet, they have no other way. They have no rights. Outside Tibet we are trying to raise awareness around the world.” (Tenzin, 44, Male).

The parents and the religious Buddhist figure of the 14th Dalai Lama were major role models in shaping their transnational activities as these individuals helped them connect to the homeland through personal stories, online speeches, etc. (Methok, Male, 28). Clearly, as people reared within transnational social fields, they were impacted by the personal stories and experiences of Tibet from their parents and the Dalai Lama. As a result, by being exposed to information and resources from these particular influences, these participants acted and engaged within a transnational social field.

During demonstration people were playing some traditional Tibetan music and the lyrics of the music made me think about the Dalai Lama, and all of the Tibetan people inside and outside of China (Regzin, male, 25).

Buddhist religion is very close to the Tibetan people. In exile, the self-immolations are generally understood as a political protest against the Chinese occupation. The self-immolations are understood by exile Tibetans as a form of sacrifice, non-violent in its nature, and the self-immolators have the uncontested status of heroes (Dolma, male, 44).

The self-immolations raised many questions, one of the most often discussed issues, by both Tibetans and the international media, was whether the self-immolations could be said to be an accepted form of protest within a Buddhist moral framework, where killing oneself is regarded as a great sin. This raised another related question; whether setting oneself ablaze was in accordance with the non-violent approach of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama had earlier even been critical of hunger strike as a form of protest in the Tibetan freedom struggle, defining this as a form of violence. However, as the self-immolation have continued inside and outside Tibet's borders, these questions are only seldom heard among exile Tibetans and the self-immolations are perceived and talked about as a form of non-violent sacrifice. There are different kinds of fire offerings; some are performed by lay people, others by Buddhist tantric practitioners. In Tibetan Buddhism fire is associated with the highest religious goals; it is a symbol for the meditative state (the inner fire bringing non-duality) and enlightenment. In all cases of fire offerings, be they internal or external, fire is believed to transmit, transpose, and transform, creating and annihilating at the same time. Understanding the self-immolations as fire offerings, inspired by a religious tradition, is one of several possible interpretations. Whether this interpretation is valid for all the self-immolators is impossible to know (Bentor, 2000).

Suicide as Martyr in Tibet

Robert Barnett argues that suicide is not an uncommon response to political events in Tibet, citing numerous cases during the Cultural Revolution and more recent years. During the Cultural Revolution, in Lhasa, “it is said that guards had to be posted along the Kyichu river to prevent people, even entire families, jumping into the river” (Gill, 2015).

Moreover, Tsering Shakya (2012) defines that although there is no history of self-immolations as political protest in Tibet, the act itself is not unknown in Buddhist scriptures that are well known in Tibet. For instance, the Lotus Sutra describes a self-immolation, committed by prince Bhaishajjaraja as an offering to the Buddhas. His act is said to be motivated by the highest aspiration in Buddhism, being performed for the benefit of all living beings.

For this reason his self-immolation is praised in the Lotus Sutra as a form of sacrifice and the prince as a Bodhisattva. Another example is Tsuklak Trengwa's history of Buddhism in Tibet from the sixteenth century, where he describes the self-immolation of a Buddhist monk, Dolchung Korpon, in the 11th century, who self-immolated in front of the most sacred statue in the main temple in Lhasa, the Jowo, "for the purpose of ensuring moral conduct among monks". He also mentions that Karma Chagme who gave one of his left fingers as an offering lamp to the Jowo (Tsering, 2010).

As Shakya (2012) examines that there is no Tibetan word which is exactly equivalent to the word "sacrifice". It was the Chinese communists who introduced Tibetans to the political act of self-sacrifice, in the 1960s. He argues that Tibetans have appropriated the concept of sacrifice from the language of resistance coined and championed by the communist party. "Sacrifice" in the Tibetan context therefore has to be understood within the evolving discourse of Tibetan nationalism. In Chinese Buddhism, on the other hand, self-immolations are well-documented since the fourth century AD.

Gill (2015) defines that the self-immolations as a form of sacrifice and an act of non-violence. Moreover, there was a consensus that the one and only reason causing these horrendous acts was the Chinese policy inside Tibet, involving the ongoing repression and discrimination of Tibetans. There were, however, different opinions as to whether such actions should be applauded or not and what role they should have in the Tibetan political struggle. Nevertheless, the self-immolators' status is "martyrs" in the Tibetan community. These are based on Tibetans from various backgrounds like CTA members, professional activists from TYC, Gu-chu-sum, SFT and International Tibetan Network, monks, lay people, as well as informal conversations with many others in Dharamsala. The use of the words "sacrifice" and especially "non-violence" when speaking of the self-immolations is so common that Tibetans used them without elaborating on

their sacrificial and non-violent nature. Buddhism is explicitly invoked to address and justify the acts as sacrifice. The reference to Buddhism is important, firstly because killing oneself normally constitutes a form of suicide in Buddhism and secondly because it is Buddhism, with the Dalai Lama at the forefront that conditions the discourse of Tibetan nationalism. The Buddhism is thus not only religious explanations, but also, grounded in the nationalist discourse.

The CTA created a Department for religion in 1960. This department has been developed to the present day into a powerful institution within the CTA structures. It was manned by a large number of monk officials and financially backed up by thirty percent of the CTA annual budget in the first 20 years of exile (Tethong 2000). Additionally, the CTA set-up an office for information and publicity, and a branch office in Delhi, which focused on the relationship with the host country and the different actors of the international community.

Karma, a male CTA member in his mid-50s, expressed that “In Buddhism it is said that among taking lives, taking one’s own is the most sinful. There is an ongoing debate whether these acts are in conflict with Buddhism. The motivation for this kind of sacrifice is the conviction that my life is the most precious thing I have and I am giving it up for the good of the Tibetan people. So with that selfless motivation, Chinese leaders can also escape the sin of killing and torturing the Tibetan people. This is the highest form of sacrifice, benefitting other sentient beings. Karma invoked Buddhism to address the sacrificial nature of these acts and thus highlighted the altruistic motivation inspiring them.” (Gill, 2015).

For the sacrificial nature of the self-immolations which is a very great sacrifice. “In Buddhism there are stories about the Buddha’s previous lives. In one of his lives he sacrifices his life to a very sick tigress by cutting his limbs and feeding her. The self-immolations in Tibet are like the same. The self-immolators self-immolate for the sake of Tibetan culture, which will be very helpful for the world if it is preserved. These exemplify that although there is no tradition of self-immolation as a form of offering or protest in Tibet, religious explanations of the self-immolations are offered and religious meanings activated. Indeed, as these illustrate, self-immolations are characterized as offerings to benefit all sentient beings, on the basis of the underlying motivation Buddhism contributes to making sense of these actions as “good deaths”. At the same time, this invalidates the Chinese categorization of the self-immolations as suicide and the self-immolators as criminals and “bad Buddhists”. The messages left behind by the self-

immolators referring to their act as a sacrifice or offering is often activated upon making the self-immolations meaningful as a sacrifice. The Buddha in his previous life sacrificed his body with an altruistic motivation where he achieved a good death. Among the Tibetans one of the most popular tales is the story of the hungry tigress to which Buddha offered his body as food in order to save the lives of her cubs.” (Gyurmey, 26, Male).

The self-immolators are ascribed by most Tibetans the same altruistic motivation. Lama Sobha also mentioned this tale in the audio message he left behind: “I am sacrificing my body with the firm conviction and a pure heart just as the Buddha bravely gave his body to a hungry tigress. All the Tibetan heroes too have sacrificed their lives with similar principles. Other Tibetans invoked nationalist sentiments rather than Buddhism. To them, self-immolation is a sacrifice, an action undertaken for the Tibetan nation, transforming the self-immolator into a martyr. The willingness to sacrifice one is the sign of the patriot, the proven and the true member of the nation-group”. That is exactly how the self-immolators are talked about in the following quotes.

The male professional activist expressed the opinion that for me, it is a pure martyrdom. It is not something easy to decide upon, saying “I want to sacrifice my life for this nation”, you know. For the cause, we know in exile, there are like so many politics going on, but for these people, it is just the purity, like no selfishness. It is just, “I am going to sacrifice my life for this nation” and this is just in its pure martyrdom, a self-immolation. So I really look up to these people, I respect what they have done. These are like true martyrs for me. For Tashi the self-immolators are the true patriots, “the proven and the true member of the nation group”. These are people she identifies with, imbuing her identity with nationalist sentiments. When addressing the self-immolations, many Tibetans, while recognizing their sacrificial nature, emphasized that they cannot be regarded as desperate acts, as often claimed by the “Chinese authorities” (Tashi, 56, Male).

A female professional activist in her late 20s, said: For me, “these are not even desperate acts as many call them. I think it’s like they are trying to say they have control over their own bodies. The Chinese government can control the land, whatever they want, but they themselves have control over their bodies and I am going to choose how I am going to end it. It’s not an easy thing to do. I suggest that since suicide is normally understood as a desperate act and accordingly as a “bad death”, it was important for many Tibetans to insist that the act of setting oneself on

fire cannot be regarded as desperate. On the contrary, it is important for exile Tibetans to focus on their heroic nature, motivated by national sentiments. They are an act of taking control over one's own body" (Pema, 2004).

A young Tibetan man, Sangyal (24), expressed it in these words, "Sacrifice and suicide are different. Suicide is about accepting that I lose to my problems, my pain. It is an act of giving up. Sacrifice is not giving up: "I am dying for my nation, rather than letting the enemy win, I rather die". Central to the distinction made above between suicide and sacrifice is the question of, motivation."

The Buddhist knowledge is taken in use to explain the motivation while in the latter ones by applying national sentiments. Even when Buddhism is not referred to explicitly, it is still activated discursively in order to argue against the condemnation of self-immolation as a suicide. These excerpts exemplify what he found to be a common way for exile Tibetans to make the self-immolations meaningful as a sacrifice, namely pointing to their underlying motivation, regarded as inspired by altruism and unselfishness, virtues that rank as the highest in Mahayana Buddhism, transforming the self-immolations into moral acts. At the same time, the sacrifice is understood as being made for a higher cause the Tibetan freedom struggle in exile (Gill, 2015).

The exile Tibetans have managed to create an impression as propagators of Tibetan Buddhism, as peaceful and friendly with a deep insight into religious practice. The CTA created a department for religion in 1960. This department has been developed to the present day into a powerful institution within the CTA structures. It was manned by a large number of monk officials and financially backed up by 30 percent of the CTA annual budget in the first twenty years of exile. The present ATPD serves as a symbol of an institutionalized exile Tibetan nationalism by following the idea of regional and religious quotas. At present, each region of the area of Cholka Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) is represented by ten deputies out of whom there have to be at least two females. On the religious basis each Tibetan Buddhist sect, Nyingmapa, Kagupa, Sakyapa and Gelugpa, provides two deputies. Since 1976, there have been two Bon delegates (lehman, 2009). The composition of the assembly emphasizes the claims of the CTA to represent all Tibetans, despite regional heritage, religious affinities or current place of living.

Buddhism and Nationalism

The source of Tibetan nationalism is predominantly described by Tibetan Buddhism. Following the argument of Ashild kolas, Tibetan Buddhism provides several idioms for the political discourse in Dharamsala. There is for instance, the aforementioned distinction between insider's believers and non-believers that is widely used in the educational course. This distinction is also important for the uneducated, old or newly arriving Tibetans. Such religion-based differentiation is at present combined with a definition of a secular Tibetan identity along geographical lines, which distinguishes between Tibetans (bopa), Chinese (gyami) and (inji). This secular concept of a Tibetan identity runs along the lines of a western terminology of nationhood and in this regard, appeals to an international audience. Because of a close link between Tibetan nationalism and religion, most Tibetan national symbols are related to Tibetan Buddhism. In the opinion of the 14th Dalai Lama, Tibetan religion and consequently also religious rituals are helpful in keeping Tibetan patriotism alive (Roemer, 2008).

Buddhism is regarded by most Tibetans as the basis on which national identity is asserted in both exile and inside Tibet. Although the majority of exile Tibetans are not devoted Buddhist the Dalai Lama's faith in values grounded in Buddhist ethics, despite being contested, dominates the exile community. Despite the continuity of the Buddhist tradition, that does not, however, mean that it remains unchanged, or that Buddhist ethics are not reinterpreted in accordance with the present social and political context (Gill, 2015).

The understanding and meanings of the self-immolations, as well as commemorative practices for the self-immolators bring to fore certain values and can tell us something about nationalism among exile Tibetans. A focus on dead bodies will also show that nationalism, although having homogeneity as one of its aims is not one single thing, but rather something which is contested (Wade, 2001).

The religious practice is still an essential part of every exile Tibetan's life. Additionally, there are numerous traditional religious rituals that are officially celebrated and are part of an annual celebration calendar, like monastic cham dances, which dramatize transition, Tibetan new year celebrations (losar) or the monlam chenmo, the great prayer where religious power takes over from the secular (Strom, 1995).

The ceremonial calendar in exile Tibet starts with a three-day celebration of the Tibetan new year at the end of February or the beginning of March, which is highlighted by a CTA organized celebration. During this time, all CTA offices and Tibetan shops are closed. Through the religious and secular rituals, the CTA honors annually those who have sacrificed their lives for the Tibetan national struggle in opposition to the Chinese invaders. Some of the Tibetan political events are annually followed by the traditional Monlam Chenmo series of religious instructions when the nationwide monastic population would fill the streets of Lhasa. With the help of their monastic force, the Lamas, would take power from the civil magistrate of Lhasa and symbolically install ecclesiastical martial law for 21 days. The monlam chenmo was introduced in 1409 by Tsongkhapa to preserve and protect Buddhism in Tibet. This rite of precedence of Tibetan religion is taken up in exile by a series of public teachings on Buddhist philosophy by the 14th Dalai Lama, which attract thousands of tourists annually because, first, they provide a chance to meet the 14th Dalai Lama and, second they are free comparable instructions are costly in the West (Roemer, 2008).

Margaret Nowak pointed out that both the 10th March commemoration and the Monlam Chenmo instructions are examples of the existence of the Tibetan paradigm of chosi nyiden, the combination of religion and politics. Each event focuses on another part of the Tibetan strata. While the secular people and laity renew their claims to free Tibet at the Uprising commemorations, the ecclesiastic stratum takes over power during the Monlam Chenmo. Christiaan Klieger stressed in this context the important role of the 14th Dalai Lama during both ceremonies: “March 10th and Mon-lam represent the dynamic of change and continuity, the outward and inward, the profane and the sacred, the nation and the religion. The unifying symbol bridging both events is the Dalai Lama, the king and god, the active agent between this world and the next”. (Klieger, 1992).

The event is followed by Tibetan Democracy Day on 2nd September, the day when the first assembly was founded in 1960. The date is officially celebrated with a central ceremony in Dharamsala organized by the CTA. In the center of this celebration are speeches by the 14th Dalai Lama where he usually stresses the progress of the exile Tibetan struggle and the topic of democratization in the exile Tibetan community. All these exile Tibetan national ceremonies are created to support the close link between secular affairs and religious symbolism, but also to

evoke unifying feelings among all Tibetans. During all ceremonies one can see religious and secular symbols, which are either rooted in Tibetan Buddhism. This time the Tibetan political elite imported numerous western symbols of nationhood like a national flag, anthem, emblem and passport. While these symbols were known and used in the pre-exile period only by the Tibetan political elite, they experienced a renaissance in the exile context through their use by the CTA. At present they are widely accepted by all Tibetans, both in exile and in the homeland, who consider them as necessary tools to emphasize their struggle to free Tibet. Tibetan Buddhist-based nationalism is also employed by the CTA to motivate the Tibetan diaspora abroad, in particular to take an active part in the exile Tibetan struggle. Shain stated that material incentives are considered as minor due to the abroad-living Diaspora's relatively stable economic situation. In contrast, symbolic and religious means play a more important role in creating nationalistic feelings and in mobilizing them into taking an active part in the exile struggle to free their home. One instrument used to encourage Buddhist-based nationalism abroad is the religious centers. Their importance as key institutions to keep the national identity alive had been copied by the CTA from the Jewish experience. The first contact of the 14th Dalai Lama with a Jew took place right after his arrival in India in 1959, when a Jew from Poland gave advice on several projects to ease the life of the exile Tibetans and especially on the foundation of a Tibetan children's home (Roemer, 2008).

The Jewish delegates emphasized in their speeches the topic of religious symbolism in the educational process, within households, families and in schools. They also gave weight to the use of prayer and study centers abroad that are set-up to function as meeting points for members of the foreign diaspora and stressed the importance of the work with religious texts to link past and present. This Jewish approach in particular opened a new perspective to the CTA to use religious topics among all strata of the exile Tibetan community to mobilize national commitment. Furthermore, it emphasized the CTA's focus on preservation of Tibetan culture and religion as overall exile Tibetan policy, which shows that the interaction between different exile communities is fruitful and inspiring for both sides. They support each other on a moral basis, but also with operational support. Exile Tibetan nationalist developments based on Buddhism have always been linked to a wider field of international relations, which are the center of the following explanations. At present, Tibetan nationalism is tied to foreign consumption of goods and images for two reasons: first, because freedom of religion and the expression of one's own

history serve as key scenarios in Western society. The first Tibetans who came to the West wore maroon robes and seeded interest in Tibetan Buddhism at the grassroots level. Because the Tibetan clergy was the main target of the Chinese invaders, the Western world warmly welcomed these exile Tibetan scholars (Mountcastle, 1997). Tibetan Buddhism in the West spoke of a lack in universal values and sense of life in industrial societies a fertile ground for the creation of meaningful approaches for managing one's own life. These two reasons show the promotion of Tibetan Buddhism in the West and the transmission of a certain image of Tibet, which is based on Tibetan religion, through Western mass media.

At present, more than 700 Tibetan Buddhist centers all over the world function as meeting places for members of the Tibetan diaspora and the increasing number of so-called white convert Buddhist. Additionally, the CTA hopes to involve exile Tibetans and Western Buddhists, but interestingly not Indian Buddhist, in the Tibetan struggle through Buddhist philosophy and teachings a concept that has failed because Tibetan monk teachers mostly do not focus on the political circumstances, despite the CTA's encouragement of Tibetan dignitaries in the West to stress political issues (Roemer, 2008).

Moreover, Amy Mountcastle found that the majority of Western Buddhist has little or no interest in Tibetan political matters, people or culture, except for religion. Therefore, they have recently become a major focus of the 14th Dalai Lama, who is trying to unite Tibetan Buddhist religion with Tibet and the Tibetan nation. Such awareness also focuses on acquiring new predominantly monetary resources among the Tibetan diaspora and Western Buddhist. Tibetan Buddhist centers have developed into cultural and religious institutions for the Tibetan diaspora abroad and Western Buddhist (Ekvall, 1967).

The Politics and Religion

Religion and politics are impossible to separate in the Tibetan case. Buddhism is thus regarded by most Tibetans as the basis on which national identity is asserted in both exile and inside Tibet. Although the majority of exile Tibetans are not devoted Buddhists, the Dalai Lama's faith in values grounded in Buddhist ethics, despite being contested, dominates the exile community. Nevertheless, prior to the Chinese invasion, Buddhism was the main reason for Tibetans identifying themselves with the pure land surrounded by snow Mountains. There has been a form

of proto-nationalism, at least in central Tibet, since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, involving a perception of belonging to a distinct country. This proto-nationalism was based on the idea of Tibet as a barbarian land that was civilized into a Buddhist country a transformation in which Avalokiteshvara occupied a central role through the manifestations as kings who introduced Buddhism, and for that reason, the emphasis on Buddhism in today's nationalist discourse cannot be dismissed as a modern creation only (Dreyfus, 2002).

Religion is still the fundamental driving power in Tibetan social and political life, nothing worked without the religious institutions. Par Bataille notes: "Everything revolves around the monks. If someone, against the likelihood were to turn away from religion, he would still derive his meaning and his possibility of expression from the monks". Tibetan religion is based to a large extent on the teachings of the historical Buddha, the Indian saint who lived around 500 BC. Buddha posits a constant cycle of birth, death and rebirth of all sentient beings, better known as karma, offers an explanation of present existence as it is based on the actions of previous lives and the actions of this life determine the next one. As seen later, this religious concept provided a basis for a stable social order in Tibet and legitimized the power of the ruling strata. It reduced frustration and anger in social relations because a Buddhist's social status, as the person believes it, represents the amount of merit that has been collected during previous lives (Norbu, 1991).

When Buddhism was brought to Tibet, it did not immediately achieve mass popularity and rather remained a religion of the Tibetan elite. That time was characterized by a dominance of a pre-Buddhist religion, Bon, which has a faceted pantheon of different spirits as well as demon-gods that inhabit all parts of the Tibetan landscape. The impact of Buddhism in Tibet grew constantly and four major sects of Tibetan Buddhism formed: Nyingmapa, Sakyapa, Kadampa that was reformed by the scholar Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) and has been known since then as Gelugpa sect, and Kagupa. All four sects were widely subdivided and founded powerful monastic complexes with numerous branch monasteries all over the country. Tibetan Buddhist monasteries were spread all over Tibet forming networks of overlapping allegiances, which was an important factor in giving an integrative and unifying structure to a naturally segmented country (Roemer, 2008).

Over time, the development of a close-knit group of numerous satellite monasteries played a dominant role in the growth of the monastic population because the conscription of young men

and women all over the country was eased. Traditionally, there were three different ways for a Tibetan to enter a monastery: One alternative was that a Tibetan family sent one of its sons to a monastery. This far reaching decision was made by the family based on religious motivations or economic constraints such as shortages of material and financial resources. Another possibility occurred when a child was found to be a reincarnated tulku. Then the boy was brought to a particular monastery to be trained and educated as a religious dignitary. As compensation, the family received diverse economic and social benefits from the monastery. The last alternative for entering a monastery was based on the decision of the young man himself who wanted to dedicate his life to religion (Goldstein, 1993). In that context, it is important to mention that the monk of the young man provided him with the opportunity to raise his social status through intensive studying and serious dedication to religion. In this regard, the monasteries softened the strongly developed stratification of Tibetan society.

Tibetan monasteries were first and foremost religious institutions, i.e. centers of studying and practice. Different levels of ordination determined the involvement in the religious, intellectual and practical activities of each monk. Only one-third of the entire monk population took full ordination and subsequently full dedicated their lives to the study and practice of religion. But Tibetan monasteries were more than centers of esthetic religious practice as the remaining two-thirds of the monks lived as novices-without full donation and were specialized in arts, crafts, politics or business. Some of them even lived in Tibetan communities instead of in monastic complexes where they carried out religious as well as educational and social work. They were involved in the management of large monastic estates and acted as traders and practitioners of Tibetan medicine (Michael, 1982). In this regard, monasteries also served as places for social interaction during religious festivals for the local and nomadic population, centers of education, and important sites of commerce and trade.

The Dalai Lama has highlighted the compatibility of democracy and certain aspects of Buddhism. His embrace of this perspective is important, because the prominent role of Buddhism is unlikely to wane. Similarly, Karma Choephel observed that, for the most part, “our system goes on quite fairly, I think basically thanks to our religion which teaches us morals and to be honest and to be true”. The Dalai Lama wants democracy to succeed him in the Tibetan

community. That does not mean religion will be replaced by politics but rather that Tibetans will be able to exercise the choices they find appropriate (Lehman, 2009).

In Tibet those who stayed have undergone significant changes regarding their religious, social and economic life. The CTA reported that: “Approximately 1.2 million Tibetans, about one sixth of the total population have died under detention, famine, prosecution and poverty. The casualties of the monastic population were especially high with the targeted destruction of Tibet’s religious and cultural institutions. Wide spread poverty, high morbidity, infant mortality and illiteracy; illegal abortions, controlled births and uncontrolled immigration from China are still characteristics of Tibet’s demographics. There is no doubt that the Chinese occupation had an immense impact on Tibetan life. This fact was already proven by two reports (in 1959 and 1960) of the International commission of Jurist; a body with a history of CIA sponsorship” (Sautman, 2000). This commission charged China with genocide in Tibet, based on Tibetan religious belief.

Tibetan Buddhism has been a unifying factor among all Tibetans. But according to Goldstein, religion also had a fragmenting and conflicting influence on Tibetan society, which was portrayed in prevailing rivalries between the lay ruling elite, the monk officials and the monasteries. Hence, rival interests define modern Tibetan history. Most of the political quarrels took place in Lhasa inside the Potala palace, the residence of the Dalai Lamas, and within the numerous monasteries. These conflicts were characterized by intrigues, discretion and constantly changing coalitions. Bruck summarized Tibetan history as a permanent struggle to centralize separated tribes and regions to create powerful religions and cultural units and to enhance the economic, political and religious power of particular groups in Tibetan society (Roemer, 2008).

The major concept of Tibetan politics can be described as a union of religious and secular power. It became characteristic for Tibetan politics in the process of unifying the disparate forces within the Tibetan political sphere, as it “demonstrates the commitment to a religious state made by this government and also represents the essence of Tibetan national identity” (Ardley, 2002).

Based on the link between religion and politics the monasteries derived their claims to power within Tibetan state and society. But they had no meaningful representation or direct involvement in the running of the Ganden Phodrang government which was the cause for major

tensions between the two parties from time to time. This as seen later, led to periodic instability in central Tibetan society and politics. But any possible interventions in the monasteries position as religious institutions were made in their interests to maintain and expand their power in the political, economic and religious spheres (Goldstein, 1993).

As a result, conflicts between the religious and the secular governmental wings appeared, rivalries occurred and politicians were preoccupied mainly with themselves which meant that by the early twentieth century, Tibet was as discussed later, vulnerable to the interests of foreign powers and remained a politically backward country (Ardley, 2002).

The understanding and meanings of the self-immolations, as well as commemorative practices for the self-immolators bring to for certain values and, can tell us something about nationalism among exile Tibetans. A focus on dead bodies will also show that nationalism, although having homogeneity as one of its aims is not one single thing, but rather something which is contested. In order to understand why the self-immolations have become a part of the nationalist discourse in exile, we need to look at why and how the self-immolations are made into a culturally meaningful death, and further how this affects relations between the living and the dead. The concept of “good” and “bad death” as another way of studying Tibetan nationalism, because the ideas of “good” and “bad death” are never given, but are negotiated and guided by the ideology and concerns of the living. Framing the self-immolations in the context of “good” and “bad death” will also help us to understand the self-immolations from a larger perspective, where nationalism is not only about politics, but is also a source of meaning and hope. Verdery argues that our understanding of the political dimension has become too narrow and flat, as a result of having been too exclusively guided by rational theory. She insists on “enchancing” our understanding of politics, meaning enlivening or enriching it (Gill, 2015). In the exile Tibetan case the politics of dead bodies is not only about rational political strategies, it is also about the wider existential concerns of healing and creating hope.

Chapter: Four

Changing Dimension of Tibetan Youth Activism and the Role of Government-in-Exile

This chapter explains about the establishment of Tibetan Government-in-exile and its development since the Dalai Lama's flight to India in 1959-76. It starts by describing the Tibetan exile democratic government provided the background for the changes that followed. Then it follows a development from the earlier to involve certain of the problems in play, and lastly gets these descriptions together to offer some thoughts on the state of Tibetan democracy. This chapter will also examine the procedure by which the elections and new government was implemented and the nature of government and Tibetan life changed dramatically in exile. Not only were populations suddenly concentrated, but the stable and institutionalized social hierarchy based on monasticism and land-holdings that had existed in Tibet suddenly had no basis in exile. A new existence in exile created new social spaces, because in India, all Tibetans were refugees. The absence of entrenched landholding interests in exile, for example, enabled new structures of governance to emerge. Tibetans had entered exile with virtually nothing and were concentrated in some areas which meant that there was both a need for welfare services, and the feasibility for a government to intervene.

Gauba 1981 explains that since ancient time's democracy has been existent in the belief of Western political thought. The term democracy was first used in the fifth century BC by the Greek historian Herodotus in the sense of "rule by the people". This term is derived from a combination of two Greek words: demos meaning the people', and kratien, meaning to rule.' Abraham Lincoln's famous definition of Democracy as government of the people, by the people, for the people' is very close to its literal meaning. Different scholars have divergent views about the utilities of Democracy. For instance, some thinkers notes that all government is government of the people; hence 'government of the people' does not convey much.

The Establishment of Tibetan Government-in-Exile

Democracy has a vast and varied history. One of its more unique stories is the exiled government of Tibet currently located in Dharamsala, India. After fleeing of the 14th Dalai Lama into India with his thousand followers since then he has been the leader and spokesman for the country and people of Tibet from his home in exile. He immediately began developing an infrastructure that

would form the basis of the democracy that exists today. Simultaneously, “a lot of reporters were sent to photograph the religious leaders, the God king in his refugee camp, and they delivered to the world a political statement telling the Tibetan side of the story”. Tibet, which had been almost completely isolated from foreign contact because of its natural geographic borders, was suddenly flung open. A snapshot of history, tradition, and of mysticism was suddenly offered to the public. The Dalai Lama’s sudden availability to the Indian and International public, as well as to refugee Tibetans, created both an immediate sensation and a new audience, which has widened in the intervening years. The Government of India would recognize neither the Dalai Lama nor the Central Tibetan Administration as the legal and legitimate representative of Tibet. However, Prime Minister Nehru also refused to submit to the Chinese demands, and proved extremely accommodating to the large influx of refugees. No government came to the political aid of the Central Tibetan Administration and no country has ever recognized the CTA. India, in deference to the Dalai Lama and for matters of practicality, worked with the CTA, giving it further political legitimacy within the exile community. Many NGOs, donor agencies, and the Government of India have found the CTA useful for distributing aid. It became clear that the Government of India would deal with it as a de facto administrative unit within the Indian government and allow refugees to remain without acquiring citizenship. Money for CTA projects and refugee assistance came from an array of foreign donors as well as from the Dalai Lama’s own treasury which as a precaution had been moved to Sikkim prior to 1959 (Lehman, 2009).

Although the Government of India agreed to house the Tibetan exiles, it had reservations about clustering them together in the north where they might create an international crisis. Instead, the Government of India agreed on a settlement system that would scatter groups of Tibetans around the country and would they hoped make unified political mobilization more difficult. Interestingly, the CTA asked that Tibetans be settled into large homogenous communities despite the fact that exile Tibetans hailed from different geographical, social, and religious backgrounds. However, this was done with the hope that it would help cultivate a strong national sentiment in exile that would provide momentum to the freedom movement. The CTA was able to position itself in its new environment and proved relevant, perhaps not for its representativeness at the outset, but for its ability to efficiently and succinctly provide services to new arrivals. Reception centers aided new arrivals in finding employment, education, and lodging while also gathering

information and first-hand accounts on what was happening in Tibet from political prisoners, monks, and nuns (Reomer, 2008).

Tibetans had no experience with democracy prior to 1959, it was quickly adopted by the Dalai Lama and Tibetans have slowly begun to make it their own. The last 50 years have been marked by key developments in Tibetan exile democracy that have had a profound impact on the electoral system. Upon his arrival in India, one of the Dalai Lama's first tasks was to establish a Tibetan Government-in-exile (Central Tibetan Administration, CTA) as well as a parliament constituted in 1960. On September 2, 1960, the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD, whose name was later changed to the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, ATPD) took the oath of office, and has since been celebrated annually as "Democracy Day" among Tibetan exiles. The first constitutional government in the history of Tibet, albeit in exile, marked a first concrete step toward the democratization of the Tibetan community (Lehman, 2009).

Below is a picture of Members of First Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies 1960-1964



Source: Tibetan Parliament-in-exile (Wangchuk, 2012)

“Nyingma: Karma Thubten, Sakya: Jheshong Tsewang Tamding, Kagyu: Atro Rinpoche Karma, Shenphen Choekyi Dawa, Gelug: Chiso Lobsang Namgyal, U-Tsang: Samkhar Tsering Wangdue, Tamshul Dhedong Wangdi Dorje, Phartsang, Kalsang Damdul, Dotoe: Drawu Rinchen Tsering, Jangtsetsang Tsering Gongpo, Sadutsang Lobsang, Nyandak, Domey: Alag Trigen Jamyang (resigned, replaced by Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub), Gungthang Tsultrim, Gyalrong Trichu Dorje Pelsang.”¹²

The role of elections in the 1960s, it is clear, remains an area of dispute that has not yet been resolved. Sangay recognizes that electoral participation was not highlighted in this period as new arrivals instead dealt with disease, death, and the difficulties of adapting to tropical weather. In his examination, Sangay suggests that “except for one reincarnated lama, the monastic representatives were from ordinary backgrounds, an outcome indicating a large socio-political shift. Similarly, although traditional leaders of the Kham and Amdo regions appointed their representatives, he reports that “four of the six representatives were low-ranking tribal chieftains and the other two were from ordinary backgrounds”. As for the three U-Tsang representatives, they were men from ordinary backgrounds who were neither aristocrats, nor high-ranking monks. The process that produced the first 13 deputies was imperfect, Sangay emphasizes, that the selection of representatives from ordinary backgrounds marked the rearrangement of traditional socio-political structures. More importantly, it signaled the beginning of participation of ordinary people in government institutions, a prerequisite for democracy. Sangay also notes that the second CTPD election followed similar rituals as the first one, but this time with the inclusion of a female representative from each province another innovation. And the first truly volunteer independent candidate to run for office would be elected to the sixth CTPD in 1976 (Lehman, 2009).

On March 10, 1961, the Dalai Lama prepared that the government structure will also have to undergo far-reaching reforms so that the people are more intimately associated with the policies of the government and the administration. The task and responsibly of establishing improved political and religious institutions lies all of the Tibetan. Monastic communities that had

¹² Choechung Wangchuk (2012), *Tibetan Parliament in Exile*, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi. p.10.

previously relied on the income of their large estates, for example, now found that they needed to be actively involved in economic activities to secure their own livelihood. And the traditional ranking of government officials was ended in 1965 when the CTPD was given the authority to abolish the hereditary titles and privileges of civil servants that had existed under the Lhasa government. Further shifts would become evident over the following decades as Tibetans began moving within the subcontinent and eventually fanned across the globe.¹³

The new constitution was promulgated by the Dalai Lama on March 10, 1963 and included 10 chapters with 77 articles, making structural changes to many government institutions. While making reforms of his own initiative, he simultaneously set the tone for a time when the final shape will be given to the Constitution in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the national assembly. The document, intended to eventually govern an independent Tibet takes into consideration the doctrines enunciated by Lord Buddha, the spiritual and temporal heritage of Tibet and the ideas and ideals of the modern world. Being founded upon the principles laid down by the Lord Buddha the constitution officially renounces war as a foreign policy tool and binds the government to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).¹⁴

Nevertheless, executive power was vested in the Dalai Lama who then appointed the *Kalon Tripa* (prime minister) and the *Kalons* (ministers) who served as members of the *Kashag* (cabinet). Furthermore, all ministers would take the oath of office from the Dalai Lama, emphasizing his centrality within the power structure. The legislative authority of the national assembly would be subject to the assent of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who was also endowed with the power to promulgate ordinances just like the national assembly, but with additional veto power over legislation. The Dalai Lama's reach also extended into the judiciary, as he was to appoint the Supreme Court judges who hold office during the pleasure of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The constitution enunciated important links between Buddhism and the government, although it was not entirely clear what role each was to play. For example, the Regency Council that would head the government after the passing of the Dalai Lama and until his successor reached majority would be elected by the national assembly. Additionally, the constitution called for an ecclesiastical council to administer the affairs of all monasteries and religious institutions

¹³ Ibid, p.11.

¹⁴ Ibid,p.12.

under the direct authority of the Dalai Lama. While the constitution also provides for freedom of religion, this is problematic in that it does not address the potential for conflicts between different sects or the secondary status afforded to religious minorities, including Tibetan Muslims, Christians, and members of the Bon faith. The constitution also called for elections in the first time in Tibet's history. However, the composition of the national assembly designed to function in Tibet itself was not practical in exile because the criteria for selecting some members depended on regions and districts that could not be replicated in the exile context. Thus, the exile parliament included representatives from each of the four main Buddhist sects and the three regions of Tibet. Unlike the executive branch, members of the national assembly were to take the oath of office from the Speaker (Reomer, 2008).

Members of Second Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies 1964-1966



Source: Tibetan Parliament in Exile (Wangchuk, 2012)

“Nominated: Ratoe Chuwar Trulku, Nyingma: Pelyul Zongna Trulku Jampel Lodoe, Sakya: Jheshong Tsewang Tamdin-Chairman, Kagyu: Lodoe Choedhen, Gelug: Loling Tsachag

Lobsang Kyenrab, U-Tsang: Samkhar Tsering Wangdue-Vice Chair, Ngawang Choesang, Phartsang Chukhor Kalsang Damdul, Tengring Rinchen Dolma, Dotoe: Jagoetsang Namgyal Dorjee, Yabtsang Dechen Dolma, Sadutsang Lobsang Nyandak, Jangtsatsang Tsering Gonpo (Appointed Minister, replaced by Drawu Pon Rinchen Tsering). Domey: Kirti Jamyang Sonam, Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub, Taklha Tsering Dolma, Kongtsa Jampa Choedak.”¹⁵

As the Central Tibetan Administration presented a seemingly unified and constitutional front to the outside world, it was nevertheless affected by internal political disputes. Not long after, in 1961, the Dalai Lama took a second important democratic step by distributing a draft of a new constitution of Tibet, the final version of which he promulgated on March 10th, 1964. Although technically intended to govern an independent Tibet, it nevertheless established a simple framework for the functioning of the exile government and parliament, including elections. In 1965, less than two years after the constitution was adopted, a group called “13 Settlements” was founded by individuals and regional groups from eastern Tibet under the leadership of 13 chiefs and religious dignitaries. These Tibetans were only partly willing to accept the organizational of the CTA resettlement process. Again, most of eastern Tibet was not directly administered by the Lhasa government prior to the Chinese invasion, thus Roemer argues that the chiefs resisted CTA control in exile in an attempt “to secure their traditional leadership within their communities”. Additionally, looking at the regional distribution of the exile population, percent were originally from southern and central Tibet while only 5 percent hailed from Amdo, and 25 percent from Kham. The under-representation of eastern Tibetans in exile is often attributed to the relatively long distance separating the eastern regions and southern borders. However, the hesitance to become a minority in exile as opposed to being a minority in China can be seen as a possible motivation for creating special interest groups. Moreover, Roemer suggests that eastern Tibetans created their own interest group in order to secure their role in any future negotiations between the CTA and China based on the old fear of abandonment, i.e., that one day the Tibetan Government-in-exile might enter into negotiations with China and sell out Amdo and Kham in order to gain independence for Central Tibet. However, as most aid was being channeled through

¹⁵ Choechung Wangchuk (2012), *Tibetan Parliament in Exile*, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi. p.10. p.13.

the Central Tibetan Administration, these leaders found it increasingly difficult to legitimize their role without the economic power to support it. The 13 Settlements opposed the CTA's social, economic, and religious reforms in 1965, and as a result they were separated from the rest of the exile community and left to settle elsewhere. In 1971 members of the 13 Settlements applied for Indian citizenship, an act typically discouraged by the CTA in order to maintain a unified front (Lehman, 2009).

On 3rd May 1966, a separate commission secretariat and house was established. The commissions, as imaginary by his Holiness, bring to an end the traditional implementation of employing lay official's and monks to all governmental staff and the use of traditional designations and rights were withdrawn. The elected Vice-Chair of the Commission and Chairman started caring the freedoms same to that of a Minister even though the other Deputies were permitted to the rights equal to that of a Vice-Minister. The Commission reorganized the procedures of public facility and charted different titles and positions (Wangchuk, 2012).

Members of Third Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies 1966-1969



Source: Tibetan Parliament in Exile (Wangchuk, 2012)

“Nominated: Sakya Dha Damo Cha’i Khenpo, Nyingma: Kathog Oentrul Rinpoche (Resigned, replaced by Taklug Nyima Sangpo), Sakya: Jheshong Tsewang Tamdin-Chairman, Kagyu: Lodoe Tharchin, Gelug: Loling Tsachag Lobsang Kyenrab, U-Tsang: Phartsang Chukhor Kalsang Damdul-ViceChair, Samkhar Tsering Wangdue, Ngawang Choesang, Tengring Rinchen Dolma, Tsaphu Tsewang Rinchen, Dotoe: Jagoetsang Namgyal Dorje, Sadutsang Lobsang Nyendak, Yabtsang Dechen Dolma, Drawu Rinchen Tsering, Domey: Alag Jigme Lhundub, Kirti Senge, Tongkhor Trulku Lobsang Jangchub, Taktser Gawa Yangdon.”¹⁶

In 1969, the 3rd Commission of Tibetan People’s Deputies organize for Annual General Meeting and thus call off the first Bi-Annual conference. Finally, the 3rd Commission opened to administer the functioning of the departments, which was a turning point in the working of the executive group. The Deputies increased substantial knowledge in the works of the organization although they were involved to the management branches. The Deputies held their personal commission assemblies, examined the work information of the secretarial units and held the Kashag accountable for spaces in rectifying public complaints. The Commission, therefore, represented as a connection between the government and the nations (Roemer, 2008).

¹⁶ Choechung Wangchuk (2012), *Tibetan Parliament in Exile*, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi. p.10. p.15.

Members of Fourth Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies 1969-1972



Source: Tibetan Parliament in Exile, (Wangchuk, 2012)

“Nyingma: Taklung Nyima Sangpo-Chairman, Kagyu: Drugchen Thugsey Ngawang Dechen, Sakya: Ludhing Shabdrung Jigmey Gyaltzen, Gelug: Lobsang Paljor, U-Tsang: Phunrabpa Lobsang Dhargye, Jetsun Chimey, Tsaphu Tsewang Rinchen, Norbu Tsering, Dotoe: Tsewang Trinley-Vice Chair, Phuma Rin-Nam, Adruktsan Tamdin Choekyi, Kachen Chagzoe Thubten Gelek, Domey: Alag Jigme Lhundub, Choney Phagpa Tsering, Taktser Gawa Yangdon, GonpoTashi.”¹⁷

From the 4th Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies, his Holiness did not involve any direct candidate. Therefore, the overall number of Deputies came down to sixteenth for the 4th and 5th Commission. The First Annual General assembly was held in 1970 in association with the anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day (TNUD). The legislative body of public's

¹⁷ Ibid, p.15.

bureaucrats at all levels and monastic legislatures take part in this convention. During 1972, a public group of Tibetans from Varanasi move toward the government with a ten-point memorandum and search for authorization to visit the settlements to wake up the Tibetans people maintenance to their action plan for the reason of Tibet's independence. The agreement was accepted and in July 1972, the primary settlement of the Tibetan independence struggle was held. Rules regarding the setting up and functioning of the movement was ratified. The Tibetan independence movement sub-committee, which is known as Bhod Rangwang Denpai Legul (BRDL), was founded at all Tibetan colony and settlement throughout the free world. Thoroughly, the sub-committee substituted the Gharthue (Lehman, 2009).

Members of Fifth Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies 1972-1976



Source: Tibetan Parliament in Exile (Wangchuk, 2012)

“Nyingma: Ritrul Rigzin Choegyal, Kagyu: Lodoe Tharchin , Sakya: Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo, Gelug: Ghajang Lobsang Tenzin, Drikung Genyen Choedon, Phunrab pa Lobsang Dhargye, Gonpo Dorjee, Dotoe: Tsewang Trinley- Chairman (2 Years), Bha Lakha Trulku

Thubten Namgyal-Chairman (after Tsewang Trinley's demise), Dhompa Tsering Choedon, Domey: Alag Jigme Lhundub-Vice Chair, Ladrang Jigmey Gyatso, Dhuedul Trulku Lobsang Thubten, Gyalrong Barkham Tashi Kyi.”¹⁸

In 1973, a new rule for the employment, selection and removal of public servants was outlined and declared on 25th August the same year. In 1974, the voting process was reviewed and progressive features from the Indian voting system combined. On 21st November 1974, a new set of polling guidelines was put in place. It did away with reservations of seats for females in the Commission. Till the 5th Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies, the Election Commission agreed different ways and means to select the Deputies of the Commission (Lehman, 2009).

In 1975, the Kashag was completely responsible for the budget of the divisions and there was no commercial obligation to the commission. In 1975, new rules were framed concerning the controller of the Central Tibetan Administration's budget. It was decided that the expenses and profits of all the branches of the management should be agreed and certified during the yearly summit of the National Working Committee (NWC) lead by the Chairman of the Commission. In the same year, during the Annual National General Meeting, it was fixed that every year 2nd September should be observed each year as the establishment day of Tibetan Democracy and declared a national holiday (Wangchuk, 2012).

¹⁸ Choechung Wangchuk (2012), *Tibetan Parliament in Exile*, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi. p.10. p.16.

Members of Sixth Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies 1976-1979



Source: Tibetan Parliament in Exile (Wangchuk, 2012)

“Bon: Yungdrung Namgy, Nyingma: Tsering Gyaltsen, Kagyu: Gha Ayang Trulku, Sakya: Tsedhong Ngawang Sangpo, Gelug: Ghajang Lobsang Choeden, U-Tsang: Phunrab Pa Lobsang Dhargye-Vice Chair, Gonshar Dorjee Damdul, Tanak Kunsang Peljor, Drikung Genyen Choeden, Dotoe: Drawu Rinchen Tsering, Thubten Jungney, Bha Lakha Trulku Thubten Dorjee, Dhompa Tsering Choeden, Domey: Alag Jigme Lhundub-Chairman, Hortsang Lobsang Tenzin, Dekyi Dolkar, Kalden.”¹⁹

On 5th October 1977, the strength of the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies increased to 17 with adding of a Deputy for Bon, the pre-Buddhist belief of Tibet. Furthermore, the four Buddhist, devotee of the Bon religion also had a individual Deputy in the Commission. In the same year, the budget meeting was begun to be held on 1st February instead of 1st April every

¹⁹ Ibid, p.17.

year. At the end of the 6th Commission, the commission was retitled as the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD) (Ibid).

Members of the CTPD had little working knowledge of the newly created departments and were thus assigned to different departments to learn about the workings of the government and to increase capability. These practices continuous till the fourth CTPD. However, there were still different statuses in exile and differing opinions on the exile Tibetans' social heritage. The CTA and a few scholars point out that the exiles came from all social strata. The CTA even specified that approximately 60 percent of the Tibetans at this time had been either farmers or pastoral peasants. Despite the common difficulties in exile, the traditional social stratification was still in existence and, moreover, limited the interaction between the different social strata (Lehman, 2009). For this new group, democratic politics was an opportunity to open space for disagreement rather than to merely affirm consensus which accorded a free and independent press a key role.

Rehabilitation and Colonization

In the spring of 1959, the GOI (Government of India) set-up two temporary transit camps in the Indian Union states of Assam and West Bengal, but the limitations of these camps were soon realized. Comparatively, the camp in Assam was premeditated for a maximum of 9,000 Tibetans but by June 1959, after three months the 14th Dalai Lama reached India, already 15,000 persons were involved into small bamboo tents and huts. Many Tibetans joined the local mendicant people and lived for months or even years on begging and small amounts of food predominantly distributed by foreign volunteers of international relief or Christian missionary organizations. Another basis for living was on the selling of the few valuable belongings, such as jewelry and religious objects that had been brought from home to exile. These artifacts were sold on Indian markets in Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Delhi and pulled numerous Tibetan families through the first months (Woodcock 1970).

Dawa Norbu remembered that “the sons and daughters of Tibetan aristocracy and rich Tibetans, studying in colleges or universities and working around Darjeeling, did not come to support us. Perhaps they were ashamed of us”. Norbu's statement shows that despite the difficulties in exile, the traditional social stratification was still in existence and moreover, limited the interaction

between the different social strata. While the majority of the humble Tibetans lived initially in transit camps, the clerics kept a low profile in exile sanctuaries and monasteries. In contrast to the Tibetan aristocracy, they helped their compatriots during the rehabilitation and resettlement (Karthak 1991).

However, in the following decades in exile, the monastic population showed the highest degree of change, as it found it needed to be actively involved in economic activities to secure its own livelihood instead of living on the donations of lay Tibetans, who had barely enough to feed themselves. Meanwhile Nehru's government was inclined to underplay India's role as host for the exile Tibetans in the interest of peace with the PRC. In addition to Indian domestic politics, the departure of thousands of Tibetans from their homeland still remained officially an external issue. To limit the security threat India prohibited the CTA to struggle against China from Indian soil. The CTA reacted to India's restrictions with an altered exile struggle, which did not directly focus on the regaining of the homeland. Since then, the CTA rather concentrated on the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion where the numerous exile monasteries in particular played an important role as cultural and religious institutions (Saklani 1984).

The CTA created a department for religion in 1960. This department has been developed to the present day into a powerful institution within the CTA structures. It was manned by a large number of monk officials and financially backed up by thirty percent of the CTA annual budget in the first 20 years of exile. The CTA set-up an office for information and publicity, and a branch office in Delhi, which focused on the relationship with the host country and the different actors of the international community (Tethong 2000).

Meanwhile, an increasing number of deaths of exiles Tibetans caused by poor conditions in the camps urged the CTA to look for a new solution. Hence, the 14th Dalai Lama requested the Indian administration give the Tibetans the chance to live and work in cooler places. In response, the GOI sent numerous exile Tibetans to the Himalayan regions to earn their livelihood as road workers. But this action plan did not work out to be a sustainable solution, as the CTA described the situation later: "In the immediate years following his Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees taking refuge in India, one of the more urgent needs was a long-term rehabilitation program that would serve to bring all the refugees into homogenous Tibetan communities large enough to allow them to perpetrate their language, traditions and thus

preserve their national identity, and of course where they could secure food, shelter, medical care, education and a means of livelihood to develop economically self-supporting communities during their period in exile” (Roemer, 2008).

It is interesting by that time; the CTA already anticipated an urgent need for a “long-term rehabilitation program”. A United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report about the situation of the exile Tibetans between 1960 and 1963 also showed that there was a need for a permanent solution for the Tibetans in South Asia. This consideration was also portrayed in one of the speeches of the 14th Dalai Lama, who already stated in 1959: “We will have to remain in exile for a longer period than expected. We will have to settle mentally as well as physically” (Holborn 1975).

Between spring 1959 and the middle of the 1960s, the international aid that was channeled into the Tibetan camps was dominated by a sense of emergency and international aid organizations focused first of all on the welfare of the Tibetan children. But once the likelihood of an imminent solution had faded, the numerous NGOs and volunteers gave their attention to a long-term and more realistic perspective to resettle the thousands of Tibetans coming into India. Most of the emergency help was organized by the Central Relief Committee for Tibetans (CRCT) under the leadership of Mr Acharyo JB Kripalani. In 1960, Indian authorities and the CTA planned to give arriving Tibetans the chance to live in permanent settlements. To realize such a plan, the GOI asked Sikkim, Bhutan and all Indian state governments to provide land for the Tibetans. Finally, Sikkim, Bhutan, the southern Indian Union states of Karnataka and Odisha but also Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in north India responded favorably (Norbu, 2001).

While in Northeast India, the Tibetans leased the land from local Indians, the rest of the settlements in India were constructed on government assets that was set available for a period of 99 years. In the latter case, the exiles signed a contract to pay annually around 50 Indians Rs. Per hectre. According to Melvyn Goldstein, the economic development in and around exile Tibetan settlements did not have significant negative effects on the Indo-Tibetan contacts in the 1970s. But during the last decades, the economic dominance of the Tibetans and their favorable treatment by the GOI in terms of financial and material transfers has increasingly caused animosity and jealousy among the locals, which partly lead to dispute and even killings. According to an Indian businessman, tax benefits and constantly growing international financial

transfer cause the Tibetans to become increasingly richer. Additionally, Tibetans are known as cunning businessmen and traders who drive the biggest cars in town. But nevertheless, the Indians try to make profit out of the situation wherever they can (Roemer, 2008).

To undermine any tensions between the locals and the exiles, the CTA has been striving to emphasize the importance of Indo-Tibetan relations. For instance, the 14th Dalai Lama constantly stresses in his speeches the friendship between the two nations and thanks both the GOI and the Indian people for their support of the exile Tibetans. For him Indian support is now the key to regaining freedom. No doubt, international support for our cause is increasing, and we do need it. But the most important factor is Indian support (Tsering, 1997). Such statement illustrates the high importance of the Indian goodwill for the survival of the exile Tibetan struggle.

The first settlements were slowly established on the basis of financial support of the GOI. As many Tibetans formerly worked as peasants, it was natural to start with agricultural projects. According to Tom Grunfeld, who cited some studies of Indian scholars, Tibetans were resettled according to their social and economic status. Though whole classes of Tibetans run-away Tibet, it seems if these studies are correct that the minor classes are being referred to the hotter, more financially disheartened, and more crowded cultivated settlements where education and employment chances are far lower than those in the northern immigrant centers like New Delhi, Dharamsala, Darjeeling, Dehra Dun and Kalimpong, etc. (Roemer, 2008).

Again, this statement stressed the importance of the pre-exile context, i.e. the social stratification of the Tibetan societies and its consequences. To work successfully in resettling the exile Tibetans, international NGOs realized the importance of coordinating their activities. Such an approach “would minimize inherent in relief operations, as various relief agencies act in separate ways in response to emergency situations overlapping their actions”. By 1963, the voluntary organizations summarized that their efforts had been less effective than assumed at initial stage. As a result, almost all Western NGOs involved in the rehabilitation and resettlement process began to channel their funds through the hands of Indian agencies. Under Indian leadership, international helpers were able to identify basic needs and problems and systematically work together to achieve a long-term solution for the Tibetans in India. Thus, matters concerning exile Tibetans could be successfully conducted as interplay between the GOI, the international NGOs and the CTA. Slowly, the GOI delegated authority over the settlements in India to the CTA

under the guidance of the 14th Dalai Lama. This automatic approval of the 14th Dalai Lama as spokesperson of the exile Tibetans alleviated the communication between the GOI and the CTA. But according to Dawa Norbu, it also explained a concession of India's disagreement or incompetence to know formally the CTA as Tibetan Government-in-exile in spite of determined appeals and significant help by the Indian peoples, which increased even more after 1962. The CTA got the affirmation of the legal right to exercise administrative control over all Tibetan settlements in India, suited to the Indian regulations of a non-assimilative resettlement (Norbu, 2001).

By 1965, members of the GOI, the CTA and foreign aid agencies founded the Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society (TIRS) to rehabilitate Tibetans in agro-industrial settlements. These projects met the requirements of the 14th Dalai Lama to develop self-supporting communities. In the exile Tibetan context, agro-industrial means the settlements were initially based on tea estates, woolen mills, lime quarry, dehydrated lime-production, etc. For various reasons, most of the initial projects failed and the settlements were reorganized into handicraft-based settlements. Tibetans, especially those who were not registered, also lived in scattered communities and various towns in India. The settlers in the handicraft-based settlements relied basically on carpet weaving as their economic base, a duty that met, according to the CTA, the requirements of the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion. To sum up, one can say that the CTA dominated the resettlement progress through its access to international supporters and in its position to act on behalf of the exile Tibetans. In this regard, the CTA could prove its political position as Tibetan representative. The international assistance organizations questioned the ideas of the CTA regarding resettlement, citizenship, schooling etc. One example in India, where a group of Tibetans challenged the authority of the CTA, demonstrates the founding of the organizations "13 Settlements" in 1965. These organizations consisted of individuals and regional groups from eastern Tibet under the leadership of 13 chiefs and religious dignitaries (Roemer, 2008).

Gyalo Thondup a young man who had been acted as leading head of Tibetan Women Association (TWA), increasingly gained political influence during the 1960s, mainly due to his outstanding foreign language skills and his personal relations to his younger brother, the 14th Dalai Lama. Gyalo Thondup and his followers tried to implement the homogenization ideas of the CTA on their own initiative and founded the first political party in exile, the Tibetan United

Party (TUP). This party worked under the CTA and focused on the strengthening of solidarity and unity among all exile Tibetans through emphasizing similar ideals as the Chinese communists (Tethong, 2000).

Initially, the 14th Dalai Lama had planned to resettle and rehabilitate all exile Tibetans in India for the reason that they would be close to Tibet. This plan proved unfeasible mainly because of the land shortage in India, which became more acute as the Indian population grew. To lighten the burden of India and save his national compatriots from physical misery, the 14th Dalai Lama took action in revising his initial plans and focusing also on the resettlement of Tibetans outside India. Consequently, he wanted to give the exiles a chance for a proper existence and means to become self-supporting. Many Tibetans followed his idea and moved abroad from the 1960s onwards. This plan shows that the government and the Tibetan leader were in the dominant position to choose about the rearrangement for a lot of people (Roemer, 2008).

Powers and Functions

To elect the members of the Cabinet (Kashag) and to accuse any individual Minister (Kalon) or the whole Kashag,

To look at the judgments of the Kashag and its government in light of the plans and programs implemented by the Parliament,

To accuse the Supreme Justice Commissioners and the heads of the three autonomous groups,

To ratify procedures, frame rules and regulations and issue plan policies,

To control and administer the funds, as well as the expenses of the Central Tibetan Administration,

To interact with Governments, Parliaments, NGOs and persons all over the world in order to garner maintenance for the cause of Tibet,

To streamline and strengthen the functioning of the local Tibetan Assemblies in all the major Tibetan settlements,

To oversee the work of Tibetan Freedom Movement Sub-Committees,

To debate issues of National and International importance as well as issues of local and individual significance,

To hear public grievances and petitions of Tibetans in exile,

To monitor the aspirations and problems of the Tibetan people both in and outside Tibet by maintaining undetached contact with them,

To play the roles of both the opposition and ruling parties under the present circumstances because maintaining effective control of the Administration is not only a matter for the opposition, it is also the duty of the Parliament.²⁰

Prior to 1959 the government of Tibet had functioned in a minimal capacity. In general, government revenues were low and mostly used for religious affairs and festivals: “Sir Charles Bell stated that the annual budget of the clergy in 1917 was twice as large as that of the government and eight times larger than that of the Tibetan army”. The population was not particularly concentrated many Tibetans were nomadic, although there were a few relatively large cities thus there were few services for the government to provide. Moreover, prior to the Chinese invasion, Lhasa’s control did not extend to the regions of Kham and Amdo, which remained largely independent and fell under the local control of monasteries or secular leaders. However, the Central Tibetan Administration widened its traditional claims, and advocated for a united Tibet including all of U-Tsang, Kham, and Amdo. Therefore, there may have been some reservations among the Khampas and Amdowas about the newly founded CTA, which portrays itself as the legal and sole successor of the pre-1959 Lhasa administration and claims to represent all people living in the area of Cholka Sum. This however, does not discount the historical and cultural relationships between the three provinces. For example, when fighting broke out in Kham and Amdo, many of the displaced Tibetans went to Lhasa seeking relief. And on his

²⁰ Choechung Wangchuk (2012), *Tibetan Parliament in Exile*, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi. p.10. p.53.

journey from Lhasa to the Indian border, the Dalai Lama was accompanied by hundreds of Khampa guerillas (Lehman, 2009).

The Commercial Routine

Individual members or declarations of the Kalons, Elective on Grant-in-Aid and control of peoples assets, Query period, Argument on Proposals or Announcements, Calling Attention motion, Passing of legislature and Dealing out of various economical budget.

For the perseverance of supporting and making the work of the Parliament, members are allocated base on their region of specialty into various commissions to begin inclusive work rather than the Parliament. Therefore, a remarkable portion of the work done by the parliament is accomplished by its committees.

Legislative Working Groups

- Committee on Public Accounts
- Standing Committee
- Working group on Health Care
- Business Recommended Committee
- Committee on Teaching
- Committee on Environment and Human Rights
- Committee on Spiritual and Ethnic Activities
- Working group on Settlements and Social Prosperity
- Choice Committee on Bills.

At the native residents' level, the membership's proceeds strong part in observing afterwards the benefit of the persons and beginning programmes. Additionally, raising substances of native significance and nationwide, the adherents also stay the Tibetan report and settlements the complaints of the publics to the governmental centre, so acting as a connection between the general public and Central Tibetan Administration.²¹

²¹ Choechung Wangchuk (2012), *Tibetan Parliament in Exile*, Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, Lajpat Nagar III, New Delhi. p.10. pp. 54-5.

The Set-up of an Exile Tibetan Education System

The first wave of Tibetans who entered the Indian subcontinent encountered unexpected difficulties regarding their educational skills, which were necessary to secure their daily survival. In the traditional Tibetan context, literacy was obtained either by family members or in the high strata of the society through the attendance of home or government schools. Additionally, there were few specialized schools teaching arts and medicine to the children of the wealthy. But the most important centers of education were the numerous Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. Consequently, the ecclesiastic community and the aristocrats were educated, while large parts of the Tibetan society, the rural population in particular, remained either illiterate or had only rudimentary knowledge (Goldstein, 1975).

Katrin Goldstein revealed that only 67 percent of the male and 21 percent of the female Tibetans who came to India in the initial years could read and write Tibetan. These educational lacks were soon recognized by the 14th Dalai Lama. Apart from the Tibetans' limited abilities to adopt themselves into the new environment, he interpreted the lack of knowledge and awareness towards international political developments among his people as one reason for the loss of the homeland. Consequently, from the early years in exile, the 14th Dalai Lama gave the educational sector top priority and pushed the set-up of exile Tibetan schools. Because of the initial financial constraints of the CTA, the implementation of this plan was only possible through the enormous support of the GOI and international NGOs. Additionally, the CTA faced numerous judicial difficulties, which needed to be rectified for the long-term existence of exile Tibetan schools as an integral part of the Indian system. With the founding of the Council for Tibetan Education (CTE), the 14th Dalai Lama set-up a special institution to look after the education of exile Tibetans. The CTE was headed by a Tibetan who was directly appointed by the 14th Dalai Lama. Such selection illustrates the priority of education in the eyes of the Tibetan leader but also represents a way of control for eventual intervention. The integration of the CTE in the Indian educational system was accomplished by the work of the Tibetan School Society, an independent body founded in 1961, which worked under the supervision of the Indian educational ministry. This interaction between the CTA and the GOI gives evidence of the importance of a friendly relationship between exiles and their hosts. The CTA stated in that context: "The Government of

India reacted generously and under the stewardship of the late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a special educational scheme was set-up for the Tibetan children. It was to become the backbone of the educational programme for Tibetan children and has been the mainstay of efforts in this direction.” (Roemer, 2008)

At present, there are 80 Tibetan schools in India. During the decades in exile, four different kinds of Tibetan schools have been developing which differ in their funding and administration. Most of the schools offer free primary education while further studies need to be paid for by the parents. If a Tibetan family is not able to afford the fees for secondary education it can apply to the CTA for sponsorship. The exile Tibetans have been successfully resettled and rehabilitated in India. The CTA played a central role in the whole process a position supported by the succession of traditional leadership and pre-exile loyalties but also by the GOI and Western aid agencies which unquestioningly agreed to CTA dominance on behalf of all exile Tibetans. This international acknowledgement in turn emphasized the political status of the CTA within the exile Tibetan community and illustrates the importance of international humanitarian help. The CTA also help in the establishment of an exile Tibetan education system, a process that was again considerably supported by the GOI and international aid. The Tibetan Government-in-exile has always functioned as the key institution that linked the exile Tibetan community, international NGOs and the host administration. Tibetan parents in foreign countries are encouraged by the CTA to educate their children at home in Tibetan language and customs to bring all Tibetans in contact with their traditions and cultural heritage. This in turn serves the CTA’s policy of the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion and therefore supports the exile Tibetan struggle (Lehman, 2009).

Standing Committee

In the absenteeism of parliament session, day to day affairs and business were taken care by the Standing Committee consisting of 11 members constituted by the Tibetan parliament in exile (TPiE). The TPiE is the uppermost legislative body of the Central Tibetan Administration. The members of the standing committee are divided into three sessions, viz. Gyundrel, party-political and governmental. It is similarity to the finance.

Legislative Secretariat

The Secretariat carries out the duty of making legislative practices and procedures, which deal with preparations for transcribing, recording and distribution of official reports of the legislature in print and electrical arrangement. The secretariat of the assembly works under a parliamentary secretary, who embraces resolutions under the direction of the Deputy Speaker and Speaker.

Far-Flung Elections

The major attentiveness of Tibetans outside Tibet is in South India. Over 130,000 Tibetans live in exile, about 1, 10,000 existing in different parts of Bhutan, Nepal, and India. Some of them live in the West. The Tibetan immigrants choose their legislatures to the co-operative people board of administrators, memberships of the native Tibetan freedom struggle subcommittees, members of the native congress and also take part in the polling of the memberships of Tibetan assembly and sikyong. The sikyong is a part of the administrative division of the central Tibetan administration and also the chief of the kashag or cabinet. The polls of Tibetan assembly and sikyong are held within a particular day all over the world. The far-flung areas of the settlements with some of them necessitating fundamental provisions adjustments generate the voting procedure an intimidating mission. A settlement general is mostly employed by the CTA to run every settlement. Some of the defrayals have supported their bureaucrats and struggles are on to hope the public to select their individual administrators. Participants of local poll groups are nominated by the native people through the voting staffs and the returning generals are engaged by the chief election commissioner. Of the 47 massive settlements, 37 have chosen local assembly. The local administration is liable to the meeting to the individuals and the native congress. The more settlements have united with each other to keep them prudently. A settlement institutes a set of societies or groups. Every group in the set chooses a group lead that saves in coordination with the settlement major, thus growing a benevolent independent pyramid. During the time of polling, two additional voting representatives are nominated to maintain the permanent chief election commissioner. (Wangchuk, 2012).

Consequently, there are no party-political in the communal in exile, nominees for the parliament-in-exile polling, managed by the Tibetan balloting commission are put advancing by their certain

regions in a tradition interconnected to that in the American primaries. List of contestants determined thus, add up to not less than twice the over-all number of the parliament-in-exile seats obtainable for the worried part, are drawn up in order of the figure of elections added by each one of the contestants in the major voting. Subject to dragging out, if any, these are the records of nominees for the ultimate election (Ibid).

The Government: Changing in Exile Struggle

Ever since the establishment of the CTA, the exile Tibetan struggle has been in a constant process of change regarding its focus in terms of international support, its aims and the pre-conditions to regain the homeland. Immediately after the 14th Dalai Lama's arrival in India, he profited from relatively wide international media coverage by promoting the plight of Tibetans through articles and TV reports. Tibet was brought back into the international political arena for the first time since the end of the Great Game. The Tibetan political elite in exile used this wide interest to lobby the UN, which finally passed three resolutions: in 1959 (No. 1353/14), in 1961 (1723/16) and in 1965 (2079/20). Since 1971, the exile Tibetan efforts to raise awareness in the UN became increasingly complicated, because the American Nixon administration altered its focus in the Cold War and stopped struggling against China, which had the side-effect that the America lost interest in Tibetans and withdraw its support from them. In 1971, China was conferred its own membership into the UN. The permanent seat in the UN Security Council provided the Chinese leadership with powerful instruments to block any resolution on Tibet. Besides the UN, the exile Tibetans had always sought to solve the Tibetan issue on a bilateral basis between Dharamsala and Beijing. These efforts were officially represented by numerous negotiations between the PRC and the exile Tibetans at a high political level, especially after the fall of Mao in 1976. To succeed an independent Tibet, the exile Tibetan administrative leading is concentrated on a non-violent struggle. With the 12th Assembly of Tibetan people's Deputies (ATPD) non-violence became as well sincere and reality independent authority an essential value for the CTA to work the Tibetan native land (Roemer, 2008).

The 14th Dalai Lama's compromise in moving from independence to autonomy had no result on the Chinese authority's readiness to discuss either. Moreover, the Dalai Lama was invited to agree to the Chinese views that Tibet had always been a part of China. The exile Tibetan effort procedure an autonomous to a separate Tibet was not in mark with the hope to allow the home

nation state as soon as conceivable. They remained committed to a historically independent homeland (Ardley, 2002).

Young Tibetans who are born in India specially do not agree with the moderate CTA political course. For them, the “Strasbourg Proposal” and the Dalai Lama’s negotiation to discuss with the Chinese leaders about independence rather than genuine liberation more distribute the exile resident. The “Starbourg Proposal” was an important moment in exile Tibetan governments as the 14th Dalai Lama consider the verdict to resolve the exile Tibetan movement towards autonomy in spite of freedom, envisage that this was a common claim of his nationwide fellow citizen. The 14th Dalai Lama’s compromise in moving from independence to autonomy had no effect on the Chinese authority’s willingness to negotiate either. Moreover, the Dalai Lama was requested to agree to the Chinese perceptions that Tibet had always been a part of China. This would have given the People’s Republic of China (PRC) an official legitimacy for their action and the Tibetan freedom struggle would have been officially over. The Tibetan non-violence concept, there was still a large faction of exile Tibetans who would consider the use of violent acts to reach the final goal. In this regard, the CTA encountered considerable problems within the exile community and found itself with the problem of how to serve all interests national and international. Recently, the 14th Dalai Lama emphasized again the concept of non-violence by announcing that he would quit a moment the Tibetan independence struggle took a fierce turn. Such a conflicting situation has not yet been viewed by Shain, and therefore portrays a new theoretical problem in the context of exile governments. Because of its shaky political position, an exile government needs to maneuver carefully between the different and possible conflicting interests of the national and international community, to expand and maintain the support of both sides (Lehman, 2009).

It can be stated that the exile Tibetan youth struggle is after decades still alive. Moreover, the CTA optimized its functioning and secured its organizational survival. One can argue this is only due to several changes having been undertaken as a reaction on international developments, the CTA altered its focus from the UN to the international grassroots level, its goal from an independent homeland to an autonomous Tibet within China and its political course emphasizing a non-violent struggle. Such shifts were evidence of the vulnerability of the CTA in its position as exile government to international politics, which can be explained with Shain’s theoretical

approach that stresses the high importance of the international community. Therefore, the implemented policies to mobilize international support and to return home became vague. But these modifications have not been agreed upon by all Tibetans, especially not by the young generation. As a result, the CTA is in a challenging situation. On the one hand it needs to react to international political and economic developments and on the other hand it is asked to serve the national interests as sole representative of the Tibetan nation. Such discrepancies bring up a new theoretical viewpoint on the political focus of a Government-in-exile that needs to serve national and international interests at the same time which are conflicting. To bridge the gap between the demands of the present leadership in the homeland and those of the Tibetan community, the CTA uses for instance different languages as a unifying instrument. This tactical effort portrays the difficult political situation of the CTA. It is constantly under pressure from the Tibetan national community for not achieving enough in reaching the final goal, an independent Tibet. But this goal was and is still not acceptable for the Chinese leadership, which in turn forced the CTA to alter it to emphasize its political position within the Tibetan community. Such change caused fears and disagreement among the Tibetans, who were not willing to support such policy and therefore the CTA. To overcome this dilemma and foster its political position, the CTA appeals at least superficially to all demands through the use of different language (Roemer, 2009).

Chapter: Five

Conclusion

The study is about the history of Tibetan independence movements' during the period of 1959-1976. The findings of this research point to the fact that Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1959 changed the geostrategic environment of Tibet which made Tibet politically insecure. This study clearly shows that Chinese policy making owes much to the domestic factors of varied security concerns. But one should not forget that global risks and regional challenges put lot of impact over Tibetan movements in both direct and indirect ways. The crux of the study is based on the impact of the formation of borders on the socio-economic of Tibet, leading to transformation of the region from a trade dominated region to a strategically important section. The problem between Tibet and China is focused on in the present study. It was important to understand the differences within the region, in terms of availability of resources and to show their dependency on each other, where regional trade served as a means to fulfill their basic requirements of survival. The differences within the region existed because the physical features varied to a great degree within the region. However the Tibet region was equally important for the long routes with its people serving as the transport and service providers. It argues that contemporary political activist of China was significantly responsible for the Tibetan problem. The role is important in this regard of the political activists; they were in between the migrants and the state. They were the people who defined the rights of exile and created political awareness. Some of the memories and perspectives of the old refugees in the camps reflect that ordinary villagers and common men were caught between the Tibetans and Chinese activist and become the victim of the situation. The study made a particularistic engagement with the issue of change in social economy as a part of larger transformation that the region underwent with the advent of the nation state. The region of Tibet had connectivity via many countries including India, Bhutan, Nepal, Burma and other countries on the South. The relations that developed were not only commercial but also political, social and cultural. It is essential to state that the connection between assembled and practiced statelessness among exile Tibetans formed patriotism and

national identity. The exile Tibetan community has been very advanced in protection of their culture and identity despite of the glorious impact the host community has on captivating them into the distinctiveness of the host. Being a homeless migration, Tibetan people in exile across time and space have continuous socio-political responsibilities to their native land. Though, the fundamental determination of entirely of Tibetan national identity is to experimentation the sign of colonial law by the Chinese administration. On the assumption of Tibet, the necessary provincial controls, inadequate power relationships, separation of Tibetans from their homeland due to exaggeratedly obligatory policies by the Chinese creation, ethnicization, culture transference or in dissimilar words enforced disappearance of certain cultural values, great economic necessity of the Chinese on Tibet and most significantly formation of awareness at the cost of referring traditional Tibetan representation to devastated are important parts of Chinese domination in Tibet. Thus, memorizing Tibetan national identity is indeed dynamic for the immigration that is ardent to the protection of the inventive culture of Tibet. Being a displaced immigration, Tibetan individuals in exile through a time and period have constant socio-political accountabilities to their homeland.

The thesis explained that it is the administration and direction in exile that sustain Tibetan national identification in immigrant. The study attempted a consideration of answers to this important question, which is vital for understanding the story of how contemporary Tibet came into existence? The Tibetan national identity in exile is still a continuing procedure where sometimes twin allegiances to both the native land and the mass communal are shown. Due to such obstacles, statelessness way in everyday natural life, there is also the threat of nationalistic feelings diminishing in time to come. Such sections of Tibetan youth are a good example of this. The matter of double reliabilities is in the long run it brings with itself the potential hazard of sending nationalist feelings to extinct without premeditated properly by a mysterious guidance. Furthermore, the expert and created nature of statelessness is continuously stressed to recommendation that there lies a conversion among them. This probable of statelessness is definitely considered by difficulties related to the contentment of certain profits that are indispensable in communal survival. It also tracked down the creation of Tibetan traditional identity at both supportive and individual phases. It is very notable to study that the association between created and practiced homeless the entire refugee Tibetans formed patriotism and national identification. Though a propensity towards refusal of nationwide identity due to

developing disposition towards the mass communal as clarified in the Dissertation has caused in what can be named as a nationwide identification crisis.

Besides this, the dissertation shows that the Tibetan national identity in exile is still ongoing process where sometimes twin authenticity to both the home land and the mass communal are presented. The matter with dual allegiances is in the extended run it connects with itself the possible risk of managing separatist feelings to vanish without organized appropriately by a well-known leadership. Due to such difficulties, statelessness position in ordinary life, here is also the threat of patriotic moods disappearing in time to come. Certain parts of Tibetan youth are a proper example of this. Moreover, the proficient situation of statelessness is continuously giving stress to exhibit that there lies variation with each other. This view of statelessness is basically considered by worries related to the gratification of certain assists that are important in everyday life. Owing to the existence of such distinct ideas about the Tibetan cultural identification, as a final point there rises the dispute of what Tibetans exists. Describing this is a compound occurrence that needs more study. The Tibetans youth those who are living in Tibet can be able to communicate much more regularly with their migrations units and vice versa in current years due in enormous size to the extensive propagation of computer mediated systems of message. Most of the Tibetans have effectually created simulated societies on comparatively innovative societal accumulations and networks of particular connections that have preserved in Internet. Youth concerned with the websites which is associated with the Tibetan independence struggle and connected social networking group locations introduced by WhatsApp and Facebook have engaged in recreation a really vital role in this issue.

Third chapters attempts to understand Buddhism during the Chinese invasion as how Tibetans dealt with Buddhist religion in their freedom struggle. It begins with highlighting some of the major historical evidences which helped to formulate in Tibetans as how it developed and continued for their freedom struggle? This dissertation is a contribution to the large body of academic literature that has been collected across a number of disciplines trying to clarify the Buddhist as a religious majority in Tibet and how Buddhism has developed over the period of time in Tibetan youth movements. Undoubtedly, the communal identification of Tibetan Buddhists has been supported by the developing popularity of connecting of social networking links among in nature spread ethno religious associates, so strengthening the forming abilities of

protesters involved in the Tibetan youth struggle movement. In spite of their dissimilarities, Tibetan Buddhist activists of all ages and political arguments elementary obligation to certain form of self-rule for Tibet. With websites and mobile phones being operated by way of omnipresent outfits of demonstration, the society has evidently validated the situation improved power and strength. During the last two decades, the exile Tibetan youth struggle has been transformed into a dynamic and multidimensional organizational movement, including a growing number of non-Tibetan supporters who are able to work on different fronts by using highly skilled methods of communication, such as reports and lobbying activities. They have managed to form an impression as transmitters of Tibetan Buddhism, as kindly and nonviolent with a profound insight into spiritual practice. Despite the switch to the international grassroots level, exile Tibetans have still been lobbying the United Nations institutions in New York and Geneva through different Tibet offices. The exile Tibetan political administration concentrated on a non-violent struggle to succeed an autonomous Tibet. The Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama was founded right after the young Tibetan leader arrived in India in 1959. Especially with the leaving of the 14th Dalai Lama, the number of exile Tibetans in India rose significantly. Since then, the Tibetan community has grown to more than 122,000. In the early 1960s, whole families followed the example of the Dalai Lama and left their homeland for an uncertain period of time because of fear of the Chinese invasion. While the Dalai Lama began the democratization process, it is his hope that the younger generation of Tibetans will be the ones to carry it forth. The role of Dalai Lama and the CTA is continuously reinforced for the Tibetan youth struggle in exile.

Four chapters focused particularly on Tibetan exile government and its role. How has the Tibetan exile government influenced their independence movement and everyday social life? The Tibetan Government-in-exile has claimed to be the sole and legal representative administration of the whole Tibetan nation. This political status is not recognized internationally. The pre-1959 period provides the CTA with numerous political concepts that secure its administrative structure but also the exile community's social and economic survival. In short, the CTA was set up along the lines of the pre-exile political traditions of the former Ganden Phodrang government. Consequently, the founding of the CTA was a necessary step to concentrate exile Tibetan energies on the struggle against the Chinese. From the beginning, they interacted with the GOI on behalf of the Tibetan community in exile and maintained small offices in the Tibetan transit

camps, which contributed to the position of being the representatives and spokesman of all exile Tibetans. In this regard, the political course of the exile Tibetan administration refers to the political practice of the pre-exile period, the combinations of politics and religion. In 1960, the 14th Dalai Lama officially proclaimed that the CTA would function according to the Western secular concept of democracy and Tibetan Buddhist religion, a synthesis of modern political ideas with Tibetan traditions. The part of the CTA and the Dalai Lama is always strengthened to focus this statement. The democratic structure of the CTA was first constitutionally determined in 1963 in the draft of a Constitution of Tibet, a name that symbolizes the claim of the CTA to act in the name of the entire Tibetan nation. In the initial years of exile, many Tibetans saw the succession of leadership in the exile administration as a natural part of the aristocracy's role in Tibetan society. On the settlement level, the previous local Tibetan leadership and chieftains, or CTA officials, were responsible for the effective functioning of daily interaction between exile Tibetans and acted as a link between them and the Indian authorities. The continuation of the traditional Tibetan political structures possesses a high adaptive capacity and is the particular most essential inconstant underlying the positive initial reworking of the Tibetans. Such patterns of pre-exile leadership and organizational structures were and still are instrumental for the success of the exile Tibetan community in terms of organizational unity, stability and the resettlement of thousands of exile Tibetans. However, generally the exile Tibetan populace has been very successful in protection of their identification although the significantly affect the community has on captivating them into the mass identity. In case of Tibet, the inadequate power relations, requisite local controls, segregation of Tibetans from their land due to obligatory rules by the Chinese culture. Therefore, remembering Tibetan national identity is mostly essential for the immigration that is steadfast to the protection of the traditional culture of Tibet. On the other hand, the ultimate persistence of unconditionally of Tibetan traditional identification is to challenge the idea of colonial rule by the Chinese. The consequence of supervision in the collaboration and association of the identity of exiles is a different chief outcome of the dissertation.

The young protesters have made the first Tibetan uprising that continued guerrilla founded insurrection with vigorously active fatal strategies against the Chinese, although older activists have mostly represented the issue as a principally disastrous incident of non-violent civil disobedience in which peaceable Tibetans were persecuted and annihilated by Chinese armed

militaries. However, outlining the Tibetan freedom struggle as calm or hip seems to be totally tolerable to the majority of young activists. Certainly, such a tactic is tailor made for radically growing the positions of energetic effort members in the West between diaspora Tibetan youth and their units of whole circumstances. In many respects, the creation of an oppositional awareness between Tibetan youth has been impeded by showing China clearly as the enemy. Certainly, youth activists relating confrontational burden to the Chinese communist system must probable strengthened the political influence of the Tibetan Government-in-exile and the Dalai Lama. The most current Tibetan national rebellion has almost undoubtedly had a sobering influence on Chinese bureaucrats which might up till now require them to involve in thoughtful, basic discussions with the Dalai Lama's governments. Most Tibetan youth participants decided to engage in the demonstration because they felt that majority of the people in the exile are still unaware of the Tibetan cause and the "Free Tibet Movement" that is led by youth-led organizations in exile. In many ways, being involved in the demonstration was a way to raise awareness about the vast humanitarian violations that is still occurring in Tibet. The self-immolations are understood by exile Tibetans to be a form of sacrifice and the self-immolators have the uncontested status of national heroes, an understanding which has developed dialectically to the Chinese response to these actions. Further, Buddhist myths, patriotism, and most importantly Buddhist values of compassion and non-violence the latter being the dominant value in the political project in exile are activated to transform the self-immolations into a culturally meaningful. Since a sacrifice is a gift that cannot be returned, the living has a moral obligation to honor the sacrifice, and consolidate the beginning the self-immolators have begun. This is also vital if the self-immolations are to remain as a good death. The prevalence of transnational social fields was evident in the responses participants gave when discussing individual role models who encouraged them to participate in transnational activities such as the March 10 demonstration. For instance, among some of the participants, their parents and the religious Buddhist figure of the 14th Dalai Lama were major role models in shaping their transnational activities as these individuals helped them connect to the homeland through personal stories, online speeches etc. Clearly, as people reared within transnational social fields, the participants were impacted by the personal stories and experiences of Tibet from their parents and the Dalai Lama. As a result, by being exposed to information and resources from these particular influences, these participants acted and engaged within a transnational social field. The

Tibetans who have never physically been in the homeland, a nation subsequently becomes fundamentally imagined, but it appears to its citizens as very real indeed. In addition, when a nation is imagined by a community, members of a nation will never know or meet most of their fellow members. Subsequently, as evident in the study, the participants were able to form relationships with fellow members through the imagining of the nation-state which in turn increased their attachment towards their Tibetan identity. The Tibetan youth may not visit their home country on a regular basis and their commitments fluctuate at different stages of their lives. One factor that is especially relevant for them is that they are reluctant to visit Tibet due to the personal safety risk involved in travelling to the former homeland of Tibet as a Tibetan. Tibetan follows the advice of their parents by speaking more Tibetan at home as well as following the teachings of Buddhism by following the 14th Dalai Lama. Subsequently, the transnational practices of the Tibetan youth are fluid as their participation in these activities depends on the demands of work, family and school. Tibetan youth not only offers the basis of national identification but also permits for manifestation of views and propagation of evidence about native land matters.

Looking at the exile Tibetan officials from a theoretical point of view, it becomes obvious that their loyalty to the CTA is determined by their ideological commitment but also generated by the CTA by investing certain incentives to serve in the exile administrative structure. The set-up of the Tibetan education system in exile showed exemplarily the high dependency of the CTA on the goodwill of the host country. The duties of the CTA officials in Dharamsala comprise all bureaucratic work starting from the organization of national holidays and managing the government vehicles to the accounting of the CTA budget. In the CTA, both monk and lay Tibetans work together without an explicit division based on one's religious involvement as in the pre-1959 structures. Today, a close-meshed net of schools and the work of Tibetan officials in the settlements secure a high literacy among Tibetans in south Asia and therefore are responsible for the success of the exile Tibetan schooling system. As many have observed, the exile government functioned in a variety of capacities, but Tibetan democracy is generally acknowledged to have been more nominal than real. The emergence of new voices like the Tibetan Youth Congress which began to create civil society organizations that challenged established institutions and practices of pre-exile Tibetan society. The influence of a Tibetan civil society and the integration of elections facilitated the integration of democratic norms in the

Tibetan exile community. On this point, the progress of the self-governing restoration process of the exile Tibetan governmental system throughout the former stages is still indeterminate and not yet finalized. Undoubtedly, the 14th Dalai Lama is the head of the Tibetan government-in-exile but this post is more and more only hypothetical. His direct influence in exile plan making has abridged and the ATPD turn into more influential and developing. But, there is still an important degree of necessary on the Dalai Lama among the Tibetan governments. Clearly, while the Tibetans were highly selective in their transnational practices which mainly included involvement in the mainstream Indian society, they still belonged to a transnational social field. More importantly, the Tibetans were aware of the fact that in order to be transnational, they had to engage in activities that connect them to both the host society and the homeland. These activities represent the different 'forms and intensities' of transnationalism that they experience in different stages in their lives. While there are many factors that influence the transnational practices of the Tibetan, this study shows that political activism is one of the most highly prevalent forms of transnationalism among Tibetan youth in India.

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