

DEMOCRATISATION OF TIBETAN COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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NEW DELHI - 110 067
INDIA
1998



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17 July 1998

CERTIFICATE

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Dedication

To my Parents

PREFACE

I have keenly observed the suppression of democratic rights since the beginning of my graduation, and developed more interest in Tibetan struggle in my M.A. being a Political Science student myself.

Democracy and its implementation creates more problem for modern governments, particularly where the discourse arises in majority versus minority and electoral system versus voters. In modern state without democratic principles, common people fail to get their due rights.

My research has centred on the democratization of Tibetans in India, who could not evolve an ideal form of democracy for various historical reasons. I draw attention mainly towards Tibetan people who lack a proper representative system. I attempt to analyze the functioning of democratic institutions in the present context. I also try to analyze the various constitutional obligations, particularly with special reference to Tibetan representative system. The Dalai Lama a religious leader, was always chosen through ritual practices rather than electoral process.

And thus I have chosen my dissertation work on Tibetan problems and crisis of Tibetan democracy in India. I understand how for Tibetan democracy having true model comparing with other modern democratic models.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Tibetans that have given their time to discuss with me. And I am very grateful to my guide Professor Dawa Narbu who has given valuable suggestions to chose my topic and provided constant

guidance. I remain thankful to my family - my sister Malathi - boosted my confidence during this work. Also I am very thankful to my friends, seniors, teachers. Without their help and encouragement I could not have able to bring out this work. I want to thank G. Ajay, Sorj Giri, Gilbert Sabstine, and Werener Welschoff for their time to discuss with me my findings during the course.

I also offer my thanks to the Tibet House Library's staff (New Delhi), Central Secretariat Library staff (New Delhi), and JNU Library staff (New Delhi) who provided me relevant material. Finally my special thanks to Mr. R. Iyer for his typing the dissertation accurately and in time.

K. Thippe Swamy

Dated: 17 July 1998

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The pure idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the Government of the whole people, by the whole people, equally represented. Democracy as commonly conceived and hitherto practised is the Government of the whole people by a mere majority of people, exclusively represented. The former is synonymous with equality of all citizens; but the latter, strangely confounded with it, is a Government of privilege, in favour of the numerical majority, who alone possess practically any voice in the state. This is the inevitable consequence of the manner in which the votes are now taken to the complete disfranchisement of minorities.

- John Stuart Mill

This study traces the Tibetan struggle for democracy and analyses the democratic criteria as perceived by Tibetan exiles for creation of democratic institutions in exile and freedom.

Tibet was a centre for Buddhist monks; religion played a major role in Tibetan history. Tibetans have drawn on both Mahayana and Tantrayana in developing their own religion and disseminating the *Dharma*, the teaching of Buddha. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet took place step by step at different times by different teachers. The Buddhist monasteries are supported by the government and wealthy patrons through their contributions of grain, tea, and butter with the money that the monks and the nuns get from donors; they buy clothing and meet their expenses.

Respect for the working of *Karma* tended to neutralize envy. Traditional Tibetans were averse to modern practices and vehemently opposed any change in their life styles. Thus the traditional Tibetan society was based on the system of Buddhist hierarchy with ninety five per cent of people living as commoners, the rest five per cent having been land holding Buddhists who controlled the people through the monasteries and estates.

Before Chinese occupation, the establishment of Tibet used to be divided into two branches -- religious and secular affairs, and the Dalai Lama as the head of both the religious and political set up. The institution of the Dalai Lama since 1758, has impinged upon the lives of Tibetans in many ways. The role of the Dalai Lama is widely noticed by researchers, that the institution contributed for the change of the lives of violent Tibetan and Central Asian peoples to that of peace loving Buddhists. Governance, judiciary, financial administration are usually monitored by regent (Desi) who runs the Government on behalf of the Dalai Lama and he was answerable to the Assembly.

In 1950 China completely incorporated the territory in order "to liberate the Tibetan people from imperialist influences" and reunite the country with China. The Dalai Lama, Tibet's political and spiritual leader escaped from Tibet in March 1959 and the refugees sought asylum in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

In my opinion, traditionally non-democratic government led the Tibetan community into total isolation from the rest of the world and is one of the reasons for the lack of international support for the Tibetan cause.

Hence, democratization of the Tibetan political system will have to learn democratic lessons to formulate laws, rules and politics. Though democratic concept was originally drawn from Greek Societies, the real meaning of democracy began to exist since the nineteenth century. The liberal political thinkers attacked the absolute power of the state, consequently practical democracy became an ideal. Nevertheless according to J.S. Mill and Rousseau, lack of socio-economic powers limited political participation of citizens in democratic states.

Moreover, David Hume envisaged the democratic principle as democratic autonomy; it requires high degree of the democratic reordering of state and civil society. Similarly, Robert Dahl asserted that continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens considered as political equals as a key characteristic of a democracy.

In the case of Tibetan democracy (the government in exile), the Dalai Lama enjoys absolute power to take decisions and to issue commands because he exercises a good deal of influence and is a recognized traditional authority. The leadership is not based on the will of the electorate but by dint

of his being a Buddhist leader. The political authority of the Dalai Lama seems to be unquestioned.

According to custom, no blood relation of the Dalai Lama can ever be appointed to any of the public offices. However, in practice the Dalai Lama having absolute authority is based on combination of traditional legitimacy and charismatic authority which is clearly not democracy.

The political leadership with authoritarian power can indeed lead onto the road to democracy. For instance transition of Taiwan to democracy was based on the principle that economic development is an essential factor in the process of democratization. Whereas in the case of the Dalai Lama his position of exile in India is not comparable to take such economic factors into account.

My hypothesis is that the Tibetan democracy has been accused with several criticisms, among which the main criticising was that the Dalai Lama is having absolute power. *In lieu* of a neat hypothesis, following questions will guide this research.

- Is the Dalai Lama an obstacle to democratic change? Or could he be an agent of democracy?
- Is the Tibetan culture conducive to democratic change?
- Has India made some impact on Tibetan democratic experiments?

The research follows the methodology of being both analytical and descriptive. The study would be based on primary sources like various documents, reports and publications by Tibetan governmental agencies, and UN reports on Tibet.

Secondary sources referred to include books, articles from various journals and also press clippings which have been consulted for this study. The study has also conducted interviews with experts who are working in the field of Tibetan studies and with governmental officials.

Chapterization has been drawn on the basis of analytical research method. In the first chapter, I have drawn geographical setting, democratic elements in ancient Tibetan history, and how feudal society evolved and what were the factors that contributed to make such religious and cultural unity among the Tibetan people. And I briefly mentioned Chinese occupation of Tibet and dispersal of thousands of Tibetans to different parts of the world. Most of them fled to neighbouring countries, especially to India. Therefore, in this chapter I have traced the evolution of the institution of the Dalai Lama, by referring to various sources.

In the Second Chapter I have explained extensively democratic theory at the beginning of the Chapter and further set out democratic models. I have analyzed Tibetan Constitution which was adopted on 14 June 1991. While analysing Tibetan Constitution, I do find many democratic institutions akin

to those adopted in the Indian Constitution. But in practice, Tibetan democracy is different from that of India in the sense that it is of religious perception.

In the Third Chapter, I have drawn attention to the working of Tibetan democracy in exile in India. Moreover, my study extends to institutions like the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) and the Tibetan Women's Association (TWA). And I found that Tibetans are not free in public participation not because of their inaccessibility to democracy but due to their excessive regard which in turn led the Dalai Lama institution to possess absolute authority. Hence my focus on illiterate Tibetans who were not aware of the democratic process.

In the last part of this Chapter, I analysed points by comparing Tibetan democracy to Indian democratic model. How far is Indian democracy an ideal to Tibetan democracy? Is there any interactive process between the two democratic models? Therefore, in this context I try to analyze similar elements and how close the relationships are between the two societies in historical perspective.

Chapter-I

Chapter-I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Geographical Position, Climate, Internal Structure

Tibet lies to the West of China, North of India and Nepal, East of Iran, and South of Russia and Mongolia and is the highest country in the world. Mount Everest, the highest mountain of the world, is situated on its border with Nepal.¹ Differences in altitude have their influence on the climate. As we come higher, temperature lowers and rainfall becomes more and more rare. But in general, the air is dry and the sun is strong.²

Tibet has three main regions, known as the Chol-Kha-Sum. The U-Tsang region lies and Western Tibet, the region known as Dottod (Kham) is situated north/south and Domed (Amdo) is the northern region.³ In the writing of Shakbpa, the estimated Tibetan population of Chol Kha-Sum is about six million.⁴ This population consists of approximately 48 per cent of nomads and 32 per cent of traders and agriculturists. Monks form 18 per cent

¹ Shakabpa, Tsepon W.D. *Tibet: A Political History*, Potala Publications, New York, 1984, pp.1-2.

² Ibid., p.3.

³ Ibid., p.2.

⁴ Ibid., p.6.

of the population and nuns two percent. They come from all classes of society. Lhasa, the capital and largest town of Tibet was the place of residence for the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government. Shigatse is the second largest town and it is well known because of the Tashilhumpo monastery situated near the town. It is the residence of the Panchen Lama. In Eastern Tibet, Chamdo, the third largest town is situated.⁵

Origin

'Tibet' is known as "Thubet" in Mongolian, "Tufun" in Chinese, "Thibet" in the Tai, and "Tubbat" in Arabic. In many political writings of Tibet, the country is named as "Khawachen" or "Gangjong", meaning "The Abode of Snow" and "Sildanjong" meaning "The cool climate land".⁶

Concerning the racial origin of Tibetan people there are two traditional views. According to the tradition of ancestry a king, or military commander, named Rupati fled to Tibet with his followers after a defeat in a war. These people were the ancestors of the Tibetans. The second traditional view claims that Tibetans descended from monkeys. And modern anthropologists says that Tibetans belong to the Mongoloid race.⁷

⁵ Ibid., pp.6-7.

⁶ Ibid., p.1.

⁷ Ibid., p.5.

Language and Literature

Original names for many items in Tibet brought from China, India, and Britain were retained and became part of the Tibetan language. The U-Tsang dialect is considered to be the most widely used. There is, however, only one written language and this gives unity to Tibetans literacy culture. The current script has derived from the Brahmi, and Gupta scripts which were in use in India as early as 350 AD⁸

Religion

In Tibet Bon is said to be Tibet's earliest religion. It was founded by Shenrab Miwo of Shangshung. During the seventh century, Buddhism was introduced into Tibet for the first time. This Buddhist influence came from Nepal and India and was initially ignored or even repudiated by the followers of the Bon religion. An active propagation began only in the eighth century. Subsequently, the Bon religion diminished its influence. However, it still exists in certain remote areas of Tibet today. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet took place step by step at different times by different teachers. In addition Buddhism, and Bon religion adherents to the Islam and Hindu faiths are also present in Tibet.

⁸ Ibid., p.12.

In accordance with dominant role of religion in the lives of the Tibetans, thousands of Buddhist monasteries were built in Tibet. Member of the monasteries come from all classes of the population. Monks and nuns of these monasteries had a way of life which varied slightly from one monastery to another, depending on the sect and size of the monastery. These Buddhist sects had enormous influence in the history of Tibet. At present, the most prominent sect is the *Gelugpa*, commonly known as the “Yellow Hat” sect. Connected with this sect are the famous monasteries of Drepung, Sera, Ganden and Tashihunpo. And the monasteries are supported by the government and wealthy patrons. As a result the monks and the nuns get money from donors and they buy clothing⁹ and meet miner expenses.⁹

History of Tibet in brief

Tibetan historical records have survived from the seventh century A.D. on where the nomadic tribes, was populated Tibet as early as the second century BC¹⁰ In the early 7th Century AD Songtsen Gampo succeeded in unifying the clans of Tibet and he was considered by the Tibetans as the father of the nation. His rule began as the “Religious Kings” of Tibet and under his reign Tibet emerged as a military power. Songtsen Gampo laid the

⁹ Ibid., pp.14-15.

¹⁰ Richardson, Hugh W., *Tibet and its History* (Boston, Shambala Publications) revised edition, 1984.

foundation of Tibetan empire in Central Asia which latter extended to Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Burma, Samarkand and to China's capital Changan.¹¹ He was also a patron of Buddhism but he faced many challenges from followers of the indigenous religion Bon.¹² Lang Darma, the loss of Songtsen Gampo's line to rule over Tibet, was bitterly opposed to Buddhism and persecuted the religion in many parts of Tibet. He was assassinated in 842 and the Tibetan Kingdom then dissolved to in number of warring princedoms. These princedoms in most places temporarily abandoned Buddhism.

Genghis Khan and his Mongolian army invaded neighbouring areas and Tibetans sent him an offer of submission in 1207. Central authority was restored in Tibet when Genghis Khan's grandson prince Goden made the Tibetan Lama Sakya Pundit Vice-Regent of Tibet. Later Godan's brother, Kublai Khan granted the Tibetan monk Phagpa supreme authority over Tibet.¹³ A new sect, name the Gelupka sect, was founded by the famous Lama *Tsongkhapa*. His disciple, Gedun Trappa who organized many followers for the new sect. His third reincarnation Sonam Gyatso converted

¹¹ Ibid., pp.28-32, and Shakabpa (1967), pp.25-46.

¹² One argument for China's claim to Tibet made by the Chinese is the marriage between the Chinese princess and the Tibetan King.

¹³ Dai Yannian and Eds., *Tibet: Myth us. Reality*, Beijing, Published by Beijing Review, 1988, p.10, 20, and see Su Wenning, *Tibet: Today and Yesterday*, Beijing, published by Beijing Review, 1983, p.69.

the prince Altur Khan of Mongolia and he gave him the title of Dalai Lama which was later applied posthumously to his two predecessors.

In 1642, a Mongol prince, Gushni Khan assumed the title of king of Tibet. However the latter titular king of Tibet, Lazang Khan, was not willing to hold a formal post without any influence, so he turned for help to the Manchu emperor. His actions resulted in nearly two centuries (1720-1911) of Manchu overlordship of Tibet.¹⁴ In 1728, two Manchu officials (called Ambans) were stationed in Lhasa as direct representatives of emperor they reported and advised as the Tibetan government is necessary. But the influence of Ambans was still a matter of dispute among Tibetologists.

In 1720, the Manchu armies expelled the Dzungar Mongols and took control over Tibet, after the Fifth Dalai Lama death and a new period of Mongol dominance began. The Mongols had killed the Sixth Dalai Lama and brought with them the seventh Dalai Lama, Kelsang Gyatso (1708-1757), who had grown up under Manchu influence. The Manchu Emperor reunited the Dalai Lama with his people and therefore he gained support of Tibet people.¹⁵ The Manchus had much influence in Tibetan politics until 1747. During the period of internal disorder, the seventh Dalai Lama took control

¹⁴ The Chinese fulfilled their role as protector when a Gurkha army from Nepal invaded Tibet in 1760 and which was expelled by a Chinese military army.

¹⁵ Van Walt Van Praag, *The Status of Tibet*, Wisdom Publications, London, 1987, p.10.

over the country and became the Dalai Lama was once again the “Lord of Tibet”. He would be the last Dalai Lama with hegemonic power for a long time to come. During nearly 150 years after death of the Dalai Lama in 1757, until the assumption of full temporal power by the thirteenth incarnation in 1895, Tibet was ruled almost uninterruptedly by successive Regents because of the Dalai Lama’s premature deaths.¹⁶

In 1949 Communist party assumed power in China and declared the People’s Republic of China, China for the first time asserted their claim over Tibet as part of the motherland. In 1950, the Red Army had reached Tibet’s borders. The Kashang sent an appeal to the United Nations to intervene but it was failed, probably due to Tibet’s policy of isolation which had not persuade them to seek UN membership. Before troops reached Lhasa, it was decided that the Dalai Lama would assume power at the age of fifteen. A Tibetan delegation to Beijing later signed seventeen-point-agreement, under duress according to Tibetan sources.¹⁷ The agreement welcomed the Tibetans return to the big family of motherland and secured among other things, the right to exercise regional autonomy, freedom of religion and no alternation of existing political system in Tibet. The following years were difficult for the Dalai Lama and his Cabinet who were forced into middle

¹⁶ Ibid., p.17.

¹⁷ Dalai Lama, 1991, p.69.

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position, trying to cooperate with the Chinese and convincing the Tibetans of the futility fighting back.¹⁸ In 1950, a confrontation could no longer be avoided and open revolted in the escape of the Dalai Lama to India.

In 1965, Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) was established as part of radical changes leading to creation of people's communes in Tibet. The Cultural Revolution also hit Tibet very hard. The Tibetans claim that the communist regime has persecuted the Buddhist religion in Tibet with the result that less than ten out of 6,000 monasteries stand intact. Since 1950, 1.2 million Tibetans have died as a consequence of Chinese occupation and Dharma Sala accuses the Chinese for genocide in Tibet. The Chinese, on the other hand, claim that they have modernised the old society and built schools, hospitals, roads and airports. Huge sums appear to have been spent on Tibet.¹⁹ Until the fall of the Gang of Four, the liberalization process has not began in Tibet as well as in China.

In 1987, thousands of Tibetans took to the streets expressing their discontent over Chinese rule and for the first time demonstration in Tibet reached the outside world. Uprising in 1989 again became headline news. Martial law was imposed and not lifted until more than a year after. At present it seems like the liberalization process has come to an end, although

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.79-143.

¹⁹ "Tibet has a bright future", *Beijing Review*, 2-8 March 1992.

not reversed, and small protest and demonstrations are continuously launched in many parts of Tibet against Chinese rule.

The Institution of the Dalai Lama

There are four sects in Tibet excluding the indigenous religion Bon: Nyingurpa, Kagyudpa, Sakyapa and Gelukpa. The Dalai Lama belongs to the Gelukpa sect. Tsongkhapa founded this new sect, commonly known as the yellow hat sect, in the 14th century the title of Dalai Lama, which means ocean of wisdom, was conferred on the third incarnation of his leading discipline by a Mongol Chief. It is Chenrezi, the Buddha of Mercy, that chooses to be reborn again and again for the benefit of others in accordance with the tradition in Mahayana Buddhism.²⁰

The new incarnation does not take birth at once after the passing away of the previous life and usually discovery is made when the child is around three years old. Therefore Dalai Lama is discovered and never elected. When the 13th Dalai Lama passed away in 1933, a Regent was appointed by the National Assembly to govern the country until the new incarnation could be discovered and reach a mature age. The body of the departing the Dalai Lama, although placed toward the South, was seen facing

²⁰ Malik, Inder, *Dalai Lamas of Tibet – Succession of births* (New Delhi, Uppal Publishing House, 1984).

the East which indicated the direction where the new the Dalai Lama could be sought. The regent went to the sacred lake of Lamoi Lasto and spent several days in prayers and then saw the vision of three Tibetan letters and a picture of the monastery with roofs of jade green and gold and a house with turquoise tiles. High lamas were sent to search for the reincarnated boy and in the East one party came upon the monastery of Kumbum and village of Takteser which looked like the vision seen in the lake. The family in the house with turquoise tiles had a number of children, among them a boy who was nearly two years old. When two members of the party visited the house in disguise, the boy recognised the Lama as “Lama from Sera” and later identified objects which had belonged to the 13th Dalai Lama. Tenzin Gyatso, the present Dalai Lama, was that boy.

Among the Dalai Lamas, the 5th and the 13th are entitled Great Dalai Lamas by the Tibetans. The sixth Dalai Lama showed little interest in temporal responsibilities and was more inclined towards poetry and love. After the death of 8th Dalai Lama, a century of government by regents followed as the 9th and 10th Dalai Lama died before attaining their majority and the 11th and 12th Dalai Lama died soon after being enthroned. Generally it can be said that Regencies were time of maintaining the status quo.²¹ The 13th Dalai Lama with a different experience than his predecessors set out to modernise his country. He among the other things sent four students to

²¹ Richardson (1984), p.67.

England, opened a British School and attempted to create a strong army. It became evident as time went by that groups in the aristocracy and monastic establishment opposed his attempts which remained unsuccessful.²² The monastic institutions were opposed to foreign influence as that may undermine their traditionally strong position in Tibetan society.

Democratic elements before 1950

As the Dalai Lama is the religious and political head of Tibet, the structure of the government in Tibet before the Chinese military takeover was dualistic in character. In accordance with the double functions of his rule, the Government administrative structure was divided into a lay and ecclesiastical wing. The Dalai Lama exercises supreme authority in both religious and secular affairs of Tibet.

The office of the Regent (Desi) was the principal offices of the government. He governed the country at the time the Dalai Lama had yet to be discovered and grow to maturity. The regent was chosen by the National Assembly from among the incarnate Lamas of the four monasteries in and near Lhasa. He exercised great authority but unlike the Dalai Lama he was responsible to the Assembly. The monastic institutions especially three pillar

²² Dhondup, K., *The Water Bird and other Years* (New Delhi, Rangwang Publishers, 1986), p.62.

monasteries near Lhasa had great influence in the Assembly and could use this to choose a regent of their liking. It was generally felt that the Dalai Lama alone was competent to make drastic administrative or political changes and as a result, the periods of Regency in Tibetan History were periods of stagnation and corruption.²³ This was an inherent weakness of the political system.

Chief or Prime Minister was the next in rank. The 13th Dalai Lama created this office in 1926 to serve as a link between himself and the Council of Ministers. However, the title Prime Minister is somewhat misleading as the position that he did not include chairing Cabinet sessions but rather acting as a liaison between the Cabinet and the Dalai Lama.²⁴ The Council of Ministers (Kashag) was the principal executive body of the Tibetan government. It usually consisted of three lay ministers (Kalons) and one high ranking monk who was treated as the senior member. The ministers were appointed by the Dalai Lama or the regent. The Kashag had power over the internal administration of the country in matters relating to politics, revenue and justice. It functioned as the Court of Justice and the high court of appeal for all lay Tibetans. In a matter of highest importance one could appeal

²³ Rahul, Ram, *The Government and Politics of Tibet* (New Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1969), p.73, and Michael, Franz, *Rule by Incarnation* (Colorado, Westview Press, 1982), p.51.

²⁴ Michael (1982), p.61.

directly to the Dalai Lama.²⁵ No minister held any special portfolio but joint decisions were taken by all four Kalons. As part of the Executive, there were specialized administrative offices of which the four Tsi-Pon's (foreign bureau, military office, treasury and district officers) were the highest, consisting of both lay and monk officials.

The Tsongdu (National Assembly) was not a permanent body but met only when summoned by the Council of Ministers to debate and give its opinion on specific matters. The Assembly was composed of both lay and monk officials, including the abbots and representatives of three pillar monasteries as well as representatives of every class and profession such as artists, craftsmen, soldiers and tradesmen – a total of about seven hundred people.²⁶ A working committee was its regular representing body. The Assembly was regarded as representing the nation and was called in to sessions for major national decisions. It could hardly be called a legislative body and it did not carry much weight in the government structure.²⁷ However, although it had no actual legislative function or control over the executive, the Tsongdu played an important role in policy matter of significance, such as Tibet's relations with China. If the Assembly was

²⁵ Rahul (1969), pp.26-27.

²⁶ Michael (1982), pp.63-64.

²⁷ Roy Burman, Bina, *Religion and Politics in Tibet* (New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1979), p.49.

summoned to give their opinions, the Dalai Lama would pay attention to the views of the Tsongdu rather than those of the Kashag.²⁸ The National Assembly falls in between the lay and ecclesiastical structure.

The Head of the monastic administrations (Chikyab Khempo or Lord Chamberlain) served as the link between the Dalai Lama and Monastic Council as well as the head of Dalai Lama's household. He had direct access to the Dalai Lama at almost any time which made him an influential person.²⁹ The monastic Council (Yiktsang) consisted of four monks whose duties were to supervise the administration of the monasteries, except for the three pillar monasteries of Lhasa. The monks were also official spokesmen in the National Assembly.

In Tibet, all land belonged to the state from which the nobility and the monasteries held large estates. Features of these land holding system have been called ~~feudal³⁰~~ and short description will be made here as it explains the actions taken in exile. The nobility held large estates from the state and in return set one member of the family to serve as government official and the noble families also paid revenues to the state usually in product of various kinds. These estates were hereditary from father to son. A noble man

²⁸ Rahul (1969), p.32.

²⁹ Ibid., p.27.

³⁰ His Chang-hao and Kao Yuan-mei, *Tibet Leaps Forward* (Peking, Foreign Language Press, 1977), p.21, and Roy Burman (1979), p.39.

exercised rights of taxation and justice over the peasants who were working on his land and the latter had to contribute dues in money, kind and labour.³¹ The monasteries who also held large estates were exempted from taxes and made their return by prayers and rites for the welfare of the State.³² In addition, the government allotted land directly to peasants who paid taxes and services.³³

³¹ Roy Burman (1979), p.39.

³² Richardson (1984), p.15.

³³ Tsung-Lien Shen, and Shen-Chi Liu, *Tibet and the Tibetans* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953), p.104.

Chapter-II

Chapter-II

DEMOCRATIC VISION

In modern democracy, Government is inevitable to rule over the people. The word democracy emerged in ancient Greek politics, it means “rule by the people”. Influential ideas of the Greek politics propounded by great political thinkers, like Thucydides (C.460-399 BC), Plato (C.427-347 BC) and Aristotle (384-322 BC) and examined the democratic ideas, structure and culture. The central source of inspiration for modern political thought, is the development of democracy in Athens, as David puts it.¹ According to H. Birch, the Greeks gave us only the word, democracy and they did not provide us with a democratic model and he explained ideal democratic models.²

During the middle ages, there existed a feudal system in which power was based on rank that could be attained only through inheritance or by force. A new model of democracy, based on modern society, did not emerge until nineteenth century, although, as mentioned above, its beginnings can be traced to the renaissance and Niccolò Machiavelli.

¹ Held, David, “Democracy: from City-States to a Cosmopolitan Order?” in David Held, *Prospects of Democracy*, ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p.13.

² Birch, Anthony H., *The Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy* (New York/London: Routledge, 1993), p.45.

Actually, in the eighteenth century, Americans like Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) and James Madison (1751-1836) worked on the foundation of the American democracy. Roughly we can say that between the renaissance of modern, industrial-capitalist society.³

The emergence of modern democracy has been influenced by the early liberalism. It developed as an attack on divine right theory, where the powerful rule was asserted based on hierarchical and despotic institutions.

And later, liberalists attacked on old system following two claims.

Firstly, liberalists strongly supported *laissez faire* theory in which state does not interfere in market forces. And the private business would be given first preference in the market. In other words state should not interfere in private property, and in non-state institutions.

Secondly according to democratic criteria, citizens are the basis of the state power and they are provided representative mechanism, in which, electoral system has given higher priority.⁴

³ Sorensen, Georg, *Democracy and Democratization, Processes and Prospects in Changing World* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), pp.4-5.

⁴ Sorensen (1993), p.5.

Besides, Jefferson, Madison and Thomas Pine (1737-1809), Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and James Mill (1773-1836) contributed to early models of liberal democracy. These models are called as protective democracy, due to their central concern for the protection of the citizens. In other words, freedom of citizens would be to protect from the pervasive political authority. They contributed to adult franchise which one of the factor to ensure negative freedom. However, Bentham and James Mill accepted severe restrictions in the right to vote.⁵

As a result, in combination of free market economy and the advent of representative government by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was laid down for protection of negative freedoms, and the development of individuality.

In addition, Rousseau developed his theory on democratic politics, as prime mechanism of moral self-development.⁶ And he envisaged the concept of equality; he felt that unless equalizing socio-economic inequalities, there is no improvement in the development of democracy. Therefore, Rousseau adhered to the concept of equality in his “social contract”.⁷

In view of Karl Marx inequality was bad news for democracy. He claims capitalist society produced inequality itself existing in mode of

⁵ Ibid., p.6.

⁶ Held (1987), p.86.

⁷ Sorensen (1993), pp.8-9.

production. As long as inequality in capitalist society prevails there is no place for democracy, in such societies unless class- divided society is abolished.⁸

The new-rightists primarily concerned themselves to protect life, liberty and estate by rolling back the government interventions in civil society. Von Kayek was leading figure among the new Rights. However, social democrats urge to bring change through reforms in capitalism with more democracy and less inequality.

Democratic Models

In Joseph Schumpeter's view, there should be a comprehensive mechanism for choosing political leaders, in which he primarily argues that democracy as a method to equalise political opportunities.⁹

David Held puts forward the comprehensive conception of democracy and combined insights of the liberal and Marxist traditions in order to arrive at a meaning of democracy that supports basic principles of autonomy.

The enactment:

Individuals should be free and equal in the determination of the conditions of their own lives; that is, they should enjoy equal rights and equal obligations in the specification of the

⁸ Ibid., p.9.

⁹ Ibid., p.9.

framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights of others.¹⁰

Of this principle democratic autonomy requires both a high degree of accountability of the state and democratic recording of civil society.¹¹

While Robert A. Dahal states that allowing opposition, rivalry or competition between a government and its opponents within the political system, is an important aspect of democratization. Therefore he argues the continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens which are considered as political equals as a key characteristic of a democracy.¹² In order for a government to continue over a period of time to respect their characteristic, all full citizens must have unimpaired opportunities, which, according to Dahal are three necessity conditions:¹³

1. The opportunity to formulate preferences.
2. The opportunity to signify their preferences to their fellow citizens and the government by individual and collective action.
3. The opportunity to have their preferences weighed equally in the conduct of the government that is weighed with no discrimination because of the content or source of the preference.

¹⁰ Held (1987), p.271.

¹¹ Sorensen (1993), p.10.

¹² Dahl, Robert A., *Polyarchy, Participation and Opposition*, (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1971), p.1.

¹³ Ibid., p.2.

These opportunities, in turn, are dependent on at least eight institutional guarantees:

1. Freedom to form and join organizations.
2. Freedom of expression.
3. Right to vote
4. Right of political leaders to compete for support/votes
5. Alternative source of information.
6. Eligibility for public office.
7. Free and fair elections.
8. Institutions for making government policies depend on votes and other expression of preference.

Towards Tibetan democratic model

In the Tibetan community, the society is constructed on hierarchy of nomads and farmers with feudal and theocratic structural features. A small group of nobility controls over majority of Tibetans. Subsequently it clearly implies that Tibetans live in a traditional way of life and are controlled by a oligarchy group.

According to Ram Rahul, the Dalai Lama does not inherit his authority:

...people invest him with it so that they may be governed in accordance with ancient tradition and with prudence and integrity. And for this position of the highest dignity in the

country, the Dalai Lama, the supreme head of Tibet, is discovered, never elected.¹⁴

Before Chinese occupation of Tibet, there was no democratically organized society. Only in 1963 Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama introduced the main objective to establish a Tibetan Government according to democratic principles. He envisaged the Government powers to be subordinated to human personality, choosing of Governments based on electoral representative system, and democracy to preserve values and institutions.

Therefore modern democratic Governments are supported by majority people there is no place for monopoly of power of ruling elite. As a result it is based on influential decision making by the adult citizens through the electoral system. Democracy depends on finding, choosing and supporting leaders who can protect and perfect its values and institutions. Democratic leadership is selected from a broad base and remains dependent upon the support of the majority of the community. There is no monopoly of power of a ruling elite, with few exceptions every adult is eligible to have influence in the decision-making process.¹⁵

¹⁴ Rahul (1969), p.7.

¹⁵ Lasswell, Harold D., *Power and Personality* (New York: Viking Press, 1962), p.110.

At present the Dalai Lama catered democratic principles to modern Tibet which were firmly objected by earlier the Dalai Lamas. His prime objective is to be influence national and international policies towards Tibetan course. But the ongoing Tibetan Government-in-exile is still a powerful organ, paradoxical to democracy.

Harold Lasswell points out democracy in which political leaders should be elected according to existing electoral system. Consequently democracy is assured where it produced qualified political leadership. The Dalai Lama has to learn the above democratic lessons.

Society requires, according to Edmund Burke, not only that the passions of individuals should be subjected, but even in the mass and body as well as in the individuals, the inclinations of men should frequently be thwarted, their will controlled and their passions brought into subjection.¹⁶

In case of the Dalai Lama, the one side of the coin is that he gives the Tibetans strength, unity -- something to hold on to. Although he is not elected, the vast majority of the Tibetan people inside and outside support his leadership. The other side of the coin is that his position is questionable in relation with the democratic principles which are the Tibetan government-in-exile wants to develop.

Birch has given there are three types of political authority.

¹⁶ Burk, Edmund, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), p.151.

First type that a widespread of people accept the authority of certain persons to issue commands over institutions and to take decisions against those who ignore such commands within a society. For example commands issued by Prime Minister or President, General in charge of armies, judges and police officers.

The second type of political authority enjoyed elected representatives who are speakers behalf of the people. Third type based on special qualities in a specific field. For example who become experts in academic or technical fields.¹⁷

One can say the Dalai Lama enjoys a combination of the first and third type of political authority. In Tibetan Society, there seems to be a widespread acceptance of his religions and political leadership. As Birch states

In practice, the exercise of authority, in the first of the senses itemised above, depends upon the readiness of the people over whom it is exercised to accept the decisions and orders that are given.¹⁸

In this context, Max Weber's classification of the source of political legitimacy is clarifying, in three types.

1. Traditional legitimacy
2. Legal-rational legitimacy

¹⁷ Birch (1993), p.32.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.29.

3. Charismatic authority

The Dalai Lama authority can say in terms of Max Weber's authority based on a combination of traditional legitimacy and charismatic which is clearly not democracy.

Tibetan Constitutional Analysis

The Tibetan Government-in-Exile

Yossi Shain defines governments-in-exile as:

Opposition groups that struggle from outside their territory to overthrow and replace the regime in their independent, occupied, or claimed home country.¹⁹

Shain deduces four distinct but related principles of intensification involved by governments-in-exile to support their for national support and international recognition.

- The claim of a legal rights to govern, which assumes that legitimacy is conferred only through democratic elections and is not attenuated with loss of effective controls.
- The illegality of occupation, which assumes the sacredness of territorial integrity.
- The right to self-determination, and
- The right of national community to be represented by its "authentic" spokesman.

¹⁹ Shain, Yossi, *Governments-in-Exile and the Age of Democratic Transitions* from: *Governments-in-exile in contemporary world politics*; edited by Yossi Shain (New York/London: Routledge, 1991), pp.1-2.

To achieve political power all governments-in-exile makes great efforts to mobilize their fellow nationals at home and abroad, to get diplomatic assistance from foreign forces, whose plays as instrumental powers to their success.²⁰

The Tibetan Government-in-Exile in India

The Dalai Lama fled to India on 10 March 1959 when China occupied Tibetan territory. Nearly 87,000 people lost their lives during violent Tibetan revolt in Lhasa. More than 100,000 Tibetans followed their leader, crossed into the Himalayas into Bhutan, Nepal and India.

Under the leadership of the Dalai Lama a non-violent freedom struggle began. By adhering to the ideology of non-violence, the Dalai Lama has obtained widespread international respect. Unfortunately some groups of Tibetans have used violent means. Consequently in 1960, the Dalai Lama founded in the former northern British hill station of Dharmasala, a Tibetan government-in-exile. The main objectives of this government were stated as follows.²¹

²⁰ Shain (1991), p.220.

²¹ Gyaltag, Gyaltsen, *From Monarchy to Democracy: An Historical Overview*, in Petra K. Kelly, Gert Bastian, and Pat Aiello, eds., *The Anguish of Tibet*, (California, 1991), p.13.

- Representation of the Tibetan refugees.
- Guardianship of the Tibetan culture, religion, and language
- Care and education of Tibetan children
- Preservation of national and cultural identity in exile.
- Defence of national sovereignty of the Tibetan people on the basis of a democratic form of state.
- Continuing the non-violent Tibetan struggle for freedom in the name of the five million Tibetans in Tibet and in exile.

It is thus intended to secure for the people of Tibet a system of democracy based on justice and equality and ensure their cultural, religious and economic advancement.

Structure of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile

In 1990, Tibetan democratic Constitution has been formulated for both the future of free Tibet as well as exile Government which problematic to implement. And later, they realized to draw separate constitution for Government. As a result a new charter for the Tibetans in exile has passed the Tibetan Assembly on 14th June 1991 and is approved by the Dalai Lama.²²

²² Tibetan Refugee Community, Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000, Summary (1994), p.3.

The Tibetan Government-in-exile adopted rights which were declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and respects economic, social, cultural and political rights. Tibetan exile Government should oblige to the international laws as specified by the UN General, the UN laws, ordinances, regulations and executive orders which comply with the local laws of the Tibetans.

Citizenship for Tibetans can be obtained constitutionally if he/she biological off spring of Tibetan or he/she is married with a Tibetan for more than three consecutive years.²³

The Tibetan Government-in-Exile recognised different fundamental rights and duties. All the Tibetans are equal before law and enjoy the rights and freedoms set forth in the Charter.

These fundamental rights and freedoms are:

1. Freedom of thought conscience and religion
2. Freedom of life, liberty and property
3. Freedom of expression
4. Freedom of press
5. Freedom to assemble peacefully without arms
6. Right to vote (minimum age 18)
7. Right to stand for nomination (minimum age 25)

²³ Charter of the Tibetans in-exile (1991) Art.1-8, pp.1-2.

8. Right to form and join Organizations
9. Right for a fair trial
10. Equal opportunities for employment according to one's qualification

The obligations that the Tibetan citizens have, according to the Charter are:²⁴

- Bear allegiance to the Tibetan Nation
- To adhere to the Charter and to the laws of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile.
- Endeavour to achieve the legitimate goal of the Tibetan people
- Pay taxes imposed by the Tibetan government-in-exile

The Charter mentions primary objectives of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile:²⁵

- To formulate and execute for the achievement of the legitimate goal of the Tibetan people.
- To secure the immediate stopping for persecution and find early solution for acute problems in the time being in Tibet.
- To formulate and execute a just social welfare policy for the promotion of justice, equality, economic productivity among the Tibetan community-in-exile.
- To secure adequate education

²⁴ Ibid., Art.9-13, pp.2-3.

²⁵ Ibid., Art.15-18, pp.3-4.

- To secure an opportunity for acquiring the valuable cultural heritage
- To provide health care

The Executive

The Executive power of the Tibetan government-in-exile is vested in the Dalai Lama and exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him. The Dalai Lama is empowered to execute the following executive powers.

1. Approve and promulgate Bills and regulations, as passed by the Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies.
2. Promulgate acts and ordinances
3. Confer honours and patents of merit
4. Summon, adjourn and prorogue the Assembly
5. Send messages and address to the Assembly whenever deemed necessary
6. Dissolve or suspend the Assembly
7. Dissolve the Kashag or remove a Kalon or Kalons
8. Summon emergency and special meetings of major significance related to the interest of Tibet
9. Authorise holding of referendum, in case involving major issues, in accordance with Charter.²⁶

The Cabinet (The Kashang)

²⁶ Ibid., Art.19, pp.4-5.

The Cabinet consists of seven Kalons who were elected by the Assembly of Tibetans People's Deputies by means of a secret ballot. The original nominees for Cabinet consist of minimum of fourteen candidates nominated by the Dalai Lama.

The Charter gives several qualifications of Kaon candidature. He or she:

- Must be citizen of Tibet
- Must have attained 35 years of age.
- Must not be declared mentally unsound by a Court or licensed medical practitioners
- Must not be declared bankrupt
- Must not be convicted of any criminal offence by any Court of law
- Must not be declared disqualified for Kalon candidate by two-thirds majority in the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies
- Is not allowed to serve as Kalon for Second consecutive term.
- Must not have been removed as a Kalon as prescribed in character
- Not enjoying service, status or economic benefits from other countries detrimental to the Tibetan interests.

Five years is the normal tenure for Kashang. In the case of dissolution of the Kashang, there is no objection to the re-election of any Kalon provided that such re-election does not exceed two consecutive terms. The Kalons

elect the chief Kalon by means of secret ballot by simple majority for a term of office of one year. If re-elected, a chief Kalon can serve a subsequent term. Salaries, allowances and other privileges during the tenure of the chief Kalon and Kalon are to be determined by the Assembly.

The chief Kalons presides over the meetings of the Kashag and during his or her absence, the Kalon presents elect a Chairperson from amongst them. The Kashang is collectively responsible for the discharge of their duties. The chief Kalon allocates portfolios to the individual Kalons with the consent of Dalai Lama, whose decision is binding. The Dalai Lama and the Assembly, with two-third majority, can dissolve the Kashang or remove a Kalon or Kalons, including Chief Kalon. The Chief Kalon can recommend the removal of Kalons or resignation of Kalons including himself. Such a recommendation comes into force with support of two-thirds of the total strength of Kalons for which the approval of Dalai Lama must be obtained through the Assembly.²⁷

The Council of Regency

If Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission has decided that the executive functions of Dalai Lama must be exercised by the Council of Regency. When the Dalai Lama has not assumed or retained his position as head of Tibetan-government-in-exile. As a result the Council of Regency

²⁷ Ibid., Art.20-30, pp.5-7.

exercise executive powers and authority during such period. As soon as the Dalai Lama can assumed responsibility as head of Tibetan-Government-in-Exile and exercise executive powers and authority, a resolution is approved by the Assembly, the executive power and authority as head of Tibetan Government-in-Exile is restored to the Dalai Lama and the Council of Regency suspended.

The Standing Committee of the Assembly may have consulted when the Assembly is not in session, and Regent powers will suspend until the Assembly session will begin. In case Regent will remove Assembly will substitute in same session to remaining period. The tenure of all three Regents substitute council, should not continue more than three years. Two-third majority should be required in case of removal of one or more Regents in the Council.²⁸

The Legislature: The Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies

Procedure of rules made through bills and formulated by Assembly has to be approved by two-thirds majority and the bill must be submitted to the Dalai Lama assent. In case he can not approve he may send back to the Assembly to reconsider.

²⁸ Ibid., Art.31-35, pp.7-8.

In the absence of Assembly the Dalai Lama may consult the Standing Committee on important issues and, promulgate ordinance. Such temporary ordinance will enact after Assembly has been held. If it is necessary the Dalai Lama may urge for referendum on any bill or proposed rule. It shall come force after the Dalai Lama assent on bill passed by majority of the Assembly. Any bill can not pass without recommendation of Kashang on regarding tax bills remission, or regulation or abolition. In the same manner any bill on expenditure cannot pass without recommendation of Kashang. If an occasion necessitates debate by the general Tibetan public either the Dalai Lama or the Kashag, or the Kashang and Chairman and Deputy Chairman in Joint Consultation may summon a Special General Meeting with the consent of the Dalai Lama. Such a meeting should be composed of members of the Assembly with the additional members.

Main provisions of the Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies consists of:

- Ten members elected from each region without discrimination of sex and with at least two women.
- Two members each elected from Nyingma, Kagyud, Sakya, Geluk and Bon.
- One to 3 members directly nominated by the Dalai Lama.
- One member elected by Tibetans residing in Canada and the United States of America.
- Two members elected by Tibetans residing in European countries.

The normal term of each Assembly is five years. On the recommendation of the Chairman and the Standing Committee of the Assembly, the Dalai Lama can summon the Assembly to meet. The sessions will follow up each other within a period of six months. The Dalai Lama can also summon a special session of the Assembly at his discretion, or at the recommendation of more than 55 per cent of either the Kashag, the Assembly, or the Standing Committee of the Assembly.

The Standing Committee formulate by two members who were elected or solicited by the Assembly from each region. One member from religions denomination and other has been nominated by the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama may send any message or address to the Standing Committee or Assembly. In case of Kalons have no right to vote either in Assembly or in Standing Committee, but they have right to participate or debate and discuss in both Assembly and Standing Committee.

The election of Chairman and Deputy Chairman follow secret ballot system at the commencement of the each first Assembly Session. The Dalai Lama has power to remove Chief Tibetan Justice Commissioner, and the Chairman of the Assembly, with consultation of Kashag. But such substitute elections should be held within 180 days.

It comprises a minimum of three members and the maximum of eleven, elected by the residents of the respective places. In all the places

where Tibetans reside there is a Regional Committee of Bob Rangwang Denpai-Legal. Such a Committee maintains direct coordination with the Assembly and executes activities which are related to the achievement of the goals of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. The formation, dissolution and merger of all Regional Committees of Bob Rangwang Denpai Legal and all the three acts, are subject to the jurisdiction of the Tibetan People's Deputies. Where these Committees cannot be established, the Assembly may grant special permission for continuation of any existing arrangement. Also, there is a permanent office of Secretary General to the Assembly.²⁹

The Constitutional Commissions

The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission (Judiciary)

Tibetan Justice Commission has been established in 1992 to protect fundamental rights and freedom of Tibetans. The purpose of Justice Commission is to deal with issues involving individuals and public institutions of the Tibetan-in-exile.

The Chief Justice Commissioner has been appointed by two thirds majority of the total strength of the Assembly. The qualifications are fixed, he/she appoint as Chief Justice Commissioner, and he/she has been experience of being legal profession for five consecutive years. He/she may

²⁹ Ibid. Art.36-61, pp.8-13.

hold office until 65 years. And he/she is not allowed to hold any office of profit in the Tibetan Administration. Tibetan Assembly can not discuss Tibetan Justice Commissioner conduct in the Assembly except on his/her removal case.

Three members of a permanent Jury proceeding to assist Chief Tibetan Justice Commissioner. The members of the jury are appointed for a period of three years by the Chief Tibetan Justice Commissioner in consultation with Kashang. The Chief Tibetan Justice Commissioner may directly appoint, in addition to the three permanent jurors, impartial jurists not more than nine in number, having experience and knowledge related to the subject of dispute. A consecutive re-appointment is possible. At least two of the three jurors must have obtained law degrees from a recognized institution.

With effect of the Dalai Lama, Tibetan Commission makes its own laws and procedures. All Executive, legislative and judiciary rules laws and bills must be approved by the Dalai Lama. The supreme justice Commission should appoints civil servants, administrators and justice commissions to respective settlements as for requirement.³⁰

³⁰ Ibid., Art.62-70, pp.13-15.

The Dalai Lama appoints Tibetan Chief Election Commissioner for the five years tenure. And, the removal of Election Commissioner follows the same procedure of Chief Justice Tibetan Commissioner.

The Election Commission

The Charter states that the rules of procedure and the functions of the Tibetan Election Commission, as approved by the Assembly Deputies, come into force after the approval of the Dalai Lama. The other members of this Commission are appointed by the Chief Commissioner. The main responsible of Election Commission is to discharge of duties pertaining to the election of the numbers of the Assembly, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Assembly, the Kalons and Chief Kalon and any other election responsibility such as a referendum.³¹

Tibetan Administrative Service Commission

The main purpose of Tibetan Administrative Service Commission to formulates rules for selection and appointment, training, privileges and responsibilities of Tibetan Administrative servants, in accordance with laws enacted by the Assembly. It is responsible for the selection and appointment of Tibetan administrative servants. Rules of conduct of business must be approved by the Assembly and the Dalai Lama, before coming into force.

³¹ Charter of the Tibetans-in-Exile (1991), Art.96-99, pp.19-20.

The Dalai Lama appoints one Chief Commissioner and two to four members of tenure of five years or till the age of 65 years whichever is earlier. For the removal of the Chief Tibetan Administrative Selection Commissioner or any member of dissolution, the approval of two-thirds total strength of the Assembly,. In consultation with Kashang and approval of the Dalai Lama is needed as is the same procedure in the case of the Supreme Justice Commission.³²

The Office of the Auditor General

The Chief Tibetan Accountant Officer is appointed by the Dalai Lama. The Assembly formulates specific rules and regulations with respect to audit procedures, duties and powers of the Tibetan Audit Office. These must be approved by the Dalai Lama. The tenure of the Tibetan Audit Officer is normally ten years or till the age of 65 years whichever is earlier. The Dalai Lama may call for the removal of the Chief Tibetan audit officer, in consultation with the Kashag. This removal must be approved by two-thirds majority of the total strength of the Assembly with assent of the Dalai Lama. The main function of Tibetan Audit Officer is to examine the accounts of incomes and expenditure of all offices of Tibetan Government-in-Exile.³³

The Departments of the Tibetan Government-in-exile (India).

³² Ibid., Art.100-05, pp.20-21.

³³ Ibid., Art.106-10, p.21.

Department of Religion and Culture

In 1959 Religion and Cultural Department was established by the Dalai Lama. It is responsible for the perseverance and promotion of Tibetan religion and culture. The Department supports the different religious lineage, re-establishes monasteries in India and Nepal, tries to find sponsors for monks and nuns, organize various exchange programs and produces religious and cultural publications.³⁴

Department of Home:

Department of Home is responsible for the rehabilitation schemes for the Tibetan refugees. All the settlement and welfare officers, the managers of handicraft centres, cooperations and societies come under the responsibility of the Department of Home.³⁵

Department of Finance:

This department is responsible for the Budget, loans, business operations and formulate the annual budget of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. The business units under the Department generate income for the government, and provide employment for the Tibetans in the settlements.³⁶

³⁴ Tibetan Refugee Community, *Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000*, Summer (1994), p.4.

³⁵ Ibid., p.4.

³⁶ Ibid.

Department of Education

The Department of Education is responsible for all educational activities of the Tibetan-Government-in-Exile. It oversees 85 Tibetan Schools in India, Nepal and Bhutan, serving over 27,000 children. The Department runs a major sponsorship scheme and awards scholarship to bright graduates for further education. However, this Department is not responsible to autonomously constituted children's village and Tibetan Homes Foundation.³⁷

Department of Security

This Department is responsible for the security of the Dalai Lama. It has a Branch Office which mainly arranges public audiences with the Dalai Lama, and helps Tibetan refugees to seek renewal of their Refugee Residential certificates. Besides, the Department collects information concerning the developments in occupied Tibet and China.³⁸

Department of Information and International Relations

This Department is responsible to spread and offer information about Tibet by publishing journals, other publications, and audio-visual materials. Besides, the Department acts as the protocol office of the Tibetan

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

Government-in-Exile and liaise with the Tibetan support groups around the world as other Organizations dealing with Tibetan issues.³⁹

Department of Health: It is responsible for the health care in the Tibetan refugees communities in India, Nepal and Bhutan.⁴⁰

Survey of Tibetan Settlements in exile:

In India, Nepal, and Bhutan, Tibetans live in different types of settlements. There are three divisions: major/minor agricultural settlements, agro-industrial settlements (light industry)m, and handicraft centres such as carpet weaving.⁴¹ Since 1959, 54 refugee settlements have been established, comprising 26 agricultural, 17 agro-industrial, and 11 handicraft-based settlements. Almost 70,000 of the 121,143 refugees live in these settlements. The remaining 50,000 live in scattered communities in India and Nepal and an additional amount of 4634 refugees live outside South Asia.⁴²

³⁹ Ibid., p.5.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Eden, Maria: Transition to Democracy in Exile; A Study of the Tibetan Government's Strategy for Self-Determination; Department of Government, Skytteanum, University of Uppsala, Uppsala, 1992, p.2.

⁴² Tibetan Refugee Community, Integrated Development Plan-II, 1995-2000, summary (1994), p.1.

Table 1: Population of Tibetan Refugee Community

REGION	No.	POPULATION
SOUTH INDIA		32635
Settlements	5	32572
Scattered Communities	2	63
CENTRAL INDIA		8436
Settlements	3	6015
Scattered Communities	3	2421
UTTAR PRADESH		14289
Settlements	6	3581
Scattered Communities	7	10708
HIMACHAL PRADESH		20307
Settlements	13	6387
Scattered Communities	14	13920
NORTH EAST INDIA		8622
Settlements	3	5022
Scattered Communities	8	3600
WEST BENGAL AND SIKKIM		12839
Settlements	4	1750
Scattered Communities	36	11089
LADAKH		7558
Settlements	3	7558
NEPAL		15000
Settlements	10	5086
Scattered Communities	15	9914
BHUTAN		1457
Settlements	7	1457
TIBETANS ABROAD		4634
TOTAL		125777

The Charter gives a survey of the Tibetan settlements as follows:

- Agricultural settlements
- Handicrafts and cottage industries and cooperatives
- Religious institutions and centres
- Schools and academic institutions
- Self-employment communities
- Other Tibetan residential areas

Each of the Tibetan settlement is led by a local Tibetan Administrator. If it is a large settlement there would also be an Assistant Tibetan Administrator.

According to the Charter, the Tibetan Administrators ascribes the following duties:

1. To conduct all administrative businesses of their respective Tibetan settlements.
2. To carry out Judicial responsibilities as authorised by the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission
3. To adhere to the local Laws of the area and respect the customs and traditions of the locality.
4. To carry out all official responsibilities and special guidelines laid down by the Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies, the Kashag, the concerned Department and the Central Tibetan administration.
5. To fulfil the objectives and oversee the efficient functioning of the cooperative societies.
6. Any other duties, deemed necessary to be executed for the benefit of the Tibetan people and according to prescribed rules.

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

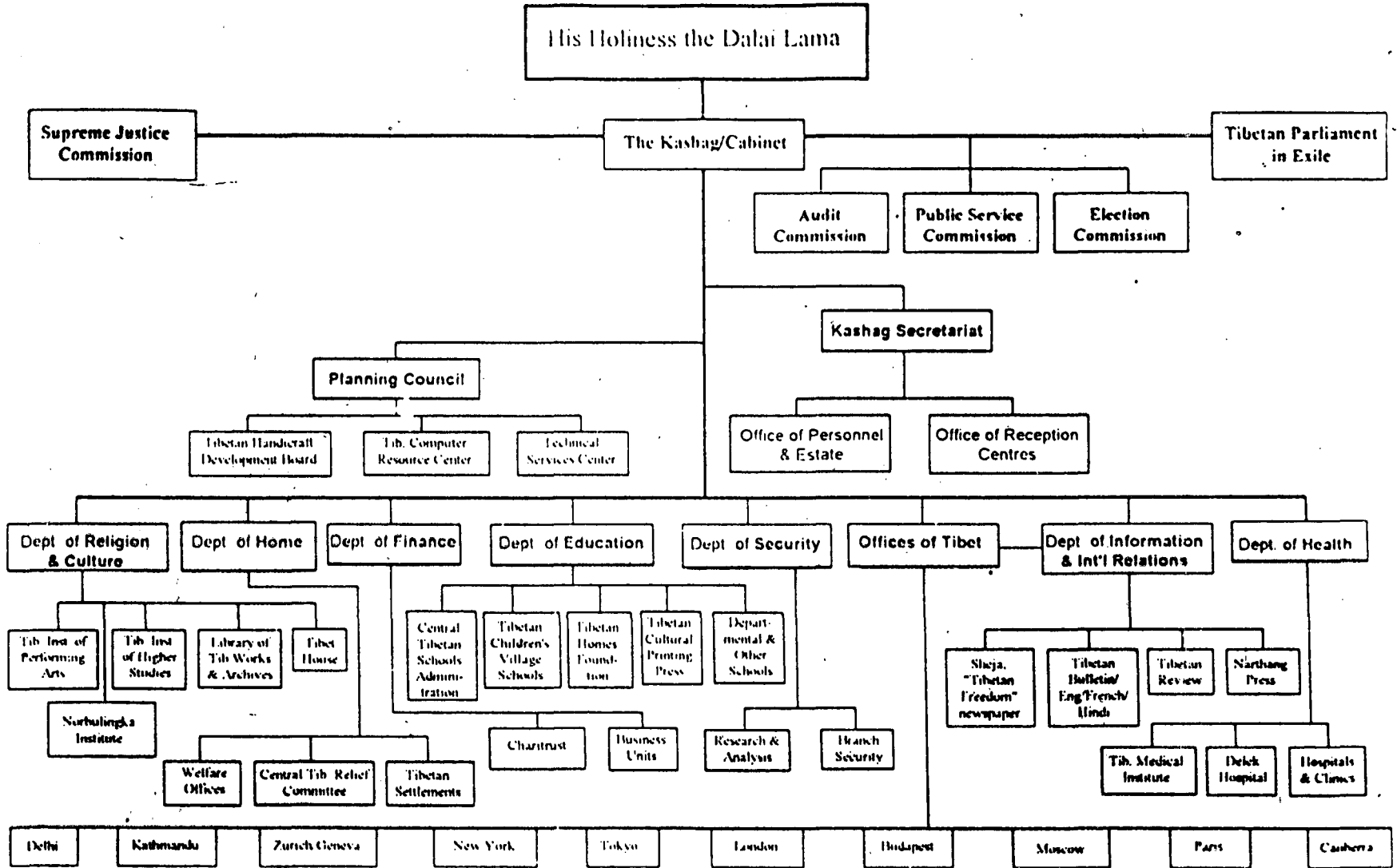
Two-thirds majority of the local Assembly is required for the election of local Tibetan Administrator. For this preliminary elections for nominations are held first amongst the general Tibetan public of the respective settlements.

The Tibetan Government-in-Exile appoints the Tibetan Administrator or Assistant Tibetan Administrator under the following circumstances.

1. When required 51 per cent of the votes are not obtained.
2. When the local settlements does not fulfil the required conditions.
3. When the general Tibetan public has expressed unwillingness to hold an election.
4. When the elected Tibetan Administrator has failed to discharge responsibilities or has lost public confidence.

The local assemblies have full authority in respect to the formulation and approval of the regulations for the conduct of all business matter of the Tibetan settlement, in consultation with the local Tibetan Administrator and Assistant Tibetan Administrator.

TIBETAN GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE



Source: Tibetan Refugee Community, Integrated Development Plan-II, p.VI.

Other members required for the right to vote Assemblies require following conditions:

- Members of the Regional Committee of BOL Rangwang Denpai Legul elected by the general Tibetan public, and
- Elected leaders and representatives of villages, Tibetan cooperative societies and the respective religious institutions and centres.

Normally the term of local Assembly is three years, the strength of the local Assembly is based on the population of the respective settlements and must be in between the minimum of seven and the maximum of thirty-five members. The beginning of the first session of a local assembly members elect from amongst them a Chairman and a Deputy Chairman by means of secret ballot by majority vote. These two officers can be removed by more than two-thirds majority of the local Assembly. The local Tibetan Administrator and the Assistant Tibetan Administrator may take part in debate, discussion, answer questions and provide explanations to the local Assembly. They however do not have the right to vote.

Chapter-III

Chapter-III

DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS OF TIBETAN COMMUNITIES

Democracy is a political concept involving three main dimensions as follows:¹

- Contest over policy and political competition for office
- Participation of the citizens through partisan, associational and other forms of collective action.
- Accountability of rulers to the ruled through mechanisms of representation and the rule of law.

The above mentioned three dimensions in democracy will focus on essential elements in the process. Social economic and foreign relations having base for representative elections in most of the countries, while in Tibet people's representatives should elect on the basis of religious sects and sex. The important element is that Tibetan administration has limited exercise in exile because Tibetan Government have no territory which is main drawback for Tibetan sovereignty.

In the Tibetan context, the Assembly will have both to function as the ruling party and as the opposition. While the People's deputies visit the

¹ Karl, Terry Lynn, *Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America*, *Comparative Politics*, vol.23, no.1, October 1990.

settlements they inform the Tibetans about the government policies and in the House they function as opposition by checking that the government follows the law. A number of people put forward the opinion that opposition does not necessarily require a party system but criticism can be voiced by individual members of the Parliament. According to some the unity in exile, government is matter of dispute. These disputes can be settled only through the parties.

The party formulations in Tibet made much political confusion. In 1979, after endless petty party squabbles on sectarian and regional matters, the Tibetan Communist Party came to form. The second party, the National Democratic Movement formed against Communist Party within a short period. These two parties' controversy became matter of dispute among the fellow countrymen. The Dalai Lama openly declared his support towards the Communist party, yet continued both parties. This led to political confusion. Consequently neither of the parties, lack many active followers. During such controversies communist party disbanded in 1982 which made the chapter closed for other parties in the Tibetan exile community.²

² "Communist Party of the Tibetans in exile is formed", *Tibetan Review*, April 1979, Dhondup: Controversy over the Tibetan communist movement, A personal view", *Tibetan Review*, July 1980, "Tibetan Communist Party is dissolved", February-March 1982.

The major fact is that Tibetans do not wish to oppose the Dalai Lama let alone take away his power or influence. Legally, there are no obstacles either to found a new party or voice different ideas.

One could not really call the Tibetan a cowardly people but because of their extraordinary devotion to the Dalai Lama, they quite easily lose heart when they feel they may cause offence to him.³

The Tibetan community attaches itself to the institution of the Dalai Lama to preserve its unity. Within and around the government-in-exile the idea that the community-in-exile will fall apart the leadership of the Dalai Lama is very dominant.

If we ask the Tibetan people who they want as their leader, every Tibetan will choose for the leadership of Dalai Lama.

Leadership of the Dalai Lama

It clearly implies different factors make his leadership so unique. As long as the Dalai Lama is there, Tibetans will never think of anything else but to look up to him as the one and only inspiring source of Tibetan unity.⁴ Nevertheless, there are inherent weaknesses in this political system run by

³ Norbu, "Opening of the Political Eye", *Tibetan Review*, November 1990.

⁴ Richard de Jongh's interview with Tenzin Namgyal Tethong. Dharamsala, 23 May 1995.

the Dalai Lama. Critics say that the members of parliament are not aware of the Assembly's greater role in society. Among the other things, the Assembly should be a critical voice and functions as a restraint on the Government.⁵ In the past, the Tibetan People's Deputies did not enjoy high prestige because matters of significance were rarely placed on their table.

The Dalai Lama openly said in the eleventh Assembly that people's representatives will take main decisions and will play a very important role and its implementation according to their relations. In the process of democratization, the Dalai Lama's initiative to gain more and more legitimacy, on His Holiness, is continuous process in spite of decisions made by the Assembly.⁶

The Dalai Lama enjoys a widespread acceptance in Tibetan society, based on traditional, religious and governmental features of Tibetan society and on the personal qualities. The authority of the Dalai Lama is based on non-democratic combination of traditional legitimacy and charismatic authority. It is Clear that the political democracy can not accommodate authoritarian position of the Dalai Lama.

To begin with, the Charter itself was approved by the Dalai Lama before it come into force. The executive, legislative, and judiciary the

⁵ Interview with Tsering Wangyal, Editor of *Tibetan Review*.

⁶ Interview with Professor Samdhong Rinpoche, Chairman of ATPD.

Election Commission, the Audit office, and the Tibetan Administrative Service Commission are subordinated to him. Besides, the institutionalised nominations and appointment activities of the Dalai Lama, were support by his position within a government. He nominates and appoints most of the important officials. In addition to his official appointment power, the family of the Dalai Lama is influential in politics too. Most of the brothers and sisters of the present Dalai Lama however have had important governmental positions.⁷

The Dalai Lama took initiatives to democratise the administration in exile. He made his attempts in order to seek no pressure from Tibetan people. In spite of the Dalai Lama efforts Tibetan people in exile have showed reluctance and even resist to change in some actions.

Another factor that could explain the limitations of the democratization process which is not connected with the status of the Dalai Lama is the level of education among the Tibetans in exile. Although the young generation has been educated in exile, the majority of Tibetans are not received sufficient schooling. Moreover, no attempts have been made the government to educate the Tibetan people about democracy and its implications.

⁷ Family of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

In the process of democracy, the Dalai Lama status and His Holiness comes into questionable. As a result that the Tibetan people become suspicious, of democracy. Tibetans consider the Dalai Lama as if your father whom you respect and revere formulates a process which will undermine his status, the faithful child will plead to him not to do it. Let your role be unquestioned, we respect you, but this time no!

Political Institutions and Political Participation

In exile, Tibetans gradually changed their attitudes toward modern political institutions. They have to necessary to become adjusted to the twentieth century. In the long term struggle Tibetans facing the dilemma of discovering a successor in exile. But the Dalai Lama claimed that it may be possible to have new changes in successful history. The Dalai Lama said people too much depend on him. It is not healthy; people must learn to stand on their own feet. Consequently, in the long run, it provides both a successor and an educational experience in democratization process in future.

The Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC)

In 1970, the Tibetan Youth Congress was founded and latter it became the largest political organization. Around 12,000 members have registered. The first batch of young Tibetans who passed out as graduates who have been received balanced education from modern and traditional

schools. In this process the Tibetan Youth Congress not only adopting modern democratic principles but also plays an active role in democratic process. The Tibetan Youth Congress was not a mere organization confined to youth problem alone but having the main thrust/aim towards Tibet's independence.

The central executive committee of the TYC had come out with statement saying "once again we wish to state that our views were expressed in the true democratic spirit and not because we questioned the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama."⁸ But TYC activities to include many Tibetans and range, from demonstrations in support for the Tibetan cause.

The Tibetan Women's Association (TWA)

After long time TWA was revived, having strong feelings towards Tibet's women. TWA is dealing with number of aspects conducting different workshops and seminars. TWA emphasis on socio-cultural problems rather than political issues and moreover TWA assist to promote educational development. And TWA sponsors scholarships for bright Tibetan girls to study abroad, it helps needy people, and provides shelter to nuns and plays vital role to obtain international support for Tibetan cause.

⁸ Tibetan Youth Congress's stand on violence and negotiations, March 1990.

TWA is a complement to the department's activities in certain fields rather than a critical voice as the TYC. Also the work of the TWA is very much encouraged by the Dalai Lama who proposed that the organization should be revived again.

Besides these two Organizations that we have described here, there are three more regional welfare associations that provides assistance to ritual functions like marriage, funerals etc. These regional Organizations are an important factor in the Tibetan exile society, as they are in close contact with people not otherwise politics.

Political Freedom

In Tibetan Society there is limited scope for developing autonomous civil associations. However, certain associations developed, even the conditions which are obstructing their progress. Consequently such impediments give very less freedom to common Tibetans.

If any such associations play against the Dalai Lama, or to his policies, they cannot tolerate. Even some groups and organizations destroy such associations if not follow the Dalai Lama orders.⁹ Non-Governmental organizations actively involve to do the organizational functions within Tibet, are the important, because these organizations takes common burden

⁹ Interview with T.T. Karma Chopel.

of the people. Three regional organizations mainly of which the Youth Congress, the women's association etc. All these organization work for all Tibetans independence and showing the common objectives in Tibet.

Outspoken groups or individuals who oppose the current policy of the government, regionalism and sectarianism or even the non-violence strategy of His Holiness, are labelled as against His Holiness, and against Buddhism or Tibet. With these labels the ignorants are instigated and it often led to violent emotional reaction. In this way, the freedom of expression is totally suppressed.

There are two important journals *Dasar* (meaning new moon) and *Mangtso* (democracy) started recently. But the Government's officials could not allow freely discussion over the Tibetan policies.¹⁰ The *Dasar* has been strongly disapproved by the officials. Because of those restrictions the choice to express free opinion was censored. By this restrictions democracy can not able to run free and frankly according to established principles.

Therefore, the Dalai Lama Office was obstinate to where Tibetan Constitution mentioned the freedom of expression and ideas. As a result there is no respect to such independent associations. The main reason was the people have no alternative avenues to get information. The freedom of expression was concentrated in the hands of the Dalai Lama.

¹⁰ Letter of the Standing Committee of the Parliament to Mangtso editor Jamyang Norbu of the Amnye Machen Institute on 15 May 1995.

In the Tibetan society, the principle of 'one man, one vote' is not prevailing but the religious or regional representations in the Assembly. The monks exercise two votes, one seat for their sect and other seat for their region. The deputies are not elected on the basis of ideologies which manifests and even the laws they pass are not mandated by the franchise. The fact that the people's representatives do not commit themselves to any particular line of action. As a result they are not accountable to people.

In Tibetan Assembly representatives are not being directly elected because Tibetan political system have no political parties. The representatives thrown up as in manner of American primaries. Coming of these representatives would proposed by the Dalai Lama and some others who getting more than certain authority and where they have right to contest for an Assembly seat. A number of seats are filled by as many as 130 settlements from far-flung exile communities and including different parts of India, Nepal and Bhutan.

The most important restricting factor is the organizational structure of the Kashang and the Assembly electoral system for institutional structure. This structure, not only keeps the traditional tensions between different regions but also sects. And even it instigates them further. The dominance of regionalism and sectarianism within the Tibetan government-in-exile restricts democracy to further development.

The vast majority of the Tibetans people-in-exile is politically inactive. When election time comes, some people come to participate, but, even these people influenced a lot by the interest groups. The reason is that they want to be influenced, and consulted. Another reason is, the level of political consciousness under the Tibetan public, as a whole at present is very low. Knowledge about democracy, knowledge about their rights and civic education is lacking very much among the Tibetan public.

Given the educational institutions students were not encouraged to question doubts. The teachers would not allow the students to ask questions. The concerned authority do not take care over Tibetan refugees, who are mostly illiterate. Moreover they are poor and spent much time on their livelihood. As a result, it faces very difficult situation to survive in exile-government under the control of the Dalai Lama office.

Influence of Indian Democracy on Tibetans

India having close relationship with Tibet through the ages. Tibetans strongly influenced by Buddhism originally founded in India.¹¹

Religion which cannot basis for democracy. The main purpose of democracy is provide to equal political rights, and rule according to majority. India adopted democratic set up and Constitution has assured fundamental

¹¹ L.S. Rathore, "Political Culture of India's Ruling Class", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, vol.51, no.2, 1990, p.184.

rights and courts protecting peoples rights through giving writs. In fact Indian Constitution gives no guarantee for economic rights, socio-economic rights were mentioned in directive principles of state policy, these Directives are not get justiciable through Courts. However, state will have take care of these directions.¹²

An ideal democracy cannot run on the basis of religion. Democracy has to give guarantee for equal political rights. Indians sharing at least political equality, if not economic equality. In this context, Indian constitution made up with sovereign, secular, socialist, and democratic Republic. Hence, there is no state religion. According to Art.25 Right to freedom of religion and propagate his own religion without harm to other religions was assured.¹³

In case of Tibetan Constitution, there was no secular concept. It was based on Buddhism. Their leadership, the Dalai Lama will control all religious powers and His Holiness creates absolute sovereignty. In this context, we can say, Lord Acton's words Absolute power leads to absolute corruption.¹⁴ So as to make Tibetan democratic system to conducive, it is

¹² Manoranjan Mohanty, "Duality of the State process in India, A Hypothesis", *Bhartiya Samajic Chintan*, vol.XII, no.1-2, p.6.

¹³ Basu, D.D., *Introduction to the Constitution of India* (New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, 1992), pp.111-12.

¹⁴ Kapur, A.C., *Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company (Pvt.) Ltd. (New Delhi, 1987), p.9.

necessary to draw a new charter for democracy, in such chapter they should be given more preference for common Tibetan people. At the same time, it has to preserve the unity.

Indian democracy that exists in unity in diversity will be an ideal to Tibetan democracy. We can not provide absolute equality but we can make better equality. I do not think, Indian democracy, an ideal to Tibetan in all aspects. Nevertheless, it is conducive in some aspects because Tibetan values, shared with India, in long time history. Recently improving Indo-Tibetan friendship society further leads Indian support for Tibetan real freedom.

I think that in every society having peculiar problems, perhaps mostly crisis emerged in power distribution among the people within a community. One of the contradicting aspect between Indian and Tibetan democracies, was socialistic approach. Indian common people want democracy through socialism. Some of leftists groups like Communist Parties of Marxists-Leninists (CPML), People's War Group (PWG), are bitterly against democratic state, their main intention was to destroy feudal elements. On the other side CPI wants power through parliamentary methods.¹⁵

¹⁵ Narang, A.S. *Indian Government and Politics*, (New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House, 1994), pp.407-08.

In the case of Tibetans democracy it is need to analyse socialistic approach rather than absolute theocratic power. What common people require is bread and shelter. At the same time it is not conducive to transfer society in the hands of absolute communist dictators, without providing minimum freedom. It should be kept in mind that according to Pareto who studied elite approach to democracy, argues the elite rule on the basis of dividing society into elites and mass rather than analysing communist and democratic society. He means a small group of elite dominating in entire power structure.¹⁶

In my opinion, education itself makes civilized man and educated person in practice will get avenues for economic power. Thus education makes knowing democratic structure and functions. If one wants to provide education, one should need means like, time, money opportunities, and facilities. What Marx says education makes himself educate. Therefore elite should think in rational perceptive, to provide minimum needs to all. Otherwise it consequences certainly lead to revolution.

Future of Tibetan Democracy

The Eleventh Assembly has matured into a responsible representative body, jealous of rights of the exile community, directing the executive

¹⁶ Johari, J.G., *Comparative Politics*. Sterling Publishers Private Limited (1995), pp.533-34.

through open parliamentary procedures, and preparing for the future, particularly for the day the exiles are able to return to Tibet.

On 26 February 1992, the Dalai Lama set forward what described as guidelines for future Tibet's polity and the basic features of the constitution. He believes that the future, Tibet should have a multiparty system of Parliament, and that they have to three organs of government, namely legislature, executive and judiciary with the clear separation of powers among them, each independent of the other and vested with equal powers and authority.

According to Ajit Bhattacharjee, Tibet belongs to Tibetans, and especially to those who are in Tibet. And he argues, Tibetans in Tibet shall bear the main responsibility in future Tibet's democratic government.¹⁷ Moreover, Tibetan officials presently serving the Government of Chinese-occupied Tibet should bear even greater responsibility in the running the affairs of state. It is important that such Tibetan officials eschew all feelings of uncertainty and doubt. Instead they should make efforts to strengthen their determination for the task of improving the quality of future administration of Tibet, and they rededicate themselves to the cause of Tibetan freedom.

¹⁷ Bhattacharjee Ajit, *Tibetans in Exile: The Democratic Vision* (New Delhi: Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre in association with Har-Anand Publications.

The Dalai Lama reiterated that

personally he will not play any role in the future government of Tibet, let alone seek the Dalai Lama's traditional political position in the Government.¹⁸

The interim government will be headed by a President who will assume all the political powers presently held by him. The present Tibetan government-in-exile will be considered dissolved *ipso facto*. The principal responsibility of the transitional Government, will be to form a constituent assembly with representatives from all parts of Tibet.

The Constituent Assembly, in turn, will prepare Tibet's new constitution on the basis of various drafts prepared in exile, which will be adopted only with the assent of the interim president. Then, in accordance with the Constitution, the interim President will appoint an Election Commission, which will conduct the election of the new government.

¹⁸ Bhattacharjee Ajit, pp.22-23.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The democratization of Tibetan Communities in India has failed to follow proper democratic process due to many reasons among which there is much concern about religious view rather than democratic view among the Tibetans. Recently, seminar organized by Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy. In which many scholars observed that Tibetans are facing crisis in democracy and they have no proper democratic model, therefore it is necessary to discuss and conducting seminars, on Tibetan democracy to create a new democratic model, and which is suitable for Tibetan communities. And thus majority of the Tibetans dissatisfied with the Dalai Lama's democratic model.

My research has been centred on Tibetan communities democratizing in India. It has been found, there are four kinds of weaknesses in Tibetan democratic structure.

Firstly, the position of the Dalai Lama as the ultimate authority of the Tibetan communities in India.

Secondly, the lack of political contestation in the Tibetan political system.

Thirdly, the lack of political consciousness and participation under the Tibetan exiled civilians.

Finally, future of Tibetan democracy will change existing structure through new democratic model.

It was clearly found that the Dalai Lama is the major obstacle to democratic change. The critics branded him as a theocratic leader. Because it is true that the rights were constituted, in Tibetan Constitution, but entire process is under the control of the Dalai Lama. Hence there is no guarantee of rights according to Tibetan Constitution in practical sense. He is the agent of international vested political interest rather than democratic agent of Tibetan people. I do not condemn His Holiness, rather than the Dalai Lama absolute power. What importantly need for democracy is equal rights and equal opportunities where which are not given to common Tibetans in India, practically. Unless to change political structure among the Tibetans it is difficult to get common people share in power structure. Democracy cannot be exist with continuous absolute leaders. Therefore we should give more choice to public opinion. Unity should not be forced under the absolute power rather than centrifugal force. It should be based on consensus and accommodative.

Therefore, I conclude the Dalai Lama's absolute power to be limited through democratic process. It should b in the hands of Tibetan communities, whether they want His Holiness or real democratic rights they should determine decisions. As in my opinion, where in modern democracies exists

on political basis. Religion and politics are to be separated to bring a real democracy. Religion should be a private affair. Therefore Tibetans cannot get real democratic rights until separating religion from the politics.

Secondly, due to lack of political freedom, Tibetans are not interested to contest because Tibetans were very busy to earn day-to-day life most of living in poor conditions – so it is true common people need economic rights rather than fantastic political rights. A hungry man do not go to vote with starvation, without bread. Of course it is not possible to equally treat all at the same level, but at least we can provide equal opportunities. Hence talented, worthy men to think rational solutions towards equal opportunities.

Taking into account Tibetans in India where they are neglected by Tibetan government and unable to earn to pass the day. The main drawback is, they have no territory. Still they pursue others' help. In spite of facing all problems they dare enough to continue struggle for Tibet. Recently, Thupten Ngodup of self-immolation led to peak of their movement on international platform. If this movement to expedite they have to enough basic needs. Hence they have to follow the principle of equal distribution of wealth and power, then only, they will settle, not only internal difference among them but also leads their movement actively. Consequently Tibetan issue will get further strength and support from international flora.

It is obviously known factor that why the Tibetans are not politically conscious, because they were not able to get adequate education. Many of the common Tibetans were illiterate, they are unable to understand democracy and its rights. In my perception, education makes valuable civilization and he will prepare to govern himself. Because of it why the ruling classes are not making effort to educate common people; they think deliberately common people are educated they might revolt against them through knowing rights. Political thinkers like Aristotle, Jhon Locke, supported theory of revolution when ruling classes are not able to protect rights.

Nevertheless, they argue natural rights and private property. Consequently natural discrimination is continuous process in all the societies. Therefore face of democracy is need to be change through educated people according to common people needs. And the democracy should not follow natural discrimination. But it should be based on 'one man one vote'. Hence democracy assure the equal opportunities. And thus welfare measures from womb to tomb should be given highest priority.

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