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ABSURDITY OF BOYCOTT

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Editor's Page

The Legislative Assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir, which were held in November/December 2008, marked a new watershed in the politics in the State. Braving chilly winter snow and separatists' call for poll boycott, an average 62 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise. Polling was stretched over 7 phases to ensure security. That militants did not resort to violence, also contributed to larger turnout as there was lesser fear of gun. Besides, Pakistan being in turmoil itself, was pre-occupied with putting its house in order. Heavy turnout in all the seven phases of elections to the State Assembly disproved the political pundits who had predicted that Kashmiris would by and large stay away from the elections, due to the separatists' boycott call and the mass participation of Kashmiri Muslims in July 2008 agitation led by separatist leaders over the Amarnath land issue. Voter turnout in 87 Assembly constituencies rose from 43 per cent in 2002 to about 62 per cent, which was higher than the national average of about 60 per cent. In the Valley, the average turnout was 55 per cent as compared to 29.5 per cent in 2002.

The people of the Valley demonstrated their inherent resilience and gave vent to their urge for return to normal life, peace and development. By ignoring the boycott call of the separatists, the people sent out a clear cut message in favour of democracy and governance, rejecting the politics of violence and separatism. Extraordinary large number of candidates joining the fray, reflected the eagerness of people to actively participate and use the democratic process for ushering in change in their lives. 1,354 candidates including 517 independents contested for 87 seats. Heavy campaigning, election rallies and door to door campaigns created a vibrant atmosphere for the elections. National leaders and politicians came to campaign in support of their party candidates. Parties like Forward Bloc, Samta Party and Lok Janashakti Party, which had never forayed into the Valley, fielded their candidates and even campaigned. People demonstrated their keenness to participate in the elections and a sort of festive atmosphere was reported in various constituencies. Youth constituted the bulk of the voters. That the terrorist organizations *Hizb-ul-Mujahideen* and *Lashkar-e-Taiba* made no attempt to disrupt the elections, unlike in 1996 and 2002, did make its difference. That there were no armed

attacks, bomb blasts and targeted killing of candidates or their supporters, was also due to Pakistan keeping its hands off during this election. There were only 5 casualties in 21 incidents of violence during the whole campaign, as against 114 incidents in 2002 in which 63 persons were killed and 84 injured.

That the turnout was about 20 per cent, that is four times than that in 2002 elections (5.06 per cent) in 8 constituencies of Srinagar, the stronghold of separatist leader Maulavi Umer Farooq, is a significant improvement on the previous experience. Similarly, Sopore, the hometown of separatist leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani, recorded a turnout of 15 per cent against 8.09 per cent in 2002. Baramulla, another separatist stronghold, recorded a turnout of 26 per cent.

Another positive sign of revival and strengthening of democratic process in Jammu and Kashmir was the participation of young educated professionals in the political process. Several young professionals – Management graduate Javed Ahmed Dar (NC) won from Rafiabad; Engineer Abdul Rashid Sheikh won as independent from Langate; Engineer Peerzada Mansoor Hussain (PDP) won from Shangas; Syed Basharat Bukhari (PDP), a popular broadcaster holding master's degree in history, won from Sangrama in Baramulla. Election of several young men and women, with fresh ideas and definite development strategies for their respective areas/constituencies, would help in turning Kashmir into a socially stable and a vibrant economy. Voters' quest for *bijli* (electricity), *sadak* (roads), *paani* (water), *padhai* (education) and *naukri* (employment) determined the voting behaviour of the Kashmiri electorate which disregarded the separatist agenda and politics.

Regional issues like the perceived deprivation of Jammu, was a more potent factor than polarization on communal lines in Jammu region which returned 11 seats for BJP. Interestingly, BJP lost in Bishnah (where widow of Kuldeep Verma, whose suicide fuelled mass protests in Jammu during Amarnath row was fielded), besides Kathua, Samba, Vijaypur, Akhnoor and Gandhi Nagar (all these constituencies had witnessed strong response during the Amarnath agitation)

Emergence of competitive politics in Jammu and Kashmir is a healthy and positive development for strengthening democracy at popular/grassroots level. PDP has emerged as the main competitor of NC in the Valley which was its traditional stronghold. Congress and BJP are locked in contest in Jammu region.

However, there is no room for complacency. On 5 February 2009, *United Jihad Council* and various banned militant groups, *Jaish-e-Muhammad*, *Harkat-ul-Mujahideen* etc. met in Muzaffarabad, and vowed to continue the armed fight in Kashmir. Cross-border infiltration of armed militants, mainly from these Pak-based terrorist groups continues. That fierce encounter between army and these intruders took place in Kupwara sector, during 22-24 March 2009, is a pointer to this direction.

Omar Abdullah led government has now a set of tasks to be accomplished:

- i) to consolidate the democratic process;
- ii) to provide a clean, transparent and accountable government to the people;
- iii) to cleanse the State from the menace of terrorism and Kalashnikov culture;
- iv) to revitalize the State administration and make it responsive to people's needs;
- v) to restore the financial health of State's economy;
- vi) to rid the State from the dark forces of religious extremism and ideological subversion by *Jamaat-e-Islami* and its front organizations;
- vii) to restore traditional cultural ethos;
- viii) to remove regional and sub-regional imbalances and provide equitable social, economic and political opportunities to diverse sections of society in Jammu and Kashmir;
- ix) to initiate adequate administrative, institutional and constitutional measures to ensure safety and equitable distribution of economic and political benefits to the marginalized ethnic-religious minorities;
- x) to restore, rebuild and reorganize what has been destroyed during the past 20 years of terrorism;
- xi) to usher in a process of sustainable economic and equitable development in the State.

This Special Issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* carries three articles on Jammu and Kashmir Assembly elections, 2008. Whereas, Paul Beersmans provides his eye-witness account of the Assembly elections, Dr. Syed Nazir Gilani points to the absurdity of boycott calls by separatist leaders, which he describes as anti-people.

This issue also includes seven well researched articles on Tibet, its heritage, and its cultural links with India. Late Prof. Dawa Norbu's paper traces the Indo-Tibetan cultural relations through history. While as Dr. Archana Shukla and Dr. Vineet K. Dikshit provide a historical perspective of Tibetan Buddhism, Dr. Nawang Tsering of Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Ladakh makes a study of *Pramanavarttika*, a Buddhist text. Prof. Li Tao and Wang Jinhong of China provide interesting and latest information about the Chinese reforms in the administration and management of Buddhist monasteries in Tibet. Whereas Dr. Tsetan Namgyal provides some perspectives about Tibetan language and culture studies in India, Dr. Archana Shukla and Dr. Vineet K. Dikshit throw light on the political structure and social change among the Tibetan refugees in India. Tibetan unrest in early 2008 and India's response are well analysed by Dr. Sharad K. Soni.

K. Warikoo

JAMMU AND KASHMIR ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, 2008 *A Success Story*

PAUL BEERSMANS

In Jammu and Kashmir State, Legislative Assembly elections are held every six years unlike other Indian States where these elections take place every five years. The last elections in J&K State were held in September/October 2002. Consequently, elections were due in September/October 2008. However, because of the Amarnath issue and the resignation of the State Government in July 2008, followed by mass agitation in Jammu and in the Valley, Governor's rule was imposed. It was not clear if elections could be held in a conducive atmosphere. After long deliberations, the Election Commission of India (an autonomous body responsible for organising elections in the Indian states where they are due) decided to hold elections in J&K State in November/December 2008 in seven phases: 17, 23 and 30 November and 7, 13, 17 and 24 December 2008. Due to the security concerns, this phase-wise approach was very much required: some 100 additional Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) companies were needed to guarantee incident free elections. These companies, coming from all over India, were shifted from one phase to the other. If elections would have been held all over J&K State on the same day, much more additional security forces were needed to be engaged.

It is against this background that the Belgian Association for Solidarity with Jammu and Kashmir decided to monitor the last four phases of the elections: two in the Valley, two in Jammu region. This paper is based on my field study/survey in Jammu and Kashmir, during the election process.

VOTING PROCEDURE

Before entering the polling station, the voter consults the electoral lists handed over by the Election Commission to the party workers. They check if there are any irregularities with these lists. At the same time, it makes the job of the polling officers easier as the voter can already find out under what reference number his name is represented.

The voting is done with the Electronic Voting Machine (EVM). The voter casts his/her vote on an electronic box with buttons, each button representing a party or an independent candidate. The voter has to push the button of his choice and his/her vote is registered in the 'counting box'. After having voted, the voter receives an ink mark on his left index finger in order to prevent him/her to cast somewhere else again a vote. After closing the polling station, all the counting boxes are sealed in presence of the election officials and the representatives of the parties and independent candidates. Between the polling day and the counting day the 'counting boxes' are stored in a well guarded, secure place in order to prevent all kind of mishaps (fire, destruction, theft etc.) and manipulation. On the day of counting the votes (28 December 2008), the sealed 'counting boxes' are checked by the election officials and the representatives of the parties and independent candidates in order to make sure that no rigging has taken place. It is clear, that the slightest sign of irregularity will be reported immediately by the party workers thus guaranteeing a fair and transparent polling and counting procedure.

MONITORING FOUR PHASES OF ELECTIONS

Fourth Phase, 7 December 2008

During the fourth phase of polling in the Valley, elections were held in the following constituencies: Uri, Rafiabad, Sopore, Sangrama, Baramulla, Gulmarg, Pattan, Chadoora, Badgam, Beerwah, Khansahib, Chrar-i-Sharief. In Jammu Region, elections were held in: Gulabgarh, Reasi, Gool Arnas, Udhampur, Chenani and Ramnagar. I decided to monitor elections in four constituencies: Chadoora, Badgam, Chrar-i-Sharief and Khansahib in the Valley. These four constituencies could be accessed easily from where I stayed. I visited the Foreigners Registration Office to enquire if I needed to obtain this special permission to visit these constituencies. There, I was told that a special permission was not needed, "India is a

democracy and tourists are free to move freely and to enjoy their staying in India."

On 7 December 2008, early in the morning I left for the chosen area. Security forces had blocked all crossings of roads and traffic was stopped and checked. Only those having a special permission were allowed to pass. I was also stopped and having the normal Belgian passport, a tourist visa and some discussion with the security forces, I managed to cross Srinagar. Once out of the city there was no checking anymore and I encountered no problems in reaching Chadoora, to move freely around and to reach other destinations. In the 'election area', security forces were polite and friendly. I had no problems at all to move around, to interact with Kashmiris or to interact with the security forces. One BSF officer invited me to go along with him inside a polling station: this was only allowed with a special permission and the Captain made an exception for me. My observations on the fourth phase in the Valley are as follows:

1. The 4th phase went on smoothly, without any incidents. Polling stations opened at 08.00 hrs and closed at 16.00 hrs.
2. As far as I could observe polling was free, fair and transparent. This was also confirmed by the voters, men and women and by the party workers. No rigging or irregularities were observed.
3. There were no problems in interacting with the voters: they all came to vote voluntarily without any coercion by whom so ever.
4. Some wanted to vote for their candidate, some for good governance (infrastructure, medical care, educational system, better communication, etc.), and some to prevent another candidate to be elected.
5. One young man gave this explanation: 'If the turnout is high we will be rewarded by the Centre. Then the elected candidate will receive a lot of financial support from Delhi'. I asked this man about the 'Movement', the Kashmir issue. His answer was: "In fact we don't care about the Kashmir issue but we must continue to claim Azadi. The day we would stop doing this, we would be treated as all other Indian States." A very amazing and surprising explanation indeed.
6. Someone else said: people wanted to boycott the boycott call of the separatists.
7. There was an amazingly high participation of women.
8. Many party workers were there outside the polling stations.

9. The polling staff was not at all happy with the logistic problems such as lack of accommodation, food supplies, bad transportation, etc.
10. The turnout in these 14 constituencies was high: an average turnout of 58 per cent.

Fifth Phase, 13 December 2008

During the 5th phase elections in the Valley were held in Tral, Pampore, Pulwama, Rajpora, Wachi and Shopian constituencies, while in Jammu region these were held in Bani, Basohli, Kathua, Billawar and Hiranagar constituencies. Being in the Valley, I decided to monitor elections in three constituencies: Pampore, Pulwama and Shopian. Notwithstanding the security restrictions, I tried again to reach the monitoring mission area as I did during the 4th phase. I left early in the morning. At the first two check posts, I was allowed to pass but then I didn't get permission and I was diverted towards a ring road around Srinagar. At a certain point, I was stopped by J&K Police. Then I met the commanding officer, also from J&K Police. I showed my passport and explained that I wanted to proceed to Jammu. The police officer did not let me go and I decided to return to the houseboat at Nageen Lake and to follow the situation on television. My observations on the fifth phase are summarised as follows:

1. The security forces exhibited nervousness as the chosen constituencies were sensitive and problematic constituencies where demonstrations were expected.
2. In Pulwama, anti-election demonstrations took place resulting in the death of one person.
3. Notwithstanding these troubles, the overall turnout for these 11 constituencies was high: 59 per cent.

Sixth Phase, 17 December 2008

During the 6th phase, elections in the Valley were held in Noorabad, Kulgam, Shalibagh, Anantnag, Devsar, Doru, Kokernag, Shangus, Bijbehara and Pahalgam constituencies. In Jammu region, it was held in Kishtwar, Inderwal, Doda, Bhandarwah, Ramban and Banihal constituencies. As I was in Jammu Region, I decided to monitor elections in Ramban and Banihal. In order to reach these two constituencies I had to leave Jammu city for Ramban via the National Highway 1 A. As it was four hours drive from Jammu to reach Ramban, I left at 06.00 hrs. in

order to reach the monitoring area by 10.00 hrs. To my big surprise, there was a check post between Jammu and Nagrota where all traffic towards Srinagar was stopped: only at 12.00 hrs. permission would be given to proceed to Srinagar. Here again, I went to the commanding officer trying to convince him to let me through: but in vain. So, I had to return to Jammu. However, at 08.30 hrs, I decided to give it another trial. There was a long queue of vehicles before the check post. None was allowed to proceed to Srinagar. I told my driver to continue unless stopped. Without further hindrances, I reached the monitoring mission area at 12.30 hrs and was able to monitor elections in Ramban and Banihal. My observations on the sixth phase are as follows:

1. The monitored constituencies are located in a Hindu-Muslim mixed area.
2. The atmosphere was very relaxed and many people came out for voting.
3. Everything seemed to be organised properly resulting in a smooth voting process.
4. Security forces were deployed but they did not hamper the election process. I was even allowed inside the polling stations and to take photographs of voters.
5. Polling went on without any untoward incidents. There were no demonstrations or clashes.
6. I interviewed many party workers and voters. All of them confirmed that elections went on without any rigging or irregularities.
7. Some candidates were touring the area in order to give their party workers moral support. I interacted with them without any problems. They were all optimistic to be elected.
8. The general turnout for these 16 constituencies was 64 per cent.

Seventh and last phase, 24 December 2008

During this phase, elections were held in the Valley in the constituencies of Srinagar city: Hazratbal, Zadibal, Idgah, Khanyar, Habbakadal, Amirakadal, Sonawar and Batamaloo; in Jammu region, they were held in Samba, Vijapur, Nagrota, Gandhinagar, Jammu East, Jammu West, Bishnah, R.S. Pura, Suchetgarh, Marh, Raipur Domana, Akhnoor and Chhamb constituencies. As I stayed in Jammu city, I decided to monitor elections in the constituencies in and around Jammu city: Nagrota,

Gandhinagar, Jammu East, Jammu West, R.S. Pura, Suchetgarh and Akhnoor. In order to reach these constituencies I crossed Jammu city in the direction of international border. There were no problems in reaching the selected constituencies. There was no checkpoint and there was free movement of traffic. My observations on the seventh phase are as follows:

1. Everywhere the same impression: many people, men and women came out to cast their vote.
2. Security forces were there in the background, not intervening in the election process.
3. There were no untoward incidents or demonstrations.
4. Many party workers were there to support their candidate. They confirmed everything went on without rigging in a free, fair and transparent manner.
5. Campaigning went on until the last moment and the candidates were touring their constituency.
6. People were enjoying the day socialising in a very relaxed atmosphere.
7. The general turnout for the 7th phase was 56 per cent: 20 per cent in the eight constituencies of Srinagar and 75 per cent in the constituencies in Jammu Region.

HIGHLIGHTS OF MEETINGS AND INTERVIEWS

I had several meetings and interviews with people from different walks of the life including politicians, academics, bureaucrats, journalists and others. The main topics of the interviews referred to the Amarnath issue, Legislative Assembly elections, peace process, the situation in J&K, resolution of Kashmir issue and securing peace and stability.

I met/interviewed Bilal Lone, Chairman, J&K People's Conference (Bilal Faction), Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Chairman, Tehreek-e-Hurriyat, J&K, Azam Inquilabi, Patron, Mahaz-e-Azadi, Ahmad Ali Fayaz, Bashir Manzar, Ved Bhasin and Sant Kumar Sharma (journalists), Zafar Iqbal 'Manhas', Chairman, J&K Pahari Welfare Society, Abdul Rahim Rather, Dr. Farooq Abdullah (National Conference), M.Y. Tarigami (CPI-M), Mirwaiz Umer Farooq, Chairman, APHC-M, Mohammaed Abdullah Tari, Chairman, J&K Democratic Freedom Party, Taj Mohi-uddin, Mrs. Khem Lata Wakhloo, P. Namgyal and Mangat Ram Sharma (Congress Party), M. M. Khajooria (Former Director General of Police), N. N. Vohra

(Governor of J&K), Prof. Bhim Singh (President, J&K Panthers Party), Dr. Ajay Changoo and Kuldeep Rasia (Panun Kashmir), Leela Karan Sharma (Chairman, Amarnath Sangharsh Samiti), Ved Mahajan Gupta (PDP), Ram Sahai (Chairman, J&K Chambers of Commerce and Industry), Prof. Rekha Choudhury, Prof. Hari Om and Dr. Nirmal Singh (Jammu University), Choudhry Shabir Ahmed Salaria (former Member of Parliament) to name the prominent ones.

The conclusions drawn from the long list of meetings, visits and interviews are as follows:

- 1) Jammu and Kashmir, as it existed before the partition in 1947, is at present under the rule of three countries:
 - i) China: Aksai Chin and a territory of 5,180 sq kms ceded by Pakistan to China
 - ii) India: J&K State comprising Jammu Region, the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh
 - iii) Pakistan: "Azad Kashmir" and Gilgit-Baltistan (Northern Areas).

The population of these specific regions is totally different from each other in terms of their culture, history, traditions, language, religion, etc. In J&K State, this is also the case with the three regions: Jammu Region, the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh.

- 2) The Amarnath issue as such is solved, as a compromise has been worked out. The transfer of land to the Amarnath Shrine Board has been revoked. However, the land will be given to the Shrine Board during the period of Amarnath Yatra for temporary constructions. In Jammu region and in the Valley this compromise has been accepted by and large.
- 3) Besides the compromise reached on Amarnath land issue, some other steps played their role to cool down the tempers:
 - a) The Governor set up an Advisory Council consisting of representatives of all communities.
 - b) The half-yearly Durbar move of the Government and the administration from Srinagar, the summer capital, to Jammu, the winter capital, took place as usual. Some expressed fear that Muslims would not dare to shift to Jammu because of the Amarnath agitation. However, the move went on smoothly and there was no agitation, no incidents, no animosity.

- c) As soon as the decision was taken to hold the Legislative Assembly elections, all attention was focused on election campaigning.
- 4) Nevertheless, it is not because the Amarnath issue as such is settled, that everything is back to normal. There is certainly a fall-out, a residue. It needs to be analysed as to what exactly is the fall-out and how this can be removed:
 - a) Firstly, there is a general feeling in Jammu region that the Jammuites are not treated equitably; the delimitation of seats in the Legislative Assembly is not judicious, the distribution of Government jobs is not proportionate, and the allocation of funds for development is in favour of the Valley. The Muslim community would never accept a Hindu Chief Minister even if he is best suited for the job. All these issues need to be solved. Many believe that only a federal set up of the three regions can guarantee a peaceful co-existence between the regions and the different communities.
 - b) Secondly, there is the increasing polarisation between Muslims and Hindus within the Jammu Region. The Muslims formed a Jammu Muslim Coordination Committee and a Jammu Muslim Front in order to counter balance the Amarnath Sangharsh Samiti (ASS).
 - c) The economic blockade (it was only temporary disruption of traffic according to the ASS) pointed to the importance of the lifeline to the Valley. However, the businessmen of Jammu and the Valley have realised they are inter-dependent. They will not tolerate anymore that uncontrolled mobs spoil their business by hampering the transit traffic.
- 5) The general feeling is that militancy and the presence of terrorists has gone down. Nevertheless, hard-core terrorists are there and the possibility of new reinforcements are not ruled out. There are many trained, brainwashed militants waiting on the other side of the LoC to cross to this side, and the timing and initiative is completely in their hands. Only by drying up the source of terrorism in Pakistan, violence will stop in J&K State. The counter operations in J&K State are not sufficient to eliminate terrorism as fresh replacements infiltrate into the State easily.
- 6) In J&K State, people are not impressed by a possible change in

the policy and the aims of Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. The general impression is that the present government of Pakistan is a weak government and that President Zardari and Prime Minister Gilani are not in a position to change the basic policy direction of Pakistan on Kashmir. Most of the people are of the opinion that Musharraf was in a better position to bring about a solution as he was a man of the army. Zardari and his government can't change anything without the support and the consent of Pakistan's army.

- 7) Internal problems in Pakistan are increasing, which makes it difficult for the government of Pakistan to pay attention to the Kashmir issue. In addition, the Mumbai attacks followed by the deteriorated relations between India and Pakistan resulted in an almost standstill in the bilateral negotiations. The situation is likely to remain like so unless the relations between two countries normalise in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks. Notwithstanding all this, the general feeling is that there is no other way than to settle all outstanding problems peacefully. Negotiations can be suspended, can be put on a low level but eventually they have to be resumed.
- 8) The Kashmir Coordination Committee (KCC) came into being in August 2008 with the aim to counter the activities and initiatives taken by the ASS in Jammu Region. Like the ASS, the KCC consisted of all kinds of organisations: APHC-M (and its constituent parties), APHC-G, separatist leaders not belonging to the two previous APHC, Chamber of Commerce & Industry of Kashmir, various cultural associations, Trade Unions, Transport Association, Fruit Growers Association, etc. No political parties were member of the KCC. However, the KCC appears to have lost its relevance. The same can be said of the ASS, as its role is now limited to have the compromise agreement regarding the Amarnath Yatra, implemented.
- 9) Pakistan maintains its contacts with the separatist leaders. There has been no change in the policy of Pakistan towards them. Pakistan claims to be giving only moral, diplomatic and political support. However, it is an open secret that much more is on hand. Pakistan also spent a lot of money on organising the boycott of J&K Legislative Assembly elections. A figure of Rs 4.000.000.000 is believed to have been pumped in for this purpose.

Besides, the militants training camps continue to exist in "Azad" Kashmir and in Pakistan and as they continue to receive all logistic and financial support. Rapprochement between India and Pakistan is not harming their case as Pakistan still maintains the same stand regarding the Kashmir issue. The so-called new declarations of President Zardari regarding terrorism and Kashmir issue don't have any relevance as in reality he is not in a position to take any hard decision. These declarations are just for the gallery, to appease the West, and to reduce pressure on Pakistan. In addition, the Mumbai blasts have a serious setback to the relations between India and Pakistan. The normalisation of relations depends on how Pakistan responds to the Indian allegations and whether Pakistan is prepared to take firm steps against terrorist organisations operating from Pakistan territory.

- 10) According to analysts, the situation is stable; instability or stability is a question of perception. In so many countries (Spain, Sri Lanka, etc.), there are separatist movements. This doesn't mean that the situation there is unstable. The same goes for the situation in J&K State. Though there is a separatist movement, the situation is under control. There is freedom of movement, there is a democratically elected government, there is a judicial system, there is a functioning administration, etc. Of course, there are shortcomings but overall, the situation is stable and not alarming than the situation in other Indian States. Militancy has become a part of the system, the losses inflicted are within the acceptable limits. India will continue to protect its territorial integrity and not accede to the demands of a divided minority and the intrigues of Pakistan. India is prepared to reconsider its relations with J&K State (autonomy, self-rule, or whatever term is used) and would be ready to accept the status quo but would not give any territorial concession.
- 11) However, the separatist leaders allege that there is no stability and 800,000 security forces are there in the State. They also allege that there are human rights violations and people are suffering. According to them, stability can be there only if the Kashmir issue is resolved. However, none of them have any solution, except for Syed Ali Shah Geelani who sees the solution in grant of right of self-determination. All of them agreed that violence would not bring a solution. They are for peaceful negotiations between

India and Pakistan taking into account the wishes of the Kashmiris.

- 12) But the Islamic extremist organisations, supported 'from across the border', operating in J&K State, have their own agenda. For them the Kashmir issue is an opportunity, a motive, a cover-up for spreading their ideas. They have nothing to do with a genuine nationalist movement. In their eyes, a secular and democratic approach does not provide a solution. And even if one assumes that a solution could be worked out between India and Pakistan, taking into account the wishes of the Kashmiris, it is clear they will not stop their activities as the Kashmir issue is not their final goal, it is just a phase.
- 13) In J&K State, politicians expect that stability is possible under a strong and stable government and that a solution should be there within the framework of Indian constitution. Besides, there should be a federal set up within J&K State and more autonomy should be granted to regions/sub-regions. The same should happen on the other side of the LoC. There can't be redrawing of the borders, which they should be made porous, irrelevant. A dialogue is necessary on three levels:
 - a) bilateral level between India and Pakistan;
 - b) national level: between the Government of India, the J&K State Government and the representatives of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, covering all communities and religions;
 - c) internal level: between the different regions/ethno-religious groups of J&K.
- 14) Most likely, the present situation will go on for many years. For India, the situation is under control and contained. Pakistan will continue to provide its 'moral, political and diplomatic' support to the militant groups in the state. The demands of the Kashmiris are vague. In addition, they are so divided internally. Many of them are convinced that they are best suited to bring about a solution and so many of them want to be the leader. Every Kashmiri is a political party. Keeping the Kashmir issue burning, brings them money besides giving them a status.
- 15) The complexity of the issue lies perhaps in the explanation given by a Kashmiri voter during the 4th phase of the elections in Chadoora, who told me: 'If the turnout is high we will be

rewarded by the Centre. Then the elected candidate will receive a lot of financial support from Delhi'. Asked about the 'movement', his answer was: 'In fact we don't care about the Kashmir issue. However, we must continue to claim azadi. The day we would stop doing this, we would be treated as all other Indian States.'

- 16) Priority must be given to end the sufferings of the Kashmiris. This can only be realised by stopping violence and misleading people. They want to have a future and jobs for themselves and their children. After 18 years of militancy, it is high time the growing up generation is given a chance to have a normal youth and education. The Kashmiris are fed up with violence. A peaceful, lasting solution for Kashmir, accepted by India, Pakistan and the Kashmiris, is the only way out of this uncertain situation.
- 17) The cry for the right of self-determination by some parties in the Valley is supported by Pakistan. However, accession to Pakistan is the only option accepted by them. Indeed, according to the 'Azad J&K' Interim Constitution Act, 1974, Para 7 (2): "No person or political party in Azad J&K shall be permitted to propagate against, or take part in activities prejudicial or detrimental to the ideology of the State's accession to Pakistan". The same cry for the right of self-determination is also heard in the areas under Pakistani administration.
- 18) Pakistan has no legal claim on J&K. Pakistan invaded J&K and is responsible for the de facto partitioning of the State. As early as 13 August 1948, the UN Commission for India and Pakistan asked Pakistan to withdraw its troops from the State as a pre-condition for organising the plebiscite. The same Commission in its resolution of 5 January 1949 repeated this request. Until this date, Pakistan has not withdrawn its armed forces from the areas under its control and consequently the plebiscite has not been held.

This conclusion is confirmed by the Report on Kashmir: Present Situation and Future Prospects of Rapporteur Baroness Nicholson of Winterbourne, Vice Chairperson of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Union, and almost unanimously adopted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs (March 2007) and by the European Parliament. The report favours negotiations in the following wording: "In conclusion, the report recognises the ancient and unique heritage of the Kashmiri people, and the rapporteur has nothing but praise for their tenacity. After so many

decades of conflict and tragedy in this particularly beautiful and historic part of the sub-continent, it is heartening to see the two great powers India and Pakistan, coming together with the people of Kashmir and that peaceful solutions are both on the horizon and being implemented, a familiar process which the European Parliament fully supports."

ELECTION RESULTS

In J&K State, the Legislative Assembly is composed of 87 seats: 46 in the Valley, 37 in Jammu region and 4 in Ladakh. Although the population in the Valley and Jammu Region is almost the same in number, the Valley has nine seats more than Jammu Region thus guaranteeing the Valley to have always a majority over Jammu Region. This was one of the reasons for the agitation in Jammu region during the Amarnath land transfer issue. This discrepancy between the two regions is still there and is at the root of simmering tensions between the two regions. In 2002, National Conference (NC) obtained 28 seats, Congress Party 20 seats, People's Democratic Party (PDP) 16 seats, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) 1 seat, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) 1 seat, J&K National Panthers Party (J&KNPP) 4 seats, CPI(M) 2 seats and independents 15 seats. However, in 2008, NC once again obtained 28 seats maintaining the status quo, Congress party 17 seats (minus 3), PDP 21 seats (plus 5), BJP 11 seats (plus 10), J&KNPP 3 seats (minus 1), BSP no seat (minus 1), J&K Democratic Party Nationalist 1 seat (plus 1), CPI(M) 1 seat (minus 1), People's Democratic Front 1 seat (plus 1) and independents (including 1 seat for Ladakh Union Territory Front) 4 seats (minus 11).

Voter turnout was surprisingly very high: 63 per cent for the 87 seats of the Legislative Assembly in J&K State. In India, elections are not compulsory. In J&K State, the turnout is seen as a barometer of the success or failure of the democratic process. If there is a low turnout, the separatist leaders see this as a clear condemnation of 'Indian occupation'. If there is a high turnout as was the case in these elections, in their eyes it has nothing to do with approval of being within India. They ascribe the massive participation of people to their urge, then it is just because people want good governance. For India however, it is a clear sign that Kashmiris want to return to normalcy and to have a solution for the Kashmir issue in the framework of the Indian constitution.

NC was able to maintain its strength and emerged as the single largest party with 28 seats. Omar Abdullah, President of NC, son of Farooq

Abdullah, is the new Chief Minister of J&K State, being the youngest ever. NC obtained 20 seats in the Valley, 6 in Jammu Region and 2 in Kargil, thus having its representatives in all the three regions of the State. Congress party obtained 17 seats, losing three seats and it paid the price for its handling of the Amarnath issue because of the polarisation. In the Hindu majority districts of Jammu region people turned to BJP, in the Muslim majority areas of Jammu Region people turned to PDP. Nevertheless, Congress party still has representatives in all the three regions: 13 in Jammu, 3 in the Valley and 1 in Ladakh. Congress formed a coalition with NC, resulting in a coalition having 45 seats out of 87, not very comfortable but nevertheless a democratic majority. If the opposition succeeds in 'convincing/buying' two members of the Assembly to join them, there will be a problem.

PDP with its 21 seats increased the number of its seats by five seats due to the hype created by it on the Amarnath issue. This party has a representation only in two regions: 19 seats in the Valley and 2 seats in the Muslim majority areas of Jammu Region. BJP with its 11 seats also gained due to the popular Hindu sentiment over the Amarnath issue: 10 seats more with representation only in the Hindu majority areas of Jammu Region. CPI (M) with its leader Yousuf Tarigami succeeded in obtaining one seat notwithstanding the fact that Jamaat-i-Islami was campaigning against him. Especially, the re-election of Yousuf Tarigami in his constituency Kulgam is a clear indication that people rejected fundamentalism and preferred the leftist secular agenda of the CPI-M. So far as other smaller parties are concerned, they fared normally. The only surprise has been the low number of elected independents. Since so many independents contested elections, it was expected that the number of elected independents would increase. Instead of increasing the previous number of 15, the number of independent MLAs went down to four. This is a clear indication that people prefer the 'stable' policy of 'traditional' and mainstream parties to the 'promises' of more or less unknown independents. Now it is up to Omar Abdullah, his party and his coalition partner to make things work.

CONCLUSIONS

For the 2008 Assembly elections, heavy campaigning took place, including rallies, door to door campaign. Besides, national politicians came in support of candidates of their party in J&K State. During the rallies, candidates of

mainstream parties were sometimes 'attacked' (stone pelting of their car cavalcade). For instance, PDP was attacked in Pulwama and NC in Sopore. In general, campaigning remained peaceful, but for some minor incidents like clashes between workers of NC and PDP in the Valley. In general, elections went on without any problems. Except for the killing of one demonstrator in Pulwama, there were only minor, local incidents between party workers. On elections days, undeclared curfew was imposed: a special permission of the Election Commission was needed to move around. Once in the constituencies where elections were going on, there were no problems to move around. In general, security forces were behaving positively staying in the background. In the election areas, there were no problems in moving around. The commanding officers at various stations were very open and friendly. The general atmosphere among the people was friendly, they wanted to participate, there was a kind of festive atmosphere in the visited constituencies. In general, there were no complaints about rigging or irregularities. Only smaller incidents were reported and if found well-grounded, re-polling was ordered. Without any doubt, the J&K Legislative Assembly elections 2008 are a success story while considering that (a) there was a high turnout; (b) people wanted to participate in this democratic process; (c) people defied the boycott call of the separatist leaders, and (d) they were free, fair and transparent.



KASHMIRIS WAITING TO CAST VOTE



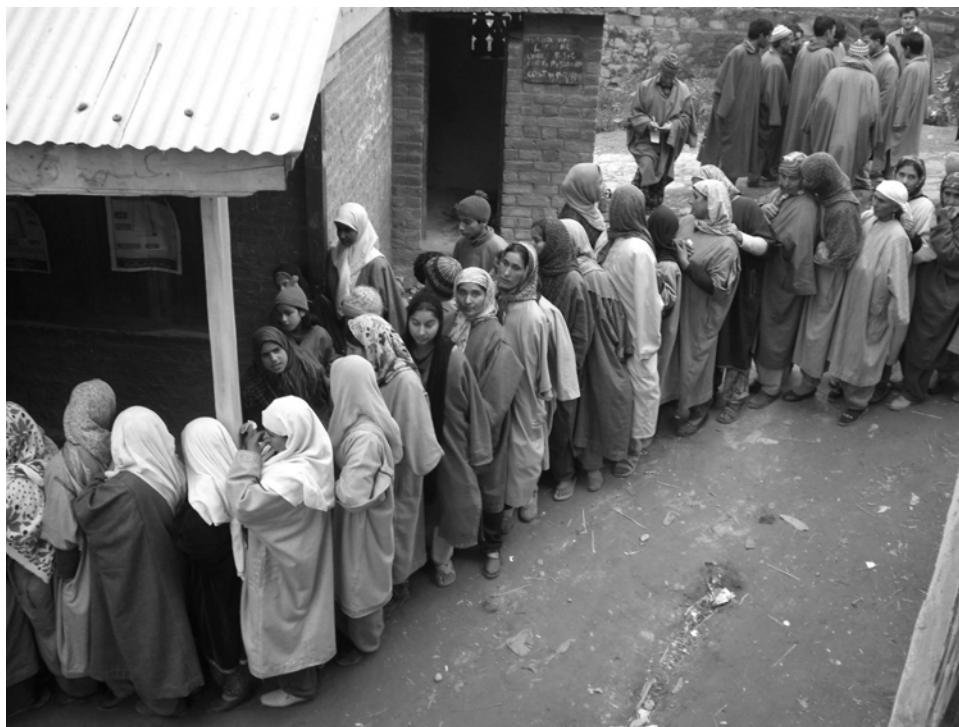
KASHMIRI WOMEN IN QUE TO CAST VOTES



PEOPLE WAITING TO CAST VOTE



KASHMIRIS WAITING TO CAST VOTE



KASHMIRI WOMEN CAME OUT IN LARGE NUMBERS TO VOTE

ABSURDITY OF BOYCOTT

SYED NAZIR GILANI

On the eve of elections in Srinagar, three important statements have been made and these need an examination in public interest: "We appeal the people of Srinagar to remain away from the election drama as a gratitude to the lakhs of Kashmiris who sacrificed their lives for resolution of Kashmir dispute according to their aspirations," a spokesman of Co-ordination Committee said. "People of all the districts of Kashmir are appealed to move in a procession to Srinagar to foil the election drama which has been staged to suppress the ongoing freedom movement," he further said. "India is a signatory to the UN Human Rights Charter and it has to conduct elections in a free, fair and genuine way. However, election does not hold any legality in Kashmir as it is a disputed territory. Polls are null and void in the State unless Kashmir dispute is not resolved according to aspirations of its people," Mirwaiz Farooq said.

The wisdom of Co-ordination Committee to sentimentalise the mature judgment of a voter during the final phase is extremely bad politics, and in bad taste. A behavioural pattern of a common voter has surfaced in all the phases of elections and to put the voter in Srinagar through the test of 'gratitude' was unfair and divisive. It would be wiser for a voter to stay with the general behaviour expressed in the elections, than to commit themselves as different from the rest. Unlike the common voter, the Co-ordination Committee is an elite group and its privileges in India and Pakistan, invitations on various occasions, religious and secular, Government functions, of course, rest on their performance in their political neighbourhood in Srinagar.

Hurriyat Conference and Co-ordination Committee members severally and collectively have failed in their private and public life, not once but more than once. These are undemocratic institutions and common man and woman have no share in the constitution of these groups and in the

wide range of their freelance politics. Aspirations of the common man and woman have no room in their choice of political phraseology and the overriding factor is the sponsors of present Kashmir politics. Co-ordination Committee should also remain honourably sensitive to the fact that "lakhs of Kashmiris who sacrificed their lives for resolution of Kashmir dispute" have left behind many helpless lakhs in their trust. Has that trust been discharged?

The "appeal to move in a procession to Srinagar to foil the election drama which has been staged to suppress the ongoing freedom movement," was not a mature judgment. It would give another cause to security forces and state forces to suffocate the common man. One could have an issue of annoyance with the people if our leaders (with exceptions) were really engaged in the "ongoing freedom movement". In fact the freedom movement has degenerated into an industry of profit and the politicians are running it like any other department of the State. It is gainfully paid politics and the entourage is part of a corrupt establishment.

The statement of Mirwaiz Umar Farooq embeds a serious contradiction and a serious element of lack of knowledge of the jurisprudence of elections. He is right in reminding the Government of India of its Charter obligations and the duty as a member nation of UN "to conduct elections in a free, fair and genuine way". Hurriyat and Co-ordination Committee should have challenged the process of elections and not elections as a basic principle. A difference should have been understood between participation and boycott. Unfortunately Hurriyat and Co-ordination Committee took to a campaign which is at war with the UN Human Rights Standards regarding elections. International standards on elections involve three rights: the right to take part in government; the right to vote and to be elected; and the right to equal access to public service. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights further adds that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government.

Mirwaiz is way out of the lane of reason in his statement that "Polls are null and void in the State unless Kashmir dispute is not resolved according to aspirations of its people". The present polls have no relation with the resolution of the dispute. This fact has been generously and honourably advocated by NC, PDP, CP and others during the election campaign. There is no law which could annul the elections on this basis. Elections could be challenged on the basis of a vitiating atmosphere and if these are not free, fair and genuine. UN resolutions on Kashmir have decided this argument in March 1951.

Hurriyat and Coordination Committee ignore that their boycott call was seriously flawed and anti-people. In the absence of an elected government, Indian Union shall have to use the instrument of Governor's rule and this would mean an ongoing presence and a role for the security forces. Voters choose parties and the candidates on the basis of the benefits they think or are told they will derive. Voters have a set of criteria which they wish their choice to satisfy. What these criteria are may vary according to the voter.

What differentiates this choice from other choices we make? A common analogy which is drawn with voting is that of a market (political market and economic market). A number of candidates and parties present their products (political programmes for government) and voters pick from amongst these, 'paying' their vote to the party offering the product which best satisfies their criteria.

The people of Kashmir can't ignore the fact that the past three decades have seen a dramatic global expansion of democracy, which has led to an extraordinary focus on the institution of elections. In countries around the world, elections have served to help resolve long-standing conflicts and to initiate or consolidate transitions to democracy. For states recovering from recent conflict, elections have often been central to peace agreements. Fair elections have become an increasingly critical requirement for governments to have legitimacy in the eyes of the international community and their own citizens. Electoral legitimacy and outcomes, in turn, greatly affect the prospects for effective governance. The process of elections can be used to enrich the quality of life in Kashmir and more so could be used to increment the Rights Movement to realise its final goal of self-determination. Elections as a start ensure the 'internal self-determination'.

Unpredictable voluntary participation in the electoral process, as a basic human right, the correct exercise of which could on the one hand enable the common man and woman to force the State and the Union of India to assure their quality of life guaranteed under the two constitutions and on the other increment the speed of Rights Movement. The exercise of a 'free will' in this election has started a scathing debate on the 'contradictions in the character' of a Kashmiri. An article titled *Unreliable Kashmiris* published in a Srinagar based English daily on 9 December 2008 has quoted many centuries old Persian proverb which among others ridicules the character of a Kashmiri. After boxing people as anti-*Tehreek* or pro-India and killing them, without an iota of remorse that they were

all amongst and like them, a new phase to question the Kashmiri character *en masse* begs a dutiful attention.

The emerging and snowballing ridicule remains in line with the policy of the establishment in Pakistan, which has lived on the luxury to exact a pound of flesh from the breast of a common Kashmiri and later ridicule him as 'traitor'. Its emissaries in various disciplines in Kashmir have started to play the old dulcimer to curse the character of a Kashmiri. It is time to spare Kashmiris from being made a scapegoat. Well meaning and conscientious Pakistanis need to come forward to oppose a policy that has continued to make Kashmiri Muslim a suspect in India and continues to cause their scapegoating for a ridicule in Pakistan. An end could be put to it, only when the people of Kashmir in all discipline of life decide to disconnect from the knot that has tied their soul to the apron of Lucifer.

Incidentally, the author in the English daily has misquoted the Persian proverb on the character of a Kashmiri. The correct proverb and the order of precedence reads :

*Agar kaht-i-mardum uftad, az in sih jins kam giri;
Eki Afghan, dovvum Sindhi, siyyum badzaat-i-Kashmiri*

(Though of men there be famine yet shun these
three - Afghan, Sindhi and rascal Kashmiri.)

There is no doubt that among the three races namely, Afghan, Sindhi and Kashmiri, it is the Kashmiri who has an adjective prefixed to its character. And the adjective *Badzaat* of course does not remain to any one's liking. Walter Lawrence has offered a better explanation of Kashmiri character. He writes "The Kashmiri is made up of contradictions...He would not hesitate to throw his burden on his neighbour's shoulders, and if he failed he would depart to some other village under the aegis of a privileged person who would protect him from the corvee, and would allow no one but himself to oppress the wanderer...the system of administration had degraded the people and taken all heart out of them".

It is unfortunate that right to vote which necessitates a free choice, has triggered a debate on the 'character' of a Kashmiri. It is not the militant, the politician, the academic, the journalist, the lawyer or the collective conscience that has been dragged into this debate but it is the common man and woman who for a day decided to exercise their choice. Does a common Kashmiri have a 'defence' against this surfacing ridicule of his character? Without prejudice to a desire to seek a resolution of Kashmir through the use of a gun, I would argue that the militancy has brought

the Indian soldier from the wild and remote deep into the home of a common man. Militancy has failed in principle in respecting the rules of engagement. We betrayed our people and offered ourselves for a low intensity proxy militancy. The death of a generation has in fact caused the death of self determination. It would be very difficult to rehabilitate a numerical deficit for a quarter century.

It is true that common man and woman failed to exercise their right to 'intervene' and 'question' others who are not common from the formation of *Muslim United Front* (MUF) for 'election chalo' to the formation of *Coordination Committee* for 'Muzaffarabad chalo'. If MUF had succeeded, its members would have taken the following oath:

"I.....having been elected (or nominated) a member of the Legislative Assembly (or Legislative Council) do swear in the name of God /solemnly affirm that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the State as by law established, that I will uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India and that I will faithfully discharge the duty upon which I am about to enter".

Those who are not common and are embedded in various disciplines of society, need to answer the constitution of the institution of militancy, *Tehreek-i-Hurriyat Kashmir* (THK), *All Parties Hurriyat Conference* (APHC), *Coordination Committee* and justify reasons of an emerging gap between the life styles of the common man and woman and the various departments that suddenly surfaced around Kashmir case. Militancy exercised the choice of a gun and some crossed over to peace and others joined the main stream politics. Some are still holding the forte in good faith. APHC gave a political discipline and later decided to change its horses midstream to sell the out of box solution of President Musharraf. Common people made a laudable decision that they stood against a harm being done to State Subject Law in regard to the land transfer. A new alliance CC sprang up and abysmally failed to direct the infinite energy of the mass movement. Neither of the two factions of APHC had the courage and moral discipline to advise against the formation of a new alliance and allowed themselves to be sucked into it.

Common man ultimately decided to live without the advice of one more alliance, the CC, on elections and waved a popular no to its boycott call. If earlier mass protests were a public referendum against Indian rule, the voluntary participation in elections is in the same manner a rejection of a manipulated politics in the State. CC has a moral dilemma to either pack its bags or label every man and woman in Kashmir as Indian agents.

In the latter case, if all are Indian agents, CC and others should yield to the will of the majority. If CC has failed as an agent of the people of Kashmir, it shall have to clarify its operational reference if any beyond this point.

There are people in militancy, APHC and CC for whom one could confidently say that "it is difficult to get a man to understand something when his salary depends on his not understanding it". Participation in elections was the agenda of non common people in 1987. Common man decided to give it a go in 2008 and seems to be unfairly ridiculed. The non common is the main beneficiary of all the bad that embeds in Kashmiri character. Indian soldier stands at guard to protect him and sometimes errs to cause a serious injury to the 'life', 'honour' and 'property' of the common man.

Elections energise a people to a level of participatory consciousness for a demand around a regime of rights. Right of self-determination is a different right and it inheres in a human person. These are inherent rights belonging to all people and cannot be granted or withdrawn by anyone or any government. In the case of the people of Jammu and Kashmir it has been endorsed by all member nations of the United Nations. The way forward is to encourage the mainstream political parties in particular those who are elected to the Assembly, to remain faithful to the pledges made in the election and to move on the jurisprudence of a bilateral agreement with the Union of India and the jurisprudence of UN mechanism on the three administrations of Jammu and Kashmir.

A common man too has a duty to follow upon his participation in elections and engage the Union of India on the contractual obligations that she remains bound for. It is unfair to shift the burden of failure from the non common shoulders of beneficiaries of Kashmir tragedy on to the character of common man in Kashmir. The discipline of leadership and politics does not have the same rules as the teacher enjoys in a submissive manner in a remote primary school in Choolan, Uri. You either lead or suffer with the common man or you remain barricaded and protected. It does not reconcile well when every vocal non common in Srinagar throws up a forum and offers himself as a new appendage in the department of profit.

The civil society institutions working in Srinagar and in other parts of Kashmir have a heightened responsibility. They need to distance themselves from the department of profitable politics and cause a new beginning on the jurisprudence of Kashmir case. Civil society institutions

have to remain all inclusive towards all the opinions embedded in the right to self determination or otherwise, namely 'autonomy' or the 'self-rule'. An all inclusive and a non discriminatory agenda in the best interests of the people remains the litmus test. One needs to wise up to the question of internal and external self-determination as well. The constituency of understanding of Kashmir case has many dimensions and should be looked at from all angles.

If we still fail in making an informed and mature judgment, the Persian proverb,

*Agar kaht-i-mardum uftad, az in sih jins kam giri;
Eki Afghan, dovvum Sindhi, siyyum badzaat-i-Kashmiri*

and the findings of Lawrence would haunt our future generations. Let us agree to accept that our future would be how we leave it today. May be tomorrow is too late. So it is the right time that the non commons in militancy, APHC, CC and others who have forced themselves in the Kashmir fray take a minute and measure up their merits against the merits of a free choice exercised by the common man who participated in elections and is under fire.

J&K ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, 2008

Some Perspectives

SHABIR CHOUDHRY

The elections in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir finished with astonishing outcomes. However, some sections of Pakistani media and those who support Pakistan irrespective of what they have done to the Kashmir issue, harp on the theme of boycott of elections and alleged excesses by the Indian army.

But when one looks at the media and speaks directly to people on the ground, a totally different picture emerges, which shows that some members of the Pakistani media and their puppets have only one mission: and that is to tell lies and hide facts from people as they have been hiding facts from their own people regarding matters directly related to Pakistan and its security.

To quote the BBC representative Altaf Hussain, he has “not seen such long queues for any voting in the past’. And despite cold weather people came out in thousands to vote. In his report, filed on 23 November 2008, Altaf Hussain showed long lines of people standing outside polling stations. According to BBC report, turnout in voting was 65 per cent, however voting in Noshera and in Kalakote was 70 and 73 per cent respectively. Another interesting aspect of this election is the attitude of young people, who have openly defied calls for boycott and used their democratic right to vote. People see this as a protest vote against pro-Pakistan leaders who used the Kashmiri struggle to feather their own nests.

In this regard, a member of *Al Fatah Force* wrote from Bandipora: “Our leaders Geelani Sahib, Mirwaiz Sahib, Yasin Malik, Javed Mirānd others had appealed earlier that people should stay away from these elections but we want to tell them that our people voted not because of

the love of pro-Indian leaders but because of the hate of our own leaders. These so called pro-movement leaders make huge property on the blood of our martyrs especially on the sacrifices of our common *Mujahideen*. We will not raise our fingers on other leaders. Let us take the example of our own Amir Mohammad Farooq Rehmani. This lucky man is from Bandipora but for the past 15 years enjoys a luxurious life in Pakistan. Many *Mujahideen* of our party are married now but we have no money and no future of our children. Rehmani spent more than 12 lakh rupees on the marriage of his son in Pakistan, while our brothers are denied even the life saving drugs from his office. We are treated as slaves, how can we stop our brothers and sisters from taking part in the elections." (Author of this statement could be reached on this email: alfatahforce@yahoo.com).

Apart from these reports I have personally spoken to many journalists who were monitoring these elections, and who confirmed that people have clearly rejected calls of boycott as ordinary masses have no trust in those who give calls of boycott. One person I spoke to stated: "by staying away from polling booths, we will only strengthen hands of those who are promoting a Pakistani agenda in Jammu and Kashmir, and are getting rewards for this."

This amazing turnout has bewildered everyone. After 'successful communalisation' of the Kashmiri polity, anti-election leaders and their mentors thought they have won the battle, and they were predicting a total boycott and a possible 'blood bath' which could have helped them make political gains. Even Indian government officials were worried that the turnout could be low as compared to the elections of 2002 and that the terrorists would stage bloody incidents, which could have embarrassed India.

But the voting in six constituencies of Ganderbal, Kangan, Darhal, Kalakote, Rajouri and Nowshera have hugely surpassed the figures of 2002 Assembly elections; and those elections were, by and large, accepted and hailed by all those who believe in democratic values. One has to understand that there was pressure on the voters from both camps – one urging them to stay away from polling stations, and the other encouraging them to exercise their democratic right in favour of their candidates.

To make matters worse for those wishing to vote, weather was extremely cold; and yet the turnout was better than the 2002 elections. Masud Samoon, Divisional Commissioner of Kashmir gave details of the voting in a press conference held on 23 November 2008, which confirmed that turn out was much better than 2002 elections. For example in Rajouri

constituency, the polling was 27.05 percent in 2002, and it shot up to 67 per cent in the polling held in November 2008. Similarly, the turnout in Kalakote has surprised everyone which increased from 48.66 percent in 2002 to 73 per cent now.

Mufti Sayeed, former Chief Minister was also astonished by the turn out and called it a “trendsetter for the rest of the phases.” He was among those who wanted the elections to be postponed because in his opinion the situation was “unfavourable” for the elections, as he also feared low turn out and bloody incidents. He further said, “Gun is no solution and we have had a bitter experience of it. America has used it in Iraq and Afghanistan and the outcome is before everyone. We want to resolve problems through democratic process as there are no other way to resolve the Kashmir issue”. He added that in order to resolve the Kashmir dispute, “We all, including India and Pakistan, have to move from stated positions”.

What has angered many people is the hypocritical approach of anti elections lobby – they support elections in areas occupied by Pakistan; but are prepared to go to any length to oppose elections in Indian administered Kashmir. According to many analysts, they oppose elections for two reasons: rewards from Pakistani agencies for doing this; and fear that if they took part in fair and impartial elections they will lose their seats, and get fully exposed before everyone. They would like to take part in a sort of elections which are held in Pakistani-administered Kashmir where outcome is decided in favour of the higher bidder.

During the elections of 2002, I had a meeting with the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office officials, and pleaded that the *All Parties Hurriyat Conference* (APHC) leaders could possibly win the elections. I was told that in their judgement and in the light of reports, there was no way they could win elections. And that if these leaders had even fifty fifty chance of winning, they would have taken the option of participating in the elections. They further said that if they were so sure about their popularity the best way was to take part in elections, and then speak with authority. As Sein Fin leaders used to do – they used to take part in elections in Northern Ireland and after winning their seats they refuse to come to Westminster.

In other words, resentment against India or against certain issues does not mean support for these leaders who after 20 years of bloody killings, rapes and destruction still don't know what they want to achieve. They still have no strategy on the solution of Kashmir issue. Still they are not sure if they want some kind of accession or become independent.

Some of them are happy with the status quo; others cannot tell the difference between the right of self determination and right of accession, which is available to people of the State under the UN resolutions. It is because of this confusion they keep on demanding the implementation of the UN resolutions. In view of the confusion these leaders have, and due to their egocentric approach and lack of sincerity, majority of people of Jammu and Kashmir don't see them fit to lead Jammu and Kashmir.

The present turnout should also be seen as a protest vote against the policies of Pakistani governments. Kashmiri youth see Pakistan's Kashmir policy changing like weather changes in England. Kashmiri youth are annoyed with the continued proxy war, proxy politics, forced division and subjugation; and they want to make their wishes known.

INDO-TIBETAN CULTURAL RELATIONS THROUGH THE AGES

DAWA NORBU

Introduction

I am going to take you through the epic journey of Indo-Tibetan cultural relations, beginning from the 7th century AD till the present. There are important values in studying Indo-Tibetan cultural relations for various reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates how Indian Buddhist ideas, values and ideals spread without armed support or political intervention. This is a great lesson, particularly relevant to our times.

The second interesting point is how Buddhism, once introduced to us, induced in Tibet a non-violent revolution. If you study the history of the spread of Buddhism from India to Tibet, you will see the extent, scale and intensity of this great social transformation. It transformed several social structures into sophisticated stratifications, changed their value system and turned violent attitudes into peaceful ones. I would stress that all these have taken place in the marketplace of ideas, not in the battle fields.

Thirdly, if you study Indo-Tibetan relations you will see that the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet was not merely the transfer of new faith. Along with Buddhism came a number of civilisational items which, in fact, enriched people's lives, and these included architecture, medicine and astrology, painting, written language and literature.

Finally, the study of Indo-Tibetan relations is of great interest for social scientists specialising in traditional societies, in that it demonstrates how the universals of world religions, i.e., Buddhism, interact with cultural specificity, producing a unique culture and unique civilisation. In my book *Culture and the Politics of Third World Nationalism* published in 1992, I

explain how in the non-western world specific cultural identities emerge which, when politicised, become national identities.

Myth before History

I shall begin this journey by recalling some powerful myths which have been kept alive from generation to generation. The first myth concerns the enthronement of the Tibetan King Nyatri Tsenpo. This mythical account says that Nyatri Tsenpo, who was believed to be an Indian prince, landed on the Lhari Gyangdo mountain and later he was found by a group of villagers in Yurlung. When the villagers asked him where he came from, since he could not speak Tibetan language, he pointed to the sky in the direction of India. The symbolic meaning of this myth is that the Buddhist revolution was to begin in Tibet and that the legitimacy of the king derived from holy India.

The second myth concerns that first Tibetan encounter with Buddhism took place in the 4th century AD. It is believed that two Buddhist texts fell from the skies into the royal palace. These texts were not understood by the king and they remained there for a long time till about the 7th century AD. Later evidence indicates that these two Buddhist texts were *Chintamani Dharani* and *Pang-Koneyama*. These were brought by an Indian Pandit and a Tibetan translator. But the most interesting about this myth is the manner and the way in which Buddhism had to adapt itself under Tibetan conditions if the Buddhist revolution in medieval Tibet was to succeed. Again I refer to how the Buddhist texts fell from the sky and dropped on the king's palace. The sky is a very important component of the Bonpo and Shamanistic cultures prevalent not only in Tibet but in Central Asia as well. I would draw two inferences from this: firstly, legitimation derives from India, and secondly, Buddhist culture which survived and succeeded in Tibet had to come to terms with the existing pre-Buddhist culture in Tibet.

Historical Overview

The historical account of Buddhism is extremely interesting. One would refer to the coming to Tibet of Santarakshita and Padmasambhava who were most successful in the conditions that prevailed in Tibet.

I would say that since the introduction of Buddhism at the time of king Songtsen Gampo till 842 AD when king Lang Dharma was killed, Buddhism was confined essentially to the royal court. However, the intrinsic power and potency of the Buddhist ideas shook the foundations

of the Tibet kingdom. What really happened in the early introduction of Buddhism in Tibet indicates a symbolic, ritualistic and meaningful event in psychological terms. It is portrayed that first Santarakshita was invited. But he being a dialectician and a Sutra expert rather than a tantric master, could not tame the Bonpo believing people in Tibet. The Bonpo belief was to be met by an equivalent or more powerful tantric system. So, this was done by Guru Padmasambhava (better known in Tibet as Guru Rinpoche) who subjugated, though not destroyed, the Bonpo forces. There was a certain amount of spiritual battle which was going on. It is understood in psychological and symbolic terms.

Here comes the practical genius of Guru Rinpoche and his Tibetan associates. Buddhism was superimposed on the existing culture and beliefs. Buddhist deities were superimposed on the existing Bonpo deities. It was made absolutely clear that Bonpo deities were subordinate to the Buddhist deities. In essence what happened was that Guru Padmasambhava put tantric magic or miracle, and the essence of Buddhism, into Bonpo bottles. What we have, for which there has been a lot of misunderstanding in modern times, is that Tibetan Buddhism in Buddhism remains in essence but Bonpo in form.

Now this historical pattern differs from the Chinese Communist pattern. Recall what happened during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s. Whereas the Indian Pandit Padmasambhava introduced Buddhism in Tibet without eliminating the existing Bonpo culture, but by accommodating it and showing its due place within the society, China, especially during the Cultural Revolution, destroyed the existing cultural patterns and imposed their preferred beliefs and idea system on an unwilling people. This is directly in contradiction with the cultural patterns and history of Tibetan civilisation.

The Royal Period

The royal interest in Tibetan Buddhism coincides with the beginning of Buddhist history in Tibet. Around 7th to 8th centuries AD, King Songtsen Gampo married two princesses: one was Chinese and the other Nepalese and they were both devout Buddhists. The two princesses played a major role in making the king take interest in Buddhism. The Chinese princess brought an image of Sakyamuni Buddha and built Ramoche temple at Lhasa. The Nepalese princess brought statues of Aksobhya Buddha, Maitreya and Tara and a temple was also built for them. This period also saw the creation of Tibetan written language and literature. Songtsen

Gampo sent the scholar Thonmi Sambhota with 16 others to study in India and they probably studied in Kashmir as 30 consonants and four vowels were derived from the *Sharada* script. They came back to Tibet with Indian teachers and created the Tibetan writing system.

The next king was Trisong Detsen. It was during his reign that Santarakshita and Guru Padmasambhava were invited to Tibet. Padmasambhava also built the first Buddhist monastery somewhere around 766-767 AD. It was also during this period that a dozen temples were built and the Tibetan *sangha* was borne. But perhaps the most important thing that happened (792-794 AD) was the great *Samye* debate on whether the Tibetan king should choose an Indian form of Buddhism or a Chinese form. The Indian Buddhist master won the debate and the king decided to opt for the Indian version of Buddhism. So, from the 8th century AD, Tibetans had decided from which country they would derive spiritual knowledge.

Under the next king Ralpachen (814 to 836 AD) the translation of Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Tibetan began: the king invited many Indian Buddhist masters to Tibet who were engaged in translation of Buddhist texts along with their Tibetan collaborators, setting a high standard of accuracy in the correspondence of Sanskrit and Tibetan terms. Then came king Lang Darma who was anti-Buddhist. He persecuted the Buddhist *sangha* and destroyed some of the Buddhist temples. He was killed by Lhalung Palgyi Dorje, a Tibetan Lama.

What happened now was that the energy of Buddhist ideas and values was gradually released from the court and it spread throughout the Tibetan society like a wild fire. There was no conflict during this period. Till then Buddhism had been really confined to the royal family and the court. Common people tended to believe in the Bonpo system. The introduction of Buddhism since about the 7th century AD had affected the elite consensus on national issues. Even though the Bonpo ministers with their armed forces could contain Buddhist ideas and values during their life time, it was surprising how quickly Buddhist ideas and values spread in Tibet after their death.

Interestingly, while tension was going on in the 7th and 8th centuries AD, there was not a single Indian soldier involved. Tibet had got from India, Buddhist values and ideas but India was not interested in exporting its political ideology. Compare this with Mao's attitude, wanting to export Marxism into an unwilling Tibet. He sent 45,000 soldiers of the People's Liberation Army in 1950. That is some contrast.

As already indicated, in the royal period Tibetan society as a whole did not have much interest in Buddhism. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence of great indepth knowledge of Buddhism during the royal period which was much glorified and exaggerated by 10th, 11th and 12th centuries writers in Tibet.

The Transformative Period

One might ask, when did really Buddhism spread in Tibet? I would say, ironically, in a dark period, what the Tibetan historians call “the dark kingless period”, when Tibet had disintegrated into a number of principalities and the centralised power of the king had vanished. In this crisis, creativity survived. In this freedom, people opted for Buddhism. This period is also called, in Buddhist history, *Tenpa Chidar*, the latest period. During this period, there was a Buddhist philosophical renaissance in Tibet that was unprecedented in Central Asian history. And socially there was a great transformation, really a social revolution, due to the impact of Buddhism.

Let me take a small step back. At the time of the Bonpo-Buddhist tussle which led to political disintegration of the Tibetan centralised military power, the Bonpo ministers and other elites had managed to do away with Buddhism at least in Central Tibet. This led to an exodus of Buddhist masters, mostly Tibetans but perhaps some Indians too, who escaped to Western Tibet and other safe areas. It is this period that marks the beginning of the Tibetan Buddhist revolution and the great renaissance which has very few parallels in Asia.

The moving spirit behind this Buddhist renaissance starting in Western Tibet was to be found in two holy men: Rinchen Sangpo the translator (958 to 1055 AD) and the great Indian Buddhist saint Atisha (982 to 1054 AD). These two people were the initiators of what Buddhist historians call the second spread of Buddhism in Tibet and really in a true sense, the beginning of Buddhist revolution in Tibet. I use this outdated word to emphasise the magnitude of the transformation that Tibetan society underwent due to the spreading of Buddhism: from a warrior nation to a peaceful community, from warrior kings to Lama rulers, from Bonpo magic to Buddhist rationality, from violence to compassion.

Now what are the indicators for this great Buddhist transformation during the period around 10th to 12th centuries AD. During this period, according to Sarat Chandra Dass, 104 Indian Pandits, engaged in translation and Buddhist teaching, were invited to Tibet. Tibetans did not

record how many Tibetans went to India in search of Buddhist teachings. They did not record except for the 16 Tibetans who went to India with Thonmi Sambhota during Songtsen Gampo's time. Those who were sent by the royal court were recorded. But much more important was the interest shown in Buddhism by the common people of Tibet. Here we have no account as to how many hundreds of people went to India in search of Buddhist teachings at that time, and went back to Tibet and started teaching Buddhism.

Though much translation work was done before, the majority of translations were done during the "dark kingless" period, what I call the "transformative period" of Tibetan Buddhism. Rinchen Sangpo, the Buddhist translator and missionary in Western Tibet, built 58 monasteries and temples in Ladakh, Zaskar, Lahoul and Spiti. He translated 250 titles from Sanskrit into Tibetan language. One can see the impact of that.

During this period also the formation of the four major traditions of Tibetan Buddhism took place. Of course, these can be traced back to the time of Padmasambhava, but in terms of doctrine, practice and monastic organisation they took real shape only during this period. The *Kagyü*, *Sakya* and *Kadampa* – the predecessor of the *Gelugpa* school – all these began during this period. Finally, the Bon was Buddhified or Buddhicised during this period. From 842 to 1247 AD, in about 400 years, the whole Buddhist revolution had occurred.

The Period of Internalisation

Then I come to the establishment of Tibet as the Vatican of the East. One may recall that after the Muslim conquest, due to the large scale Islamic propagation, the cultural relations between India and Tibet had come to a halt. The last recorded Indian Pandit who came to Tibet was a Kashmiri Pandit, Shakyashri, around the 12th century AD. The feverish spiritual activity that had been going on for 400 years came to an end. Then Tibetans began to look inward, at the cultural resources they had translated and at the transmission they had received from Indian Buddhist masters. This led to what I call internalisation or maturation of Tibetan Buddhism. A clear indication of this process emerges from the four major Buddhist traditions.

The Third Spread of Tibetan Buddhism

Then comes the third spread of Tibetan Buddhism. Tibet acquired, especially among the Tibetans, a certain aura, that it is a sacred place, a

place of *Dharma*. This aura began to be appreciated by others also. By 1959 in what is today the Tibetan Autonomous Region (what the British used to call outer Tibet, i.e. Central-Southern and Western Tibet) there were 2,500 monasteries and 11,000 monks and nuns. But the number of monks and nuns might not be so indicative. Contrary to the belief that Tibetan Buddhism is essentially *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana*, the Dalai Lama indicated in some of his lectures that in Tibetan there were also *Theravada* traditions. In fact, the basic foundation for Buddhism lies in a monastery or nunnery and begins with *Theravada* tradition. At any rate, doctrines and practices of both varieties of Buddhism were found in Tibet. Secondly, it is interesting to see the scale of original Tibetan literature in terms of commentaries by Tibetan Buddhist masters after the 12th century AD.

Today it is easy to mass-produce books and magazines. But if you take the amount of traditional literature produced in pre-industrial Tibet, Tibetan culture is the second highest literature culture in Asia. In other words, by this time there was some basis for the myth that Tibet in modern times is both the Vatican of the East and a holy place. During the period of India's freedom struggle, it became a belief also among Indian intellectuals and the commonly Hindu population that Tibet was the repository of lost Indian cultural treasure. Lost through the vicissitudes of modern and medieval Indian history, they were safely deposited there, protected, if not further developed. In the 19th century, Raja Rammohan Roy attempted to go to Tibet and in the 1930s Rahul Sankritayan made a trip to various monasteries in Tibet in search of Sanskrit texts. And these were the images of Tibet that were really popular during the Indian freedom struggle and the Indian intellectual and cultural renaissance began in the 19th century onwards. So, in a sense, it is a kind of satisfaction in India that Tibet is a leading *Mahayana* Buddhist country.

Modern History

The history of *Mahayana* Buddhism, which spans 2000 years, faced two basic crises. One was in the 10th and 11th centuries AD due to large scale diffusion of Islam. Just about 100 or 200 years before that, by some divine grace Tibetans in great numbers came to India in search of Buddhist texts. Many Indian masters went to Tibet and started preaching Buddhism. So, when the Islamic takeover in India was complete, *Mahayana* Buddhism was safe. *Theravada* was also by then safely planted in Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand.

The second crisis of *Mahayana* Buddhism occurred in the mid-

twentieth century with the communist take-over of Tibet. If the Tibetans came to the rescue of *Mahayana* Buddhism during the first crisis, this time it was India which came to the rescue of *Mahayana* Buddhism. By 1959, most of the leading Lamas from Tibet, and especially Dalai Lama were safely in India. This is a fortunate fact that now we are in the second generation. But at that critical juncture, Dalai Lama and his two tutors, Ling Rinpoche, Head of the *Nyingmapa* tradition came along with many Nyingma scholars. Karmapa also made his headquarters in Sikkim and Sakya Trinzin and the family belonging to Khon lineage also had a safe passage to India and Seattle, USA.

Apart from Buddhist texts, also the Masters of the living lineages are alive in modern times. This continuity, in the interest of millions of living Buddhists, is of vital importance. This time, India came to the rescue of *Mahayana* Buddhism. Nehru had a bias for Buddhism. This is shown by the fact that even at that time of crisis in 1959, he made sure that the Buddhist scholars and Lamas were safe. When the Lamas were escaping, he set up make-shift Buxar Lama Ashram which later on was transferred to the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath. He had also established the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology in the 1950s. He was aware of the spiritual, cultural and philosophical significance of *Mahayana* Buddhism not only for India which is its birth place, but also for the world. Not only Lamas could come to India but they could establish here replicas of their great monasteries and meditation centres in Tibet.

There were about 125 monasteries established in India since 1959. The Tibetan Buddhism began to spread to the West. This is what I call the fourth stage. Western interest in Buddhism had been prepared by the Japanese Zen Masters in the 1950s after the war. Since 1959, especially from 1960 onwards, a number of Tibetan meditation masters and scholars went to various Western countries and up to now they have established about 500 meditation centres in the West.

Even when cultural ties with India were severed in the 12th century AD, during the next 800 to 900 years Tibetans did not forget India altogether. As regards, the Tibetan perception of India in Tibetan Buddhist literature, India is cherished in the Tibetan minds, both by the Lamas and the lay people. If one takes any Indian classic text translated into Tibetan, one will find that the first line says in Tibetan, *Gyakar Kadu* which means "in the language of India". Then comes the Sanskrit title in Tibetan alphabet, followed by its Tibetan translation. That custom is not followed in any other tradition of translation.

There is also a huge body of literature called *Choejung*, which literally means religious history. If one looks at the tables of content of these texts, one would find that India has always been mentioned first, followed by China and Mongolia, then Tibet. Tibet does not come first. Lamas knew no nationalism. Then how did Tibet cherish India during the 800 or 900 years when cultural ties had ceased? There is a popular prayer expressing gratitude to the Indian Pandits. It says, "we the people of Tibet owe an immense gratitude to the Maha Pandits of India". It is a "grace" which they recite just before their meals.

Coming to translations in the modern period, it is important for India today that Buddhist texts which no longer exist in Sanskrit or Pali, can be found in Tibetan. These are being restored by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath and re-translated from Tibetan into Sanskrit.

Also translation of Buddhist texts in the West in recent years has become a minor industry. In the United States alone, there are 4 to 5 medium size publishers who are specialized in the publishing of Tibetan Buddhist texts into English. Examples include Shambala Publishers, Dharma publishers, Wisdom Publications, Snow Lion Publications. You can imagine the impact this would make. What do they do? They sing the glory and praise of ancient Indian Buddhist masters.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude this long journey with some of the Tibetan images of India, as reflected both in books and in living experience. First the Indian sub-continent is perceived as one civilisation from the Buddhist point of view. This also indicates one territorial entity. This image of ancient unity and glory, of course, contrasts sharply with the recent reality in the subcontinent.

Secondly, there existed a lot of trade between Assam and Tibet, but Tibetans never referred to Assam as Assam. They said, *Gya-Assam* meaning India's Assam. Though India is of course the Mecca of all Buddhists, in the Tibetan literature this fact is emphasised to an incredible extent. India is the *Arya Bhoomi* par excellence. The notion of *Arya* in the Tibetan Buddhist literature is not a racial category. *Arya*, in the course of Tibetan Buddhist literature, came to be a metaphor for enlightened ones.

Finally, let me say a few words about the pan-Indian character of Pandits that came to Tibet from India which is confirmed by the earlier notion that it was really one civilisational unity and one territorial entity in South Asia at that time. The Pandits who came to Tibet hailed from

various parts of India, not just from one region, such as Arya Nagarjuna from Andhra Pradesh, Guntur district, Atisha Deepankara from undivided Bengal, Padmasambhava from Swat, undivided Punjab, Shayashri from Kashmir, Kamalashila from Magadh, Bihar. So, this suggests that the Buddhist heritage is pan-Indian and sub-continental in its dimension and inclusiveness.

In conclusion, I think that the study of Indo-Tibetan cultural relations over the centuries is very inspiring. It indicates, on the one hand, how the inspiration of one man, the Buddha, became the conviction of many and how when such inspiration and conviction are combined, one can do almost the impossible. That is really how a fascinating, rich and compact Tibetan civilisation was built on the roof of the world in very unfavourable conditions. In the words of a German Indologist, the waters of the Ganga have fertilised the sands and snows of Central Asia.

Let me now end with the Tibetan folk prayer I told you about before: *rgya-gar panchen Bodola fka drin che*: "we the people of Tibet owe an immense debt and gratitude to the Maha Pandits of India". So do I.

TIBETAN BUDDHISM-PAST AND PRESENT

ARCHANA SHUKLA
and
VINEET K. DIKSHIT

Religion plays a major role in the development of culture and society in Tibet. For Tibetans, when they were in Tibet, everything began and ended with religion. All religious acts were social acts and all social acts were religious acts. In fact, acts were more important than the people who performed them.

Historically, the oldest religion of Tibet was Bon founded by Shenrab. It was "shamanistic, devil worship, pure and simple."¹ In 747 AD, the association of King Trisong Detsen with Guru Padmasambhava, a great tantric guru living in Udayana, in North-West India led to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet. Together they established the first monastery in Tibet at Samye in 749 AD.² After Padmasambhava, several Indian Buddhist scholars visited Tibet and thus right from the beginning of script to development of grammar, poetry, drama, ethics and logic, astrology and medicine, Tibetans were constantly helped by Indian scholars.³

Tibetan Buddhism is a combination of two major Buddhist systems: *Mahayana*⁴ evolved in the first century and *Vajrayana* (Tantricism) evolved in second century in India. Where as *Mahayana* explains the theoretical aspects of Buddhism, the tantric literature depicts the Buddhism as adopted by the commoners in daily practice. According to Girija Saklani⁵, "Its [Tibetan Buddhism's] doctrinal bases are the two Indian schools, *Madhyamika* (the "middle way") of Nagarjuna, and *Yogicira* (practice of yoga) of Asanga."⁶ The close connection between the two schools in Tibetan Buddhism is a study in polarity and synthesis. The first school carries more weight with the reformed sect, i.e., the *Gelug* and the second

with the ancient or unreformed sect, i.e., *Nyingma*. The distant founder of the first is Atisa and of the other, Padmasambhava, both of whom migrated to Tibet from India. The first is more typified by philosophy and theoretical discussion, while the second is influenced by meditation and psychic experiences. One is emphasizing theoretical study, while the other is that of tantric rituals. The triumph of Buddhism in Tibet has been due to its capacity for assimilation and absorption. In its process of adjustment, adaptation, compromise and refinement the basic tenets of Buddhism underwent a change and got diluted.

Ralpachen (815-836AD) was equivalent to Asoka and is known as the third religious king of Tibet.⁷ He was assassinated by Langdarma, who did not patronise Buddhism and was even responsible for bringing an end to the Yarlung Empire (established by Songtsen Gampo) and Buddhism. However, some Buddhist monks secretly continued the practice in Amdo (East) and later Nagari Kings of West revived Buddhism in Tibet.

DIFFERENT SECTS OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

The four sects of Tibetan Buddhism are as follows:⁸

Nyingma - It is the old school sect founded in 8th century AD by Padmasambhava. According to this school, there are nine paths to enlightenment, the first three through sutras and the last six through tantras. *Nyingma* monks are also called Red Hats. They are free to marry and live in chapels. In India, the supreme seat of learning of this sect is situated at Chandragiri in Ganjam district of Orissa.

Sakya - The founder of the Sakya monastery Kon Chogyal Pho (1034-1102 AD) was only a *Nyingmapa* who wished to establish a sound doctrine. People associated with this Sakya monastery (founded in 1073 AD) in Tsang province of Central Tibet are called *Sakyapa*. It is also called Grey Earth monastery. The significant feature of this tradition is that the abbotship is transferred from uncle to nephew. Its main centre in India is located at Dehradun in Uttarakhand and the present head Sakya Trizin is the 41st in the lineage.

Kagyü - Kagyü means 'orally transmitted precepts, i.e., the teacher transfers his knowledge orally to his pupil. The lineage of this sect was started by Marpa (1110-1193 AD), the Tibetan guru whose student Milarepa, the great poet, took it further. This tradition is also called Black Hat. This school does not demand celibacy as essential. Rumtek Monastery in Gangtok, Sikkim is the main Kagyü monastery in India.

Kadam – This sect was founded by Atisa in which he stressed on celibacy, abstinence from intoxicants, prohibition of travel and money lending. The main purpose was purification of mind. *Gelugpas* absorbed the *Kadampas* in the 15th century AD.

Gelug - It is a reformed sect founded by Tsong Khapa (1337-1419 AD) who after trying all other sects found *Kadam* better and continued its teachings. It stressed on tough monastic life where monks were supposed to study and meditate. He also stressed on thorough learning of sutras before graduating to tantras. An examination system was also introduced in which the highest degree was *Geshe*. Dalai Lamas have been chief disciples of Tsong Khapa and this title was first conferred on the third Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso (1543-1588 AD) by the Mongol leader Altan Khan. The title was posthumously given to the first and second Dalai Lamas, Gedun Drupa and Gedun Gyatso (1476-1542). Dalai Lamas are respected as the reincarnations of Lord Avalokiteshwara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion.⁹ In Tibet, the important centres of *Gelug* order are Ganden, Sera and Drepung monasteries.

The great religious and philosophical movement of 11th century developed its roots in society and politics. Monasteries, which were established at that time, had so much hold that later on in the 14th century they became the centre of political power as during this period Tibet was more or less disorganized. There were internal feuds among monasteries and rivalries among nobles. Moreover, there was no central authority and Tibet was thus forced to submit to the Mongols and later on to the successive dynastic rulers of China. After 16th century, Buddhism was revived in Tibet under the Dalai Lamas, who were the God Kings.

Lamaism, which later became the chief characteristic feature of Tibetan Buddhism stresses on absolute devotion to Buddha and his principles. The lay Buddhists were not allowed to participate in religious activities. All ceremonies on their behalf were done by specialized lamas only.¹⁰ The laymen on their part offered gifts to monasteries and monks, seeking lamas' blessings, and undertaking pilgrimages to far off places as well as by walking around sacred spots. That is how their religious merits got enhanced. For these lay men, lama's presence was and still is necessary in all events and crises of individual and social significance. Lamas thus have hold on people's life and mind.

Tibetan monastic organisation was democratic in the sense that its doors were open to all. Anyone from any family could take vows of monkhood and rise to any level depending upon his merits.¹¹ Lamas even

did menial jobs in monasteries but were not looked down upon. Some boys joined monasteries at a very young age of 6 or 7 and later not all among them had the inclination toward studies and meditation, so they performed the job of cleaning, cooking etc. inside the monastery.¹²

Monasteries were perhaps the only seats of learning in Tibet. The few secular schools which existed there, were basically meant for children from aristocratic families, who were supposed to take up administrative responsibilities in their later life.¹³ In monasteries, vocational education was also imparted. Subjects like medicine and pharmaceuticals, astronomy and astrology, grammar, prose, art and literature, all were taught there. Books were also produced there using block print technique. Monasteries were the training centres for technology also.¹⁴ Some of these monasteries developed into monastic colleges and universities on the pattern of Nalanda and Vikramsila of India. In Drepung, Sera and Gaden monasteries 8,000, 5,000 and 3,300 monks studied respectively. They also had four, three and two colleges inside them respectively.¹⁵

RELIGIOUS HIERARCHY

At the top were a few hundred reincarnate lamas including Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and others. A neophyte entering a monastery was expected to take the first vows and become a *rapjung* (novice). This was first of the three grades of monks, the other two being *getsul* (junior monks) and then *gelong* (full-fledged monks).¹⁶ All, however, belonged to the broad category of *trapa* or monks. The gradation depended upon a set of vows that the monks had to take and strictly abide by according to the rules of the sect to which they belonged. The rules were stricter for the higher grades. It is believed that "to become a *rapjung*, sixteen vows must be taken, including avoidance of certain sins and adherence to certain rules. *Getsul* involves taking of twenty additional vows and for *gelong* the full two hundred and fifty three vows must be taken".¹⁷ Each aspirant had to satisfy the abbot of the monastery that he was fully qualified intellectually and spiritually for a higher grade. The highest degree was *Geshe* (Doctor of Divinity) which is equivalent to Doctorate degree of modern universities.¹⁸ Such a monk was qualified for high posts in monasteries and government administration.

In monasteries, neither the students pay any fee nor the teachers get any salary but they enjoy free accommodation and food. So, the poor families often sent their children to monasteries for education. Almost

every Tibetan family sent at least one son to become a monk which in turn kept the population of Tibet in check. In monasteries, young monks were told to analyse a fact, before accepting it. For twenty years students had to study the following subjects.¹⁹

1. *Prajnaparamita* - The Perfection of Wisdom.
2. *Madhyamika* - The Middle Path
3. *Vinaya* – The Canon of Monastic Discipline
4. *Abhidhamma* – Phenomenology
5. Metaphysics
6. Logic and Dialectics.

To pass the earlier stages monks had to face oral recitation tests but for the higher ones participation in group discussions and congregational debates was essential. Monks also learned *U-Chen* script which is used for printing as well as *U-Med* script which is the ordinary written form. They consisted of loose leaves held between two flat wooden pieces tied with yellow or red cloth.

Monasteries were exempted from tax and services. On the contrary, the monasteries owned land and serfs, from which they got revenue in the form of tax and services. In some monasteries, monks were allowed private trade and thus some of them became so rich that they employed the poor monks as servants. One could attain status inside as well as outside monastery by his academic excellence also. That means life inside a monastery was not static at all. In fact, these provided the main opportunity for able and ambitious to notch a higher place for themselves in the society.

Owing to their undisputed authority in Tibet, the monasteries amassed huge wealth but the larger ones helped the smaller monasteries financially, and also helped people by lending out land, money and foodgrains if the harvest was poor.²⁰ Heinrich Harrer who happened to be in Tibet for seven years never met a single person who had any doubts about Buddhism. It was this faith that the Chinese Communists tried to shake. Thus to save their religion, Tibetans decided to leave their own country despite the fact that Communists had come with favourable economic reforms.²¹

The Tibetans are now having introspection and now they question the rationale behind wealth, power and prestige of monasteries considering the fact that these were basically religious institutions.²² The commoners have started pointing out these acts of deviation from religion. This does

not signify rebellion, not even disbelief but in the traditional society people were ignorant, myopic and imbecile. People kept the religious texts of *Kanjur* (108 volumes of Lord Buddha's actual utterances) and *Tanjur* (235 volumes of translation of the shastras) as social status. About 20 per cent of the total Tibetan population lived in monasteries. In the early 1980s, the available estimate of the Tibetan clerical population put the number around 1,50,000.²³

At present, there are about 200 monasteries in exile possibly because of the efforts of Dalai Lama's administration and Tibetan community. In the year 2000, the total number of monasteries, nunneries and temples in India stood at 141 under the Ministry of Religious and Cultural Affairs, Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala. It also demonstrates the strong will among the Tibetan refugees to sustain their religion and culture. India was obviously their first preference as it was here that Buddhism had its roots. Gaya and other places were pilgrimages for them. Tibetans call India *Fagul*, i.e., a holy land, the land of Buddha.²⁴ Since 1960, Dalai Lama has been permanently settled in Dharamsala and the place is popularly known as "Little Lhasa", where many religious, educational and cultural institutions have been established. Dalai Lama's residence is called *Thekchen Choling* which also includes his office and monastery. However, there has been one significant change that the Dalai Lama has become more accessible now.²⁵

Tibetans have tried their best to maintain their religious traditions and in every settlement one finds monasteries (*gompas*), stupas (*chortens*) and temples. Tibetans are often described as having made their religion mechanical²⁶ as in settlements one can always see people rotating prayer wheels with *mani mantras* written inside on slips of paper. It is believed that if it is rotated once, the impact of prayer is hundred fold. People are always rotating rosaries. *Tharchok* (prayer flags) are also the unique characteristic of Tibetan settlements. Every movement of flags, wheels and rosary is supposed to carry prayers to God. No doubt these symbols are mechanical but they also prove the spirit of continuity in Tibetan tradition.

In Tibet nuns were not permitted to join the great festival of *monlam*.²⁷ They had to sit behind the monks on every occasion. However, in 1994 the Dalai Lama allowed the nuns to attend the *monlam* festival. The head of a nunnery is known as abbess.

While commenting on customs and traditions of Tibetan society, A.V. Arakheri observes²⁸ :

even today the pre-Buddhist customs and their symbolism have remained in Tibetan society. It can be observed in the belief of the Tibetans that the roof top and their hearth are considered sacred and incense sticks are offered regularly. The walls of the houses are decorated with auspicious figures and signs representing the deities of old religion. The symbols of four elements, the tiger, lion, eagle and dragon, are still used in the Buddhist philosophy. The practice of selecting high places or hills to perform worship to spirits is also an age old practice belonging to *Bon* religion. Erecting the prayer flags on the roof tops etc. also indicate the elements of *Bon* religion incorporated in Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism has many more practices from the *Bon* religion, namely oracular priests, local divinities and a notion of divine Kingship.

In the private altars butter oil lamps have now been replaced by electric bulbs. Offerings are made to Buddha, *Dharma* and *Sangha* (Triple Gems). It consists of bowls of water and grain, flowers and incense. Interestingly, Buddhist adaptiveness and degree of adjustment was observed during *Losar*, the Tibetan New Year (February) at a monastery at Clementown, Dehradun where even soft drinks, Britannia cakes, Amul butter and chocolates were being offered to deities. For Tibetans death is not a sorrow. They consider it another opportunity given to the soul to take rebirth. It is supposed to be fortunate if one takes rebirth as Gods, Tibetans or man. But it is unfortunate if one takes rebirth as beast, tantalizing ghosts or is sent to hell. One takes rebirth if one dies with desires, so the dying person should deviate his mind from his surroundings and concentrate on rituals by lama who leads his soul. The family members and friends also pray for 49 days as his soul is believed to be revolving around the house for seven weeks.²⁹

To dispose off the body four methods are used in Tibet (i) funeral for the lamas (ii) burial for those who died of infectious diseases (iii) destitutes were sunk in rivers (iv) sky burial or *Ja-Tor* for commoners. It meant feeding the birds.³⁰ However, in refugedom, cremation is the only method used for all people. The rites have also been made short and simple. People do not have time, money or desire to indulge into complete ceremonies. But old people still have the same faith in their ritual system. They deposit money in monasteries for their last rites because they believe that they should themselves bear the expenses to get peace.³¹

In 1959, two tantric colleges were established at Dalhousie (Himachal Pradesh). In Dalhousie, Mahayana Monastic Home was founded in 1961 for young lamas. All major monasteries of Tibet namely Ganden, Sera

and Drepung have established their counterparts, though in miniature form in India.³² In each of them they have its abbot, college council, sectarian organisation and examination system. All these activities prove once again the inner strength of Tibetan Buddhism. Some sacred objects like flags, rosaries and prayerwheels are still popular but some like *dadar* (divine arrow) are not found now.

The Dalai Lama established the Council of Religious Affairs as early as 1960.³³ Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA), which was established in 1959, promotes music, dance and drama. Most of the Tibetan performing arts are related to religion. Library of Tibetan Works and Archives was established in 1971. Besides doing all book keeping work, it also conducts courses in Tibetan Buddhism. Most of the students here are from Western countries. Buddhist school of Dialectics came into being in Dharamsala in 1973 and the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies was set up in Sarnath, Varanasi in 1977. Similarly, Amnye Machen institute was founded in 1992 in Dharamsala for advanced Tibetan studies.

According to the latest official statistics of Tibetan administration, there are 141 monasteries in India, out of which 41 are *Nyingma*, 29 *Kagyü*, 14 *Sakya*, 42 *Gelugpa* and 3 *Bon* monasteries. There are two Tantric colleges where 20,000 monks receive education. All over India there are 9 nunneries in which 713 nuns pursue religious education. In Tibet the total monastic population was 20 per cent. However, in India it was 7.2 per cent in 1976 which in 2000 rose to 16 per cent.³⁴ It proves that after coming to India, there was a decline in monastic population mainly due to the economic reasons. But in the recent past, there has been rise in monastic population because there is a continuous rise in the number of new refugees coming every year and most of them are monks. During the period 1969-79 borders were closed. So in 1976 the percentage of monastic population was 7.2 only. The number of new refugees in 1989 was 689, in 1990 it was 2066, and it rose to 3,374 in 1991.³⁵ The number has been continuously rising ever.

In the present set up, lamas are also living in settlements and their charisma is wearing out. Earlier, in Tibet, the monasteries used to be situated in remote inaccessible places and it used to be a rare fortune to have their blessings. Lamas were forbidden to go to markets or anybody's place unless it was a family function. Women could not enter monasteries and lay persons could not stay there after sunset. All these rules are relaxed now.

People have now started believing that new monks should be initiated

selectively and only those who are seriously inclined should follow religious education. The younger generation believes that less time and money should be spent on religion. Monks should not become parasites but they should also work to sustain themselves. More energy should be spent on developing the community on modern lines. They also question, how was it possible that reincarnation of a senior lama was found so quickly after his death. They also suggest bringing an end to the *Tulku* (incarnate lama) system.³⁶ The reasons of this change in attitude are attributed to education, lack of time, paucity of funds, impact of media, exposure to science and technology and influence of the west. In Tibet, religion was a whole time and exclusive pursuit followed by 20 per cent of its population at the cost of the community. After coming to India, Tibetans, especially those who got secular education, started seriously reconsidering whether this costly practice should be followed with same fervor. However, today they are more open to “desacrilization”, “secularization” and “democratization” of the Tibetan society.

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4. *Mahayana* Buddhism idolizes Bodhisattva, a person who attains enlightenment for the sake of others but delays his own nirvana so that he can help as many people he can in attaining enlightenment. *Mahayana* stresses on gradual understanding of complete spiritual knowledge.
5. Girija Saklani, *The Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change*, Delhi, 1984, p. 129.
6. Followers of Hinayan believe in two philosophies, i.e., *Vaibhasika* and *Sautantrika* whereas followers of Mahayana believe in *Madhyamika* (2nd century AD) of Nagarjuna and *Yogacara* (3rd Century AD) of Asanga.
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- Richardson, "Political Role of Four Sects in Tibetan History", *Tibetan Review*, September 1978. All these sects have their representation in Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile at Dharamsala.
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ESTABLISHING THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE
BUDDHA IN *Pramanasidhi-Pariccheda*
OF THE *Pramanavarttika*

NAWANG TSERING

The monasteries in Ladakh and other *Gonpas* in the Himalayas are filled with statues and painting-scrolls of six ornaments of *Jambhudipa*. The philosophy of Indian Acharyas has formed the core of syllabi in these monasteries. While Acharya Nagarjuna and Aryadeva belonged to the *Madhyakika* school of thought, Archarya Dignaga, Dharmakirti Asangha and Basubandhu were from the *Vijnanavadin* school. The lamas of Tibet and the Himalayas study five major subjects of Buddhist philosophy and ethics, viz. *Madhyamika*, *Prajnaparamita*, *Abidharms*, *Vinaya* and *Pramana*. After years of study of these subjects, the candidate is awarded with the degree of *Geshes*. This paper deals with the study of *Pramanavarttika* as an important text on *Pramana*. Tibetans have written dozens of commentaries on the *Pramanavarttika*, particularly on the second chapter of *Pramanasidhi Pariccheda*. This discussion is based on the commentary on the second chapter of *Pramanavarttika* by rGyal-tsab-rje (AD 1362-1432).

Acharya Dignaga (6th-7th century AD) is regarded as the father of Buddhist *Pramana*. Among all his compositions on Buddhist *Pramana*, the *Pramanasamuccya* is considered to be his magnum opus. Both in matter and in manner, his works have marked a distinct departure from those of his predecessors. The keenness of his insight and the soundness of his critical acumen are combined to stamp in an individuality of his own.

Acharya Dharmakirti (7th century AD) appeared in the ferment of Indian scene of *Pramanas* almost a hundred years after Dignaga who was a pupil of Acharya Isvarasena. He felt proud of his pupil and acknowledged Dharmakirti's understanding of Dignaga's

Pramanasamuccya better than himself. On his teacher's advice, Dharmakirti wrote the *Pramavarttika*, a metrical commentary on *Pramanasamuccya*. The study of *Pramanavarttika* gained immense popularity and the subsequent scholars have taken the *Pramanavarttika* as an independent work rather than a mere commentary on the *Pramanasamuccya*. Dharmakirti wrote seven treatises on *Pramanas*, viz. (i) *Pramanavarttika*, (ii) *Pramanaviniscya*, (iii) *Nyayabindu*, (iv) *Hetubindu*, (v) *Sambandanpariksa*, (vi) *Vadanyaya*, and (vii) *Santanatarasiddhi*. The *Pramanavarttika* is the lengthiest work consisting of 145 metrical verses.

According to the Tibetan sources, Dignaga is believed to have written (i) *Prasmanasamuccya*, (ii) *Hetu-Cakra*, (iii) *Nyaya-pravesa*, (iv) *Alambana-Pariksa* and (v) *Trikala-pariksa*. He also wrote auto-commentaries on the *Pramanasamuccya* and the *Alambana-pariksa*. But none of these works is available now in Sanskrit, except for the first chapter of the *Pramanasamuccya*, the *Pratyaksa-pariksa* and *Nyaya-Pravesa*. *Pramanasamuccya* consists of six chapters, viz., *Pratyaksa*, *Svarthanumana*, *Prarathanumana*, *Drstanta*, *Apoha* and *Jati*. *Pramanavarttika* is divided into four chapters, viz., (i) *Pramana-siddhi*, (ii) *Pratyaksa*, (iii) *Svarthanumana*, (iv) *Pararathanumana*. There is considerable controversy among scholars regarding the order of chapters of the *Pramanavarttika*. Tibetan tradition put the order of the chapters like (i) *Svarthanumana* (ii) *Pramana-siddhi*, (iii) *Pratyaksa*, and (iv) *Pararathanumana*. But Th. Stcherbatsky and A. Vastrikoiv do not accept the Tibetan style of the chapter arrangement, which according to them is contrary to the arrangement of chapters made by Acharya Dignaga in his *Pramanasamuccya*. Dharmakirti followed the traditional way of arranging the chapters in his *Nyayabindu* and other works, which is like *Pratyaksa*, *Svarthanumana* etc. As the chapter *Pramana-siddhi* is the commentatorial explanation of the initial stanza of the *Pramanasamuccya*, there is a sound justification of placing this chapter in the beginning. Manarathnadin who has written a commentary on the *Pramanavarttika* also follows the traditional order of the *Pramanasamuccya* in the arrangement of the chapters in his commentary. Rahul Sanskritayan also does not accept the Tibetan tradition. He thinks that the confusion perhaps started, because Dharmakirti wrote an auto-commentary on the *Svarthanumana* chapters and the commentary on the rest of the chapters was written by Devendrabudhi, a direct disciple of Acharya Dharmakirti.

The main points of discussion in the treatises of Acharya Dignaga and Acharya Dharmakirti are actually eight logical reasonings. The *Nyayapravesa* of Dignaga and the *Pramanavarttika* of Dharmakirti

enumerated them in the following verses:

*mngon-sum dang ni rjes-su dpag,
Itar-smang bcas-pa bdag-rig phyir,
sgrub-pa dang nisun-'byin ngag,
Itar-snag bcas-pa gzhan-rtos phyir*

Verbal proofs and refutations together with (their) fallacies (are) in view of understanding for other's sake.

Immediate perception and inference together with (their) fallacies (are) in view of understanding for one's sake

The *Pramanavarttika* which is a metrical commentary on the *Pramanasamuccya*, contains many commentaries and sub-commentaries written by the Indian scholars belonging to Dharmakirti's school of Buddhist philosophy. Out of these, only few are now extant in Sanskrit, but almost all of them are preserved in Tibetan versions. Among the commentators only Manorathandin wrote a commentary on all the four chapters of the *Pramanavarttika*, whereas other commentators covered only three chapters, excluding the chapter on *Svarthanumana*. The reason for the exclusion of the *Svarthanumana* chapter in their commentaries might have been due to the fact that Acharya Dharmakirti himself wrote an auto-commentary on the *Svarthanumana* chapter of the *Pramanavarttika*.

The list of commentators and sub-commentators of *Pramanavarttika* is as follows:

<i>Sr. No.</i>	<i>Name of the Commentators</i>	<i>Chapter on which Commentary was written</i>	<i>Available in Sanskrit or Tibetan</i>
1.	Devendrabuddhi (Panjika)	On three chapters excluding <i>Svarthanumana-Pariccheda</i>	Tibetan
2.	Sakyabudhi (Panjika-tika)	-do-	-do-
3.	Prajnakaragupta (Bhasya)	-do-	Sanskrit and Tibetan
4.	Jayananta (Bhasya-tika)	-do-	Tibetan
5.	Yama (Bhasya-tika)	-do-	-do-
6.	Ravigupta (Bhasya-tika)	-do-	-do-
7.	Manorathandin (Vrtti)	On all the four chapters	Sanskrit
8.	Dharmakirti (Svavrtti-tika)	Chapter <i>Svarthanumana-pariccheda</i> only	Sanskrit and Tibetan
9.	Sankarananda (Svavrtti-tika)	-do-	Tibetan
10.	Karnagomi (Svavrtti-tika)	-do-	Sanskrit (incomplete)
11.	Sakyabuddhi (Svavrtti-tika)	-do-	Tibetan (incomplete)

As there has been a long tradition spreading over several centuries, of studying Buddhist philosophy specially that of Acharya Dharmakirti school of thought, numerous commentaries on the work of Acharya Dharmakirti were written by different authors in Tibet itself. Some of the important commentators in Tibet who wrote commentaries on the *Pramanavarttika* of Acharya Dharmakirti are as follows:

Sr. No. Name of the Tibetan Commentators	Chapter on which Commentary was written
1. Rigs-pai'I Seng-ge	All the four chapters
2. Ren mda-wa	-do-
3. rGyal-tsab rje	-do-
4. mKhas-grub rje	-do-
5. RGe-'dun grub	-do-
6. Shanti-pa	-do-
7. Pan-chen bsod-grags	-do-
8. Stan-tar lha ram-pa	-do-
9. 'Jam-dbyang bzad-pa	On three chapters (excluding <i>Pararthanumana-pariccheda</i>)
10. Sakya-Chogdan	On all the four chapters
11. Pad-ma dkar-po and many more	-do-

The source material for the present study is based on the commentary of rGyal-tsab rje's rNam-'grel thar-lam gsal-byed. The commentary of rGyal-tsab rje, who was a direct disciple of rje Tzong-kha-pa (14th-15th centuries AD) is one of the first exhaustive commentaries in Tibetan belonging to the *rGe lugs-pa* sect of Tibetan Buddhism.

The task before Acharya Dignaga and Acharya Dharmakirti was not only to discuss the philosophical topics, but also to justify the feasibility of their discussions in comprehending the philosophical niceties of Buddhist thought which basically centre around the fourfold truth, preached by the Buddha. The fourfold truth consists of (i) misery, (ii) the cause of misery, (iii) the cessation of misery, and (iv) the path to the cessation of misery. The first two are prescribed as undesirable (*heya*), whereas the last two as desirable (*upadeya*). The fourfold truth actually refers to (i) the cause of misery and (ii) the cessation of misery (i.e. *nirvana*) because the former implies the truth of misery, while the latter implies the way to the cessation of misery. The cause of misery can be apprehended when one, after going through the prescription of the scriptures (*aganma*) which are not contradictory among themselves, investigates and examines the origin of misery applying reasonings (*yukti-bala*). Besides, there are

certain other points which can be comprehended only after hearing and believing faithfully the scriptural prescriptions, because they are very much hidden (*anumana*). The cause of misery, the nature of which is impermanence, is subjected to examination and verification (*pariksana*), whereas the cessation of misery (i.e. *nirvana*) which is very much hidden (*atyanta-paroksa*) in nature, is subjected to inference. All these points have been discussed by Dharmakirti in the *Pramanavarttika*.

The chapter on the *Pramanasiddhi-pariksa* of the *Pramanavarttika* deals with “the doctrine of *Pramanabhuta-buddha*” which aimed at establishing the Buddha as embodiment of valid knowledge (*Pramanabhuta*). The Buddha is *Pramanabhuta*, because he is great compassionate (*jagadhitaishin*), teacher (*sasta*), all round perfection (*sugata*), and saviour (*tayin*), and this has been expressed in the invocatory verse of Acharya Dignaga in his *Pramanasamuccya*. The purpose of philosophical discussion of the invocatory verse of Dignaga by Dharmakirti in the *Pramanavarttika* is to ascertain the authenticity of flawless doctrine (*buddha-sasana*), and the authority of its perfect teacher (*sasta*) in order to strengthen faith in *buddha-sasana* and *sasta* for the seeker (*mumksa*), of spiritual perfection (*abhyudaya*) and of *summum bonum* (*nihisreyas*, i.e., *nirvana*). To attain the goal of spiritual perfection and *summum bonum*, it is the Buddha himself who is the means or the way thereto. The Buddha himself is the final test, hence, the establishment of the Buddha as *Pramanabhuta* is necessary for realising the goal of spiritual perfection and *summum bonum*.

The doctrinal teaching of Buddha (*buddha-sasana*) which is the result of his personal experience are grounded in logical reasonings. Though Buddha is regarded as the final test for the seekers, he never advised his disciples to accept and follow his prescriptions blindly, rather he advised to test and investigate them on logical reasons as he himself did.

For the comprehension of the *Pramanabhuta-buddha* and transcendental knowledge acquired by the Buddha, the twofold method, viz., *anuloma* (regular sequence) and *pratiloma* (reverse sequence), is employed in the *Pramanavarttika*. This also removes the following doubts:

- (a) What is the cause of the emergence of the Buddha as embodiment of valid knowledge (*utpatti-hetu*)
- (b) Even if it is established that the Buddha is embodiment of valid knowledge, there is no means of conveying (*jnapa-ketu*), the transcendental knowledge acquired by him.

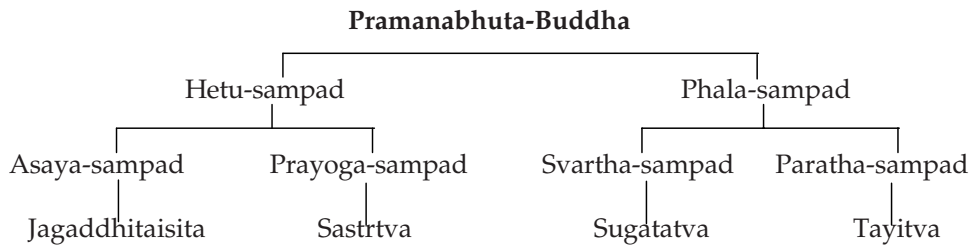
The doubts are thus removed. Since Buddhism does not believe in an

uncaused effect, so there should be some cause of the *pramanabhuta-buddha*. And the answer to the above mentioned first question is that the *pramanabhuta-buddha* is not an uncaused effect, but is an effect caused *jagadhitaistva*, *sastriva*, *sugatatva* and *tayiva* which are essentially the *utpatti hetu*, (causes of origin) of the *pramanabhuta*. Again, *jagadhitaistva*, *sastritya*, *sugatatva* and *tayiva* are not discretely different from each other, but are themselves causally connected in succeeding causal sequence (*anuloma*), as *jagadhitaistva* is the cause of *sastriva*, *sastriva* is the cause of *sugatatva* and *sugatatva* is the cause of *tayiva*.

The second doubt is removed when we take into account the doctrinal discourses preached by the Omniscient Buddha who is the embodiment of valid knowledge *Pramanabhutta-buddha*. His doctrinal preachings are essentially the means of conveying to others (*jnapaka-hetu*), the transcendental knowledge he himself acquired (*sarvajnana*). These are the causes of the Buddha being called *tayin*, *sugata*, *sasta* and *jagadhitaistin* which may also be reversely causally connected in preceding causal sequence (*pratiloma*) as *tayiva* is the cause of *sugatatva*, *sugatatva* is the cause of *sastriva* and *sastriva* is caused by *jagadhitasintva* and together they become the cause of the *pramanabhuta-buddha*. It thus establishes the Buddha as *pramanabhutta*. Acharya Dharmakirti defines *pramana* as uncontradicted knowledge (*avisamvadi-jnana*) and also as knowledge hitherto unrecognised (*ajnatartha-prakasaka*). Here the four noble truths preached by the Buddha, are uncontradicted experience. The Buddha's knowledge comprises all things, transcendental as well as empirical. As his knowledge is uncontradicted experience, the Buddha is *pramana*. The distinctive characteristic of *pramana* is *avisamvadi-jnana* (uncontradicted knowledge), which means *artha-kriyasthiti* (causal efficiency). When an object (*artha*) is endowed with efficiency (*kriya*), it is objectively real, and that signifies uncontradicted (*avisamvadana*) nature of object which is the meaning of valid knowledge (*pramana*). In other words the means of valid knowledge should be uncontradicted or non-discrepant in the sense that there should be no conflict between the cognition of an object and the practical activity or efficiency meant to obtain it. For example, fire has its causal efficiency of burning and cooking which is attested by our experience. Moreover, his knowledge is immediate and is free from any thought-construction (*kalpana*) and illusion (*bhranti*), because whatever he knows is the knowledge of the first moment of his omniscient consciousness.

As his knowledge is uncontradicted experience and is not known by

others, the Buddha is the means of valid knowledge. The word *bhuta* is suffixed to the word *pramana* in order to exclude eternality (*abhuta*). Eternal *pramana* does not exist. According to the theists, God is eternal and the eternal means of valid knowledge. Buddhists maintained that the God is or cannot be the eternal means of valid knowledge, because eternal and static mind cannot cognise the external objects which are non-eternal and are in constant change. Knowledge arises in succession owing to the successive order of the causes and conditions. If God is eternal and omniscient, he at once knows all the causes and conditions of knowledge, and his knowledge is thus simultaneous. Hence, there is no justification of his knowledge being arisen in succession. Again, if we assume that God is eternal, but his knowledge is non-eternal, this will also not serve the purpose, because the knowledge of non-eternal objects does not arise out of something eternal but arises in succession and the eternal God is also not depending on causes and conditions. If we suppose God as non-eternal (*anitya*), then it will mean that there should be some causes (*sadhana*) of this supposed non-eternal beings. But this non-eternal being has not experienced any sort of good or bad actions nor has he eradicated the afflictions (*klesas*) in his past lives. Hence, the apprehension of such non-eternal being does not have any justification (*pramana*) in the absence of any cause. Validity always consists of dependence on productive factors (*utpada-ka-hetus*). The productive factors of the validity of the authority of the Buddha are *jagadhita-sitva*, *sastritva*, *sugatatva* and *tayitva*. Following explanation illustrates that how the Buddha is being born as *Pramanabhuta Buddha*:



The Buddha is possessed of both the means of attainment (*hetu-sampad*) as well as the fruition of attainment (*phala-sampad*). The means of attainment comprises his compassion (*karuna*, *asaya*) and his spiritual practice (*prayoga*), whereas the fruition of attainment results in personal attainment (*svārtha-sampad*) as well as attainment for others (*parātha-sampad*). His compassion (*karuna*, *asaya*) gives rise to attainment for others (*parātha-sampad*) which justifies the epithets, *jagadhita-sin* and *tayin*, while

his spiritual practice (*prayoga-sampad*) gives rise to personal attainment which justifies the epithets, *sasta* and *sugata*.

Jagadhitaisitva

The great compassion (*mahakaruna*) is the prime cause for the establishment of the Buddha as embodiment of valid knowledge (*Paramanubhuta*). The desire to remove the miseries of beings along with the causes of misery is the meaning of compassion. The Buddha realises that the cultivation of compassionate mind for the sake of others' well-being is inevitable for him, as the immediate task before him is to liberate all beings from *samsara*. In order to carry out his mission successfully, he undertakes incessant practices and training in compassion so that he may be equipped with all the necessary means, i.e., wisdom (*prajna* etc.) to remove the sufferings of others. Compassion does not arise in absence of causes or that of affiliated causes, but it is caused by incessant practices and training in compassion in its homogeneous series of previous consciousness in several lives.

Incessant practices make the consciousness rise spontaneously out of its own homogeneous previous consciousness. Such a being of high rank never lives for a single moment without a compassionate mind, because he has already eliminated adverse causes, like hatred. Though every being is capable of possessing compassionate mind, he is destitute of compassionate mind because he has not eliminated adverse forces like hatred. It is the existence of adversaries, like hatred etc., which come in the way of a man that puts obstructions to exercise the noble ideal of wisdom for the sake of other beings. Though wisdom which could be seen in all beings as their seeds are present in consciousness due to their own previous homogeneous causes, they are devoid of uninterrupted wisdom as they have not undergone incessant practices. Incessant practices cause the spontaneous rise of its own nature. For instance, passionate mind of a common folk breeds passionate love, but in the Bodhisattva there arises only dispassionate love for which the Bodhisattva attains the great compassionate mind directed towards other's wellbeing (*jagadhitaisitva*) through long practices. However, incessant practices give way to homogeneity of compassion in consciousness, and finally the Bodhisattva attains the stage when the great compassionate mind rises spontaneously without any further exertion. And the Buddha possesses such mind of great compassion.

Sastriva

The Bodhisattva who is full of compassion always endeavours for the welfare of others and strives to redeem the suffering beings. He earnestly wishes that the living beings who are constantly suffering from miseries in the world should get rid of such miseries. But before he desires to liberate the suffering beings from their miseries, he should himself first know about misery, the cause of misery, the cessation of misery and the way to its cessation, i.e., the fourfold truth. If he does not realise the truth, whatever he preaches to the suffering beings for redemption from their miseries would remain a hidden fact for him too. That is why he undertakes incessant spiritual practices and meditation for the realisation of the truth which results in the knowledge of impermanence. Thus, the Bodhisattva himself should first know the cessation of misery and find the way to the cessation of misery, otherwise it would be difficult for others to understand the hidden truth of the cessation of misery and the way to the cessation of misery.

The antidote to the cause of misery can be determined, if the cause of misery is known. Misery is caused by the notion of 'I' and 'me' or ego-clinging (*atmatmiyagrahana*) which results in the attachment towards objects (*panacaskanda*) and that attachment also gives birth to craving (*trсна*). The antidote to the cause of misery *karma-klesa* is egoity (*nairatmya*). The false belief in the existence of egoity is eliminated by the force of the antidote to the existence of egoity, i.e., the realisation of non-existence of egoity. Thus at the root of the cause of misery is ego-clinging and the eradication of ego-clinging by its antidote (*nairatmya*) leads to the cessation of misery. Once the root of ego-clinging is rooted out, misery will have no leg to stand. Understanding its importance, the Bodhisattva undertakes incessant spiritual practices and meditation by adopting infinite means in several lives to realise non-egoity for the eradication of misery, not for himself alone but for the welfare of others, so that even a trace of the subconscious impulses and drives may not be left in his mind. Such Bodhisattva finally attains the stage of *Samyag-sambuddha*. The Sakyamuni Buddha is the *Samyag-sambuddha* who has thus perfectly eradicated what is undesirable (*dosa duhkha-hetu-trсна-atmatmiyagrahana*) and has incontrovertibly realised the knowledge of what is desirable (*nairatmya-darsana*). The means of the incessant spiritual practices and meditation imply *sastriva*, which ultimately refers to the realisation of non-egoity.

Sugatatva

The Sakyamuni Buddha is *Sugatatva*, because he is endowed with the three qualities, gained after eradicating completely the causes of misery. The three qualities are *prasatata*, *apunaravrtti* and *nihsessata*. The Buddha's efforts to eradicate misery is commendable (*prasastata*) which is different from that of an ego-believers (*atmadarsi*) who also want to destroy the pleasant feelings caused by the attachment with their ego. The ego-believer cannot eradicate the misery, rather he creates a miserable life for himself as he is always conscious about his ego.

Attachment caused by ego-clinging gives rise to defilements which in turn makes a further chain of defilements. Eradication of repeated recurrence of the defilements (*apurnaravrtti*) is possible only when the notion of ego-clinging, the root of all ills, is destroyed. The realisation of non-egoity which is the antidote to non-clinging, causes the eradication of the repeated recurrence of defilements that means eradication of *klesavarna*. He is different from a *srotapanna* who has to take seven births just for the eradication of the repeated recurrence of defilements. The *Sravakas* and the *Pratyekabuddhas*, though both have attained *Arhathood*, are yet to eradicate the impure thought of past habits (*dusthula*), ingrained in mind as subconscious impulses and drives (*vasanas*). They have realized non-egoity but are subject to rebirth, because they are free from worldly afflictions. However, they are handicapped so far as preaching to others is concerned. The Sakyamuni Buddha, on the other hand, has eradicated all such obstacles, both *klesavarna* and *jnyayavarana*, without leaving any residue through perfect realization of non-egoity. For him there is nothing left to be eradicated. What is eradicable has been eradicated. He is thus *Sugatatva*.

Tayitva

The Sakyamuni Buddha is *Tayin*, because he preaches to others the path of eradicating the cause of misery which he himself has perfected. He proclaimed the way to *summum bonum* for others without expecting any kind of rewards or fame in return for himself. Even his personal accomplishment is for the benefit of others. He has covered the path from the very start of his journey step by step like a learner (*saiksyā*), and he has to undertake various means of incessant spiritual practices and meditation for the realisation of impermanence, non-egoity etc. with an intention to benefit others with his achievements. His entire achievement for attaining

the highest stage of spiritual perfection is for the sake of others. He is thus a saviour of others, a *Tayin*.

The aforesaid discussion aims at justifying the fact that *jagadhitaisitva* is the base of *sastrtva* which in itself is the base of *sugatatva* and *sugatatva* is the base of *tayitva*. *Jagadhitaisitva*, *sastrtva*, *sugatatva* and *tayita* are the entailing preconditions of *Samyagsambuddhatva* of Sakyamuni Buddha who is thus privileged with the embodiment of valid knowledge (*pramanabhuta-Buddha*).

REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE MANAGING SYSTEM OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

LI TAO
and
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The rapid social and economic development of China in recent years has also influenced the ethnic minority areas of China. The pace of development brings with itself comprehensive and large-scale changes in almost all fields of human activity, politics, economy, culture, religion and so on. Monasteries, which have long played economic and social role extending beyond the strictly religious institutions, are the central nodes of Tibetan Buddhism. The shocks of the twentieth century, from the damage of the Cultural Revolution to the present economic opening have irretrievably changed the social and economic context of the monasteries. It has thus become essential to change the administrative arrangements and daily operations of the monasteries in order to accommodate these social changes. If the administrative reforms are successfully carried out, it would help the monasteries to play a role better suited to the new social and economic reality in Tibet.

This paper is based on the results of a fieldwork carried out by the authors from the 1990s till date. It focuses on the changes in administrative management of the Tibetan monasteries, besides analyzing the nature of the new internal structure and management of its operations.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF REFORM IN TIBETAN BUDDHIST SYSTEM

Since 1990s, the tempo of social and economic changes in Tibet has been accelerating, which is reflected in the commercialization of people's daily

life. Catering businesses and recreation industry have promoted the diversification of Tibetan social and cultural life apart from colorful fashion which has attracted the new generation to enrich the new life. Urbanization and modernization are thus becoming the symbols of new generation's social development. What is significant to note here is that the above trends have been changing people's perception of life fundamentally, i.e., secular ideas are taking deep root in their minds. The ideas of democracy and institutionalization as well as people's willingness to participate in politics have been strengthened, which have directly influenced the religious life.

In August 2002, we conducted a survey through a questionnaire distributed among 100 persons, who included ordinary Tibetan residents, farmers, herdsmen, intellectuals and young students. The result of the survey is given here in Tables 1 to 5. Table 1 shows that a significant number of Tibetan people have now abandoned the conventional idea that each family is obliged to have a member join a monastery. Table 2 indicates that Tibetan people now pay much more attention to acquiring modern knowledge. Similarly, Table 3 tells us that since people support religion more rationally, their family savings are more likely to be invested in enhancing their productivity.

As a result, these changes in outlook have affected the monks and monasteries substantially. A society that was mainly run by monasteries and monks, is being transformed into one that is dominated by secular forces, thereby altering the role of the monasteries as the social center. In such a situation, the managing system of monasteries has to be reformed comprehensively to adapt to the changes in social surroundings and the religion itself.

REFORM IN MONASTIC MANAGING SYSTEM AND CHANGING RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND MONASTERIES

Democratisation of Monastic Managing System

Since 1989 and especially since 1996, a long-term initiative has been launched to reform monasteries and cultivate patriotic spirit in Tibet. The government has taken a series of measures to reform the monastic managing system, so that the system would enter a new phase after the democratic reforms.

Firstly, the monastic administrative organization has been transformed from a centralized monastic managing committee to a decentralized democratic managing committee. The functional structure of the monastic managing organization has become more complex and the division of labour within it has become more effective and clear.

The Committee of Tibetan Buddhism Monastic Administration (CTBMA) was set up as early as the time of democratic reforms in Tibet. Since 1982 the CTBMAs of various monasteries in Tibet have been restored in succession. However, as the restored CTBMAs are centralized organs arranged by the government, they have been short of voluntary participation in dealing with internal affairs. In 1996, Tashilhunpo monastery in Shigatse pioneered to reform the CTBMA and set up the Democratic Committee of Monastic Administration (DCMA). Since then three major monasteries of Tibet in Lhasa itself, besides major monasteries in other areas have established their own DCMAs.

The DCMA is an administrative body of the whole monastery, comprising of 6 special groups responsible for religious services, political study, public security, relic preservation, production and management, and financial supervision. The director, vice director and the committee members of the DCMA are elected by all the monks attached to the particular monastery. But first of all the monastery puts forward a list of candidates to the concerned government Department of Religious Affairs. Once the list is approved, an all-monk election is held in the monastery to choose the members of the special groups. The DCMA's function is to guide and assist the special groups.

Compared to the conventional organizational system, the present monastic administrative system is a revolutionary breakthrough. Rejecting the direct appointment of the persons in charge of various levels, the new monastic administrative organizational system has adopted a new method of electing them democratically. Abolishing the conventional centralized mode of placing religious officials – *Kanbu* (Abbot) at the core, the new monastic administrative organizational system has adopted a new system of setting up a rationally decentralized functional committee for which the collective is responsible. Eliminating the traditional *Dratsang*, the new monastic administrative organizational system has established a monastic organizational system based on the functional division of labour in the monastery. Rejecting the monastic grass-roots unit, the *Kangcun*, the new monastic administrative organizational system has set up special groups

according to their various functions so as to avoid the limitations of geographic affinity.

Compared to the monastic administrative system that existed in the period of democratic reforms, the present monastic administrative system has its own innovation and development methods. During the period of democratic reforms, the monastic administrative system was run only by the government, thus giving it military or semi-military characteristics. The monks in the monasteries did not participate in democratic elections. Moreover, the lower organizations in the monasteries were not well-organized and their respective functions were not so clear. Under the present monastic administrative system, a fundamental change has taken place with respect to participation in monastic administration, organizational differentiation, and the rationalization and accuracy of the functional setting. Even though one can still find occasional government interference in monastic affairs, but overall on the whole the interference is temporary and occurs only under certain conditions. Today, autonomous decision-making and democratic elections are playing a decisive role in the establishment and development of monastic administrative organization.

Secondly, rules and regulations, made in accordance with the policies and laws of the state, are affecting the management of monastic internal affairs and the monks' daily lives. Since the establishment of DCMA, the power of the new authoritative organ to manage internal monastic affairs has been continuously strengthened. In accordance with its policies and rules, the DCMA formulates various regulations that are enforced by the special functional groups. These regulations deal with: (i) the system of job responsibility for the DCMA; (ii) the monastic study program of politics and law; (iii) the monastic financial administration; (iv) relic preservation and public security; (v) the system to check on the monks' attendance and the registration system for the transient monks; and (vi) the system to assess the work of each monk at the end of the year.

The formulation and enforcement of these rules and regulations have influenced monastic management and the daily conduct of monks and nuns. Today, monks and nuns do not consider themselves as belonging to a special class. Instead, they believe that they are ordinary people living by secular rules and systems, and obeying state and local laws. This fosters a sense of citizenship. Meanwhile, the new monastic administrative system has replaced the past situation in which internal monastic affairs and personnel matters were decided by a religious bureaucracy, the *Kanbu*

(Abbot), that promoted subjectivism in management.

Thirdly, democratic decision-making and supervision mechanisms are being introduced into the management of internal monastic affairs. As a new monastic administrative system, the DCMA has introduced not only democratic elections but also democratic participation and supervision in the management and decision-making of monastic internal affairs. In Tashilunpo monastery, while dealing with important affairs concerning all the monks or affecting the whole monastery, the DCMA asks for the monks' opinion and seeks the approval and support of a solid majority. For instance, in the year 2000, a director of a certain DCMA in Shigatse stole some important antiques from his monastery. When the incident came to light, an all-monk conference was held and the monks voted to expel him from the monastery.

Fourthly, cooperative relations are being fostered between the monastery and the local government to deal with monastic and religious affairs under the principle of geographic affinity, specifically to clarify the respective responsibilities and duties of the government and the monastery, to solve some practical difficulties for the monastery and to guarantee normal religious services in the monastery.

Innovations in the Monastic Economic Management System

During the Cultural Revolution, the monastic economy was destroyed which was not restored until the late 1980s. Since 1990s, the monastic economy has been developing rapidly to support the monasteries, which could be understood on the basis of following facts:

Firstly, as the monastic economy is developing rapidly, the economic gap among the monasteries is growing. At present, economic development of various monasteries scattered throughout Tibet is out of balance. Whereas the famous and large monasteries are booming, some middle-size and small monasteries in the remote areas have incomes falling short of expenditures. For example, Tashilunpo monastery's annual income exceeds 5,000,000 Yuan, derived from ticket sales, from its attached enterprise, Gangjian Cooperation, from renting out houses, and from religious donations.

Secondly, the managerial mode of the monastic economy is being diversified, and its relation with society is being strengthened. One can divide the managerial modes of the monastic economy into three types: self-management, cooperation, and contracting, which includes contracting both outside or within the monastery. Some businesses, such

as recreational centers, restaurants, and hotels, which are not suitable for the monastery to run directly, are contracted out.

Thirdly, the monastic economic management is being legitimised, specialized, and socialized. Legitimization refers to the fact that now monasteries must sign contracts with cooperatives relating to items of business and clarifying mutual rights and responsibilities. For example, Tashilunpo monastery's contract regulates not only the profits that its Gangjian Cooperation must return to the monastery each year, but also the cooperation's tax obligation to the government. Since Gangjian Cooperation annually pays a tax of 80,000 to 100,000 Yuan, the monastery has become a major source of tax revenue.

Specialization refers to the fact that as the scale and range of businesses grows, monastic enterprises can no longer be managed in the traditional housekeeping style. As monasteries increasingly use the talents of their own monks to manage their enterprises, monastic economic management is becoming specialized. In such advanced monasteries as Tashilunpo monastery and Sera monastery, a large group of well-educated and economically experienced monks are being entrusted with managing the monastic economy. They have now acquired managerial talents - Lama Managers - who win the same respect as their peers of great Buddhism attainments.

Since the monasteries are understaffed and cannot manage some businesses themselves, they sometimes have to rely on managerial talent in the society. Hence, monastic economic management is becoming socialized as well. The Gangjian Cooperation and the dairy company of Tashilunpo monastery have been running their enterprises on commercial basis. They have established an enterprise system in the modern sense, and have urged the monastery to cooperate closely with the government and society. As the monastery becomes more deeply involved in the modern social transformation, it increasingly relies on secular society, which in turn strengthens its influence on the monastery.

Fourthly, the monastic distribution system follows the principle of putting efficiency first and then giving consideration to equity. The Tibetan monastic distribution system has eliminated the extreme disparity between rich and poor that existed in the democratic reform period, and it has now become more egalitarian since reforming and opening up to the outside world. The new monastic distribution system is a result of new innovations and the past practices.

Restoration and Development of Monastic Educational System and System of the Living Buddha's Reincarnation

Tibetan monastic education has long been studied. The conventional scholastic education has been substantially influenced by modern educational concepts, teaching approaches, and educational systems. Consequently, monastic education has taken on some new features.

On the one hand, Tibetan monastic educational bodies and management have been systematized. What is worth mentioning is that the Evaluation Committee of Tibetan Buddhism Academic Rank, officially established on 20 August 2004, is the first attempt to establish an authoritative basis for awarding Tibetan Buddhism academic ranks in China. On the other hand, there has been a notable improvement in the teaching and evaluation methods of monastic education. An audio-visual education program has been introduced in some monasteries. Students study the curricula and obtain the teaching materials with the help of TV, video, and slides. On 28 July 2004, in Jokhang Temple, the first *dGe-bshes* Buddhist equivalent to "Doctor of Divinity") examination focused on five major *sutras* of Tibetan Buddhism, but other subjects were included as well. The evaluation committee is composed of not only the living Buddhas, notable monks, and *Kanbus*, but also some Tibetologists. Today the subjects studied in the monastery are even more varied. Besides Buddhist philosophy, the curriculum also includes Chinese, English, history, law and computer science.

Like monastic education, the system of the living Buddha's reincarnation is also being studied. The work for reincarnation combines heritage and innovation, i.e, it seeks to consider practical conditions while following conventions to manage the system in accordance with the law while scrupulously abiding by religious rites, and to attach much importance to the upbringing of living Buddhas while paying attention to the reincarnation of the living Buddha.

Nature and Developing Trend in Tibetan Monastic Reform

Since the 1980s, a certain tendency has been noticed in the administration of public affairs in advanced countries. The government-oriented administration is being replaced by a self-ruling one: administrative control is being turned into self-management. As a result, the government's burden in managing public affairs has been lessened, the managing cost

has been decreased, and managing efficiency has been promoted. A positive situation has, therefore, emerged between government and society.

With the Chinese economic development, and especially with the reform in politics since the 1990s, returning rights to the people has become the social mainstream, as expressed in the people-oriented ideas of the present government. In dealing with the relationship between state and society, efforts have been made to systematize and legitimize it by separating some social organizations and associations from a strong administrative control. By granting rights to these social organizations and by respecting and recognizing their independence, the government is giving them more opportunities to participate in public affairs. At the same time, the members of these organizations obtain more rights to manage their internal affairs. Once the individual's and the collective's rights of participation are affirmed, the government acquires the legitimacy to manage public affairs so as to improve its relation with the social members.

Tibetan monastic reform has occurred in response to this social reform. In the past, since the government's function in managing monastic affairs was not so clear, the monastic power of self-management was not affirmed sufficiently. The central and local governments incurred high administrative costs in maintaining control of Tibetan religious affairs and monasteries. Considering the enormous expenses of maintaining a complex administrative system with so many bureaucrats, one can find that the loss outweighs the gain. In order to promote the normal development of Tibetan religion and to affirm the Tibetan people's freedom to believe in religion, the Tibetan monastic reforms must be enforced.

Since the mid-1990s, and especially in recent years, Tibetan monastic reform has consisted of two innovations, one in the government's management of monastic and religious affairs and the other in the monasteries' management of their internal affairs. The aim of the reform is to define the scope of governmental administrative power and monastic self-rule. The government can guide the handling of religious affairs by making public rules and regulations, thereby laying the foundation for monasteries to exercise their own power of self-management, as well as providing the necessary public products and systematic guarantees for normal religious activities. Regulated by rules and guided by democratic principles of management, the monasteries are making their own decisions in internal affairs. As to the enforcement of governmental administrative power granted by national policies or laws, the monasteries must provide

their assistance and support. In return, the government is responsible for guiding and giving assistance to lawful monastic managerial functions and religious activities. The government cannot impose its own will on or interfere with such activities.

The aim of the reform is not to enable the monasteries to shake off governmental administration and to become a social force equal to the government. Rather, the reform is a new systematic adjustment of the relationship between monasteries and government. It is a rational redistribution of managing power in religious affairs aimed at lessening the government's burden in managing public affairs and at reducing the cost of religious-affairs management. In order to stimulate the monasteries' enthusiasm for managing themselves, the reform seeks to establish a positive cooperative spirit between the government and the monasteries in promoting religious-affairs management. By approving and respecting monastic self-managing power in internal affairs, and by drawing the monasteries and individual monks into religious-affairs management, the reform may diminish the distance between them and the government and society, besides making the monks more receptive to the legitimization of governmental administration and encouraging the self-isolating group of monks and nuns to return gradually to the social mainstream and to actively participate in social construction.

The Tibetan Buddhism reform is an innovative movement. Propelled by external forces, it was transformed from a passive movement into an active one. Today, the management of Tibetan religious affairs is entering a new phase of monastic self-management that differs from traditional governmental administrative control. Monastic organization and management is developing in a new direction, a systematic administration replacing a non-systematic one. The innovations in monastic organization and the power of self-management in accordance with the law have been strengthened. All these changes benefit the normal development of the Tibetan religion and promote the formation of a new type of monastic administrative system compatible with the development of socialist society. They bring a far-reaching influence to the Tibetan area and strengthen Tibetan Buddhism's capacity to adapt to society. The relationship between monasteries and government is becoming harmonious. A new relationship between monasteries and communities is being forged and will also become more harmonious. Tibetan Buddhism will become highly developed not only in the Tibetan area but in central and eastern China.

RESULTS OF SURVEY

QUESTION 1: Do you agree that a family member should join a monastery?

Table 1
TIBETAN PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY MEMBERS
JOINING A MONASTERY

	<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
Virtual value	agree	28	28.0	30.1	30.1
	disagree	63	63.0	67.7	97.8
	I don't know	2	2.0	2.2	100.0
Subtotal		93	93.0	100.0	
Useless	0	7	7.0		
Total		100	100.0		

The result indicates that more and more people believe that a family member should not join a monastery. Going a step further and taking the respondents' educational background into consideration, we find that the higher the education level, the less likely is the respondent to agree with the statement that a family member should join a monastery. The people who agreed were mainly farmers and herdsmen who had received less than a junior middle school education.

QUESTION 2: Which do you believe is more important for family members, to join a monastery or to go to school?

Table 2
COMPARING THE IMPORTANCE THAT TIBETAN PEOPLE ATTACH TO THEIR
CHILDREN'S EITHER JOINING A MONASTERY OR GOING TO SCHOOL

	<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
Virtual Value	To go to school is more important	90	90.0	92.8	92.8

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	<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
	To join the monastery is more important	1	1.0	1.0	93.8
	I don't know	6	6.0	6.2	100.0
Subtotal		97	97.0	100.0	
Useless	0	3	3.0		
Total		100	100.0		

The result suggests that the overwhelming majority believes that going to school and acquiring modern knowledge is significant to Tibetan and individual development. The traditional belief that it is glorious to join a monastery, has been abandoned.

QUESTION 3: How much money does your family spend on religious services every year?

Table 3

TIBETAN ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE ON RELIGIOUS SERVICES

	<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
Virtual Value	Less than 300 Yuan	56	56.0	64.4	64.4
	300-500 Yuan	15	15.0	17.2	81.6
	500-800 Yuan	3	3.0	3.4	85.1
	800-1000 Yuan	1	1.0	1.1	86.2
	More than 1000 Yuan	8	8.0	9.2	95.4
Subtotal	Don't know	4	4.0	4.6	100.0
		87	87.0	100.0	
Useless	0	13	13.0		
Total		100	100.0		

According to this survey, the reduction in money spent on religious services is not due to lower family income; the reason is that people now pay more attention to improving individual and family life and are more willing to devote their savings to enlarging production.

Table 4
TIBETAN PEOPLE'S EVALUATION OF LOCAL RELIGIOUS LIFE

	<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
Virtual Value	Normal	61	61.0	67.0	67.0
	Too much control	2	2.0	2.2	69.2
	Out of control	2	2.0	2.0	71.4
	There are some problems	15	15.0	16.5	87.9
	I don't know	11	11.0	12.1	100.0
Subtotal		91	91.0	100.0	
Useless	0	9	9.0		
Total		100	100.0		

Thus, most people are satisfied with their present religious life.

QUESTION 5: Is there any necessity for the government to administer religious affairs?

Table 5
TIBETAN PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NECESSITY OF GOVERNMENTAL ADMINISTRATION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

	<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
Virtual Value	Necessary	70	70.0	72.9	72.9
	Unnecessary	2	2.0	2.1	75.0
	I don't know	18	18.0	18.8	93.8
	No response	6	6.0	6.3	100.0

REFORM IN THE MANAGING SYSTEM OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

	<i>Item</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Effective Percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative Percentage</i>
Subtotal		96	96.0	100.0	
Useless		4	4.0		
Total		100	100.0		

The result indicates that the majority of Tibetan cadres and people believe that it is necessary for the government to administer religious affairs.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG TIBETAN DIASPORA

ARCHANA SHUKLA
and
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Initially Tibet was ruled by the kings of Yarlung dynasty who successfully subjugated the contemporary Chinese and Burmese empires. The last king of this dynasty, Langdarma is known to have suppressed Buddhism. After him, the empire got fragmented into several principalities. Buddhism made its second diffusion into Tibet in the 10th and 11th centuries and several sects emerged under the leadership of their respective gurus. Mongols were impressed by the Sakya Guru and they invested him with temporal power over Tibet in 1247 AD. *Sakyas* lost their influence later but another sect *Gelug* came into prominence and their gurus, the Dalai Lamas got approval from the Mongols. The fifth Dalai Lama became the undisputed ruler of Tibet, with Lhasa as its capital. The present Dalai Lama is the fourteenth in the lineage. He had to escape from Tibet in 1959. Thousands of Tibetans followed him and since then he has been carrying all activities from his Government-in-Exile in Dharamsala.

The central and most distinguishing feature of the traditional Tibetan polity was the theocratic nature of the government. Another unique feature of the Tibetan government was its dualistic structure of administration. Almost at all important administrative levels the administrative bosses were two in number - one monk and the other, a lay official. Within this dualistic framework there was a system of joint responsibility. While the secular officials looked after the secular affairs of this state, the monks were responsible for taking care of the interests of monks and monasteries.¹

The Dalai Lama who has been the supreme authority in Tibet played three roles of God, priest and the king.² This institution of Dalai Lama is very unique and his position is not hereditary but he is succeeded by his reincarnation.³ With a few exceptions, most of the Dalai Lamas belonged to the families of the common people. It might have been possible that Tibetans did so under the impression that power does not get centralised in the hands of few families.⁴ At the age of eighteen, the Dalai Lamas were invested with full temporal and religious authorities.⁵ Meanwhile, it was the Regent (*Gye-Tsap*) who ruled the country on behalf of Dalai Lama. The Regent was also invariably an incarnate lama from any of the prestigious monastery and was chosen by the National Assembly. He worked as a caretaker of the government till the young Dalai Lama reached maturity. The Regent was responsible to National Assembly.⁶

In the day-to-day administration, a council of ministers called *Kashag* helped the Dalai Lama.⁷ The Chief Executive who was appointed by the Dalai Lama, was responsible to him only or to the Regent in the absence of Dalai Lama. It was the main decision making body in Tibet. In its present reorganized form "Tibetan Government-in-Exile" also enjoys the same status. In Tibet it consisted of four ministers usually three lay men and a very high ranking monk.⁸ Besides the *Kashag* another important body was the Parliament on National Assembly (*Tsong-du*). It assembled only when summoned by the *Kashag* to discuss and give its views on any particular matter of importance. Monk members of the Assembly had the deciding voice in its deliberations.⁹

Tibet was divided into 13 provinces, each of them was under the supervision of two governors. These provinces were further divided into 53 districts (*dzongs*) which in turn were subdivided into small administrative unit, a village or group of villages.¹⁰ The village headman was known as *gowa*. Officials assigned to a *dzong* usually served for a period of three years and were required to return a specific amount as tax but they could keep with themselves any surplus collection.¹¹

Being a vast country it was not easy to rule Tibet. Dalai Lama's power was also limited as he was being kept in ignorance of events by monasteries, officials and others. Government proposals and important events came to him from the Council through the Lord Chamberlain or the Chief Secretary, both of whom thus exercised great influence.¹² The godly image of the Dalai Lama also alienated him from his own people as the people had no direct access to him. So, it were the middle functionaries who enjoyed great authority while implementing the orders of Dalai Lama.

Most of the officers, monks or laymen, did not get any salary but the privileges and power automatically enhanced their economic status.¹³ The officials were supposed to be honest and sincere, but in practice many of them literally exploited the commoners. Yet, there was no resentment as illiteracy, ignorance, blind faith and belief in *Karma* made the people meek, submissive and compromising.

After the Chinese takeover of Tibet, a 17-point Agreement was signed on 23 May 1951. Tibet underwent a drastic change, though in the Agreement it was promised that Tibet would enjoy regional autonomy and that the internal structure of Tibetan life, polity and religion would be preserved and traditional status of Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama would remain the same. But soon Tibetans revolted out of fear of the alleged Chinese plan to crush Tibetan cultural and political identity which finally resulted in the escape of the Dalai Lama and his people from Tibet to India in 1959. Earlier, the present Dalai Lama was vested with all power and authority in 1950 when he was only 15 years old.¹⁴

In 1960, after one year stay at Mussoorie, the Dalai Lama left for Dharamsala where he first thought of reconstituting the Tibetan government. Mortimer Hall which was owned by Sarin Bashesharnath was taken on rent and this one storey building accommodated the Secretariat of the "Tibetan Government-in-Exile" with twenty officials working at that time.¹⁵ It also housed the departments of religion, home, finance and foreign affairs. It was in 1967 that the Tibetan Administration shifted from Mortimer Hall to *Gangchen Kyishong* purchased by them from Amarnath Sood, a leading lawyer of Dharamsala.¹⁶ Dalai Lama wanted to introduce the democratic structure in Tibetan government, and he announced the first elections in early 1960's. Tibetans were totally ignorant about voting. They had never participated in electoral process. It was a new experience for them. There were no candidates and the people simply wrote names of the persons whom they respected most and the total number of names collected was thirteen. Most of them were aristocrats or lamas.¹⁷

During the second assembly, i.e., in 1963, people were introduced to election committees, ballot boxes, and female representatives. Many older Tibetans found that voting pattern very difficult and complex. As Lodi Gyari, Chairman of the seventh 'Assembly of Deputies' noted, "A lot of the people go into the election tent and just pray to his Holiness: I don't know any of these candidates but please let me chose the right one to help the Dalai Lama and the people." Then they closed their eyes, put their

finger down and asked the election officer, "would you see whose name is here?" When they heard the name of their choice they replied, "Oh, its so and so, I'll vote for him."¹⁸ Even now asking for vote is considered as a matter of shamelessness among Tibetan refugees.

The Administration is not only a miniature of the traditional form of government but also a model for future government and administration. It has been decentralized so that the departments have greater freedom now. *Tsongdu*, which had 175 monastic representatives and 175 non-ecclesiastical ones has now been abolished. It has been replaced by Tibetan Peoples Deputies, which has elected members from different regional groups and sects of Tibetan Buddhism.

Till the 6th assembly it was called Commission of Tibet People's Deputies (CTPD) but from 7th assembly onwards it was renamed as Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD).¹⁹ The thirteenth assembly was elected in March 2001, which has 46 members now. There are ten members from each province, i.e., *U-Tsang*, *Dotoe* and *Dhome*. Each province has to reserve two seats for women. Each of the five religious sects, i.e. *Bon*, *Nyingma*, *Sakya*, *Kagyü* and *Gelug* sends two members each. While three members are from Europe, Canada and U.S, the other three members are nominated by the Dalai Lama from among the outstanding philosophers, literary persons, scientists and social workers.

Tibetan National Working Committee is another institution which supervises the government and has power and authority of taking important decisions. Its status is above *Kashag*. It forwards its decision directly to the Dalai Lama. Its members are elected non officials, nominated officials, laymen and from those monasteries. It is yet another step towards the decentralization of administration.²⁰

Department of Information and International Relations does all the publicity work and pursues and keeps Tibetan issue alive at the UN and other international bodies.²¹ All these administrative institutions are new to Tibetans who were living a primitive life in Tibet. They have opened offices in New Delhi, New York, Geneva, Tokyo, London, Kathmandu, Moscow, Budapest, Paris, Canberra, Pretoria and Taipei.²² All these offices work as embassies for the "Tibetan Government-in-Exile" without any official recognition by the Central Government in Beijing.

In traditional Tibet there was no official policy for giving secular education to the youth but now there is a Council for Tibetan Education which has been operating since 1960 to supervise the entire educational programme for refugees. It looks after 87 schools in which over 27,000

students are taking their education.²³

Though none of these changes are revolutionary but considering the fact that Tibet for centuries was under a theocratic rule, these changes are no less significant. Tibetans have absorbed modern ideas and changed their attitude a lot. Those who are above 18 years of age, are eligible to vote. The overall percentage of registered voters was 29.24 per cent between 1991 and 1996. The number of those who actually voted also increased by 23.79 per cent between 1991 and 1996.²⁴

Dalai Lama announced the first written democratic constitution of Tibet on 10 March 1963. It included some fundamental rights such as universal suffrage, equality before the law, life, liberty and property, as well as freedom of religion, speech and assembly. All the old government titles and ranks were dropped. At that time the constitution had 77 articles. Since the Dalai Lama was anxious to democratize the administrative machinery further, in 1990 Tibet Constitution Redrafting Committee was set up to formulate a draft democratic constitution for future Tibet and Charter for the Tibetans while in exile. Draft of the Charter which contained 108 articles was circulated in early 1991. The final Charter was submitted to the 11th ATPD and was passed and promulgated on 14 July 1991. Several new departments such as Supreme Justice Commission (1992), Election Commission, Public Service Commission (1991) and Audit Commission were subsequently introduced in the government.²⁵

This Charter separated the powers of legislature, judiciary and executive. The powers of Dalai Lama were also limited. Nine amendments have so far been made which include an increase in the number of *Kalons* (ministers of *Kashag*) from seven to eight. In the year 2000, the number of Articles in the Charter was increased to 115 including some more amendments. The Tibetan Assembly has borrowed the practice of holding a Zero Hour from the Indian Parliament so that Deputies can raise issues of immediate concern.²⁶

As regards the institution of Dalai Lama, there have been significant changes. In Tibet, he was considered to be a God king and nobody could question him and criticize his actions. He was inaccessible to the common people. Now, there are significant changes in the perception of Tibetans regarding him. Not only the Tibetans but the Dalai Lama himself has gone through mental reorientation.²⁷

In an interview to *Newsweek* on 14 March 1983 he expressed his feelings that he might be the last Dalai Lama.²⁸ In another interview to *The Christian Science Monitor* on 30 July 1984 he said, "I believe in democratic

leadership, in our national constitution it stipulates that according to majority opinion, even the Dalai Lama's position could be changed. The Dalai Lama would retire and remain a humble monk watching the situation." He elaborated it further by saying, "in the future, we want to have a united Tibet, with a firm central authority. In such structure, the presence of a figure with no real power but with wide popularity could be most helpful".²⁹ In yet another interview on 28 January 2001, he declared that he wanted an elected successor to avoid any struggle within the exile community or between the different sects of Tibetan Buddhism.³⁰

The Tibetan constitution of 1963 is a highly democratic one and gives a number of rights to commoners. The representatives can check Dalai Lama's executive powers in the legislative assemblies. Though Tibetan refugees still consider him as their God King, there are indications that in future he may be reduced to simply a formal figurehead. He himself announced in 1969: "The system of governance by a line of Dalai Lamas may or may not continue, it is the will of the people that will ultimately determine the future of Tibet".³¹ He confirmed his stand in another interview to *Newsweek* on 22 March 1983.³² While answering to a question put forth by *The Times* on 19 August 1985, the Dalai Lama explained, "When things become really desperate you simply cannot pretend any longer and are forced to come closer to reality. In my personal experience, this tragedy has taught me a lot. I think the Dalai Lama has become more realistic. That's good. So, nowadays I try to act as informally as possible and through that way it is easy to be close to each other".³³ He stated that if he is allowed to go back to Tibet he would prefer a democratic government but his own office would depend on its usefulness.³⁴ He feels if he is more useful for Tibetans from outside he would like to remain outside Tibet.³⁵

It may be stated that Dalai Lama never inherits any authority but his people invest him with it when he gains maturity. In its editorial in March 1976, *The Tibetan's Review* stated that theoretically or spiritually the Dalai Lama, being the reincarnation of the past thirteen Dalai Lamas, has the right to end the divine line at his own will. But historically it would not be correct for a Dalai Lama to abolish the institution or the succession of the Dalai Lamas. Being a national institution, it might require national consensus whether to abolish it or not. Indeed, considering his great status as a 'Pope' of Mahayana Buddhism it is difficult for anyone to imagine as to who can take the Pontiff's place if there is no more a Dalai Lama. It is a matter of concern to Buddhists everywhere.³⁶

Once Dalai Lama said that he was fed up of hearing that any decision was carried out in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness. Dissolving the 10th ATPD on 11 May 1990 he announced, "From now on the people's decision will be final. I feel that the Dalai Lama should have no role here. The future assembly will be entrusted with the power of appointing the *Kalons*".³⁷ This self proclaimed reduction of his powers has instilled a lot of confidence among his people. They now no longer exclusively look towards him only for guidance.

The administration which is being run by the Dalai Lama's government-in-exile from Dharamsala, has not yet been formally given recognition by either the Indian government or any other international body. Thus the government is called "Administration" and its ministers as "Directors".³⁸ But, to the Tibetans the presence of Dalai Lama at the top invests all traditional prestige and authority to the Administration.

The rapid politicisation of Tibet issue has made politics a favourite subject for the Tibetan refugees, which they could not do earlier in Tibet. Now they consider politics as a means of bringing social change. The change from a feudal society to a democratic one facilitates a greater upward mobility among Tibetans. Earlier the monk officials *Tse-Drung* came from the noble families, studied at *Tse-Khor*, the ecclesiastical school, which prepared the candidates to serve in the Tibetan government. They enjoyed higher position within the ecclesiastical courts. A candidate who wished to become a monk officer had to be trained in *Tse-lub-dra* between the age of 10 and 12, which was a part of Secretariat. Only through this channel a commoner was able to become a monk official.³⁹

Similarly, only the nobles held high position at secular courts, *Shor-Khor*. A commoner who wished to hold this position had to be trained in the school attached to the finance officer (*Tsi-Khang*).⁴⁰ The commoner was often prepared to hold a high position of probationary officer. He could at length become a clerk but could not attain the authority of a ruling man (*Pon-po*).⁴¹ But today in exile the conditions have completely changed. The only criterion is one's education and ability and one can reach even up to the highest position of Prime Minister (*Kalon Tripa*). One just has to contest the elections and prove his mettle.

For the first time in the history of the Tibetan government, *Kalon Tripa*, i.e., the Prime Minister is elected by the people according to the recent amendment in the election process. The elected *Kalon Tripa* now nominates seven ministers to form his cabinet.⁴²

However, even after forty years of democratic set up, Tibetans do

not have political parties though there is continuous demand among the refugees for the same. Groups like Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) and Tibetan Women Association (TWC) do canvassing for their favourite candidates. But they don't participate in elections as political parties. It was on 26 February 1992 that the Dalai Lama announced that in future Tibet should have a multiparty system.⁴³

It has been observed that Tibetan youth are more educated, more conscious and more aggressive. They want to overthrow the out-dated policies of the "Government-in-Exile." Tibetan Youth Congress, established in 1970, has its branches all over India⁴⁷. Its main objectives are (i) to share their culture in diaspora (ii) to preserve their religion, and (iii) to keep alive the issue of Tibetan freedom. But TYC is more concerned about the third issue, i.e., the issue of freedom

The young Tibetans believe that *Rangtzen*, i.e., freedom can never be achieved with non-violent methods. However, Dalai Lama has shown serious concern over such a belligerent attitude of youth and he insists on sticking to the non-violent methods.⁴⁴ It is also to be noted that Tibetans realise the shortcomings in social development due to their traditional system. Some feel that monastic society was responsible for their failure as more and more youth joined monasteries. They did not get any secular education. People had blind faith in religion and were indifferent to politics, which was centralised in the hands of a few monks of *Gelug* order. People still have a lot of faith in Dalai Lama and do not speak against him easily.

What will be the future of Tibet, only time will tell. But Dalai Lama's letter of 11 September 1992 to Deng Xiaoping sums up his position: "if the Tibetans can live happily, peacefully and with dignity and self respect, he will accept even the limited autonomy of Tibet as promised by the Beijing rulers".⁴⁵

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7. *Ibid.* p.25. The members of the *Kashag* (cabinet) were called *Kalons* (ministers).

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TIBETAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE STUDIES IN INDIA

Some Perspectives

TSETAN NAMGYAL

Having a long history of its culture and tradition, Tibet is known by its numerous names such as *The Roof of the World* as the average height of the land is around 4,500 metres; *Shangrila* as *shang* stands for mountain in Chinese while *ri* and *la* in Tibetan are for mountain and passes; *The Forbidden Land*, as Tibet is a vast land bounded by three highest mountains in the world - the Karakoram and Ladakh mountain ranges in the west, wild remote Changthang mountain ranges in the north, and the great barrier of the Himalayas in the south; *Moon land* as the high altitude plateau with ice-capped peaks rising in height from 16,000 ft. to 29,002 ft. above the sea level just standing near the moon while touching the empty sky; *Land of Snow* as the gigantic mountain range and some high Himalayan altitude area always remain covered by snow; *Land of Lamas* as nearly one third of Tibet's population is formed by Lamas (monks) who live in monasteries; *Land of Monasteries* as over 3,000 monasteries were in existence in Tibet before the Chinese occupation in 1959; *Nomads Land* as Tibet is still a feudal society where nearly half of the population live as wandering nomads, particularly in the Khams and Amdo regions of north east Tibet. Some western Buddhist scholars also call Tibet as the *Land of Mysteries*.

Due to its military strength, particularly during the seventh to ninth centuries, Tibet was a powerful state under the successive rules of three religious kings-Srong tsen sGampo, Tri Srong Detsen and Tri Ralpa chen. Tibet was first ruled by the great nation-builder, Yar-lung dynasty's royal emperor (or Dharma king, chos kyi rgyal po), Srong tsen sGampo who as per local tradition established his "power in all the four directions."¹

Having huge mineral resources of gold, silver, copper, turquoise etc., Tibet is also the source of some of Asia's biggest rivers like Brahmaputra (*gtsang po*), Sutlej (*lang chen khabab*), Ganges (*mapcha khabab*), Sindhu or Indus (*sengye khabab*), Ngochu, Machun, Drichu (Yangtse) etc. All these rivers rise and flow from the Mount Kailash (*gangs te se or stod gangs rin po che*) to Mansarowar (*mtsho ma pham*) in Western Tibet.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

During the period when Tibet was an independent sovereign state, it managed its own domestic, foreign, civil and military affairs. Having a culturally rich background, Tibet served as a religio-cultural link between India and Mongolia, which is based on Buddhism. One can notice the contribution and collaboration between India and Tibet, ever since the first king of Tibet, Nyati Tsampo (*gNya'-khrigtsan-po*) [127 BC to 433 AD].² Widely known as a religious king, Nyati Tsampo founded the *Chosgyal* dynasty during the period of Vedic transmission of Indian culture and civilization. Nyati Tsampo was actually considered to be the legendary Indian king Rupavati³ who fled to a small deserted Himalayan plateau towards the eastern part of Yar lung valley of Tibet after his defeat in the great battle of Mahabharat with Pandavas. Since then the mythological, religious, intellectual, philosophical, cultural and civilizational links between the two sides have remained intact. It all began when Tibet became the centre for learning and teaching of Tibetan Buddhism, philosophy, language and literature. The monks and nuns from the Himalayan frontier areas right from Ladakh, Lahul, Spiti, Nepal, Sikkim, Darjeeling, Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh to Bhutan, crossed the difficult ways and high barren passes across the trans-Himalayan region to reach Tibet to acquire knowledge and learning the five major cultural sciences of Tibetan Buddhism (*rig gnas che ba Ingn*).⁴ They did exactly the same like those Tibetans who used to come to India to learn Buddhist philosophy, language, literature and culture prior to the inception of Buddhism in Tibet from the 7th century AD onwards. This period coincided with the glorious days of Tibet's relations with India, Nepal, Turkestan, Uighurs, and above all Tang China.

The harmonious relationship between Tibet and India is often described as a *Guru-Sisya* (teacher-pupil) relationship.⁵ It is believed that Tibetan history began to be written down from the reign of Tibet's most popular king, Srong btsan sGampo, who first conceived the idea of setting

spoken Tibetan dialects into alphabetical writing system after Buddhism arrived in Tibet. But the cultural contacts of Tibet particularly with the Buddhist world - India, Mongolia, China, Burma and Khotan appear to have been established much earlier. According to the Tibetan sources, some Buddhist missionaries from India came to Tibet and met the king Lha Tho-tho ri Nyen tsen (433 AD) and presented him a Buddhist text. Unfortunately they had to return back as none of the officials of the royal court could understand or read the text, because the written format of script was unknown in Tibet.

According to the recorded history, direct contact between India and Tibet took place only in the 7th century AD during the reign of 33rd king Srong tsen sGam po who was popularly known by the title of *chos-rgyal* (*Dharmaraja*) as the words *chos* and *rgyal* denoted the depth of Tibetan ethos and sanctified the king as a political authority. Thus, *chos* was broadly referred to as the established religion, while *rgyal-po* as the established authority. He is considered to be an incarnation of *Avalokitesvara* (*can re zig*) who took rebirth as a king for further dissemination of *Dharma*. Under his military guidance, Tibet became a major power in Central Asia, and when it spread beyond its original boundaries it encountered Buddhism, which then prevailed widely in Central Asia and China. During his reign, Tibet conquered the kingdom of *Shangshung* or *Zhang-zhung*- (Western Tibet) and he moved his capital from Yar-lung to Lhasa, the present capital of Tibet (*Lha* in Tibetan means God and *Sa* means land). Srong Tsen sGam po sent his emissary for seeking political alliance with King Ansuvarman of Nepal and King Tai-Tsung of Tang dynasty in China. King Ansuvarman of Nepal pleasantly agreed to do so. Srong tsen sGam Po married his daughter Bhrikuti devi (referred in Tibetan as *Belsa* and *Trisum*, meaning Nepalese wife and royal lady). Though Chinese king Tai-Tsung did not initially agree with Srong tsen sGam po, he subsequently married his daughter Wen-Cheng (referred by Tibetan as *rGya-Sa*) to the Tibetan king. Both these marriages proved to be fruitful for Tibet, with particular reference to spread of Buddhism. The two princesses were instrumental in introducing Buddhism in the royal palace. Both of them were Buddhist and they brought statues of Buddha with themselves. The Chinese princess also introduced the Chinese culture in the Royal Court of Tibet.

The Tibetan monarch, Srong tsen sGam Po sent his learned minister Anu Thonmi Sambhota to India in order to learn Indian script with its phonetics and grammar that could help him devise an alphabetic script for the Tibetan language with a variant of the *Devanagari* script. Thonmi

after his return from India composed eight independent texts on Tibetan writing and grammar and also started the first works of Tibetan translation of some Sanskrit Buddhist texts. He thus came to be known as the father of Tibetan language and literature. However, legend has it that the cultural ties and exchange of ideas between India and Tibet through China existed even much before in the 3rd century AD.⁶ The core sublime aspect of this relationship is the adoption of Indian Buddhism by Tibet. Due to the influence of Buddhism, Tibet preserved Indian culture and civilization well through the ages till China incorporated the region in 1959.

There are five formal traditional lineages or sects of Tibetan Buddhism such as *Bon*,⁷ *Nyingmapa*,⁸ *Kagyupa*,⁹ *Sakyapa*¹⁰ and *Gelugpa*.¹¹ However, the *Bon* tradition represents the pre-classical Indian Buddhist culture in Tibet. The pre-Buddhist cultural tradition, i.e., the *Shamanic* culture in Tibet continued to exist along with the system of monastic institutions of Indian origin. The *Nyingmapa* represents the first wave of transmission of classical Indian Buddhist lineage into Tibet in the beginning of the seventh-eight centuries AD, which is called in Tibetan terms *stan pa snga dar* (first assimilation of Buddhism in Tibet). The *Kagyupa* and *Sakyapa* both represent the second wave of transmission of classical Buddhist lineage from India in the beginning of the eleventh century AD, which is known in Tibetan terms *stan pa chi dar* (second assimilation of Buddhism in Tibet from 10th to 20th century AD). The *Gelugpa* represents a distinct tradition which formed towards the end of fourteenth century AD.

DEVELOPMENT OF TIBETAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Tibetan language basically belongs to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic group or family. Though the Tibetan script has been adapted from the Indian language and that some of the spoken dialects are similar, the spoken Tibetan in different parts or regions of Tibet is found to be varied, so that people of one region face difficulty in communicating with those of another region. For instance, Eastern Tibetan people of the Amdo region would not be able to speak the central *Lhasa* dialect.¹² But some people who know the literal Tibetan script called *U-cha*n or *U skad* can interact with all dialects to some extent, so that they could carry out the formal work smoothly. However, there are three different forms of Tibetan scripts such as *U-cha*n-heading letter, *U-med*-non-heading letter or ordinary written form and *kyud*-a running letter. In this way the spoken Tibetan language comprises a very diverse range of

dialects. In sentence formation, the written Tibetan is quite different from the spoken Tibetan. There is, however, one single written script which gives immense unity to the Tibetan and Tibet's literary culture. It is written in a phonetic alphabet that is *Devanagri* derived from the *Brahmi* and *Gupta* scripts of India, which were in use in India in the early third century AD. The two earliest Tibetan grammatical treatises, namely *Sum cu pa*¹³ and *rTags kyi jug pa*¹⁴ were composed by Thomi Sambhota¹⁵ in the 7th century AD. Subsequent commentaries on these two basic texts form the vast indigenous Tibetan grammatical literature. Tibetan grammar consists of thirty consonants and four vowels, which originated and developed on the basis of *Sarda lipi*, a Kashmiri script together with *Devanagri* script of Hindi alphabets. The wonderful and amazing similarities of the Tibetan script with those of the *Brahmi* and *Gupta* scripts can be seen in Buhler, *Indische Palaeographie, Plate IV, Cols.I-VII*.¹⁶

The indigenous Tibetan secular literature on various subjects such as history, philosophy, culture, society, politics, grammar, prose, poetry, drama, logic, astrology, medicine, mathematics, geography, cosmology, law, music, fiction, arts and crafts etc. have been written and compiled by erudite Tibetan scholars like Tsong kha pa, Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsan, Nawang Lobzang Gyatso, (the 5th Dalai Lama) Gyaltseb je, Milaraspa, Kunchen Jamyang Shadpa, Taranatha, Bus-ton and many others. This literature is the product of enormous Indo-Tibetan Buddhist and non-Buddhist translation, which are mainly incorporated into two separate collections commonly known as *Kan-gyur*¹⁷ (*bka gyur*) and *Tan-gyur*¹⁸ (*bstan gyur*) in 108 and 225 volumes respectively. These two collections are composite works on Buddhist literature done by the Indian Buddhist scholars and are called in the Tibetan canon by *Sakya* scholar and renowned Tibetan historian Bu-ston (1290-1364 AD). The two collections altogether contain 4,566 works - the *Kan-gyur* (1,108 works) and the *Tan gyur* (3,458 works). This vast Tibetan literature, in terms of its origin and later its emergence as one of the world's largest collections of literature came into being during the peak of cultural exchanges between Tibet and India. The Indian Buddhist texts were translated and restored particularly during the first and second phase of assimilation and dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet from 7th to 12th centuries AD, i.e., mainly during the reign of three pious kings- the 33rd king, Srong tsen sGam po (617-649), 37th king, Tri-Srong Detsen (799-815)¹⁹ and 40th king, Tri Ralpa chan (815-838 AD).²⁰ This process continued during the period of Lotsa ba Rin chen bZangpo (958-1051 AD)²¹ till the period of political

disturbances following the murder of gLang dar ma (842 AD), the anti-Buddhist king and the subsequent collapse of the Tibetan empire.

During the above-mentioned periods, the translation of such a huge literary corpus was completed under a team of both Indian and Tibetan scholars and translators. The translation works carried out before the 41st King Lang Dharma's persecution of Buddhism,²² are known as "early period of translation" (*Ngagyur Nyingma*), while the works carried out after the revival of Buddhism in Tibet are known as the "era of new translation" (*Chighur Sarma*). The people of Tibet consider these three royal patrons as *Rigs gsum mgon bo* (*Bodhisattva*),²³ the protector of the people of Land of Snows. More precisely it is said to be and human emanation and emancipation of Tibet's patron deity manifested and redeemed as *Avalokiteshvara* (*chan-re zig* or *sPyan-ras gzigs*), *Manjusri* (*byang be yang*) and *Vajrapani* (*Dorje phyags*), the *Bodhisattva* of compassion, wisdom and power respectively. The entire teachings of Buddha are contained and preserved in Buddhist *Tripitakas*²⁴ (*sde nod gsum*), *Sutra*, (*mdo*), *Vinaya* (*dul ba*) and *Abhidharma* (*mNon brjod*). These were prepared by Buddha's disciples and followers during various Buddhist council meetings. Buddha's teachings were preserved in memory by his most beloved and notable disciples like Ananda Sariputra, Upali, Mahakashapa, Anirudra and later on transmitted and written in the commentary form by the Indian Buddhist scholars such as Nagarjuna, Dinaga, Vasubandhu, Asanga, Dharmakriti, Shantideva, Chandrakriti, Ratnakriti, Atisa Dipankara, Jitari and others. There are also some non-Buddhist works that were precisely included in the *sTan gyur* section of the Tibetan Buddhist literature such as *Meghaduta*, *Shakuntala* by Kalidasa, *Subhasita-ratna-karandaka-katha*, *Nagananda-natakam*, *Candra vyakarana* of Candragomin, *Amarkosa* (*che-med mzod*). These are extremely important texts for the study of Tibetan equivalent of Sanskrit treatises. Besides, there are some other texts like *Dhatuparivartaha Shastra* which also comes under the canon of *sTan gyur*.

In the beginning of 13th century, the great *sakya* lineage further enhanced its contribution to the development of Tibetan language and literature. Among them the most widely known scholars included *Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen*, *Dagon Phags pa*, who later on introduced the five minor scientific and cultural knowledge or sciences (*rig gnas chung ba lnga*)²⁵ after an extensive and thorough study of Indian Sanskrit grammar like *Kalpa Vyakarana*, *Chandra Vyakarana*, *Kavya* and many other texts from the great Indian scholars. The Hungarian linguist, explorer and Buddhist scholar Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784-1842), who was widely

recognized as the founder of Tibetology, came to be known as a noted philologist and orientalist. It is said that while in the course of tracing out the origin of the *Magar* ethnic group he set out for a journey towards Central Asia and Far East in 1820 AD. After much hardship along the way, he finally arrived in Ladakh. And there he devoted himself to the study of the Tibetan Language. Later on, in 1831 AD, Koros settled down in Calcutta, where he compiled his Tibetan grammar and dictionary and catalogued the Tibetan works in the library of the Asiatic Society. The first practical Tibetan-English Dictionary appeared in 1834 AD by Alexander Csoma de Koros. After this Hungarian scholar, many European, Asian as well as Indian scholars contributed much to develop the field of Indo-Tibetan studies. H.A Jaschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* may be regarded as an authentic and valuable reference work. Many European scholars deeply involved themselves in undertaking extensive study on Tibetan Buddhist language and literature. Charles A. Bell published his excellent *English-Tibetan Colloquial Dictionary*, the first practical dictionary of the spoken language to have appeared in English. There are many more works like Graham Sandberg's *Handbook of Colloquial Tibetan*, H. B. Hannah's *Grammar of the Tibetan language* etc. which are very useful and helpful for understanding Tibetan culture and multi dialects. George N. Roerich's *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan* is based on the language of Central Tibet's Lhasa dialect. The Russian historian A. I. Vostrikov and the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci provided the first detailed scholarly accounts of Tibet and its literature.

TIBETAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE STUDIES IN INDIA

Towards the end of the 19th century, Buddhist scholars became interested in exploring the vast literature of Tibet which was actually the Buddhist religious works of India. It was more so because in most of the cases the original Sanskrit texts had been lost, and hence the only available source was kept in Tibetan language in Tibet. The first Indian Tibetologist Sarat Chandra Das' *Tibetan-English Dictionary* and *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language* (1902) are still indispensable for both the traditional Tibetan and non traditional scholars all over the world. Another Indian Pandit Rahul Sankrtyayana²⁶ discovered about 500 Sanskrit Buddhist texts in various monasteries in western and central region of Tibet during his numerous visits to Tibet in the 1930s. All these collections were kept and preserved in the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna.

Apart from these individuals, there are many government institutions in India that are involved in researching, editing, publishing, and printing works in the field of Indo-Tibetan Studies such as Sampurnanand Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Central University of Tibetan Studies (Deemed University) at Sarnath, Banaras Hindu University at Varanasi, Nalanda Maha Vihar (Deemed University) at Nalanda, Magadh University at Bodhgaya, Delhi University; Jawaharlal Nehru University at New Delhi; Tibet House at Delhi; Lucknow University; Allahabad University; Gorakhpur University; Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan (Deemed University); Acharya Narendra Dev Institute of Buddhist Studies and Research at Lucknow; Visva Bharati University; Shantiniketan; Calcutta University; North Bengal University; Asiatic Society at Kolkata; Darjeeling Government College; Darjeeling; West Bengal; Jammu University; Kashmir University; Central Institute of Buddhist Studies; Choglamsar Leh all in Jammu and Kashmir; Nagarjuna University; Guntoor, Andhra Pradesh; Himachal University, Shimla and Library of Tibetan Works and Archives; Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh; Patiala University; Patiala; Punjab University, Chandigarh, Punjab; Kurukshetra University in Haryana; Nagpur University in Maharashtra; Namgyal Institute of Tibetology and Nyingma Institute of Sheydra at Gangtok, Sikkim. All these are government institutions.

Besides, there are numerous private run institutions such as Manjusri Centre for Tibetan Culture, Darjeeling and Srongtsen Library at the Centre for Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, which is officially recognized as a Research Resource Centre with H.N.B. Garhwal University, Srinagar in Uttaranchal. The aim of this Library is to have a comprehensive collection of books as well as rare manuscripts on Tibet and the Himalayas. This includes the collection of *Tun huang* documents which is one of the earliest sources on subjects like history, literature, religion, law, astrology and medicine. The original manuscripts date around 6th to 12th centuries AD and were discovered in the early part of the 20th century at various caves near the fabled Silk Route along Central Asia. Another important collection is the multi-lingual publications of the Buddhist *bKa gyur* and *sTan gyur*, the Bon's *bKagyur* and *sTan gyur* or commentaries of great scholars. The great poet, philosopher and first Indian noble laureate Gurudev Ravindranath Tagore truly realized the importance of Tibetan language and literature with its original ancient Indian cultural essence for study and research. As such, the course on Tibetan language was introduced at Visva Bharati at Shantiniketan in the early twentieth century. Tagore's main motto and mission was to bring India into more intimate relations

with different cultures of the East. He invited Professor Sylvain Levi to join Visva Bharati as a Visiting Professor in 1921. His erudite scholarship and wide outlook attracted many students and scholars to learn and understand Tibetan language along with Chinese, Pali and Sanskrit in order to disseminate the hidden treasure of Indian culture in general and Buddhism in particular, which had almost vanished from its birth place. Slowly but steadily a new trend developed to study Buddhism from different perspectives with the help of Tibetan, Chinese, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit languages. Since then many other scholars from all over the world have been contributing with their scholarship, simultaneously carrying out their studies on Tibetan language and literature. Such scholars include Professor Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya, Giuseppe Tucci, Bidhusekhar Shastri, Professor P. C. Bagchi, Pandit Kshitimohan Sen, Hari Prasad Dwivedi, Vincent Lesney, Geshe Sonam Ngodrup and many others.

It was due to the untiring efforts of Professor P.C Bagchi that the department of Indo-Tibetan Studies at Visva Bharati in Santiniketan was established as a full-fledged center in 1954. This centre was the first among the Indian Universities to conduct a course on Buddhism and Tibetan language and literature at graduate, post graduate and doctorate levels. Besides, the Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath (Varanasi) too conducts similar courses. This institute was established in 1967 and this is the only government recognized University in India which holds courses from undergraduate to post graduate levels in Buddhist studies and Tibetan studies. There are some other courses as well which are being conducted in Tibetan history, medicine, archeology, astrology etc, apart from research at all levels in Buddhist Studies including Himalayan studies. In addition, the institute has an extensive and well-catalogued library on Sanskrit Buddhist texts, Tibetan Buddhist texts, books on Himalayan studies, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit studies and other allied subjects. Several sets of Buddhist canon are available here in different editions that include over 80,000 Buddhist texts including traditional Tibetan texts in microforms, and over 40,000 books in various other languages. There are large collections of manuscripts, xylographs, monographs, printed books, micro documents with audio video etc. However, the main objective of this institute is to carry out the restoration work of lost Sanskrit texts from Tibetan sources, and conduct translation of Tibetan texts into Sanskrit, Hindi and English. The current edition of *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* by Dr. J. S. Negi in sixteen volumes is a phenomenal and outstanding research

work. Two other institutes are also conducting such teachings and research in the field of Indo-Tibetan studies. These are Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, Choglamsar (Leh, Ladakh) and Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Sikkim. Since their establishment, these institutes are being run with the financial assistance from the Government of India. The objectives of these institutes are:

- (a) To carry out systematic study of Indo-Tibetan cultural relations from down the ages;
- (b) To arrange a study of Tibetan culture in general and Tibetan Buddhism in particular;
- (c) To make Tibetan texts available in translated version in Indian and other foreign languages;
- (d) To restore old Sanskrit texts preserved in Tibetan translations;
- (e) To promote and carry out research in the Indo-Tibetan field through information with other cultural and scientific organizations in India and abroad and to engage them in similar research;
- (f) To publish monographs containing result oriented study and research to be undertaken by the students of the Institute;
- (g) To provide for a course in classical and modern Tibetan Language leading to a certificate of proficiency followed by advance course that lead to a Diploma in the same subjects;
- (h) To train Tibetan scholars in the field of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit languages and literature and Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit scholars in the study of Tibetan language and literature (texts);
- (i) To establish a research library and museum to cover the Indo-Tibetan Studies programmes; and
- (j) To link up with Tibetan Buddhist studies in various places in order to develop and sustain the excellent teaching and thoughtful ideas of Buddhist tradition especially in the wake of present context of violence and terrorism.

Over the years, different institutions in India have been established for study and research on Tibetan studies based on Buddhist culture, language, literature, philosophy etc. The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies has now been upgraded by Government of India into a full fledged University as Central University of Tibetan Studies at Sarnath, Varanasi. This is the first Tibetan higher study institute in India which conducts different courses from high school to doctorate level in Buddhist

philosophy, Tibetan history and culture, Tibetan language and literature, Tibetan medicine, Tibetan astrology, Tibetan fine art, Tibetan sculpture, paintings and Tibetan translation, besides modern subjects like English, Hindi, Sanskrit, Pali, Life Sciences, Mathematics etc. This institute was established at the initiative of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and the Dalai Lama with the sole purpose of providing Tibetan education along with modern Indian education to Tibetan youths and also to those living in and around the Himalayan border regions with full financial support from the government of India.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Lama Dampa bsod names Gyal mtshan," Rgyal rab gsal ba'i me long"* (*phyogs bzhi la dbang bsgyur zhing longs, spyod spyod/ dzam gling phyed kyi kholo sgyur ba rgyal po mdzad do/*) This statement is linked with an oft-quoted passage from the above mentioned traditional Tibetan historical text.
2. *Nyatri Tsenpo* means 'Neck-enthroned King' He was the first king of Tibet, according to the myth and unofficial historical statements. Until the coming of *Nyatri Tsenpo*, it is said that the Tibetans lived in caves. It is presumed that he built the first house or temple known as 'Yumbulagang', which can still be seen in Central Tibet.
3. Traditionally *Rupavati* or *Rupati* is called the first racial group of Tibetans as most of the learned Tibetan people claim that those people were the ancestors of the Tibetans, besides the monkey descended story.
4. The five major cultural sciences in Tibetan Buddhism were designed by the great thirteenth century Tibetan luminary, Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen on the basis of Indian tradition. He divided them into five major categories: *Bzo rig pa, silpa* (arts and crafts or the science of construction including physical sciences, engineering, painting, sculpture etc); *gso ba rig pa, cikitsa* (medicine or the science of healing including medicine, alchemy, yoga etc); *sgra rig pa, sabdavidya* (grammar or the science of words and languages); *gtan tsig rig pa, hetu* (logic or the science of syllogisms); and *nang ton rig pa, adhyatma* (philosophy or the science of inner meaning such as psychology).
5. Recently, while commenting on Indo-Tibetan relationship, the Dalai Lama, in an interview with Jyoti Sabharwal, jokingly said that the Tibetan kings married Chinese and Nepalese princesses but never had the courage to marry an Indian girl because they consider India as their *guru*. See *City Scan*, August 1991, p. 22.
6. Rahul Sankritayan, *Tibet mai Boudh Dharam*, Allhabad: Kitab Mahal Agency, 1947, p. 1.
7. The Tibetan etymology of the word *Bon* is utter (a prayer, invocation)

but this word is probably of Indo-Iranian origin implying 'purity'. However, it is an indigenous belief or spiritual tradition in Tibet that *Bon* was the local religion which still exists there and is considered by scholars to be of Zoroastrian or Kashmiri Buddhist origin which was widespread in Tibet particularly in western region of Zhangzhung, prior to the official introduction and establishment of Buddhism.

8. The oldest school or system of Tibetan Buddhism based on the traditional teaching and texts was introduced in Tibet during the earliest phase of propagation of Buddhism, which coincided with the reign of the Buddhist kings of Yarlung dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries AD. Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra as well as their disciples introduced this Indian tradition. Actually the lineage that derived from the earlier phase and works translated before the actual unification of Tibet is known as *Nyingma pa* or the 'Ancient Translation School'.
9. This lineage tradition of Tibetan Buddhism originated and formed from the Indian *Pandits* such as Tilopa, Naropa and Maitripa and with the support of Tibetan Pandits Khyungpo Naljor. These traditions integrate practices derived from both the *Sutra* and *Tantras*.
10. This Tibetan Buddhist School was originated and formed after the name of a monastery, which was constructed by *Khon Konchok Gyalpo* on a site where the colour of the soil was grey or slightly whitish rock surface in western Tibet in eleventh century. Literally *Sakya* means 'pale or grey earth'. The influence of *Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen* was widely responsible for forming and strengthening this school. And the essence of the *Sakya's* teaching, thought and practices are compiled in the sets of instructions called the 'path and fruit (*lam-'bras*)
11. This tradition of Tibetan Buddhism was founded by the great fourteenth century philosopher Je Tsong Khapa later established and became dominant tradition of Tibetan Buddhism with its world renowned monasteries, Sera (sha -dra), Drepung, ('Bras-spungs) Gandan, (dGa'-ldan) Tashilhonpo and Potala palace in Lhasa. Later during the seventh century its hierarchy became the dominant political force in Central Tibet when the Fifth Dalai Lama assumed both spiritual and temporal with the assistance of Mongolian peoples and armies. The literal meaning of *Gelug* is that who follow the virtuous path. Commonly in modern times, the *Ge-lugpa* is also known as the yellow Hat sect.
12. According to a well-known Tibetan proverb, "Every district has its own dialect, every lama has his own doctrine." (*lung pa re re skad lugs re/bla ma re re chos lugs re*).
13. It has thirty verses (*s'lokas*) altogether about the application of Tibetan letters or it can be called an applied grammar that has thirty letters of the Tibetan alphabet. The *Lun-ston-pa rtsa-ba sum -cu-pa*, Sanskrit-*Vyakarana mula trim'sat*, this grammatical treatise is attributed to Lopon Anu Thon mi Sambhota.
14. It deals with the characteristics of the thirty letters and their grammatical

- applications in the language. In other words it can be called the manner of compounding them by affixes, prefixes, surmounting and subjoining letters to them. (*lung du ston pa rtags kyi hjug pa zes bya wa- Lingavataranama* the grammar on the use of affix, prefix, sex etc)
15. He invented the Tibetan script based on the *Nagari* and *Sharda* scripts of Northern and Central India collectively. Thonmi Sambhota the first translator in Tibet who translated more than 21 texts of both *Sutra* and *Tantra*. See Tsetan Shabdrung's book *Sum tags kyi shad pa Thonmi zhal lun*, p32
 16. Tsepon W.D., *Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History*, New Haven and London: Yale University, 1967, p.12.
 17. This is the Tibetan Buddhist canon that contains a large number of original Buddhist *Sutras* and *Tantras* translated from Indian sources. Thus *Kan gyur* literally means the translated sacred words or transmitted words of the Buddha. (Buddha's teaching)
 18. This canon is a collection of translations of authoritative Indian commentarial Buddhist works.
 19. The thirty-eighth king, the second great Dharmaraja of Tibet, established Buddhism as state religion of Tibet. The translation works of Indian Buddhist texts were started extensively during his period under the noble guidance of Indian Pundits and Buddhist *Acharyas* like Santaraksita of Nalanda University, *Padmasambhava (Guru Rinpoche)* the powerful apostle of Tnatrism in Urgyan in the Swat valley now in Pakistan, who were invited to guide and assist his highly organized translation teams. Moreover many scholars were invited from India such as Vimalamitra, Surendrabodhi, Silendrabodhi, Danasila, Jinamitra etc and with these council of learnt Indian Pandits and Tibetan *Lotasavas* including Kawa Peltseg, Sang Yesede, Chogro Gyaltzen etc made definite rules and shaped the translation work. He also formed a council of Tibetan translators and commissioned them to compile the famous Tibetan Sanskrit Dictionary or lexicographical works known as *bye-brag tu rtog par byed pa chenmo (Mahavyupati)* and *Sgra-sbyor-bam-po-gnis-pa* (commentary on *Mahavyutpati*) that were composed during this period. *Mahavyutpati* is a systematic Sanskrit –Tibetan dictionary that including the Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit words and phrases, mainly Buddhist terms, but also terms common to Indian literature and culture in general.
 20. He was the third transformed great *Dharma raja* of Tibet after Srong tsen Gampo and Tri Srong Detsen whose major contribution was to standardize the method of translating Buddhist Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. He also introduced the first monastic tax system in Tibet. The first history of Tibet came to be written under his patronage.
 21. Rinchen Zangpo, the great personality in Tibetan cultural history, has been known as *Lotsawa*, a great translator of the later spread of Buddhism. He oversaw the translation of many *Sanskrit Sutras* and *Tantras* along with their commentaries. He also brought lots of Buddhist Sanskrit texts

- from India. He was the main expounder and explorer of Buddhism in Western Tibet (*Naris-skor-sum*) including *Guge*, *Purang* and *Ladakh* in particular during the end of tenth century and the beginning of eleventh century onwards.
22. Lang dar ma u dum dtsen po, the brother of Ral pa chan, was actually pro *Bon* and against the new religion which changed the social fabric by giving greater honour to the monk's status. see , *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* by Bu-ston (English translation by Obemiller) Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 1986, p.211.
 23. According to the Tibetan Buddhism the terms referred the lords of the three families particularly in accordance with the *kriya Tantra* tradition- as *ajyam bai dyangs, Manjusri*, lords of wisdom, *phyag na dorje, Vajrapani*, the lord of might and power, *chan ras gzigs, Avolokitesvara*, the lord of compassion.
 24. *Tripitakas-sde-nod gsum* (Three baskets of teachings). The way in which Buddha's teaching is classified in general into three divisions according to their subject matter and trainings. (i) *adul bai sde snod - Vinaya pitaka*, The basket of teachings on moral discipline that mainly emphasizes the training of ethics. (ii) *mdo sde sde-snod- Sutra pitaka*, The basket of teachings in discourses that mainly emphasizes the training of concentration. (iii) *mngon pai sde snod - Abhidharma pitaka*. The basket of teachings of knowledge that mainly emphasizing the training of wisdom.
 25. It is called as five minor types of knowledge or cultural sciences in Tibetan Buddhism (*snyan ngag, kavya* / poetry) (*mngon brjod, abhidhana* / synonyms or Lexicography) (*sdeb sbyor, chanda* / metrics) (*sgra, vyakaran* / grammar) (*zlos gar, nataka* / dance and drama)
 26. Buddhist people and scholars considered him as an incarnation of Buddha. Professor Silvi rated and positioned him as one of the best Buddhist scholar in the world who had knowledge of fourteen religions and of thirty-six world-class languages including Indian.

INDIA'S RESPONSE TO TIBETAN UNREST, 2008

SHARAD K. SONI

On 20 February 2009, a news report published in the New Delhi edition of *Times of India* entitled "China Vows to Crush Tibetan Separatists" clearly pointed to the Chinese fear of yet another possible Tibetan unrest ahead of 50th anniversary (10 March 2009) of the failed 1959 anti-Chinese Lhasa uprising.¹ This was but natural given the extent of last year's violent events on the Tibetan plateau following the 10th March anniversary of the Tibetan uprising. Chinese authorities and security forces were determined to maintain stability in Tibet. The logic behind taking such measures was that China did not want to embarrass itself by again becoming headlines in what many Chinese perceived as the one-sided reporting of the last year's Tibetan unrest by the western media. What happened in March 2008 was that the people of Tibet went through the worst political crisis in recent times as their uprising also known as the "3.14 Riots" witnessed the violent protests by Tibetans amid preparation for a massive but well planned Olympic summer extravaganza in Beijing. It is in this context that this paper seeks to analyse the impact of 2008 Tibetan unrest, besides looking at India's response to what has been described by several quarters as the third Tibetan uprising. It also examines if there has been any change in India's Tibet policy in the aftermath of the unrest.

TIBETAN UNREST: BACKGROUND

Tibet has been in the focus of international attention for nearly a century now. In a well-researched book entitled *Born in Sin: The Panchsheel Agreement, The Sacrifice of Tibet* (New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2004) timed with the one hundredth anniversary of the opening of Tibet by the

British, Claude Arpi argues that "India's acquiescence to the enslavement of Tibet has had disastrous consequences." In fact, India has now the largest concentration of diasporic Tibetans (according to official Indian sources, their number was 110,095 in February 2008). Historically, the Tibetans were a feared, martial and warlike race. However, in the 7th century AD after Buddhism came to Tibet, they became a pacifist nation. According to Arpi, "Tibet's conversion had another consequence on its political history: a non-violent Tibet could no longer defend itself. It had to look outside for military support for the protection of its people and *Dharma* and to safeguard its frontiers."² This help came first from the Mongol Khans and later the Manchu Emperors of China's Qing dynasty when they became themselves followers of the Buddha's doctrine. The substance of China's historical claim to Tibet is that the Mongol Khans had conquered both China and Tibet at the same time, and that the territories held by the Mongols were inherited first by the Mings and then by the Manchu rulers of China, therefore, Tibet is an "inalienable" part of the Chinese territory. But another argument is that since both the Mongol Khans and the Manchu Emperors accepted the Dalai Lama as their spiritual preceptor due to "patron-priest" (*Choe-Yon*) relationship,³ it was China that was in fact giving tribute to Tibet. However, China stands by its counter-arguments even in the face of opposition from the western world, for a long time now.

In the beginning of twentieth century the events that were unfolded in the Tibetan plateau had far reaching consequences for the future of Tibet. At that time Tibet had already become an area of interest in the "Great Game" among British, Russia and China. The story really began a little more than one hundred years ago, in September 1904, when the British Colonel Francis Younghusband entered Tibet and prevailed upon the hitherto insular kingdom to conclude an agreement with the mighty British Empire. The Lhasa Convention of 1904, signed by the British and the Tibetans, put the seal of British overlordship over Tibet. The Lhasa Convention was followed by the Simla Convention in 1914 that laid out the McMahon Line defining both the Indo-Tibetan border, and the division of Tibet into 'Outer Tibet' (which lies along the border with India and now known as the Tibetan Autonomous Region) and 'Inner Tibet' (the present day Sichuan, Yunnan and Qinghai provinces of China). The Simla Convention resulted into acknowledgement of China's sovereignty over Inner Tibet but only suzerain control over Outer Tibet with the British India retaining trading and extra-territorial rights in this part of Tibet.

Tibetans signed this treaty as an independent nation. The British government emphasized this in a note to the Chinese as late as 1943, which reads: "Since the Chinese Revolution of 1911,... Tibet has enjoyed *de facto* independence."

It was during the Chinese revolution of 1911 that China's last imperial dynasty, the Manchu-Qing, was overthrown following the revolution under the leadership of Sun-Yat Sen. As a result, not only Mongolia (then known as Outer Mongolia) but also Tibet emerged as *de facto* independent states in 1911 and 1912 respectively. However, in both cases that independence was not recognized by China. In 1913, a Treaty of Friendship was signed between Tibet and Mongolia, which signified the independent existence of both the nations. Since then under the government of the 13th Dalai Lama, Tibet functioned independently of China until 1949 when the People's Republic of China was established and soon after Tibet's *de facto* independence came to an end. In October 1950, the People's Liberation Army marched into the territory controlled by the Dalai Lama's government, thus accomplishing what Chinese describe as a "peaceful liberation" from centuries of theocratic feudal despotism, and reuniting it with the motherland of which it was an inalienable part.⁴ Tibet was formally incorporated into the People's Republic of China and a 17-point agreement was signed between Tibet and China in May 1951. Friction, ambiguous expectations and interpretations of Tibet's status under that agreement ignited an uprising against the Chinese rule in the 1950s,⁵ which ultimately culminated in the escape of the 14th Dalai Lama along with his 80,000 followers to India in 1959. Subsequent decades have witnessed the Sino-Tibetan impasse growing despite attempts to resolve the Tibetan issue through dialogue process, both formally and informally between the representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government. Last year's violent Tibetan uprising was indeed the result of ever growing stalemate between the two sides, which also points to lingering pessimism about any resolution of the Tibetan issue during the Dalai Lama's lifetime.

TIBETAN UNREST AND CRISIS SITUATION

The fact that violence broke out in Tibet just two months before the Olympic celebrations were to start with the arrival of the Olympic torch in the Tibetan capital Lhasa, China expected that more violent protests together with riots could disrupt the Olympic torch relay, a significant symbolic

event of the Beijing Olympics. In such a scenario, China had to tackle the situation in a manner what it considered to be right. Obviously, the two events, i.e., the Beijing Olympics as well as the Tibetan protest attracted global attention. So much so that while China found itself deeply embarrassed after its crackdown on violent protests in Tibet, Tibetans on the other hand received both publicity and sympathy for their cause, particularly from the western world. Interestingly, March 2008 not only marked the 49th anniversary of the 1959 Lhasa uprising but also proved to be an opportune time for the Tibetan protesters to launch their protest demonstrations around this time as China was increasingly coming under the media spotlight. This was the time when National People's Congress was meeting in Beijing and the opening of Beijing Olympics was getting nearer. Protesters were sure that they could attract more media attention towards their cause at that moment. In fact the Tibetan Youth Congress, the Tibetan Women's Association, Gu-Chu-Sum Movement of Tibet, the National Democratic Party of Tibet, and the Students for a Free Tibet, issued a statement in January 2008 declaring the launch of a Tibetan People's Uprising Movement (TPUM).⁶

Evidently, the mass-protests by Tibetans occurred throughout their traditional homeland in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) as well as Gansu, Yunnan, Sichuan and Qinghai provinces of southwestern China. It all began on 10 March 2008 when 300 Buddhist monks in Lhasa reportedly organized a march to demand the release of other monks detained by the Chinese authorities since October 2007, which corresponded with the time when Dalai Lama received a United States Congressional Gold Medal in Washington. But soon after political demands surfaced and the protest turned out to be violent with instances of rioting, burning and looting, particularly on 14 March 2008. The protesters not only sought religious freedom and in some cases even outright independence from Beijing, but also demanded protection of their human rights, abolition of China's one child policy, release of the Dalai Lama's chosen Panchen Lama, return of the Dalai Lama and peaceful negotiations with him for granting freedom for Tibetans.⁷

Another cause of this latest Tibetan unrest was the concern over continuing settlement of Han Chinese in Tibet. The Tibetans opposed "the Chinese government's plan to relocate nearly 3 million Han Chinese and Muslims in Lhasa and the deteriorating unemployment situation for the Tibetans in Tibet."⁸ However, it is to be noted that China has also uplifted Tibet from frightful poverty and medieval superstition, brought education,

hospitals, electricity, roads and ended widespread serfdom, besides constructing an extraordinary new high altitude rail line linking Lhasa to Beijing.⁹ Nevertheless the Dalai Lama and his “Government in Exile” deplore the current Chinese policies in Tibet as threat to the future viability of Tibetan religion and culture. They blame Chinese communism of being determined to eliminate traces of Buddhist tradition among Tibetans in China. The Chinese government, however, sees the things differently. In its view Tibetans in China now enjoy religious liberty. There are now too many Tibetan Buddhist monks in China, numbering over one hundred thousand.

Tibetans are unique in the sense that their life is wholly dedicated to Buddhism and *Dharma*. Their culture was transformed over the thousand-year period from early seventh century to the early seventeenth century from a normally ethnocentric, warlike, national culture to a universally Buddhicised spiritual, peaceful culture. Earlier, Tibet was of peripheral concern to the vital interests of China’s communist regime. But in the past few years, Chinese authorities have been stressing that they must implement such a policy in Tibet which could not only ensure the region’s stability and development but also help protect the interests of its people who, in turn, may become committed to China’s national territorial integrity, progress and prosperity. Keeping in mind such perceptions China adopted a new national strategy for developing its western regions in 2000. This came to be known as the Great Western Development (GWD) policy (*Xibu da kaifa*) aimed at giving a “completely new look” to these areas, including the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

But what is important is that the perception of Tibetan youths about such Chinese policies in general differs in many ways. The Dalai Lama has long called for a “Middle Way” approach to bring about change in Tibet. And in order to achieve this end he is seeking autonomy and co-existence within China rather than outright independence, and that too through the use of only non-violent methods. But, some analysts argue that having grown frustrated after the failure of half a century of talks between the Dalai Lama and China, young Tibetans have now been disapproving Dalai Lama’s non-violent approach. This seems to have diluted the tactical and strategic influence of the Dalai Lama during last year’s Tibetan unrest. The Dalai Lama even had to face the ire of Chinese media which on 30 March 2008 blamed him for closing the doors of talks on Tibet’s future. China continues to denounce the Dalai Lama for instigating Tibetan unrest, and even after the Chinese government succeeded in putting the unrest down following the “3.14 Riots”.

Nevertheless, the core issue of Tibet continues to be an important "internal issue" of China.

INDIA'S RESPONSE

India's Tibet policy has not changed fundamentally despite last year's violent Tibetan unrest. It is evident from the fact that during and after the unrest, India responded to China's sensitivities with due caution and restraint. The Foreign Ministry expressed its "distress" over the reports of the violence in Lhasa and the deaths of innocent people, and called for the crisis to be resolved "through dialogue and non-violent means." Even in response to attempts of the Tibetan refugees arranging a march to Tibet in protest against Beijing Olympics, the official Indian position remained firm in its disapproval of such moves. It said: "All those in India, whether Indian citizens or foreigners, are subject to the law of the land regarding the crossing of our borders, marches or demonstrations. Like our other guests, Tibetan refugees, while they are in India, are expected to refrain from political activities and those activities that affect our relations with other friendly countries." As such the authorities in India "restricted activities of the Dalai Lama's "Government-in-Exile," prevented Tibetan activists from indulging in violent protests in India, and stopped them from marching to Tibet across Indian borders."¹⁰ India's stand on Tibet crisis was based on its traditional opposition to separatist movements and to foreign intervention in support of such movements. Besides, considering the extent of growth in India-China relations in recent times, New Delhi prefers not to support the Tibetan cause despite the fact that "protests by Tibetans have implications for India as the Tibet issue is entangled with the India-China border dispute."¹¹

India's response to 2008 Tibetan Unrest was based on several factors. Firstly, India remained firm in its principled stand that Tibet is a part of China and problems between the two sides must be resolved through peaceful dialogue. Secondly, India considered it unwise to damage its relations with China with which its economic and trade ties are going upwardly. And thirdly, India did not consider it morally correct to allow such activities that could cause disruption of the Olympic torch relay on its soil, and hence it preferred to ignore the western campaign supporting Tibetan protesters and instead cooperated with China to ensure a peaceful Olympic torch relay in New Delhi.¹² The Chinese side appreciated the overall Indian response to the Tibetan unrest. While acknowledging Tibet

as a sensitive bilateral issue, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, publicly thanked New Delhi for the “steps taken by the Indian government in handling Tibetan independence activities masterminded by the Dalai clique.”¹³ However, such a response on the part of India did not please the Tibetans. While the Dalai Lama criticized New Delhi by describing it as “over cautious”, Tibetan activists uttered strong words by saying, “India supports China too much. We are struggling but they don’t let us.”¹⁴

As regards India’s policy towards Tibet, the evolution of India’s Tibet policy can be traced back to its pre-independence period. Between 1947 and 1954, India’s Tibet policy moved around recognizing Tibet as an independent nation. And Tibet did participate as an independent country at the first Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March-April 1947, just a few months before India gained its formal independence. However, in April 1954, under the *Panchsheel* agreement India gave up this position and Jawaharlal Nehru accepted China’s suzerainty over Tibet. While India agreed to withdraw all its extra-territorial rights in Tibet enjoyed by the British during its rule over India, China committed itself to respect Tibetan cultural and religious autonomy. Successive Indian governments have continued with the same policy.

One may ask, does the political issue of Tibet have any real foothold on Indian public opinion, media or on the political parties? Certainly not, as despite the vicissitudes of India-China relations, no Indian government has ever sought to support Dalai Lama’s political agenda. The thrust on “Tibetan autonomy” in India’s thinking “has been gradually diluted under the imperatives of improving relations with China and the compulsions of Chinese assertive stance.”¹⁵ In 2003, the BJP-led Vajpayee government concluded an agreement with China reiterating Tibet as “part of the territory of China.” On 24 July 2003, during a discussion in the Rajya Sabha on the statement delivered by the Indian Prime Minister in connection with his visits abroad including China, the then Foreign Minister Yashwant Sinha put it on record that “ it has been Government of India’s policy ever since His Holiness the Dalai Lama came to India and as is reiterated in all the agreementsÖwe regard him as spiritual leader, as a religious Guru and no Government has so far permitted Indian territory to be used for political purposes by the Tibetans, and that is the reiteration which we made while in Beijing.”

Furthermore, Tibet did not even figure in the official documents or speeches during Prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s visit to China in January 2008. As S. D. Muni has underlined “China was happy with

India's reiteration of 'one China' policy. [And] New Delhi finds it prudent to avoid irritating the Chinese with the Tibetan question."¹⁶ But Tibet "remains the perennial as also most critical issue in determining the tenor of India-China relations."¹⁷ And that is where the whole issue of India's Tibet policy lies. Besides, last year's unrest among Tibetans also provides an opportunity for India to review its Tibet policy in future. It is more so because India can not remain unaffected by developments taking place in Tibet, particularly with regard to border security. There are several factors which need to be taken into account by India in working out its Tibet policy: These include the requirements that (a) the Tibetan movement in India does not cause a crack in relations between India and China; (b) India's security along the Sino-Indian border is not threatened; (c) India has legitimate security concerns in Tibet; and (d) India can play a more proactive role in encouraging a dialogue between Chinese and Tibetan leaders, that would lead to a final resolution of the Sino-Tibetan impasse.

CONCLUSION

The 2008 Tibetan unrest did cast a shadow on Tibet's future. It has underlined the need for China "to seriously proceed with moves to engage the Dalai Lama in seeking a negotiated and peaceful solution of the Tibetan tangle."¹⁸ Finding the middle ground is required for the final solution of Sino-Tibet stalemate. The best solution, as Eric Morgolis has suggested, could be the one proposed by the Dalai Lama: Beijing restores the old "patron-priest" (*Choe-Yon*) relationship; Tibet recognizes China's political mastery and military presence; China accepts Tibet's genuine internal autonomy, ceases Han immigration, and allows the Dalai Lama to return.¹⁹ Who knows then, the long standing Sino-Tibet stalemate would come to an end. So far as India's approach to the 2008 Tibetan unrest is concerned it has been "diplomatically correct and politically cautious" in responding to the whole crises. India also voiced its disapproval of the "violent means both by the Tibetan protesters and the Chinese authorities in Lhasa." Though there has been no change in India's Tibet policy in the aftermath of the unrest, New Delhi has been following the dialogue between China and the Dalai Lama or his "Government-in-Exile". The future outcome of the dialogue would have a direct impact on India's security concerns in border areas apart from its overall relations with China. As of now India's attitude towards Tibet is significantly determined by the dynamics of its relations with China.

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