

**The Socio-economic Condition and Political Status of the Tibetan
Refugees in India and Nepal: A Comparative Study**

**A Thesis submitted to the University of North Bengal
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Doctor of Philosophy in Himalayan Studies (Strategic and Area Studies)**

**By
DEEPIKA CHETTRI**

**Supervisor
Dr. KARUBAKI DATTA
PROFESSOR**

**CENTRE FOR HIMALAYAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL
RAJA RAMMOHUNPUR
DARJEELING, WB
PIN- 734013
OCTOBER 2020**

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled “The Socio-economic Condition and Political Status of the Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal: A Comparative Study” has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Karubaki Datta, Professor of Centre for Himalayan Studies , University of North Bengal. No part of this thesis has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

Deepika Chettri

Centre for Himalayan Studies

University of North Bengal

Raja Rammohunpur

Darjeeling West Bengal

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RAJA RAMMOHUNPUR, DT. DARJEELING
WEST BENGAL, INDIA, PIN - 734 013
PHONE: (0353) 2776 360
FAX: (0353) 2699001, 2581212
www.chsnbu.in

Ref. No.....

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To whom it may concern

This is to certify that Sm. Deepika Chhetri has prepared her Ph. D dissertation *The socio economic condition and political status of the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal : A comparative study* from the Centre for Himalayan Studies , North Bengal University under my supervision. This is an original work and she has worked hard for it. So far it has not been published anywhere.


Karubaki Datta 1.10.20 -

Professor
Centre for Himalayan Studies
University of North Bengal

ABSTRACT

It is more than sixty years now that Tibetan refugees have fled their homeland 'Tibet' in 1959 following the occupation of Tibet by China. They have sought refuge in the neighbouring countries of India, Nepal and Bhutan. Even though they have spread out to different countries of the world now, India and Nepal hold the largest number of Tibetan refugees than elsewhere in the world. Soon after the flight, Dalai Lama established the Central Tibetan Administration and restructured his Government in Exile on democratic values. It continues to function from Dharamsala in North India from where it coordinates with all the refugees and claims to be the voice of all Tibetans who do not accept the legitimacy of Chinese control of their motherland.

Both Nepal and India share borders with China at many junctions. These three countries of India, Nepal and China are interdependent upon each other for their sustainability and security. India and China in spite of their historic relations and economic interactions have many border conflicts and have engaged in a war in 1962. Even today the border disputes between the two erupt time to time. Nepal on the other hand, is an immediate neighbour of India and being so, is dependent on it for its economy and security. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet, Nepal has become immediate neighbor of China and of late the proximity between the two countries is on the rise. In fact, China has started visualizing its imperialist ambition by influencing Nepal with many development projects. Nepal being a poor landlocked country has been caught in between the power struggle of India and China.

As for the Tibetan Refugees, they, with the help of the host countries, have successfully rehabilitated in the foreign soil. They have undergone through various hardships and struggles to become a successful refugee community at present. Changes have set in the Tibetan diaspora in terms of their society and economic activities but their religious and cultural traditions continue to remain consistent. In fact, it has become even more rigid with time in the process of maintaining their 'Tibetan identity'. The Dalai Lama has emerged as an international icon of Buddhism, compassion and a highly acclaimed leader of the Tibetans throughout the world. With this recognition, He has been able to integrate his citizens and bring the Tibetan support groups closer. Even though China has transformed Tibet through developmental activities and huge investments it still has not been able to assimilate the Tibetans inside. There are protest movements from time to time against the human rights violations, environmental destructions and cultural extermination. China has become more

apprehensive with the Tibetan issues than before. Dalai Lama is also getting old and China is apprehensive about the turn of events in case of his demise. Therefore it has been trying to bring Nepal into confidence so that no anti-Chinese activities would be carried out in Nepal. Nepalese authorities have reformed all their policies in handling Tibetans under the Chinese influences. It is India that poses the real challenge to China. The Dalai Lama's diplomatic activities from India and the functioning of CTA in India plus India's immense favoritism towards Tibetans worry China. These three countries being immediate neighbours have been engaged into many ties and treaties. Moreover, their securities are also co-dependent upon each other. Therefore, any kind of mistrust or misapprehension between India, China and Nepal will definitely impact the political status of Tibetan Refugees.

The dissertation makes an attempt to study the issue of Tibetan refugees in this context. The socio economic condition of the refugees in both India and Nepal are discussed in the backdrop of the respective country's relation with China to understand how the state policies are dependent on their security issues with relation to China and how their policies towards the Tibetans are also determined by the China factor.

PREFACE

Tibetan Refugees have completed sixty years of exile in India and Nepal. During the process of rehabilitation and integration they have faced many challenges resulting into various alterations in their life, yet they have been successful in keeping their religious traditions alive with a dream of returning back to Tibet. Thus, this Ph.D dissertation attempts to study how, they are thriving in exile. An attempt has been made to examine their socio-economic conditions and political status in India and Nepal in a comparative frame. The comparison is done to understand how the lives of Tibetans get affected by the different policies and laws governing them under the two different governments. The tripartite relation among the three countries of India and China and Nepal are very important in this respect. India and China are engaged in a power struggle, competing with each other and both are trying to influence Nepal while Nepal is trying to balance the power equation between the two nations in order to survive. Therefore this thesis will try to analyze the factors determining the relations among the three countries and how they impact upon the Tibet policies of both India and Nepal.

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Chapter One

Chapter I

Introduction:

1.1.Introducing the Theme in a Theoretical Context:

The escape of the 14th Dalai Lama in the year 1959 along with hundreds of His fellow citizens following the Chinese occupation of Tibet resulted into a blooming Tibetan community in India and also in the neighbouring countries of Nepal and Bhutan from where they have now spread over the whole world. Since then, India, Nepal and Bhutan have granted political asylum to the Tibetan community. The gesture of these countries concerning Tibetans has developed deeper ties, having shared historical connections in terms of culture, history and religion. Presently, the Tibetan community has lived two generations or more in these countries. Their children have been born and educated in foreign soil dreaming of their original homeland on account of the experiences shared by their elderly.

The Indian government granted asylum to the Dalai Lama as an honored guest and extended every kind of help to His fellow citizens. With assistance of the various support groups from various foreign countries and the Government of India, Dalai Lama succeeded in establishing the Tibetan Government in Exile formally known as the Central Tibetan Administration or the CTA. As the highest administrative office of the Tibetans in Exile, CTA is responsible for the entire Tibetan community particularly those in exile. Nepal, being the buffer country between China and India, has served as second home and also a gateway to India for the Tibetans who escape to India. Thus, in the initial years of their arrival, both the countries paid off the responsibility of good neighbors to the Tibetans with whom they have historically shared multiple economic and political ties. Both the Governments have not only provided shelter but also helped re-establish them in exile. Today, these two countries hold the largest numbers of Tibetan refugees in the world. Bhutan also provided one flight route from Tibet to India but only few decided to settle there. In 1961, when India closed its northern borders to Bhutan owing to political tension with the People's Republic of China many Tibetans were forced to settle there. However, only about 4,000 were allowed to settle in Bhutan as per the decision taken in the meeting between the Indian political officer of Sikkim, Prime Minister of Bhutan and the representative of the Government of India and the CTA in Calcutta (Roemer, 2008). In the year 1973 there arose tensions between the Bhutanese government

and the Tibetan settlers there on grounds of- i) national consciousness in Bhutan, ii) Discontent over the native Bhutan over the privileges the Tibetans enjoyed iii) assassination of the king of Bhutan and iv) non- assimilative way of living. All these led to suspicion among the Bhutanese of the Tibetan. Hence, all the Tibetans were requested to take up Bhutanese citizenship or to be deported back to Tibet. Thus after many negotiations 2,300 Tibetan families took up the citizenship against the will of the country and remaining 4000 were resettled in India (Roemer, 2008).

In this dissertation an attempt has been made to give a comparative socio-economic profile of the Tibetans settled in both India and Nepal. An attempt has also been made to understand the refugees' policies of both the states determining their economic and political status in the context of the security and defence concerns of both the governments vis a vis China. Even though Tibetans are commonly referred to as refugees, in both the countries, their position is rather ambiguous, as none of the countries legally recognize them as such. Before going into discussion, let us see what the term refugee actually mean. For an understanding of the same there is a need to understand the connotation of certain terms which are Refugees, Diaspora and of course identity. These are explained in the following section before introducing the actual research questions.

Refugee influx following human displacement is a basic characteristic of Human civilization and common feature and consequence of a conflict within the society or a nation state. State buildings, ethnic and civil conflicts, state collapse and failure, and government persecution often lead to forced mass migration of people from one region to another and sometimes from one country to another. Migration whether forced or voluntary has always been a characteristic of individual and collective human behavior and is basic cause of refugee movement. A person becomes a refugee because of the circumstances which are beyond that persons' control (Ananthachari, 2001). A situation when he/ she is usually left with no option, but to flee from human right violations, socio-economic and political insecurity, generalized violence, civil war, or ethnic strife all leading to the fear of persecution and the threat to their life. Refugees in common perception are the people who flee their country under various circumstances and vulnerabilities for the fear of being politically victimized. They feel unsafe within their own homeland socially, economically and often politically that may cause threats to their lives and sustainability. In order to save their life, they flee their homeland and enter hospitable neighboring places or any other country, thereby becoming a

‘Refugee’. UNHCR defines Refugees as - *“A person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”*. It is this fear of persecution that differentiates a forced migrant from a voluntary one. Refugees are therefore forced migrants. But not all migrants are refugees. In other words the term ‘Refugee’ is applicable to the ones who have been forced to migrate as the result of ethnic and civil conflict, or due to the government persecution etc. for example, the Lhotshampas from Bhutan, Rohingyas from Myanmar and Tibetans from Tibet. The largest numbers of Refugees have so far been generated by the partition of India in 1947. The Refugees are different from the ‘Internally Displaced Persons’ (IDPS) who are the people forced to migrate from one state to another due to environmental disaster or a political turmoil in the state. But they remain within the international boundary of a particular state as different from the refugees who cross that boundary. Refugees are also different from ‘Immigrants’ who migrate from one place to another for better life opportunities like economic migrants; due to shortage of resources or for the desire of better lifestyle often compel the people from rural to urban areas. Their migration is voluntary and not under fear of persecution.

There are various challenges associated with ‘Refugees’, like those of Human security, Human Rights Violation and Identity discourse. Security as a notion is connected with themselves, the state and the legal residents. That is the reason why it becomes imperative for the host state to categorize them under the aforementioned title. Henceforth, this requires conscious handling, with due sensibility and also careful assessment for the sake of security. “Human security” means the protection of people from life threatening danger and fear, like war, or any physical harm. In modern sense of the term, Human Security also signifies the security of people from threats to life, including food security, health security and environmental security. Referring to this, Refugees are subject to various vulnerabilities like rape, torture, life threats, detention, human trafficking and many other inhuman acts. Moreover there exist a chance of being manipulated and be the victim of many vulnerabilities. Therefore there is a need of certain policies and laws which would guarantee their basic rights and secure their life, while taking refuge in other nations. The refugee influx and their settlement poses a fundamental threat to the civilians and humanitarian character of

asylum, creating serious concerns for refugees, host communities, local authorities and humanitarian workers (Mandal, 2001).

India is not a party to the 1951 Convention or its Protocol hence it need not abide by the treaty obligation regarding the refugees regulation, the two national's statutes governs the legal status of the Tibetans are Foreigners Act of 1946 and the Registration of Foreigners Act of 1939 which qualifies Tibetans simply as "Foreigners". It allows the government to regulate the movement of all the foreigners both into and within India and also obliges the foreigners to report to the Indian authorities. Tibetans are required to retain the Registration certificates. This status for six decades has created a dilemma among them over the issue of citizenship. As per the Section 3(1) of the Citizenship Act, all the Tibetans born in between January 26, 1950 and July 1, 1987 are citizen by birth.

Nepal too, is not party to the Convention of the United High Commissioners for Refugees. In Nepal, Tibetans are categorized into two groups- the ones who arrived before 1989 are entitled to reside in Nepal lawfully. The next category includes those who entered Nepal after 1959 and are still arriving. Of the second category Tibetans are not allowed to stay but are permitted to safe transmit through Nepal to India. This arrangement is made after the conclusion of The Gentlemen Agreement between the Nepal government and the UNHCR. Therefore in both the countries Tibetan refugees have different political status. But in India Tibetans are treated with much favoritism than in Nepal. These differences will be highlighted in the following chapters. The changing political dynamics between India, Nepal and China is determinable in the political sphere of South Asia. China is growing its influence in Nepal with many infrastructural investments. On the other hand, India has always fulfilled its role as a big brother to Nepal in all matters. China and India being the immediate neighbours have both cooperative and conflict relationship since the ancient times. Moreover, India and China being the big Asian giants have to maintain cordial relationship and mediate themselves. So in such a situation of changing political influences between these three countries; the political situation and status of the Tibetan Refugees is definitely going to be the matter of concern for Tibetan themselves and also to the concerned parties.

Year 2019 marked 60 years of exile for Tibetan refugees. This long journey of struggle and hardship did not erase the Tibetan spirit; the spirit of their culture, religion and tradition. In fact with time and need of the situation they have been able to keep intact their religion and

culture with much galore and enthusiasm in the process of being “Tibetan”. They practice and exhibit their culture and religion consciously in order to prove their nationalism and ethnic identity as ‘Tibetans’ to the world community. In the era of post-colonialism, the Tibetan Diaspora has been widely discussed and read all over the world. Various scholars and researchers have been studying and portraying how Tibet’s rich and unique culture are being destroyed by the Chinese in the name of modernization. And also the pattern in which the Tibetan refugees successfully got adapted and adjusted relentlessly in an unfamiliar soil worldwide. The plight of exiled Tibetans and the responsibility of Central Tibetan Administration to maintain a distinctive national identity are projected in Tibetan religious and cultural life amongst different societies in the outside World.

As such, Tibetan refugee as a national polity has escaped the incursion taking place in Tibet. It has been haunted yet at the same time been successfully rehabilitated in India and Nepal at first. After years of struggle; many have shifted to Switzerland, North America and other European countries as well. Tibetan refugees with their social, economic and political survival strategies in being “Tibetan” in the process of nation building in exile has very extraordinary history. To quote Dibyesh Anand “Both in rhetoric as well as in practices the Tibetan refugee community largely amounts the process of ‘sanskritization’ that affects most minority groups in contemporary world era (Anand D. , 2010). In spite of adaptation, the sense of being a refugee is affirmed among Tibetans’, their way of life, religion, culture and tradition which is reflected in a sense of patriotism for their ‘motherland’ in order to accentuate the desire of returning to “Free Tibet”.

Diaspora means the homogenous entity of geographically displaced people. According to Vertovac the term “Diaspora” is often applied to describe practically any population that is considered ‘de-territorialized’ or ‘transnational’. – that is which has originated in land other than that in which it currently resides, and whose social, economic, and political networks across the borders of nations-states or, indeed span of globe (Vertovec, 1997, p. 1). It is therefore clear that geographically, Diaspora involves a radical redefinition of a place. It is observed that, going back to the original land/motherland is a natural desire of many diasporians, and these natural desires may well become a perpetual and utopian longing (Sahoo & Maharaj, 2007).

The term ‘De-territorialized’ and ‘Transnational’ are applicable to the Tibetan refugees. The term ‘Diaspora’ is also applicable to term because they are dispersed throughout the world

without belonging to any specific territory. They are held together by common indicators as ethnic identity and collective aspiration to return to their original homeland “Tibet”. Tibetans have now become international. International because they have become global citizens. They are not restricted to any specific geographical boundaries like those of India, Nepal or Bhutan; rather they are spread all over the world. With the communication revolution; their interaction and connection with their community, both within and outside the World has increased. Many have developed interaction with their relatives in Tibet through various mediums of communication. All the news of Tibet is spread within a few minutes and people are able to react upon it in the host countries. Thus, greater the connectivity with their motherland; greater is the desire to pursue their ethnic identity and cultural heritage and a longing for their homeland. Another, The ‘collective memory’ and the ‘roots’ play a very important role in this context of Diaspora. In the case of Tibetans, the bitter memory of their elders make an impact in their lives till today and remains as the main driving force behind their motive of preserving and transmitting the ethnic, cultural and religious legacies to the succeeding generation.

There are certain attributes which have been noted by Steve Vertovac particularly in South Asian Diaspora.

Diaspora are said to be:

- a. Created as a result of voluntary or forced migration from one home location to at least two other countries.
- b. Consciously maintaining collective identity, which is often importantly sustained by reference to an ‘ethnic myth’ of common origin, historical experience, and some kind of tie to a geographical place?
- c. Institutionalising network of exchange and communication which transcend the borders of territorial states and create new communal organizations in place of settlements.
- d. Maintaining a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their homelands;
- e. Developing solidarity with co-ethnic members in others countries of settlement;
- f. inability or own unwillingness to be fully accepted by the host society thereby fostering feelings of alienation or exclusion, or superiority or other kind of difference (Vertovec, 1997, pp. 3-4)

Diasporic culture is understood as fossilized and replica of the original but they are actually modification of the original and this transition happens at the point when culture goes out of its traditional space into the new. The basic point remains that these diasporic cultures too are a manifestation of transformation or the change. As for in the case of Tibetans, it is important to keep in mind as pointed out by Anand that the term Diaspora denotes the process of flight, enforced migration, identity fragmentation and reconstruction, trans-nationalism and the goal of returning back to homeland. The sense of being a refugee is affirmed as patriotism in order to emphasize the desire of returning to Tibet (Anand D. , 2010).

Identity is important to understand diaspora and this is particularly true in case of Tibetans because despite their deep integration into the host society, they continue to uphold their Tibetan identity as the primary tool to define their characteristic traits as a 'Community'. Ethnic Identity is derived from factors like common language and geography which encounters the people who possess strong sense of identity. Identity is given rather than perceived. One should consider it as socially and politically constructed. Identity is always mobile and partly self- construction as categorized by others. Identity should be seen not as an outcome but as a creation. It is much fragmented, never particular but constructed across different discourse, practice and position. Applying this to the Tibetan case, one may see Tibetan identity as constituted by particular process. The Tibetan identity has been redefined as "Refugees" who aspire to go back to their homeland.

This dissertation seeks to study the process of the making and remaking of Tibetans ethnic identity by looking into their successful life in exile, their imagined homeland and their desperation to return back. At the same time Tibetan identity is fragile and in dilemma. Dilemma originates from the question of affiliation to the host countries through acquisition of citizenship. Are they Indian or Nepalese or citizens of any other country, foreigner or a refugee in true sense? Their identity is also fragile in a sense that they have intermingled with many cultures in their host nations resulting into adoption of hybrid cultures and practices. On the whole, Tibetan identity at present has become multi-layered. Therefore, it is important to study the changes in Tibetan culture, economic and social conditions and the political factors that define Tibetans as refugees.

Identity can be understood through various approaches such as Primordialist, Instrumentalist and Communitarian, etc. The primordialists like Clifford Geertz, Harold Isaacs and Van Dan Berghe emphasise the astrictive identities, ties of kingship, common history, collective

experiences etc, as influencing a persons' loyalty and behavior. They argue that ethnic or ascriptive identities are mobilized in modern era. In order to overcome the strain that modernity has created in the otherwise traditional and homogenous people.

One can study Tibetan history as involved in the deployment of the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming a Tibetan. Given the organization of imagined community of nations and given their cause in terms of nationalism as nationalism itself is a collective identity. Anthony Smith's characterizations of ethnic community are collective name, myth of common ancestry, a shared memory of rich ethno history, common culture, association with specific homeland and a sense of solidarity for significant sector of population (Smith A. D., 1989, p. 1). All these common identity elements are present in varying degree in the life of Tibetans. According to Dibyesh Anand the discourse of international human rights, democracy, decolonization and self-determination have allowed sophisticated articulation of national identity among Tibetans in exile. The Tibetan national imagination is a product process of strategies essentialism oriented towards the goal of reclaiming homeland (Anand D. , 2010).

1.2. Statement of the Problem:

India and Nepal has provided home to the largest number of Tibetan refugees in the world. Both the countries have granted asylum to them from 1959 onwards, by leasing land and building settlement camps, health centres and schools in different parts of their country. The Tibetan Government in Exile or the Central Tibetan Administration is situated at Dharamsala in Himachal Pradesh which is the highest governing body of the entire Tibetan community in the world.

Tibetans in India and Nepal sustain their livelihood depending upon distinctive occupations like agriculture, small scale industries and small business ventures either with the assistance of the respective governments or with the cooperation of local traders. Socially, Tibetans have acquainted very well with the native people and adapted to the local. Situation is no dearth of literature on their lifestyles and population. The CTA prepares regular accounts of the conditions of the Tibetan refugees and comes up with new policies for their welfare. At the same time there are many academic accounts of their life as refugees. Even though these two types of literature broadly reflect the same picture there are certain discrepancies as understandable, the CTA is under certain compulsion to highlight the plight and difficulties

faced by them. The CTA presents a picture that is grim than those presented by academicians.

However in absence of specific policies on Refugees in both the countries; the policies and the treatment of Tibetans often vary in accordance with security and defence policies of the status. There are certain governmental rules and policies that govern the Tibetans in the host countries like retaining Refugee Registration Card is mandatory in both to prove their identity as 'Refugee'. In India, Tibetan refugees are given liberty of life, work and expression. The government of India has dealt with Tibetans soft handedly with the perks of economic opportunity, reservation in government institutes and jobs and many others facilities with some restrictions on political activities. In Nepal on the contrary, Tibetans have limited or almost nil access to facilities. Tibetans in Nepal are deprived of their basic rights to property, work, and even cultural expression. They are kept on constant policing, often violating their human rights to ensure no anti- Chinese activities be carried out by them in Nepal. Over years Nepal has been very callous with the Tibetans because of their pro-Chinese alignment. As a result, the Tibetans in Nepal have developed a sense of alienation, insecurity and uncertainty of life. In this dissertation an attempt has been made a comparative study of their socio economic condition in both the countries. The academic accounts as well as the account presented by the CTA are compared with data actually collected from the field.

Finally, the study of Tibetan refugees and Tibetans issues is bound to remain incomplete without an understanding of the politics concerning them since the political nexus between the three countries of India, Nepal and China that deeply impacts their status in the two host countries. The security concerns of both India and Nepal determine their relations with China and that in its term often determine the socio-economic and political status of the Tibetan refugees in these two countries. An attempt has been made in the dissertation to understand the Tibetan issue in these two countries in totality in context of the political developments.

Over the years, the Tibetan issue become extremely involves the issue of self determination, wider human rights debate and also politics of region. In fact it is the geo strategic location of Tibet that got it involved it in the politics of the region. Long before, the British Empire in India had realized the importance of Tibet as a buffer state between India and the other external powers on the north (Praag, 1987). In spite of being a closed country without any active political ambition it became a pawn in the tripartite political rivalries of the three empires of Britain, Russia and China. After India' independence, the Chinese take-over of

Tibet in 1959 has been seen as a strong strategic development, as a threat to South Asia players. Communist China not only decided to establish suzerainty over Tibet, but it was also the first step to move forward to the west with the opening gateway to India and other countries as well. Of late India in spite of the old issues of confrontation is trying to cultivate apparently good relation with China. These changing politics often impact on the status of the Tibetan Refugees.

India and China has border dispute in many areas. Not only India lost to China in 1962 war over the issue of Mc Mahon Line in the east there is dispute over Ladakh in the western front. Nor does China recognize Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of India (Das, 2009) and was critical of Sikkim's amalgamation with India in 1972. China's occupation of Tibet and particularly after 2008 Tibetan Uprising China started taking deep interest in Nepal. In spite of various economic engagements between India and Nepal from the year 1960 onwards Nepal started its sincere effort to develop stronger ties with China. Starting with 'One China Policy' Nepal began to sign numerous joint ventures with China from the 1980s onwards (Sharma, 2018). These economic and several other Chinese packages offered to Nepal are indeed designed to weaken India's grip of Nepal. At the same time China began to develop modern communication and transportation systems in Tibet with the construction of highways within and bridges across water bodies all across Tibet. All this is done with an objective to get an edge over India in the sphere of influence in the Himalayan region. Naturally, in this context, China looks towards India with distrust towards the presence Tibetans and particularly His Holiness Dalai Lama in India, the freedom they enjoy in India and the recognition the Dalai Lama enjoys in the World. The presence of Tibetans and the proximity of Nepal with India is also a cause of Chinese anxiety that the Tibetans could use both the countries to challenge China in their movement for freedom. This is a complex situation. Although, in both the countries, and particularly in India, Tibetan refugees are leading a satisfactory life, their status as refugees have been and will be constantly challenged by these complex issues of geo strategic considerations, security concerns and political ambitions of the three countries that determine the interrelationship between China and the host countries.

1.3.Literature Review:

Many books have been available on Tibetan history, culture, religious traditions. Several books and articles are also written about the Tibetans refugees and their adaptation to the new ambience. India -China relationship is also the subject matter of several books of Indian foreign policy and security concern. Every kind of association and distrust among the two giant neighbours are studied and discussed by various scholars all over the world. Similarly Nepal China relation has also received attention of scholars particularly in the context of changing political scenario of South Asia. Yet only few scholars have attempted to study the Tibetan refugees in the backdrop of political compulsion of the countries. in the following section of literature review I have discussed those books which are related to the topic under study. the huge number of books on Tibet and Tibetans in general have not been discussed¹.

1. *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights, and Prospects in International Law* written by Micheal C. van Walt van Praag, 1987, is a total compilation of all historical facts culminating to the 1959 Chinese occupation of Tibet. Written with the objective of upholding and justifying the Tibetan point of view regarding the independent status of Tibet, Praag has pointed out in this book that the historical accounts are the proof that the communist claim of control over Tibet is based upon misinterpretation of the relationship between the two countries between the secular power holder and the religio-political power holder. Chinese claim over Tibet in the past and at present is to justify their act of imperialism. This book is the basic documentation of Tibet's claims of Independence vis a vis China.
2. There are handful of books available in the form of autobiography and biographies of the Dalai Lama written by himself and other authors, Among the autobiographies are to name few are '*My land and my People*', 1962, and '*Freedom in exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama*', 1991. The books, particularly the second one narrates the account of the flight from Tibet from His point of view, the initial years of struggle in India and then presents the inner struggle that allowed Him to master both the mysteries of Tibetan Buddhism and the brutal realities of Chinese communism. *The Dalai Lama: A*

¹ Full citations are given in the Bibliography.

Biography written by P.C. Marcello in 2012 is an updated biography that provides the curious and charming personality of the Dalai Lama as a boy and His wisdom as a man. This book reveals His life in childhood with his family and his education as well as His struggles for freedom in exile. *The Last Dalai Lama* is another book written by Micheal Harris Goodman, 1986. This book looks into how the Dalai Lama had been forced to escape his remote mountain kingdom and enter to the free world. After Mao's 'Peaceful Liberation' and 'democratic reform' in Tibet caused the Tibetan Uprising leading to brutal bloodshed of the Tibetans and the final escape of the Dalai Lama from the Tibet. It also gives details from of the rehabilitation process and several attempt of failed dialogue with the Chinese, Tibetans could not bargain with western powers on Tibet. Dalai Lama in absence of political power, military power and economic power, He hopes to return back to his lost nation with his faith on humanitarian determination in which he believes. Apart from giving a detailed description of his family and childhood, the book depicts a detailed account of Tibet under the Chinese since 1950s. All the biographies and the autobiographies narrate the history of Tibet and particularly the circumstances under which He was forced to leave the country.

Portrait of a Dalai Lama: the Life and Times of the Great Thirteenth, 1987 is written by Sir Charles Bell the great Tibetologist. This book is an account of compiled history, stories, facts and figures and conversation. Bell describes all aspects of Tibetan life, religion and politics. He presents a clear picture of Dalai Lama who worked for both military and political onslaughts from China, and struggled from outside world. The book concludes with a description of discovery and eventful enthronement of the new Dalai Lama, the Fourteenth, who guided his people with compassionate wisdom.

3. *The Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change* by Girija Saklani 1985 is one of the earliest books on the Tibetan refugees. The book also presents the historical background of the relationship between China and Tibet along with the circumstances that led to Tibetan's influx into India. The author has also discussed the religion, culture and political life of Tibetans in Tibet and presented the changes that occurred after their migration into India along with the social conditions of Tibetans in India.

This book is very useful to understand the life and changes of Tibetans post-migration in India.

4. *The Tibetan Government in Exile- Politics at Large*, by Stephanie Roemer, 2008, it is an important book about the Tibetan Government in Exile. It provides a detailed structure of the CTA. Its political strategies have been presented with theoretical approaches. It discusses how since the establishment of CTA, The Dalai Lama has been using His diplomatic strategies to free His Homeland. Roemer has noted down every detailed accounts of the political mobilization of CTA and its organizations in influencing the worldwide support groups with the historical details.
5. *The Great Game in the Buddhist Himalayas: India and China's Quest for Strategic Dominance* by Phunchok Stobdam, 2019, is a book that represents several insights into the India-China, China-Tibet and India-Tibet relationship. China's Buddhist diplomacy is centered on Nepal and Bhutan, and the Indian regions of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Ladakh which can be influenced by the Chinese diplomacy. Dalai Lama's tactic to win the confidence of third parties including Indian government and China is examined with careful observation. It has tried to assume how India and China try to deal with the Himalayas if the Tibetan issue remains unsolved. Will China India try to leverage the sectarian strife which would be intensified post-Dalai Lama World? This book is useful for understanding of the complexity of the Tibetan issue.
6. Dibyesh Anand in his book *Tibet A victim of Geopolitic*, 2009, highlights the ethnocentrism of IR and outlines a critical approach to the international informed by postcoloniality. After examining the treatment of representation within critical IR, its limitations are highlighted and the analyzed the politics of Tibet in its chapters.
7. *Tibetan Refugees in India- Education, Culture and Growing up in Exile* written by Mallica Mishra 2014, focuses on the process in which education shaped the political, economic and cultural dimension of the Tibetans. The Tibetans, in order to maintain their identity has to remain familiar with their history, culture and language and that is only possible through the education imparted to them from childhood. This book gives a detailed discussion of how the educational policy and curriculum have shaped in Tibetan schools

with support offered by the Indian government. The dilemmas and challenges in the educational policies and employment at the institutions for the community as a whole are also discussed at length. . She has also examined the geopolitical status of Tibet and the condition of rehabilitations with the use of primary data.

8. *Social Mobility and Change among Tibetan Refugees, 2005*, by Dr. Monu Rani Gupta, is an account of refugee community and its culture, language, self respect along with its challenges from an authoritarian and aggressive power like People's Republic of China. This book covers the entire tissues regarding Tibet and Chinese invasion, refugees, Tibetan family and marriage, women and society, religion, education, economy, polity, the democratic ideals.
9. *The Tibetan: Their life in Exile in India* by Mamta Desai & Manish Kumar Raha, 2011 is a study of social and economic changes along with the ecological adaptation among the Tibetan refugees. An attempt has been made by the authors to present the comparative analysis on the past and present socio-economic history of the Tibetans refugees in India. They point out two important issues related to economy and political status. Hence, Tibetans usually take up citizenship because of the reservation policy they will be able to find good jobs and in the higher post. Literacy rate among the Tibetan has been raised to 99% but still unemployment has been rampant because of their refugee status. This book has proved to be useful for the present community as a whole.
10. *Flight and Adaptation, Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalaya, 1989*, a book by Tanka Bahadur Subba, it is based on the survey of around 80 household of Tibetan refugee in Kalimpong, Gangtok and Ravangla in South Sikkim and compared with the findings in other major Tibetan settlements in India, Bhutan and Nepal. This book reflects the factors that connect the Tibetan refugees to their host countries in regard to their race, culture, language and religion, their economic adaptation and income distribution. According to the author, the Tibetans future and socio-cultural adaptation will depend on whether they get themselves naturalized. If they do, then their social adaptation will be better, otherwise the situation might come when, the Tibetan refugees would be forming strong, politically well coordinated ethnic

groups. It adds a new dimension to the existing ethnic relation in areas where they have settled.

11. *Tibetan Refugees in India*, 2003 by Rajesh S. Kharat deals with a discussion on the concept of refugee, and the historical background of Tibetan refugees within China. It gives an account of Tibetan's survival and the assistance given to rehabilitate the massive influx of refugees by the government of India as well as implication for India as a host Nation. Lastly, it attempts to find out the status of various other refugees from different parts in general and India's stand on Tibetan refugees in particular.
12. *Tibetans in Nepal* written by Hari Prakash Jha, 1992 is one of the few books about the Tibetans in Nepal. It gives a detail study of the socio-economic aspects of the Tibetans refugees who had migrated to Nepal. He has presented a picture of how these Tibetans escaped Tibet and entered Nepal. At the beginning, Nepal government and the other voluntary organizations like Swiss Organization and Red Cross society in particular came forward with their resettlement and rehabilitation assistance in the different stages of Tibetan influx. He has emphasized on and taken into account the contribution made by Tibetan refugees to the Nepalese commerce and industries through carpet industry and other handicrafts.
13. *Tibetan women (then and now)* , 1990, is a book by Indra Majupuria which tries to bring into light the status and condition of Tibetan women in the past, present and future. The role of women in the preservation and promotion of religion and culture, preservation of distinct identity, social upliftment and creating awareness of Tibetan existence to the world at large have been reflected in this book. This is also based on research in Nepal.
14. *Exile as Challenge: The Tibetan Diaspora*, 2004, edited by Dagmar Bernstorff and Hubertus Von Welck, attempts to document the lives of members of the exiled Tibetan community in India and elsewhere. This book presents the refugee community highlighting its positive aspects of change of the cultural transformation of the Tibetans. Tibetans have been regarded as successful with the Dalai Lama's commitment to non-violence and His compassion that has made Him a universal figure. This book also describes the contribution of Jawaharlal and the Indian government to reestablish Tibetans. It also gives the complete history, religion and the complexity of Tibet's relationship with the

Mongols. The Tibetan community's struggle to preserve its cultural traits has been perceived as their preparation to return back Tibet.

15. *Rapprochement Across The Himalayas: Emerging Indo-China Relations in Post Cold War Period (1947-2003)* by Keshav Mishra 2004, is a book that has tried to see the India-China relationship from 1963 to 1991. It traces the background and ties in terms of bilateral, regional and international perspectives. It has also included the study on rapprochement policies of both the government till 1991 along with the relationship of two nations with the neighboring Asian countries. The international political scenario has been considered which affected the relationship between the two. It argues that the permutation and combinations of bilateral issues, regional context and dynamics of evolving global setting were major inputs in the overall Sino-Indian relationship.
16. Gautam Das's book *China Tibet India, The 1962 war and the strategic military future*, 2009, has been divided into three parts; first part summarizes the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. Second deals with history and analysis of 1962 war and an analysis of the conduct of the war on the Indian side and the third part reflects on the future aspect starting from the existing Sino-India diplomatic entente cordiale and examining China's growing military potential and its strategic military implication for India. He, on this book states that the China-India geo political relations have uneasiness because of the issue of Tibet. It lies at the heart of the Chinese claim to the entire Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, which it alleges as "Chinese territory occupied by India", which creates a major part of the unresolved boundary disputes between the two giant Asian countries. Further, he discusses that apart from border disputes there is continuing suspicion in China regarding India's attitude towards Tibet, mainly because of Dalai Lama's residence in India as a 'guest of India' and his many adherents, both Tibetans and Indians.
17. *Himalayan Frontiers of India, Historical, Geopolitical and Strategic perspectives*, edited by Keshav Mishra, 2004, provides a comprehensive analysis of geopolitical and strategic perspectives on the Himalayan frontiers of India. Drawing on detailed analysis by academicians and area specialist, it explains the development in and across the Himalayas and their implication for India. This book presents a view of India's trans- Himalayan trade and

cultural contacts with Central Asia through Kashmir and Ladakh and few papers also analyses the new strategic, political and economic challenges, stresses the need for India to devise a well- integrated policy imperatives. Professor, P. Stobdan, presents a fresh outlook on the linkage between the issues of Tibet, Tibetan refugees in India and the security of India's Himalayan frontiers. This book concludes with a chapter of Patney, Vinod, Former chief of the Air Staff, who has evaluated the role of science and technology, modern air surveillance and remote sensing as a means to ensure the security of India's Himalayan frontiers.

18. *Tibet and its History*, 1984 by Huge M. Richardson is a book based on complete history of Tibet and its people. It gives a brief account of geography, race, language, communication, government, economy, laws of Tibet and also education following the early religious king and coming of the Dalai Lama. This book also deals with the Tibetan relation with China along with border dispute and trade agreement leading up to communist invasion and the ensuing tragedy.
19. *The Tibetan frontier Question Curzon to the Colombo Conference*, 1982, by Fredric A. Greenhut II focuses on the development of Sino-Indian border disputes from the years of Lord Curzon's Indian Viceroyalty to the aftermath of the Colombo Conference. As per the records on border disputes, it makes clear that boundaries, for the most part were never been properly demarcated to the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties. It seems that agreement on a mutually accepted border might have been two sovereign parties to the dispute- the government of India, the Government of China and the regime in de-facto control in Tibet.
20. Dawa Norbu in his book *Red Star over Tibet*, 1987, writes that Tibet in the 20th century has been mystified and politicized so much that the world at large is confused. This book is set in an autobiographical framework, which reveals the inside story of the historic development drawing vivid sketches of Tibetan life before and after Chinese occupation. According to the writer, the future of Tibet bound up with the state of Sino-Indian race between India and China.
21. *India's Foreign Policy- 1947- 92: Shadow and Substance*, 1994, by Harish Kapur is a book which analyses how India's foreign policy behavior has evoked since independence as well as the factors that contributed to this

evolution. The author identifies four major goals of Indian foreign policy- the quest for security, diplomacy for development, regional primacy and the search for an international role.

22. *The triangle India Nepal China- A study of treaty relations*, 1996, by S.C.Bhatt, is a book which seeks to look at the problem in the context of the treaty relation between India and Nepal as well as those between Nepal and China. In shaping Nepalese ties with India, the relation between Kathmandu and Beijing have always played a key role. Thus, this book focuses on this unique triangle between Nepal, China and India.
23. Ajay B. Agarwal's book entitled *India Tibet and China: The Role Nehru Played*, 2003, deals with the policy of Jawaharlal Nehru in respect of China and Tibet. It also deals with the Indo- Chinese border problem, which finally leads to the 1962 war between these two countries.
24. *Himalayan Frontiers of India- historical, geopolitical and strategic perspectives*, 2004 - edited by K. Warikoo provides a comprehensive analysis of historical, geopolitical and strategic perspective on the Himalayan frontiers of India. Drawing on detailed analyses by academics and area specialist, this book explains the development in and across the Himalayas and their implication for India.
25. Vatsala Shukla, in the book *India's Foreign policy in the new Millennium*, 2005, has summarized various connotation of power. India has a vast economic, political, and military interest of its own, over areas far beyond Asia. With its scientific and material resources, its size and strategic location, India is already an important member of the international community. This book focuses on post cold war global forces, globalization, nuclear-risation, hegemonic, economic diplomacy, women empowerment etc. it examines core values of India's foreign policy at national, regional and global levels.
26. *Engaging with the World- Critical Reflection on India's Foreign Policy*, 2005, edited by Rajan Harshe and K.M Seethi critically analyses the issues related to reforms and liberalization, regional cooperation, human, national and energy security and the overall strategy of India's foreign policy of India since independence.
27. Dennis Cusack in his book *Tibet's War of Peace*, 2008, provides the clear sense of where the question of Tibet stands today. It recognizes the real

difficulties and challenges faced by the Tibetans; it is upbeat about Tibet's future. It describes Tibet and its evolution, its philosophical foundation, and its political realities.

28. Raj Kumar Singh in his book *Global Dimension of Indo-Nepal Political*, 2009, gives an analytical account of India's relation with Nepal in reference world powers from the days of colonization to globalization. It covers a wide array of political aspects including policy formulation, implementation and analysis of attitude keeping in view the regional and global intricacies of the time.
29. *India's foreign policy in a changing world*, by V.P Dutt , analyses in depth the present international situation and the domestic interaction with it. It takes accounts of all twist and turn, the contradiction and the current and concurrent in international politics and recommends that India's foreign policy should be sensitive to the duality indeed the Triplet of the developing internal scenario.
30. Mohun Guruswamy & Zorawar Damlet Singh, *India China relation-The border issue and beyond*, 2009, according to this book, the greatest natural defensive line of northern India, the Himalayas separating Tibet from North east India is a barrier by tradition is impenetrable. Thus from Indian perspective, it can never be conceived that its frontiers with China are ever formalized. So it remain to be seen, however if political actors on both sides are able to muster the necessary will to resolve a dispute that has lasted for more than half a century.
31. *Unleashing the Vajra: Nepal's Journey between India and China* by Sujeev Shakya, 2019 is another book which outlines Nepal's history, starting from the Shah's rule to present government. It unfolds the history of Nepal to give deep insight of its journey to overcome the economic challenges within. The failure of government and the bureaucrats that resulted into national failure. It has highlighted Nepal's helpless economic dependency upon India and China. And suggested Nepal taking the advantage of the geographical position and the changing political scenario between the two nations, Nepal could be in an advantageous situation if it can take the advantage of the opportunity.

Articles and Reports:

1. *Tibet's Stateless Nationals II: Tibetans Refugees in India*, 2002, 2011 and 2016 are the reports prepared by Tibet Justice Centre. It is published year wise

as mentioned above. These reports are very important to understand the legal status and political conditions of Tibetan refugees in India. This report gives the background of Sino-Indian relations, Indian policy towards Tibetan refugees, continuity, change and the different stages of Tibetan influx in Indian soil. According to this report, Indian government did not grant “Dalai Lama” refugees status but simply regarded him as an ‘honoured guest’ since 1959 up till now. Following Him thousand of Tibetan refugees had fled Tibet and entered India both legally and illegally through Nepal. According their estimates, somewhere between 110,000 and 130,000 ethnic Tibetans resides in India today. This report also documents the legal status and the Indian law and informal policies that govern them, the relationship between these Tibetans refugees and local Indians living in proximity to them in terms of social, economic, political and other circumstances in India.

2. *Tibet’s Stateless Nationals: Tibetans Refugees in Nepal*, is a similar report about the refugees in Nepal. A report prepared by Tibet Justice Centre, June 2002, is a detailed account of Tibetan refugees in Nepal; their political, economic status and circumstances of Tibetan refugees in Nepal. It focuses on the two groups 1) those arrived in or before 1989, when Nepal ceased to permit newly arriving Tibetans to remain in Nepal, and 2) those who arrived and continue to arrive, after 1989. The report has also documented the refugees’ unwritten rights to remain in Nepal. They and their children live in an uneasy state of subsistence characterized by limited political and economic rights and an unidentified legal status. By providing detailed information on the Tibetan refugees in Nepal, Tibetan Justice Centre hope to clarify the circumstances for these refugees in Nepal and suggest politically feasible means to improve them. Above all, the circumstances highlighted by the reports reveal a pressing need for government, UNHCR and the international community to reexamine the current informal arrangement regarding their status and treatment in host countries and to work to provide them with a more durable solution. It highlights the fact that even through Tibetans aspire to returns to a free Tibet, most have become, and remain, stateless- Tibetans nationals. The world acknowledges neither the existence of their nations nor their right under international law to seek a more secure legal status.

3. *Tibet and India's Security, Himalayan Region, Refugees and Sino-Indian relation, 2012*, report prepared by Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi, is based on the field work and interaction with Tibetans and international scholars at the IDSA. According to this report, the Tibetan factor is inextricably linked with the Sino- Indian border dispute. With ongoing border dispute negotiation coupled with the various scenario in Tibet and institution of the Dalai Lama, there is an urgent need to study the aspect of Tibetans in exile on our national security. It reflects the influence and importance of Buddhism in the Himalayan belt which include Buddhism in China too. The report also examines the Chinese approach to the Tibet question and dwells on how much influence the monastic organization including the Dalai Lama's institution wield on the Sino- Indian border question including Tawang. This is an important document highlighting the security perspective that has been very little discussed by others publications.
4. "Chinese Strategic Thinking on Tibet and The Himalayan Region" 2008, an article by Dawa Norbu points out that Tibet has been of crucial importance to the dominant powers of South and East Asia in their respective calculation. At the turn of the century, it was the arena of the 'Great Britain, the Tsarist Russia and China. By 1950, when the two nationalist regimes had emerged in China and India, Tibet again became a matter of acute contention between the two nations. Since Nehru submitted to the Chinese demands by 1954 hoping that both parties would respect the Himalayas as the limits of each other political influence and defence perimeters, since then, much has happened in the Sino- Indian relations and Tibet has remained in the centre of all this. The article provides the backdrop of how Tibet's geostrategic importance had wielded the course of events between India and China and defence and security concerns.
5. An article written by Satish Kumar, entitled "China's Expanding Footprints in Nepal: Threat to India", highlights how China was least interested in Nepal till 1950s. But strategic design changed once China forcefully occupied Tibet. Since India – Nepal share an open border running through 20 districts of 5 Indian states the security perspectives have changed for both the countries after that. The Maoist forces in Nepal have played the China card to balance India. Rail and roads infrastructures in Tibet have created a route through

which China can move to India. So if Chinese wave continues unabated in Nepal, India might face multiple security threats in future.

6. “Chinese Nationalism and the Fate of Tibet: Implications of India and future scenarios” by Abanti Bhattacharya, is an article that gives an overall summary of suppression of Tibetans in China and the manner in which they fled into India and settled here. The Tibetan movement for safeguarding their identity, culture and political space has suffered as a result of Chinese nationalism and China’s Tibet policy. The fate of Tibetan nationalism to large extent, tied to the dynamics of the Sino- Indian relations and the course of the internal Tibetans politics and that of its relationship with the community in exile in the post- Dalai Lama era.
7. “India, China and Tibet: Fundamental perception from Dharamsala, Beijing, and New Delhi”, 2011 is one article written by B.R. Deepak, it provides some much overlooked perspective, perceptions and approaches from China, India and the Tibetans émigrés in India as regard the Tibet issue. These are formulated on the basis of the author’s interviews and enquire with the representatives of the Dalai Lama’s Tibetan Government in exile, the leaders of TYC, the representatives of students for a free Tibet, as well as the Tibetans émigrés in India and ordinary Indians. Besides, the paper also throws light on major differences and contradiction between India and China over Tibet issue, the future course of the Tibetan movement and explores the possibilities of establishing a mechanism between India and China on Tibet.
8. “Conflict and Cooperation in India- China Relation” 2012, is an article by J.K. Baral which highlights India- China relation with occasional signs of peace and cooperation , and it often afflicted by tension and mistrust. With potential to make big contribution to regional peace and development, these two Asian powers have by design or accident, themselves been the source of regional tension and insecurity. Besides their internal external powers would have significantly bearing on the equation and relations between them.
9. ‘Reappraisal of India’s Tibet Policy’ prepared by Foundation for Non-Violent Alternatives; an institute for developing peace studies 2013, is a study report on the Sino-Indian relations concerning the Dalai Lama and the Tibet issue, the border issue and India’s geopolitical ambition. It is a draft policy prepared

with the consultation of the experts from China and Tibet, armed forces and the civil servants.

10. International Campaign for Tibet's report on 'How China's influence impacts Tibetans in Nepal' 2009, points out that the first protest against Chinese rule on March 2008 made a huge impact upon Tibetans in Nepal. Chinese government stepped up to influence the Nepalese government and also the civil society in order to prevent pro-Tibetan protest in Nepal. They even tried to violate the *Gentlemen's Agreement* and adopted hard line strategy to curb the Tibetan voice. It further reads out that agreement to meet out Chinese demands by the Nepalese government would threaten the integrity of Nepalese democratic and legal institutions and might counter cultural and religious ties among the Himalayan people.
11. 'The Dangerous Crossing' published by International Campaign for Tibet, 2004 and 2011 Updates, is a detail report of Tibetans facing difficulties while crossing borders of Tibet to enter Nepal. It gives a thrilling adventurous story of Tibetans on the way to Nepal. They are subject to various mistreatments if they are caught or detained by the Nepalese police on the border. Tibetans have to face many hurdles while escaping Tibet. They are extorted, tortured, beaten up with weapon. Women are sexually harassed at gunpoint. All such incidents are documented in this report.
12. 'The Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile' published by Planning Commission, CTA 2009 is a thoroughly documented demographic report which presents the complete socio-economic condition of the Tibetan refugees in India, Nepal and Bhutan. The integrated plan prepared by Planning Commission of CTA had been implemented in the settlements so this report traces out how many Tibetans have benefitted by the CTA's development schemes and to how many have been deprived of their basic necessities of life. It was found that out of approximately 1,28, 014 Tibetans 94,203 lives in India, 13,514 in Nepal, 1,298 in Bhutan, 18,999 in rest of the World. in this dissertation we have used this document to understand the socio-economic condition of the Tibetan refugees and compared its conclusions with my personal observations and findings.

I have also consulted few Theses from the online sources like,

- i. 'Sino-Tibetan Relations 1990-2000': the Internationalization of the Tibetan Issue by Tsetan Dolkar, Philipps University, Marburg 2008. <https://archive.ub.uni-marburg.de>
- ii. 'The Boundaries of Identity: The Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Nationalism, and *Ris-med* (non-secretarian) Identity in the Tibetan Diaspora' by Elena Young, McGill University, Montreal, 2010. <https://jinajik.net>.
- ii. Political Activism Among Second Generation Tibetans in the 21st Century: The Construction and Negotiation of Identity in Transnational Social Spaces by Sonam Nyanang, Ryerson University, Canada, 2016. <https://digital.library.ryerson.ca>

From the above literature survey, it has been clear that Chinese occupation of Tibet and Tibetan refugee problem is a subject of interest to many scholars worldwide and much work has been done on Tibet's history, religion, culture and government and life of the Dalai Lama. Tibet's relationship with China, Nepal and India and their complex relationship have also been written by various scholars. Tibetan's journey from Tibet and their successful adaptation including risk associated with it are also dealt with and recorded by scholars as well as by various organizations. India-China nexus on the border dispute and strategic alliance affecting their foreign relations and Nepal's accommodating policies have become an issue of interest among the scholars at present. But we could only find few books and articles on the life and the political status of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal particularly in context of their political compulsion vis-a-vis China. No definite book explores much on the said subjects. Though, some reports and journals published by Tibet Justice Centre and Tibetan Government in Exile (CTA) give us some information about their condition in their host countries and also publicize their plans, programmes and project to uplift their condition in their host countries aiming to seize an international attention through it. But, it presents only one sided picture which may or may not be true to the ground reality. So here, in this study, we will attempt to study the actual socio-economic condition and the political affiliation of Tibetan refugees through field study in India and Nepal and fill this gap by comparing it with the reports of CTA. We will also try to focus the security issues involved with the presence of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal and how it affects their status in the host countries.

1.4. Research Objectives:

1. What are the facilities or provisions provided to the Tibetans refugees by their host countries?
2. What are the provisions provided by India – Nepal governments to the Tibetan over the citizenship issue?
3. To study the reports prepared by Central Tibetan Administration and compare with the actual socio-economic condition of Tibetan refugees in the host countries.
4. What kinds of role do the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration plays in maintaining Tibetan people and their issue of autonomy?
5. To find out how much influence does the culture of host countries has affected the Tibetans. Has it lessen their aspiration to go back to Tibet?
6. To what extent do the political nexus between India, Nepal and China influence the political status of the Tibetan refugees in their host countries
7. To examine critically the political status of Tibetans in exile which contradict their claim as a refugees who dream returning back to their free homeland?

1.5. Research Questions:

1. To find out the status of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal in terms of their socio-economic conditions and political affiliation?
2. What are the facilities or legal provisions provided to the Tibetans refugees by their host countries?
3. To see how much Dalai Lama and the CTA have been successful in integrating their citizens?
4. What kind of role do the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration play in maintaining Tibetan identity?
5. To examine how the relationship between three countries affect the political status of Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal.
6. To what extent does the political nexus between India, Nepal and China influence the political status of the Tibetan refugees in the host countries?
7. What kind of security threats may arise from the Tibetan issue to the host countries in Future?

1.6. Research Area

My research is a comparative study of Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal. Therefore in India, I have selected Darjeeling and Kalimpong which are the nearest Tibetan settlements. Both Darjeeling and Kalimpong are in Himalayas with long history of contract with Tibet. The area I inhabited by a large numbers of Buddhist communities and the climate is also cold. All this made it easier for the Tibetans to settle there.

Next I have selected Manju-ka –tilla and Ladakh Buddha Vihara market in New Delhi and Chandragiri in Odisha. Delhi and Chandragiri are very different. Delhi is the capital of India, while, Chandragiri is in the heartland of the tribal area of Odisha. Delhi has better scope of business as well as education and vocational trainings while the settlement of Chandragiri is agricultural. Thus I selected these three regions completely different from each other so that I could make comparison of their situation under different circumstances.

In Nepal, my research areas are Jawalakhel Carpet center and its settlement and also in the surrounding of Syambhunath Temple. I have selected these places because Tibetan refugees are easy to identify here and also many Tibetans works as shopkeeper in the surroundings of the Syambhunath temple.

1.7. Research Methodology:

This part of my work will discuss the methodology used to conduct this study. It is based both primary and secondary data. The primary data have been collected with the help of different research methods. I begin by discussing the qualitative methods that I have applied here because it allows in-depth analysis of the data. This approach is useful as it focuses on transnational processes and practices and identity construction of the Tibetans in Exile particularly among the Tibetan youth. A qualitative method employs the understanding of the topic more clearly through the uses of other research methods such as interview, narratives by the subjects and the observation by the researchers. This method has a significant value because it could not be generalized by the researcher. It is subjective. It facilitates the clear understanding on the research questions such as the Tibetan's life experiences in exile and the factors affecting them and their political discourse. Secondly I used the sampling method to get information from the participants from my particular field areas. First of all I used this method to choose the area of my study. Secondly I used this sampling method to choose my target group for my interview. My first target group was the old Tibetans who had fled Tibet

but unfortunately I met only five to six such persons. Second group was from the second generation who could explain me the past experiences in comparing to the present situation and help me relate in understanding the changes that occurred in their life. And lastly I targeted upon the youth, particularly the educated and ambitious ones with whom I could talk about their future plans, their ideas about Tibet autonomy and their experience as refugee their responsibility and commitment towards their country etc.

In addition, snowball sampling was used in this study as it is a technique to identify the potential subject on sensitive topic while doing research. This method was useful to me when my queries were difficult like the political affiliation and activism among the second generation Tibetans and beyond.

The Pre-structured questions were utilized while interacting with the participants and the interview was taken individually because the aim of the study was to ensure openness and trust with the researcher in order to get better response on the political issues. Apart from this general discussion was conducted with the target groups. This method was used particularly in Nepal for various security reasons. And lastly observation was used in understanding the social and economic conditions of the Tibetans in Nepal and Delhi.

The secondary source of my study includes an extensive study of books available on the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal including their political assimilation and governmental policies. For the literary work, I used North Bengal University library, National Library of Calcutta, Jawaharlal Nehru University library and Tribhuvan University library in Nepal. The Tibetan library & archives in Dharamsala was also consulted. Since plenty of books relevant on my research area was not available. So I relied much on reports and articles written by different scholars available on the net. I referred to many pamphlets and reports collected from the Central Tibetan Administration in order to understand the CTA's role so that I could compare that with my findings.

1.8. Plan of the Study:

I have arranged this thesis in six chapters including the summary and conclusion. In the first chapter "**Introduction**", I have introduced the theme in a theoretical perspective. This chapter will briefly highlight the terms Refugees, diasporas, identity etc and discuss the approaches that are suitable to study the Tibetan Refugees. It also includes my objectives of the study, the literature review and the research methodologies that I have used during my

course of study. The second chapter titled “**Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal: the Legal status, Social and the Political Traits**” is divided into two sections; I have presented the general information about the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and its Protocol and also the legal policies of India and Nepal for Refugees etc. Next portion includes a brief history of the Tibet with China that made Tibetans a Refugee. After that there is a briefing of assimilation and integration of Tibetan Refugees in the host countries and a short introduction of the Central Tibetan Administration with the criticisms. The third and fourth chapter is entirely based on fieldwork. The third chapter is “**Tibetan Refugees in India: their Socio-economic Condition and Political Status**” and the fourth chapter is “**Tibetan Refugees in Nepal: their Socioeconomic Condition and Political Status**. The fifth chapter “**A Comparative Account of Socio-economic Conditions of Tibetans in India and Nepal**” is a comparative outline of the social and economic conditions of Tibetans in India and Nepal based on the report prepared by the CTA demographic report and the data collected from the field work. The Last or sixth chapter discusses the relationship of India with China, Nepal and India and China and Nepal. This last chapter or Chapter V “**The Geopolitical nexus between India, China and Nepal and its impact on Tibetan Refugees**” includes the geopolitical importance of Tibet to the China, India and Nepal, the role of the host country plus the imbroglio and its impact on Tibetan Refugees. Last part of my dissertation is the summary of my findings and the conclusion. Last part of the thesis includes the bibliography and appendixes.

1.9. Limitations:

My research work is based on intensive fieldwork where I had to encounter many problems while taking interview. In places such as Darjeeling and Delhi urban Tibetan settlement I had to face difficulties in convincing people and talk to them about their economic life and political affiliations. Due to busy schedule and others reasons people were very hesitant to open. In India, Tibetan people living in scattered community are very secretive about their political status. So, they were not ready to disclose their citizenship. And in Nepal, due to security reasons it was very difficult for me to bring them into confidence and extract information from them.

Chapter Two

Chapter II

Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal; the Legal Status, Social and the Political Traits

2.1. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and its Protocol:

International concern for Refugees is the outcome of the suffering that was inflicted on humankind because of the First World War. At first, The League of Nations created the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees which was committed to defining the status of refugees and providing them with assistance. However, it was after the devastation of the Second World War that the international community realized the need to create a permanent and inclusive legal system for the protection of refugees. In 1950, Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was created by United Nation General Assembly, by Resolution 428 (V) and began its operation on 1st January 1951. United High Commission for the Refugees' 1951 Convention used the term "Refugees" for- "All persons in need, regardless of their immigration status, share certain human rights under the international law and proclaims discrimination on the grounds of national origin and provides that all people shall enjoy this right", "to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" and thus defines refugees as- "A person who owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (J.M.Magluff-Castro, 2019) Its mandate was 'to provide international protection' to refugees and to seek 'permanent solution' to the problems of the refugees. The drafting of the Convention relating to the status of refugees was also concluded in the same year. A protocol was drafted to amend certain provisions for the convention which entered into force on 4th October 1967.

Apart from these, other important international instruments such as Universal Declaration for Human Rights, The International Convention on Economic, Social and Political Rights, International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, International Convention on Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination, Child Right Convention and The Convention against Torture, also obligate the contracting states to create legal provision for the protection of refugees during their stay in the host country. The main elements of the convention are the definition of refugees, its principles and standards of how refugees should be treated, protected against forcible return, expulsion and detention for illegal entry. These laws make no distinction between citizens and non-citizens and form an important basis for

refugee protection in countries of asylum. United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the only instrument or institution which remains the cornerstone for protection of refugees and is the strongest expression of international concern for the plight of refugees.

Safeguarding and ensuring Human Rights of refugees is very important in the host country. UNHCR maintains the implementation and enforcement of Human Rights of refugees which also ensures their right against re-foulement. Some of the rights of the refugees are:

- i. Not to be subjected to restrictions on their movement.
- ii. Not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.
- iii. No discrimination on ground of race, religion, etc.
- iv. Person is considered before law.
- v. Family unity should be protected (Chakraborty, 2001).

Other legal principles which are applicable to the Refugees:

1. *Asylum*: Persons who are identified to be refugees have the right to seek an asylum in other states,
2. *Non-refoulement*: States cannot reject refugees at the frontier or return them to countries where their lives or freedom would be threatened,
3. *Non-discrimination*: Refugees are to be granted equal treatment regardless of race, religion or country of origin,
4. *Protection*: Refugees to be treated in accordance with human rights law (Chakraborty, 2001).

By signing the Refugee Convention or Protocol, a government willingly binds itself to the legal obligation contained in the document. At present, 140 states have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention. India however is not party to 1951 Convention relating to the status of neither Refugees nor its 1967 Protocol. In spite of this, it has always stood up and supported and also welcomed refugees from different parts of the world. In fact, it is the largest refugees hosting country in Asia. Thus, there are well- defined and specific grounds, which have to be satisfied before a person can qualify to be a 'refugee'. These grounds are well defined whether individually or collectively. In order to fall within the domain of protection of The International Refugee Regime, such people must have crossed the border of their country of origin or habitual residence to be in another country.

2.2. The Indian Legal Framework on Refugees:

India has offered sanctuary to numerous distinctive refugees in the world. This is in spite of the fact that India is not a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. Nor has it adopted any national legislation for the protection of refugees. India's international obligations are derived from the sources such as The Universal Declaration of Human Rights applicable to both citizens and non-citizens, The Declaration on Territorial Asylum, The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and Child Rights, applicable to both citizens and non citizens. All these international treaties have been ratified or adopted by India. It has also accepted fundamental principles of refugee's law and of non-refoulement. Therefore, there is no specific status for refugees in India. All the 'refugees' are regarded as 'foreigners' and laws are subject to change. However, India allows the presence of refugees on Indian soil, even though in the absence of any specific legislation on refugees, the attribution of some kind of refugee status, which will need to be specified, is done on an *ad-hoc* basis. But, the refugees in India do not enjoy same rights as its citizens yet they are free to work and own property in India (Ananthachari, 2001).

Refugees in India are from different places and under diverse situations. India has dealt with this issue on bilateral basis. Refugees are no doubt 'foreigners', even though there may be a case to distinguish them from the rest of all 'foreigners'; The current position of India is that, they are dealt with certain special treatments, under the existing Indian laws, both general and special, which are otherwise applicable to all foreigners. This is because; there is no separate law to deal with the refugees. Therefore the refugees' status is dealt on a case-by-case basis. United Nation High Commission for Refugee often plays a complimentary role in regard to verification about the individual's background and general circumstances prevailing in the country of origin and resettlement of them as well.

Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the refugees from other categories of foreigners, so that nobody gets confused with, or mistaken for a refugee.

a. Temporary Residents, Tourists and Travelers.

A person, who falls under this category, is one who has come to India for a specific purpose and for definite time with a prior permission of the Government of India.

However, if the situation in his country of origin would endanger his/her life and liberty at the time of stay in India; then in such situation, a person may be eligible to become a 'refugee' in India.

b. Illegal Economic Migrants.

Any foreigner who may have left his/ her country of origin without due approval from the authorities concerned, both in the country of origin as well as the country of destination, to improve his or her economic life, *is not a refugee*. For e.g. Illegal Bangladeshi migrants come in this category. Such people have to be treated as illegal and unauthorized entrants and have to be dealt under appropriate laws which are applicable to foreigners like Foreigners Act and India Passport Act etc².

c. Criminals, Spies, Infiltrators, Militants etc.

None of above people can ever become eligible to be called refugees. They have to be dealt with or under provision of the Indian Criminal Laws, as well as any other specific laws in force even if some of them may possess valid documents.

d. Internally Displaced Persons (IDP).

Those people who have fled Human Rights violations and persecution from one place to another or a region within the same country. Such persons have not crossed any international border so they cannot be categorized as refugees. They are simply termed as internally displaced persons (Ananthachari, 2001).

In India, the decision regarding whether to treat a person or a group of persons as refugees or not, is not taken on the merits and circumstances of the cases coming before it.

India does not have any specific law to govern refugees. So, all the existing Indian laws, like The Criminal Procedure Code, The Indian Penal Code, and The Evidence Act etc. are applicable to refugees. India is not signatory to the 1951 Convention on Refugees and the 1967 Protocol. Though, India is a signatory to a number of United Nations and World Convention on Human Rights refugees' issues and related matters. India became a member of the executive committee of the High Commissioner's Programme: the Executive Committee of the National Security Council (EXCOM)³ in 1995. The EXCOM is the organization of the

² In addition to recent development in India; the Indian government has amended the "Citizenship Act of 1955" as "Citizenship Amendment Act, 2019" which was passed on 11th December 2019 by providing Citizenship to all the illegal migrants belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Buddhist, Parsi and Christian religious minorities who have fled persecution from Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan before December 2014. However Muslim minorities are debarred under this Act.

³ The EXCOM is the organization of the UN, which approves and supervises the material assistance programme of UNHCR. Members of the EXCOM take particular interest, and have a greater commitment towards the matters of refugees.

UN, which approves and supervises the material assistance programme of UNHCR. Members of the EXCOM take particular interest in and have a greater commitment towards the matters of refugees. India voted to adopt The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which affirms rights for all people, citizens and non-citizens alike. India voted affirmatively to adopt The UN Declaration of Territorial Asylum in 1967. India ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1976. India ratified the UN Convention on The Rights of the Child in 1989 and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women in 1974. India also, accepted the principle of *non-refoulement* as envisaged in the Bangkok Principles in 1966, which were formulated for the guidance of member states in respect of matters concerning the status and treatment of refugees. These principles contain provisions relating to repatriation, rights to compensations, granting asylum and the minimum standard of treatment in the state of asylum.

There are two rules in the Indian legal system that encounters Refugees. There are laws which regulate their entry and stay in India, along with a host of related issues. Once they are within the Indian territory, they are subjected to the provisions to the Indian penal laws for various commissions and omissions under a variety of circumstances, whether it is a complaint or accusation. These are the various constitutional and legal provisions with which refugees may be concerned under varying circumstances.

2.3. The Constitutional Provisions:

There are a few articles in Indian constitution which are applicable to refugees on Indian soils, in the same way as they are applicable to common Indian citizens, like Fundamental Rights, enshrined under the Article 21 of the Indian Constitution regarding the Right to life and personal liberty, which applies to all, irrespective of the fact of whether they are citizens of India or not. The various High Courts in India have liberally adopted the rules of natural justice to refugees' issues, along with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as an important role in protection of refugees. Yet, other aspects of non-refoulement in The 'International Zones', which are transit areas at airports and other points of entry into Indian territory are marked as being outside Indian territory and the normal jurisdiction of Indian courts, is a major 'risk factor' for refugees, since it limits the access of

refugees to legal remedies. This legal fiction is violative of the internationally acknowledged principal of non- refoulement.

Articles 22(1), 22(2) and 25(1) of The Indian Constitution, reflect the common laws applicable to both Indians and refugees which are based on principle that no person, whether a citizen or an alien, shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property without the authority of the law. The Indian constitution does not contain any specific provision which obliges the state to enforce or implement treaties and conventions. Therefore, The International Conventional Law must go through the process of transformation into municipal laws before the international treaty becomes internal law. Courts may apply international law only when there is no conflict between international law and domestic law. It has been firmly laid that if there is any such conflict, then domestic law shall prevail (Ananthachari, 2001).

In case of forgery/ fabrication of travel documents by a refugee, the immigration / customs officials hand over the accuse, to the local police where a First Information Report is registered against the accused then and taken into police custody. He/she would be produced in the local session court and may be ordered to be lodged in the local prison awaiting trial. In case, where the immigration authorities suspect discrepancies in the travel documents of a refugee, on entry into the country, they may send the professed documents for further investigation to the local Foreigners Regional Registration Office (FRRO) and direct the refugee to appear at the FRRO the next day. Moreover if the refugee enters India with invalid documents, or with expired documents, the refugee may be subject to arrest. Those refugees who do not comply with the mandatory requirement of renewal/ obtainment of residence permits are arrested and produced before the local session courts which may direct them to be lodged in the local pending trial. Further, the police usually do not consider any plea of claims of their refugee status, persecution in country of origin etc. The administrative authorities vide sec.3 of the Foreigners Acts may issue a *Leave India Notice*, to the refugees who have failed to obtain extension of their travel permits, or who are ordered to be deported by the court. In such cases the refugee may be arrested if apprehended, or may be deported forcibly (Ananthachari, 2001).

The Government of India, has so far, followed liberal policies of granting refuge to various refugees, though some have been recognized, while some have not, often keeping in view, the security concern of the nation. Albeit there is no concept of work permits in India yet the refugees who are granted residence permits do find employment in the informal or the private sectors without facing any objection from the administration. Also, Tibetan refugees have

been granted loans and other facilities for self-employment. Generally, refugees are allowed full freedom concerning their movement, practices of religion and residence; if their entry is legalized, if the refugees enter illegally or overstay beyond permissible limits, they may be subjected to strict restrictions imposed upon them in accordance with the state of governance of refugees in India .i.e. The Foreigners Acts 1946, Foreigners Order, Passport Act etc.

Even though India has not enacted a special law to govern ‘refugees’, it has proved to be successful in handling them creditably. The country has evolved a practical balance between human and humanitarian obligation on one hand, and security and national interest on the other.

2.4. Indian Laws and Rules governing Tibetans:

Tibetan refugees in India are in an indeterminate state, or they exist in a state of great limbo. This is because India is not a representative to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, nor its 1967 Protocol. It has not adopted any national legislation for the protection of refugees. Therefore, Tibetan refugees do not qualify as ‘refugees’ in legal sense, so the government treats its refugee population on an *ad-hoc* basis. Two legal models rule the legal status of undocumented Tibetans: The Foreigners Act of 1946, and The Registration of Foreigners Act of 1939. This means that the Tibetans are simply foreigners, which means that the government will regulate their movement like all other foreigners. Also they are required to report to Indian authorities. It is also bound by customary international legal principle of non-refoulment which prohibits the return of a refugee to any place where his or her life or freedom would be danger.

Documents: To reside legally in India, it is mandatory for Tibetans to maintain a Registration Certificate (RC) which is required to be renewed every six months or in a year. With this, Tibetans are allowed to reside in a particular locality or settlement camps without the harassment of authorities and can travel domestically. Besides this, Tibetans should produce RC to work and own property along with other basic civil liberties in India. Tibetans are also required to obtain Identity Certificates (IC) which will enable them to travel internationally to few countries that will accept these documents in lieu of passports. There includes the United States, Switzerland and other states of Europe. Also, Tibetans are required to bear an IC and “No objection to Return to India” (NORI) to re-enter India. (Center, 2011)

Special Entry Permits: Special Entry Permits (SEP) is a joint initiative of the Indian government and the Central Tibetan Administration, which was formulated in 2003. The Tibetans are required to obtain SEPs in Nepal before entering India via Nepal. It ensures their safe movement from Nepal to India, and also permits them to stay in India for a stipulated period of time after their arrival. SEP is issued on three conditions for Tibetans viz. pilgrimage, education and others. The pilgrimage SEP allows the bearer to remain in India for three months and can be further extended, and are restricted to acquire an RC or any other type of documents in India which prolong their stay here. Tibetans entering India for education and other reasons may remain for longer periods of time and are permissible to obtain an RC. While ‘Other’ category SEP’s are reserved for special cases like former political prisoners of particular significance to the CTA (Center, 2011).

2.5. Indian Citizenship:

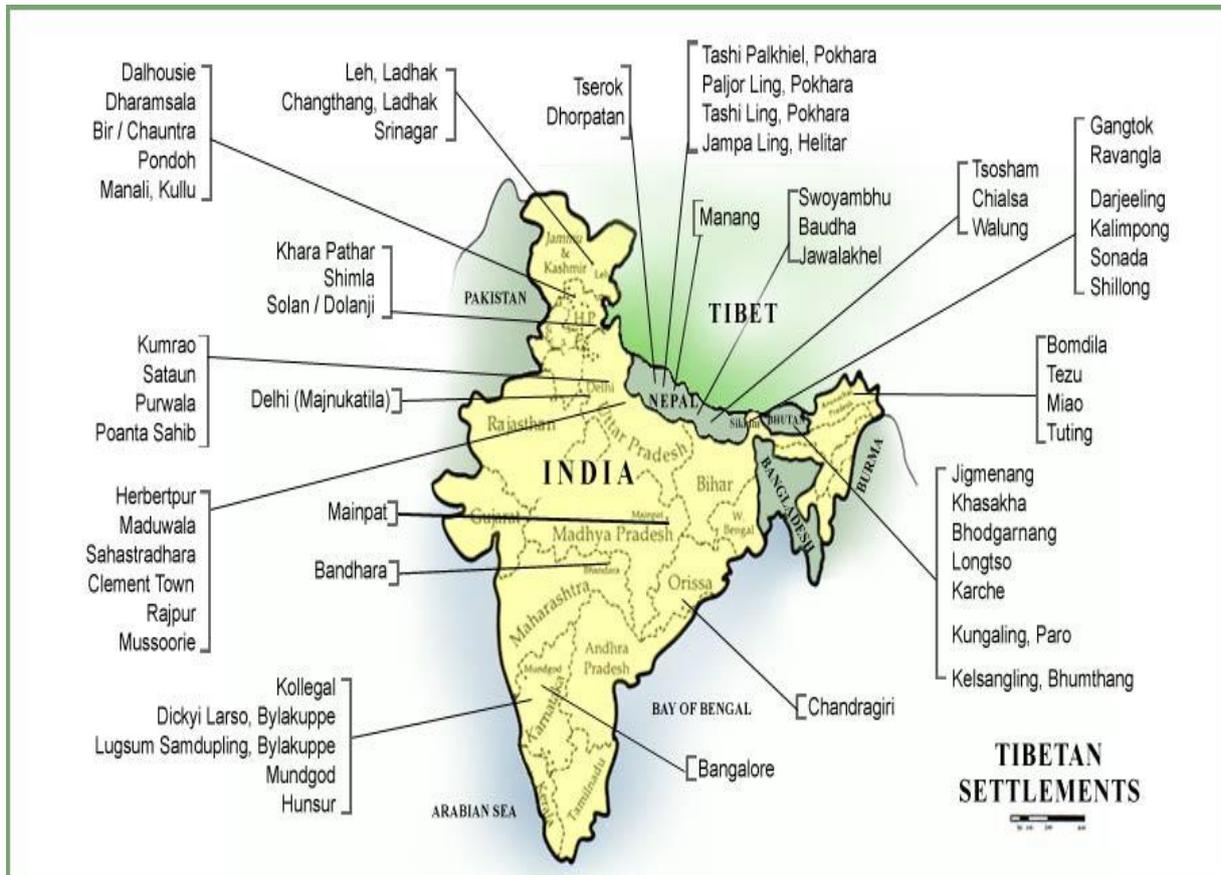
The issue of Citizenship is relevant in context of Tibetan refugees as many of them have started opting for Indian citizenship after staying in India for so long. Their children also become eligible to become citizen by birth. The issue of Citizenship is a much discussed matter in context of status of the Tibetan refugees. This has to be understood in the context of legal regime for Tibetan refugees, because it is the law that determines who is to be considered an Indian citizen, and on what basis. In part III of The Indian Constitution, there are certain criteria which are required of every person Indian as well as foreigners, to fulfill in order to become eligible for Indian citizenship. Indian citizenship can be acquired through birth, registration, naturalization and incorporation of territory. The citizenship encompasses the relevant articles in the Constitution and the conditions under which refugees may become eligible for Indian citizenship. However there are several types of citizen in India. It can be acquired by naturalization or registration etc. The Indian Constitution on the Citizenship Act, 1955 Part II, deals with the citizenship of India at the commencement of the Constitution:

- a. Citizenship by Birth Section 3(2)
 1. Every person born in India (a) Between January 26 1950, and July 1st 1987, or
 2. After July 1st 1987, but before the entry into force of the citizenship Act of 2003, if one of the individual’s parent is a citizen of India at the time of his or her birth; or

3. On and after the entry into force of the Citizenship Act of 2003, if both the parents are citizens of India, if one parent is a citizen of India and other is not an illegal migrant, shall be a citizen of India by birth.
- b. Citizenship by Descent; It provides that every person born outside India
 1. Between January 26, 1950, and December 10, 1992, if their father is an Indian citizen at the time of their birth, or
 2. On and after December 10, 1992, if either parent is a citizen of India at the time of birth. However, A minor who is the citizen of India by virtue of descent and also is a citizen of any other country shall cease to be the citizen of India if he does not renounce the citizenship of any other country within six months.
 - c. Citizenship by Registration;
 1. Several classes of persons can acquire Indian Citizenship by registering themselves before prescribed authority e.g., Person residing in India for seven years who is of Indian origin. Person who has been married to an Indian citizen, or a person of full age and capacity who has been registered as an overseas citizen of India for five years and have been living in India for one year before applying for registration.
 - d. Citizenship by Naturalization.
 1. A foreigner not being an illegal migrant can acquire Indian Citizenship on application for naturalization to the Government of India.
 - e. Citizenship by incorporation of Territory:
 1. If a new territory becomes a part of India; the Government of India shall specify the persons of that territory who shall be the citizens of India (Basu, 2015).

So, by going through all the conditions under which a person could qualify to be an Indian citizen, a Tibetan refugee qualifies to acquire Indian citizenship under section 3 by birth and section 6 by naturalization. However, there is a great dilemma or confusion regarding the citizenship regime of Tibetan refugees in India. According to CTA reports, Tibetans are required to obtain and submit a “no objection” certificate from CTA as the custodian and representative of Tibetans in exile and the CTA’s official position is that it will not withhold its approval if a Tibetan wishes to pursue Indian citizenship. The adaptations of Indian Citizenship ultimately depend upon individual choice. Thus, majority of Tibetans wish to remain refugees and many others acquire Indian citizenship depending upon their situation and the need. (Center, 2011)

Map1. Map showing the Tibetan presence in India and Nepal



Source: <http://academic.reed.edu/anthro/364/maps/setmap.gif>

2.6. Nepal and its Legal Framework for Refugees:

Nepal is not a party to the Conventions of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that guarantees certain rights and protection to all people including refugees. It is state party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. So, under this obligation, the refugees' rights in Nepal only include rights to equal protection, religious freedom, and protection from expropriation of property. But a refugee in Nepal cannot exercise freedom of expression, freedom of movement, and the right to acquire or own property. There is no official refugee's policy. It follows UNHCR while dealing with the Tibetans and the Bhutanese refugees. They can be detained at any time. Nepalese laws simply regard refugees as 'aliens'. The 1958 Foreigners Act and Administrative directivities determined refugees' legal right (United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2008). The Immigration Act of 1992 prescribes their treatment, and states that no foreigners shall be allowed to enter into and stay in the Kingdom of Nepal without obtaining a passport and visa, and it limits the entry of foreigners to its prescribed routes (Justice, 2002).

2.7. Nepalese Governmental Laws and Policies applicable to Tibetans:

The Tibetan refugees in Nepal can be classified into two categories. i). those who arrived in Nepal before 1989 or the ones who were the first batch of refugees. The people belonging to this category and their descendents are entitled to reside in Nepal lawfully. ii). the next category of refugees are those who arrived in or are arriving in Nepal after 1989 (new arrivals). They are not permitted to stay in Nepal lawfully but they are allowed safe transit through Nepal to seek refuge in India: This condition came to affect after the '*The Gentlemen's Agreement*', an informal agreement concluded between the government of Nepal and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. This agreement ensures the safe movement of Tibetans to India via Nepal. There were other certain objectives of the agreement like: it allows access to Tibetans in the territory of Nepal for entering India. Secondly, it ensures respect for the prohibition against forced return (re-foulment) including the Nepal-China border itself. Thirdly, it guarantees that Tibetans can neither be detained nor penalized on immigration for their 'unlawful entry'. Lastly, to make sure that the government

of Nepal will provide exit permit to newly arrived Tibetan asylum seekers verified by UNHCR to allow their timely departure to India (Justice, 2002).

Under the *Gentlemen's Agreement*, Tibetans are first detained by the police in Nepal and are handed over to the Department of Immigration where they are interviewed. It is a legal process to know the motive for entering India. Only after finishing these formalities, Tibetans are permitted to apply for entry permit to India in the Indian embassy. Once this entry permit is issued, the UNHCR sends request to the Department of Immigration for exit permits to be issued. This exit permit provides the right to travel from Tibet to the Tibetan border at Sonauli. But since the year 1990 the Nepalese authorities lifted up the *Gentlemen's Agreement* for Tibetans who enter Nepal illegally (Center, 2002). The “Boundary Management System” Agreement signed in 1990 between Nepal and China commits to sent back Tibetans if found crossing the border illegally. If they are sent back then, the accused has to face interrogation, torture and imprisonment in Tibet . It is regarded as a serious offence under Chinese Law. Another treaty signed between Beijing and Kathmandu was the “Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance on Criminal Matters” on October 13, 2019, according to which Nepal gives China the power to intervene in Nepal in matters relating to Tibetans. Nepal’s delegates have reiterated that “Tibet affairs are China’s internal affairs. So, Prime Minister Oli has given assurance that Nepal will not allow or oppose any ‘anti- Chinese activities’ inside Nepal. Chinese President on the other hand, has stated that “anyone attempting to split China in any part of the country will end in crushed bodies and shattered bone (Shaw, 2020). Since this policy has been implemented, it has reduced the illegal entry of Tibetans between 2,500 to 35,000 before 2008 to just 18 in 2009. Indra Prasad Aryal, Chairperson of the Human Rights Organisation of Nepal has warned that this agreement is just the beginning of an extradition treaty that could permit China ‘to take Chinese political and religious dissidents from Nepal and punish them in their own country’ (Shaw, 2020).

In absence of legal status of the Tibetans in Nepal, Refugee Identity Card (RC) is important for Tibetans to reside in Nepal. It ensures a certain level of security from being persecuted by government authorities and minimizes the chances of expulsion. It guarantees certain minimal rights, and helps in official works such as getting travel documents, purchasing motorcycles, applying for driving license etc. The Refugee Identity Card is also needed for Tibetan children to travel to India for education. Without the RC, it is difficult for them to attend Nepalese schools and secure employment locally. Nepalese officials visit the settlements periodically to check the RC among the Tibetans. The RC needs to be renewed

annually which sometimes become difficult, if not troublesome for them particularly, when they are not present on the official registration day and for those who reside outside the settlement. Even with the RC Tibetans in Nepal enjoy very little or limited freedom and rights. Travelling is restricted to certain regions of the country like the northern border of China. There is always the risk of getting arrested or even deported. Tibetans cannot obtain a passport in Nepal when in need of travel documents. They must present a valid RC and pay the required fee of USD 100-150. People obtaining travel documents must show valid reasons for travelling outside the country, such as a letter of invitation, medical problems, family reunification, conferences and business. Of late, due to progressive relationships with China, the Nepalese government has become dubious about the issue of travel documents. Initially, for many years the Nepalese government permitted Tibetans to travel to India with a refugee document but since the law passed in October 2000 it is obligatory for them to present their valid documents, if they were to travel to India through airways. So, in order to escape the bureaucratic hurdle, which they face while acquiring travel documents; majority of Tibetans prefer to travel to India overland through bus services while, some of them opt for false documents or pay bribe to the officials, basically when they travel to other foreign countries. But The United States, Canada, Switzerland, and a few other countries' embassies refuse to accept those false travel documents and grant visas only to those who obtain proper passport. Thus, such policies make foreign travel for Tibetans unfavorable (Justice, 2002).

2.8. Citizenship Issue:

Theoretically many Tibetan residents have become eligible for Nepalese Citizenship. Section 6 of the Citizenship Act of Nepal permits an adult Tibetan to apply for citizenship if he /she:

- a. Has the ability to speak and write the national language of Nepal.
- b. Has renounced citizenship of any other state.
- c. Is a member of any profession in Nepal.
- d. Has resided in Nepal for at least 15 years.
- e. Is a resident of a country that permits naturalized citizenship to the citizens of Nepal.
- f. Is of good moral character (Justice, 2002)

People seeking citizenship in Nepal must also confirm if they have made or can make any substantial contribution to science, literature, art, philosophy and World peace, the welfare of humanity, Nepalese industry or economic improvement. In such cases the application favoured and is considered the government officially does not stop Tibetans from acquiring citizenship. The government does not officially encourage them to take up Nepalese citizenship. Even though few women especially those married to Nepalese men have taken up citizenship. Cases of the purchase of false citizenship cards have also been recorded to buy property in Nepal. Only children born with Nepalese father is eligible to be Nepalese citizens unlike in India. Tibetans in Nepal are not keen to become Nepalese citizens because they feel that being Nepalese citizen would compromise with their Tibetan national identity.

Tibetans in Nepal have no right to own property. They cannot purchase own house or land; not even automobiles or any other form of personal or real property. In such a situation, they usually rent houses from native people and even purchase shops in their name. They can only own a motorcycle, but then again, getting a license and (or) renewing it, becomes another hurdle for them. In such circumstances, acquiring Nepalese Citizenship is useless. Tibetans in Nepal basically reside in settlements and in the rented houses. So now, with the growing population amongst them, they have begun to face difficulty in accommodation because they are restricted to purchase property of any kind. Since Tibetans do not pay any tax to the government, they do not receive any benefit, assistance or aid of any kind from the Nepalese government. Therefore, skilled laborers and educated youths are compelled to work in some private sector with substandard incomes, while a few hire local individuals to be the nominal owners of their businesses. In addition, Tibetans in Nepal face restrictions regarding the freedom of expression and even peaceful demonstration. There is limited political and cultural freedom because whatever they perform publically is often perceived as a political activity which might be portrayed to be anti-Chinese which is forbidden in Nepal.

2.9. Circumstances that put the Tibetans to Refuge:

Tibetan migration to India does not involve a conclusive process. It has taken place several times, depending on the political upheaval or conditions in Tibet. Earlier Tibetans travelled to India and Nepal for trade and commerce. Pilgrimage facilitated commercial exchanges and there were also some trade along the borders. A thriving trade of wool developed between

Tibet and India through the towns of Kalimpong that slowly encouraged the migration of the rich Tibetan merchants in the town (Datta, June 2006). But the mass migrations that they undertook following the political events of 1959 were totally different. The political rivalry between the two countries viz. Tibet and China resulted in the Chinese takeover of Tibet and even the head of the traditional government of Tibet, the Dalai Lama fled His motherland to take refuge in India. The flow of refugees from Tibet has not really totally stopped since then.

The cause of this is a complicated one arising from the peculiar geo-political conflict between the two countries and their respective perceptions regarding the relation. China claims that Tibet has always been an inseparable part of China since the time of the Yuan dynasty (1162-1227) while the Tibetans have a different perception of the relation with China. It originates from the unique form of government that the Tibetans enjoyed with the head of a religious sect as the head of the state as well as the de facto ruler of Tibet. The system was initiated by the Mongols who later established their control on China as well. It all started in the thirteenth century when the Mongols became the dominant power in the whole of Central Asia. In order to avoid being occupied by them the then ruling Sakyapa sect sent a delegation to Genghiz Khan with the proposal for guaranteeing the Tibetan autonomy by supposedly surrendering their foreign suzerainty under the Mongols. Impressed by the personality and scholarship of the lama, the Khan accepted Buddhism as his religion and showered gifts and respect on his guru. This particular event was the beginning of the priest –patron relationship between the two parties. Thus, since then the ruler of the Tibet became the religious guide and advisor of the Mongols and in return Mongols became political protector of the Tibetans. This patron- priest relationship continued for four centuries. It was in the second phase of the priest patron relationship that the 5th Dalai Lama, head of the Gelug sect of Tibet was made the defacto ruler of Tibet by Gusri Khan, the Mongol. This initiated a very special form of Government in Tibet, headed by a spiritual person and accordingly the structure of the government also became special with monks and monasteries enjoying special positioned in the administrative structure and hierarchy. During this period, Mongols continuously tried to conquer China and Tibet. They even tried to capture the 7th Dalai Lama (1709-57) which was rescued with the help of Chinese. And this incident again re-altered the relationship between Tibetans and the Chinese as the priest and the protector (Roemer, 2008). Succession to the government was decided through reincarnation and some prescribed methods were followed for the identification of the same. China however claims that some of the Dalai Lamas were

identified through the use of the golden urn sent by the Emperor from China. Hence China's control on the system. China's actual control on Tibet however was nominal.

The relation between Tibet under the 13th Dalai Lama and China deteriorated in the early 20th century. When the British attempted to open up Tibet in the year 1903-04, the Qing dynasty invaded and conquered Lhasa, considering Tibet to be politically inferior and attempted to increase control over Tibet's administration. In 1911, a year after the collapse of the Qing dynasty, Tibet declared its independence. All Chinese residents and officials were expelled by the Tibetan government. Henceforth, Tibet functioned as *a de-facto* independent nation. It was after the formation of the Communist Government in China in 1949 that Mao expressed his intention to bring back Tibet to the fold of the 'Motherland'. The Chinese army invaded its eastern borders in the year 1950 in order to unify it with China. Even though Tibet till then functioned as an independent nation, the political status of Tibet was unsettled because China still claimed its sovereignty over Tibet. The western world, including Britain and The United States did not recognize 'Tibet' as a fully independent territory. (Warren, 2009)

Defeated in the war, representatives of the Tibetan government signed the "Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" which is commonly known as '17th Point Agreement' with Beijing granting China's sovereignty over Tibet for the first time. The circumstances under which this happened is controversial as it is said that the Tibetan delegates were made to sign the agreement by default. Under this agreement CPG declared that all the nationalities within the boundaries are equal and they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their public enemies. They shall become a fraternal and cooperative family under People's Republic of China. There shall be freedom of spoken and written languages and also the freedom to reform their won cultures, habits, and the religious beliefs. (Warren, 2009)

But The Tibetan representatives on the other hand claim that it was imposed upon them. The agreement stated that the central authorities "***will not alter the existing political system in Tibet***" or "***the establishment status, function and powers of the Dalai Lama***" (Smith W. W., 2010). The Chinese promised to respect and protect Tibet's religious beliefs and customs but the reality turned out to be different. In 1956, China replaced Tibet's traditional government with the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. The Tibet Autonomous Region was divided into territorial division as a result of which Kham and Amdo became

Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan the central province of the U-Tsang (TAR). Scholars have pointed out several contradictions in the clauses of the document itself.

It was the implementation of the reforms that deteriorated the relation with China. This crucial period in the history of Tibet has been described in several accounts of Tibet including the biographies of Dalai Lama, *The Last Dalai Lama* being one of those. The impact of the Chinese attempts to change the social relations and peoples' perception among the common masses in the rural areas has been graphically described by Dawa Norbu in his autobiographical book *Red Star over Tibet*. Protests spread in retaliation to these reforms, and it even took the form of armed revolt in Kham in eastern Tibet. Tibetans however were no match to the PLA. In the year 1957, to prevent the spread of revolt to the central Tibet and to ensure the return of Dalai Lama from his India tour, Mao promised to stop the reforms against the Tibetan's wishes. But once he returned the reform again started in eastern Tibet. Thus, the more intensified revolt started in the Leap year forward in the year 1958 (Jurist, 1997).

Finally in 1959, Tibet accused China of violating the clauses of the 17 points agreement, on the basis of it curbing the religious freedom and the restructured government of Tibet. There was a nation-wide resistance by the Tibetans on 10th March 1959 demanding the withdrawal of China from Tibet. Therefore, the Chinese army crushed the uprising of Tibetans. Since then, this day has been marked as "Tibetan National Uprising Day". After the ruthless crushing of the first revolt of Tibetans by the Chinese army, the Tibetans started fearing the detention of Dalai Lama by the Chinese authorities. Ultimately Dalai Lama decided to flee Tibet on 17th March 1959. Accompanying him, hundreds of his followers escaped Lhasa and sought political asylum in India. Apart from India, many entered Nepal and Bhutan seeking refuge. Thus, following this, the escape of Tibetans from Tibet has been continuous. The Tibetans have always tried to prove that historically, China had never exercised total control on Tibet and the controversy has originated from the different perceptions of the particular concept of priest patron relationship, the basis of the bilateral relationship. China however, has its own interpretation. But to be sure it was the unique form of government that turned out to be the basic cause of this controversy.

Henceforth, flight from Tibet took place in phases. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) of Mao's revolutionary politics of repression towards Tibet began by the concept of revival of the forms, spirit and consciousness of collectiveness. It started with the destruction of the old

building with the new ones unleashing the Red Guards to destroy the “Four olds” (old ideas, old culture, old traditions, old customs) which was regarded as a hindrance to socialism. Monasteries were attacked, destroyed and plundered and monks were forced to give up their profession and take part in physical labour. This too has been described by Dawa Norbu from his personal experiences with focus on the psychological trauma that this has brought to them. Another brutal diktat was the Education Campaign under which the Tibetan customs, traditions, songs, dance and even language was replaced by the “progressive and the socialist” structure; all in Chinese styles according to them (Warren, 2009). Everything that was feudal till then in Tibetan society was to be replaced by new Chinese ways. Since, much obliteration was already caused by the Cultural Revolution; all these factors contributed more reason to the Tibetan migration to India. The Tibetan grievance against Education policy whereby Chinese is imposed on them at the cost of their own language and history continues till today.

Another wave of arrival started in the 1980s following the slow liberation in China’s Tibet policy. Unhappy with the Chinese control on them the Tibetans took advantage of the relaxation of the control. The opening of the Sino-Nepali border encouraged the steady flow of Tibetans into India and Nepal. But once this relaxation led to the protest demonstrations by the monks, commonly known as the Lhasa uprising in 1987, the grip was tightened once again. Simultaneously with the changing refugee policies of both India and Nepal it has become increasingly difficult to cross over the border but the stream has not totally dried up. As per some data of 2011 the number of Tibetans arriving in India varied annually between 1,500-3,500 (Center, 2011). Estimated number of Tibetans living in India according to CTA (as of 2007) was 111,170 out of which 85,000 live in India. U.S Committee for Refugees and the UNHCR report higher estimates, and holds that more than 125,000 Tibetans live in India (Center, 2011).

Tibetans continue to visit India for varied reasons involving religion, politics and education (both spiritual and formal), social and economic. In addition, they travel to accompany their relatives in India, or to meet their spiritual leader the 14th ‘Dalai Lama’ who is regarded as the symbol of Tibetan nationalism. Therefore, one can assume that the reason behind the flow of Tibetans to India could vary upon their choice. It is highly illegal for Tibetans to leave Tibet. Tibetans fleeing their home have to face many challenges, apart from the risk of getting tracked, the risk associated with high altitudes and overall harsh and inaccessible terrain is also high. (Subba T. , 2001). Change of climate can also prove fatal. Tibetans

mostly enter India through Nepal because those who try to enter India through the Sino-Indian border, face the risk of getting repatriated on the basis of de- facto policy of 'voluntary repatriation' formalized between Indian government and CTA from the year 1994 (Center, 2011) Taking into consideration, the sensitive security situation at the border; the Indian officials tend to turn a blind eye to the Tibetans entering India via Nepal. So they prefer Nepal as an easy route of transit to reach India, as it happened in the early 1980s and 1990s. (Center, 2011). Following the "the Gentleman's Agreement" Nepal government started allowing Tibetans to stay in Nepal. It is the UNHCR that handle the process following certain criteria as per which they are allowed to travel to India legally. But if any Tibetan enters India via any route other than Reception Centre in Kathmandu, they are not liable to get the Special Entry Permit which is the most important document for a Registration Certificate without which they will be regarded as illegal migrants (Center, 2016). Tibetans enter Nepal and after spending some time with their people there, travel to India and finally settle down there. Since India has soft rules for them, they tend to take full advantage of it. Some of them of course visit India only for the purpose of pilgrimage because they regard India as their holy place for the Dalai Lama lives here. After seeing him, some of them tend to return back to Tibet. But most of the Tibetans escape Tibet to never return. They stay here with their relatives and after sometime, they tend to settle permanently. Recently, there were reports that few Tibetans even travel to foreign countries through India (Center, 2016). No matter how many strict rules are adopted by the Nepalese government in order to stop the illegal migration of Tibetans to Nepal, it has failed to be full proof. Tibetans even after realizing the risk of getting convicted, if found escaping, manage to cross Nepalese borders.

2.10. Assimilation and Integration of Tibetan Refugees in the Host Countries:

India: Even though there were several Tibetans , specially from the aristocratic families who sent their children and families to India even before the actual Chinese takeover of their homeland, Tibetans started entering India *en masse* from the year 1959, when, following the Chinese occupation of Tibet His Holiness the Dalai Lama Himself fled Tibet to take refuge in India. The Indian government, considering the religious and historical connection between the two nations decided to grant political asylum to Dalai Lama and His fellow citizens on grounds of humanitarianism. It was clarified that The Dalai Lama was 'free to carry on his

religious activities in India' but neither The Dalai Lama, nor his followers could exercise political acts from Indian Soil which could sour India's relations with Beijing. (Mishra, 2014)

The first batch of Tibetan refugees entered India for political asylum from Chuthangmo, an Indian check post on the eastern border of India, from where they proceeded towards Tezpur in the north-eastern state of Assam. At first, Indian government with the help of state Government of Assam and the West Bengal set up various transit camps at Missamari in Assam and Buxa in Coochbehar of West Bengal (Kharat, 2003). The Indian government in the initial stages, set up camps for Tibetan refugees, and provided them with assistance, like shelter, medical treatment and rations. India also created temporary work for them in construction sites for their economic rehabilitation. Due to unfavorable climate, many Tibetan died in the camps and finally the process of relocating them started. In 1960, India relocated The Dalai Lama from Mussoorie to McLeodganj, Dharamsala (Himachal Pradesh) and permitted to set up a Tibetan Government in Exile which came to be known as the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). The CTA's first motive was to relocate Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal, to other destinations. It wanted to preserve and develop Tibet's language, culture, history, religious traditions and educational systems. India started the rehabilitation process at first by establishing settlements by leasing land in the Indian states of Himachal Pradesh, Ladakh, Arunachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, South Sikkim, West Bengal, Maharashtra, and Orissa. (Center, 2011)

The arrival of Tibetan Refugees into India can be divided into many phases, starting right from the year 1959 to 1979. The year following the Lhasa uprising, and the flight of the Dalai Lama, it was estimated that approximately 30,000 Tibetans entered India by November 1959. Next, it was between the years 1980-1993, following the introduction of 'Cultural Revolution' and Economic Liberation in China, when nearly about 25,000 Tibetans arrived in India via Nepal (Center, 2011). Besides this, there is the continuous flow of Tibetan immigrants into India for various reasons like education, pilgrimage or for political escape etc. Today it is estimated that roughly 130,000 ethnic Refugees reside in India (Center, 2016).

At present, Tibetan refugees in India live in thirty seven formal settlements and seventy informal Tibetan communities, scattered throughout the country. About 20,000 monks or nuns reside in monasteries located in or near 54 of these settlements. According to The CTA, 111,170 Tibetans live in exile; about 85000 of them live in India. While, other sources

suggest about 110,000 and 125,000 (Center, 2011). Girija Saklani categorized the Tibetan settlements into 7 groups.

1. Agricultural settlements.
2. Industrial settlements.
3. Rehabilitation through handicrafts centres.
4. Employment in multi-purpose societies.
5. Economic settlement directly under the Dalai Lama's trust.
6. Employment in the Tibetan establishments and in the Tibetan music, dance and drama society.
7. Individual trade and business enterprises on small to moderate scale (Saklani, 1984).

In terms of governance, The CTA which is the highest government administration of Tibetans in exile, appoints officers for each settlement. These officials are responsible for the entire administration of the settlement. In case of India, The Government of India technically retains comprehensive authority over the settlements (Center, 2011).

Nepal: Historically, Tibet and Nepal have a long history of cultural and religious exchange. Both the countries also had trade relations over centuries. Along with trade, there were intermarriages and the sharing of culture amongst the people of the two nations. In the fifth century, the Tibetan King Songsten Gampo, who is regarded as founder of Tibet as state is said to have married both Nepalese and Chinese princesses. It is from the Nepalese queen that the king is said to have developed his fascination for Buddhism (Center, 2002). Tibetan Buddhism is practiced in the mountainous regions of Nepal which shared ethnic, cultural and linguistic traits with the Tibetan brethren. So, when The People's Liberation Army moved into Tibet after 1949, The Tibetans considered Nepal as a safe haven for transit. The arrival of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal commenced particularly with the arrival of The Dalai Lama into India in 1959 and also in the year 1989 after the Lhasa assault (Roemer, 2008). The influx of Tibetan refugees also took place after the sealing of Tibetan Guerilla base in the western Kingdom of Mustang which is a frontier between Tibet and Nepal⁴ (Center, 2002). Nepal does not have any legal framework concerning refugees, as it will be discussed in a following section. Yet, Nepal has granted asylum to Bhutanese and Tibetan refugees in its soil.

⁴ The Gushi Gandruk Guerilla forces had regrouped in exile and set up a base of operation in Mustang in the Tibetan border. They used to raid Chinese convoy and military bases (Praag M. C., The Status of Tibet: Human Rights, and Prospects in International Law, 1987, p. 175).

The arrival of Tibetan refugees in Nepal began in the early 1950s and then continued for long following the Lhasa uprising. They established camps primarily in the Himalayan border regions of Western Nepal such as Mustang, ethnically a Tibetan kingdom of Nepal, as well as in Nubri and Solu Khumbu with the assistance of UNHCR, the Swiss government, the Australian Refugees Committee and the International Committee of the Red Cross Society (Frechette, 2004). By the early 1960s, the Nepalese government provided Tibetan refugees with land in regions like Chialsa in Solu-Khumbu, Tashi Palkheil, Dhorpatan and Jawalakhel with the help of the United Nations High Commission for the Refugees. Thereafter, with the assistance of non-governmental organizations, they built roads, homes, schools and medical facilities. After that more settlements grew up in Jawalakhel, Boudha, Swayambunath and Jorpatani in and around Kathmandu. Jampaling, Paljorling, Tashi Ling and Palhkeil in the Pokhara region and Dhorpatan, Chialsa, Chsirok, Shabrus, and Lumbini in the northern regions of Nepal (Center, 2002)

The economic sustainability of Tibetan refugees in Nepal is different as compared to India. Right from the beginning, they had received substantial assistance from international organizations, particularly the Swiss. They were the ones who established Tibetan settlement camps. They also started the first carpet industry by training the first generation Tibetan refugees, the art of weaving fine quality carpet along with the skill of management. Swiss international organization was the one who set up carpet export companies in Nepal. Apart from working in carpet industry since the initial days of their plight, the Tibetans in Nepal support their livelihoods by selling souvenirs, operating small restaurants, engaging in minor trade or industry and some subsistence level agriculture and production of handicrafts and carpentry. In Nepal Tibetan refugees have to share the allocated existing space, as they have no right to expand the settlement as they are not allowed to purchase land and construct housing just in the case of their population growth. Since Tibetan residents have no right to own property or business in Nepal, they usually hire Nepalese citizens to act as the nominal owners of their businesses. After the establishment of Tibetan carpet industry in Nepal, it has evolved into a primary source of income and the largest handicrafts industry. It is the largest earner of foreign currency in Nepal now (Center, 2002).

2.11. Briefing on the life of Tibetans: Social Habits and Customs

Religion and culture:

Religion is the characteristic core element in the life of a Tibetan. Everything in a Tibetan's life revolves around religion and their social interactions, culture even lifestyle reflect the deep impact of religion in their lives. In other words, it is religion that binds and builds up the Tibetan society. In a traditional Tibetan society, there existed a dualistic secular and sacred sphere. In the older order, religious personalities were placed in higher social order than the secular consisting of lay Tibetans, agriculturists and traders. High respect was entitled to any person holding a high place in religious hierarchy. The monastic order was based on the dualistic principle of jointness and hierarchical control. In everything, the heads of the monasteries were the 'domains of gods'. The importance and status of religious heads was reflected in the structure of the traditional government of Tibet, headed by the Dalai Lama who was the head of the Gelugpa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. All other posts in the government were shared by both religious and secular personalities, the former enjoying a higher status even if junior to the latter by age. The religious authority had the right of control over the secular authority at all levels in the society. (Saklani, 1984) Saklani has further noted that Tibetans would confer higher social status in their social order by a person's personal virtues, such as moral character, intellect and religious devotion not by the religious-political standing, wealth and family background (Saklani, 1984). Even the *tulku*-concept of reincarnation: the method of identifying the Dalai Lama is based on the Buddhist cycle of rebirth.

Even in exile, the tradition of religiosity prevails, in the sense, that a person having high position in religion is given high respect. This is because of the fact that the first generations of exiled Tibetans are the ones who inherited religious-culture along with their reprisal. They are enthusiastic in preserving and transmitting this trait to their children. Despite being exposed to new society, culture and modern world, aged Tibetans have been successful in keeping their young, inclined towards their religion without being diluted by western influence. The Youth have been influenced by the ideology of secularism but in totality, religion still plays a vital role in their socio-cultural life. Maybe for Tibetans, Dalai Lama, their religion and religious institutions continues to be a force that binds them together as a nation that is expressed in their loyalty towards their lost motherland and their willingness to return to Tibet. We can see that the Tibetan refugees settled all over the places have built *Chortens* and *Monasteries* to displays their devotion and deep faith in their religion.

Religiousness is also reflected in their lifestyles and practices and also in the structure of Central Tibetan Administration that proves as how important their religious foundation continues to be.

Culture is a component which is transmitted from one family to another and from one generation to another to make up a society. It determines our values and morals which is important to define what we are and where we belong. Tibetan refugees have experienced new environmental, geographical, political, social and cultural transformations in Exile. It altogether introduced a new world to them. Their lifestyles, norms and traditions were different in Tibet. Introduced to metamorphosis, their culture also underwent a transformation in various ways. The Tibetan traditional joint family became a nuclear family. The polyandry system became monogamous. Women were given equal status and opportunities compared to their traditional practices in Tibet. With their exposure to the modern world, their vision towards life has been changing. Youths are more fascinated towards modern lifestyle, habits, and life opportunities. Traditional family values and morals are changing and replaced with modern values and outlook. In spite of this, Tibetan community outside of its territory has been successful in keeping their religious values and customs intact. Their lifestyles, habits and practices have given them an identity and that serves as an element of their nationalism.

Education and Occupation:

Education plays a key role in transformation and Tibetan refugees are no exception. It helps to build self-confidence and consciousness in order to lead a successful life. It shapes visions and expectations from life. It can be regarded as a powerful tool in the process of adaptation and social integration in a new environment. Education among Tibetan refugees is one of the integral agendas of the rehabilitation process. They have successfully set up widespread network of educational institutes comprising with primary and higher education serving both the secular and the religious needs of the society. For this, they have received full assistance from the Government of India. The different monasteries have set up their centres for religious studies and trainings. Just after entering India in 1960s Tshering Dolma Taklha, (sister of Dalai Lama) was given the responsibilities to establish a school for the Tibetan children which was later converted into Tibetan Children's Village (TCV) schools, spreading its branches all over India educating over 16,000 Tibetan children (Center, 2011). CTA, with the help of the Government of India, Snowline foundation and other voluntary organizations has shown major concern in establishing special schools for Tibetans, the basic objective is

teach Tibetan language, religion, culture and provide modern and secular education as well, in order to make Tibetan people self-reliant. Tibetan, as a vernacular language is used as the medium of instruction in all Tibetan schools till grade V and second language from grade V to XII. It is called the policy of “Tibetanisation of education” (Center, 2011). Its aim is to protect Tibetan language and culture from extinction and dilution. There are different types of schools for Tibetans in India, like Tibetan Children Village (TCV) School, Tibetan Homes Foundation and Transit school for new arrivals. Transit schools provide English and Tibetan language instruction and vocational training. All Tibetan schools are administered by CTA Dept. of Education and Central Tibetan Administration, which is an independent institution that falls within the jurisdiction of the Indian Ministry of Human Resource Development. Apart from this, many Tibetan children now-a-days attend local schools and some pursue advanced professional courses from Indian universities and institutions. Indian government provides reservation policies annually in engineering, medicine, pharmaceuticals and printing technology.

Social Life and Language: Social life is an important part of any individual. It involves an evolution of individual life with their society. Traditional Tibetan society was organized upon a hierarchical pattern. It was an index which referred to the social inequalities which people in the Tibetan society were subjected. There used to be two factors that indicated the socio-economic hierarchy depending upon the possession of land and religious status. Social stratification was based upon land ownership and the position of the individual both in religious and secular domains. The distribution of land and other properties was governed by feudal principles (Saklani, 1984). But the scenario in their host countries is different now. Now since they do not have their previous property ownership, it is mere an indication of their social status. .

Tibetan language too has been mixed now. Tibetan is no more the only language that the Tibetans speak. Tibetans have learned local languages and they communicate in local language with the local people. Of course they speak Tibetan while they communicate at home, but they use the local language when outside. English is common among them, especially in India.

Occupation: Economy and occupation are the major elements that provide a degree of access to goods and services to lead a good and healthy life. It determines the social and economic relation in a society to maintain a certain standard of living. In the initial days of Tibetan

influx in India, they were provided with manual jobs at construction sites. The Government of India also allotted land for their settlements keeping in mind the scope of their economic activities and livelihood. Out of thirty seven formal settlements and seventy informal ones, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, South Sikkim and Odisha are agriculture based settlements and remaining others like Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, and West Bengal are industry based settlements.

Over time, Tibetans re-initiated their traditional expertise in weaving carpet, woolen garment and handicraft making skills as a source of income and means of livelihood. With time, woolen sweaters, carpets and other handicraft items were widely acknowledged and thus, it became their main occupation. On the other hand, those who were provided with additional land made agriculture their source of livelihood. In due course, many people established small businesses like garments shops, shops selling souvenirs, Thankas and paintings, small eateries etc. in town areas where they have were reinstated. Today most of them are successful entrepreneurs. In fact, Tibetans presently have become pure businessmen in many towns and cities like Darjeeling, Dehradun, Dharamsala, Mussoorie etc. and all the places where they have settled down, particularly along the Himalayan belt. Many educated youth have been working in their own CTA, and other offices related to administration. Many of them have become doctors, engineers, teachers, nurses and other professionals, and at present, many of them have the greater aspiration to settle abroad for a better future. Unfortunately, the fact that they are refugees, no matter how educated; they are hopeful of a bright future and express their willingness to travel abroad where they may have even better opportunities and a bright future.

Politics: Politics is the one thing, people cannot refrain from. Politics shapes the peoples' existence in any polity. So, Tibetan refugees are no exception. Their coming to India, and the establishment of CTA, can be viewed as the inception of Tibetan entry to mainstream politics because this institution was established with the purpose of advocating the freedom of Tibet and challenging the legitimacy of Chinese occupation. Tibetan issue is a part of international politics; their status in the host country depending upon the country's relation with China. Moreover, after having lived in India for decades, Tibetans have become an integral part of Indian society, receiving a cordial amount of support by local governments. So, in this regard, Tibetans have close connections with the host government. This makes a huge impact on their day to day life for survival. It has been found that Tibetans who have Indian citizenship, have been taking part in Indian electoral processes too. They have an affinity with the local

government too. Tibetans have been given voting rights in some states, which at times has developed into a controversial issue in India. The Government of India has been lenient in this regard. But political status is different for the Tibetans in Nepal. Tibetans there do not have the right to acquire the citizenship card, irrespective of their residence. There Nepalese government has been strict regarding this issue. They are still refugees holding the “Refugee Registration card”. As a result, Tibetan refugees in Nepal have to follow strict guidelines of the government. They do not enjoy the right to freedom, expression and movement like that in India. This issue has been elaborated in a subsequent chapter.

2.12. The Central Tibetan Administration- Its Structure and Functions; A Critical Assessment

Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) is the autonomous government of Tibetans in Exile. The function of the Government in Exile depends upon the concern of the government where it has been established. The autonomy and intensity of its functions ultimately depend upon the liberty given to them by the concerning government. The cooperation and recognition of the hosting government depends on the security and compulsion of that government. So in such case, Exile government becomes important for opponent or other bargaining power in international conflicts (Roemer, 2008). Even though CTA is installed in India its functions as an administrative authority of all the Tibetans living in exile which is to say that it work as a binding administrative body for all the Tibetans spread Worldwide.

After experiencing the bitter assault in the hands of the Chinese, the Dalai Lama realized the need of organize his fellow citizens in the modern political structure. So immediately after entering India in the year 1959, He at first emphasized on rehabilitating his people in the new environment, preserving their culture, and promoting harmony among them. For the same reason also set up an effective Government-in-Exile: the Central Tibetan Administration in 1959 consisting of the cabinet, the *kashag*, with six portfolios was Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Religion and culture, Education, Finance and the Security. Subsequently, In order to link the Indian government, foreign diplomatic missions and the various international relief agencies, a bureau was opened at Delhi, and Gangtok, followed by that in Kathmandu, and also in other countries like New York, Geneva, Tokyo and London. It acts as unofficial embassies for the Government in exile. (Praag, 1987, p. 167).

Initially the Central Tibetan Administration had to struggle for political survival and also for the international recognition. At first, CTA relied heavily on NGOs, transnational organizations, international community and nation-states either for diplomatic relations or for relief materials and in the face of immense difficulties it was not in a position to indulge in politics nor did the Government of India want Dalai Lama to do so. It was clear from certain statements made by Nehru. On 3 April 1959, even before Dalai Lama's actual arrival in India, Nehru made a declaration in the Parliament that the Dalai Lama would be treated respectfully if he sought asylum in India but he also made few statements in order to make his stand clear (Stobdan, 2019):

- a. The Dalai Lama had come to India on his own volition and not on the suggestion of the Indian government.
- b. He was entirely responsible for his statements that he made in India,
- c. There was no Indian hand in the drafting or preparation of those statements.

Again, on 20 April 1959, Nehru made another statement that the Dalai Lama would be free to pursue His religious activities in India, he could not participate in political programmes in India (Stobdan, 2019).

CTA was established on 29 April 1959 in the north Indian hill station of Mussoorie and was later shifted to Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh. It was in the meeting that was concluded between the 14th Dalai Lama and Jawaharlal Nehru when Nehru at first learned about the Tibetan provisory government in exile. He at that time responded empathetically expressing that even though Government of India would recognize an exile Tibetan Government because India was bound by the Sino-Indian 1954 agreement. Moreover, he was not willing to sacrifice the relationship with China for Tibet. He went on to explain that it was about the security and integrity of India. Secondly, he expressed India's wish to maintain friendly relationship with the PRC yet, expressed his sympathy towards the Tibetan people. So, at Indian Government cleared its stand on them; and extended full support in accommodating them (Roemer, 2008). Nevertheless, it is determined that India's decision to accommodate the Tibetans was based on its own political objectives.

The structure and policies of the CTA is based on the principles of Buddhism and democracy combined with traditional values with western political concepts. It is based on the lines of representational claim. Initially the CTA was not a new political structure rather a continuation of the Government of Tibet in Lhasa. Even in the traditional Tibetan

government Dalai Lama, was considered as ‘Lord of Tibet’ He had the sovereign power and supremacy over the subjects and state and the *Kashag* or the Council of Ministers would carry out all the administrative responsibilities of the government. Books like the *Uprooted Tibetans in India: A Sociological Study of Continuity and Change* by Girija Saklani, *The Religion of Tibet* and *Portrait of a Dalai Lama: The life and Times of the Great Thirteenth* by Charles Bell, *Rule by Incarnation* by Franz Michael, *The Dalai Lamas: The Institution and its History* by Ardy Verhaegen etc. describes the traditional form of Tibetan government⁵.

All the elements of traditional government exist there in the initial structure of the CTA. These elements of democracy were gradually brought in the Year 1960 the Dalai Lama for the first time called for democratic election to form a newly created representative body, the Commission of People’s Deputies and promulgated the draft Constitution with the sole aim of teaching his fellow citizens as how should Tibet be ruled when she regains her freedom (Praag, 1987, p. 167). The new Constitution of Tibetan government in Exile recognized the supremacy of International law, The United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and also the denunciation of use of force as a national polity.

CTA is portrayed as the *de-facto* government of Tibet in exile and has been functioning as sole administrator of the exiled community. The supreme administrative power of exiled Tibetans rests with the Central Tibetan Administration. It is the primary administrative body upholding the sovereign authority over Tibetan refugees all over the globe. It is responsible for all socio-economic development undertakings and the political authority for exiled Tibetans globally.

The Central Tibetan Administration works on the principles of truth, nonviolence, democracy and freedom, and also strives towards the independence of Tibet. The administration has been set up to rehabilitate refugees from Tibet and to restore its freedom. Yet, most precisely, it aims to revive the glory of Tibet back in India and other foreign soils. Its rehabilitation process includes three important objectives (Democracy, 2012);

- i. The promotion of education among the exiled Tibetans.
- ii. The setting up of a firm culture of democracy.

⁵ Traditional form of Tibetan government is unique because it is ruled by reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. The process of identifying the succeeding Dalai Lama is also very spiritual.

- iii. The setting up of ways by which Tibetans can survive through exile with dignity, self-esteem and confidence on the basis of self reliance and self-sufficiency (Relation, 2013).

In other words it is considered as the instrument for the reconstruction of Tibet, so that it would not let “Tibetan dreams” to go out of sight amongst the Tibetans until freedom is achieved.

The model of governance of the CTA reflects the Commission of Tibetan Peoples’ Deputies, or a Parliament that was formed on 2nd September 1960, which was later transformed to “The Tibetan Peoples’ Deputies”. Furthermore, in 1990, Dalai Lama started the process of democratization by increasing the number of the “*Kashag*” (The Cabinet members). Then, in 1992, the Tibetan Judiciary or The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission was instituted under the terms of the Arbitration Act of the Government of India. In the year 2001, the Tibetan Parliament on the advice of Dalai Lama amended the *Charter* for the direct election of the *Kalon Tripa* (the highest executive authority), following the election, in the year 2001 Samdhong Rinpoche became the first *Kalon Tripa*. It was during the third election of the *Kalon Tripa* on 20th March 2011 that the Dalai Lama devolved his political position from being political head of the State and decided to only remain the religious head of the Tibetans (Democracy, 2012). The decision of His Holiness to step down from his political status has been questioned by his own people. Although, both within and outside Tibet, His people appealed him to continue being the political head of the Tibetans, he stood by his firm statement that this will be good for the benefits of the Tibetans in the long run. During one of his public teaching at the temple in Dharamsala on 19th March 2011, He pointed out that in the modern world system “the rule by kings and religious figures is outdated”. It is the time that they must follow trend of free world and democracy; free world here means democracy, free expression and rule of law. Rather the Tibetans should feel proud to represent their own government and utilize their democratic rights fully. So decision to devolve is also a part of advancing the democratization process (Democracy, 2012).

In order to begin the system of Democracy among the Exiled Tibetans, at first, the Dalai Lama promulgated the first Charter on 28th May 1991. The 12 member Assembly of previous system of government was added by 46 deputy legislative body. The representation was broken up as ten deputies, each from the three provinces (U-Tsang, Dotoe, Domed) of Tibet, two scholars from four schools of Buddhism and Bon religion, two representatives from

Tibetans in Europe, one from Tibetans from North America and three representatives nominated by the Dalai Lama on the basis of their service and merit. The Assembly has the power to elect the *Kalon* from the *Kashag*, because earlier the appointment of *kalon* was the executive prerogatives of the Dalai Lama. Thus, in order to democratize the first *Kalon tripa* was elected directly by the Tibetan Community in Exile on September 2001 (Democracy, 2012).

The election for the *Kalon tripa* is conducted in every five years by the CTA, and every Tibetan refugee is liable to vote from the place where they are placed. The *kalon tripa* nominates the other *kalon* or Ministers and seeks parliamentary approval for the appointments. Later the title of “*kalon tripa*” was changed to “*Sikyong*”. After the Dalai Lama’s withdrawal from all political power and position the CTA has begun from all the departments on democratic norms. His decision to give up all political position was for the betterment of His fellow Tibetans. This step is also regarded as a major factor in getting western support and was meant to solve the prolonged problems of the exiled community. The *kashag* or the cabinet is the prime executive body of The CTA. Its Cabinet Members are known as the *Kalon*. It consists of a maximum of eight members, including the *sikyong*, who is the top executive head. The *kashag* presides over the secretariat and administrative services which is served by the *kashag* secretariat. There are three offices under it:

- i. The office of the Planning Commission.
- ii. Contingency Section.
- iii. Tibet Policy Institute.

The Planning Commission works for the formulation and implementation of various plans and policies made by the exiled Tibetan community that involves integrated human, physical and economic resource development needs of their people. It executes an integrated Five Year Development plan and conducts a demographic survey of the exiled community once a decade. There is a Contingency section which is entrusted with the task of compilation of the documents on the struggles of the Tibetan community and the reconstruction processes post-1959. The Tibetan Policy Institute appoints the intellectuals to assist the *kashag*. They formulate and identify the strategic issues and also the pros and cons of it to the Tibetan community and provide analysis or recommendations along with the conclusive studies of the scholars (Democracy, 2012).

Besides these, there is the important department of Planning Commission that works under the *Kashag* Department of Religion and Culture which preserves and promotes the cultural and spiritual heritage of Tibet. It looks after 265 monasteries and nunneries across India, Nepal and Bhutan (Relation, 2013). It also provides them with all their basic needs, and looks over the welfare of the monasteries including the monks and nuns of the concerned institutions. There are cultural bodies both spiritual and secular. Some are financed by the Government of India while the others are self-financed. The most important institutions that preserve and promote the Tibetan heritage and enhance the exile community's cultural life are National Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, the Tibetan Medical Center and hospital, Tibet House in Delhi, and the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts, Religious institutions in India and Nepal (Praag, 1987, p. 167).

Like any other government, the CTA has drafted its Constitution with resemblance to the western model. "The Charter of the Tibetans in exile" is the supreme law governing the functions of the exiled Tibetan administration. In accordance with the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter guarantees all Tibetans, equality before law and asserts fundamental rights and independence to all Tibetans without any discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion language and social origin. It also entrusts the power to be equally exercised by the three organs of administration: judiciary, legislative and executive (Relation, 2013)

The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission is the judicial organ of the exiled Tibetan administration. This Commission is responsible for adjusting all civil cases, except the cases that are related to the laws of their host countries. However, it does not involve itself with criminal cases of its exiled population, as this falls under the laws of the host countries. This commission consists of the Chief Justice Commissioner, Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile and the *sikyong*. The secretariat and administrative services are provided by the Justice Secretariat which serves the Supreme Justice Commission. Before filing a case under any circumstances, in any of the Justice Commissions, the law asks the defendant to sign an agreement known specifically as "The Compliance Agreement" which serves to comply with the ruling provided by the Justice Commission, in accordance with the official laws and regulations.

The Tibetan Parliament in Exile is the legislative authority, comprising of 44 elected members from *U-Tshang*, *Kham* and *Amdo*. the three traditional provinces of Tibet.

Furthermore, the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and the traditional Bon faith elect two members each. The remaining four members are elected by those Tibetans living in western countries, four from Europe and two from America. The Speaker and the Deputy Speaker preside over the parliamentary session which is held twice a year. The members of the Parliament with their representatives conduct the assessment and survey of the exiled Tibetan population at regular intervals. They keep in touch with the local people through local assemblies in 38 major Tibetan communities in exile. The laws are made and revised time to time depending upon the necessity of the people.

The Department of Home is responsible for executing plans and programmes of rehabilitation for Tibetans in exile. It maintains agriculture based settlements, handicrafts based settlements, co-operative societies and cluster units, or scattered community settlements. Each community has a representative who acts as a local administrative head to them. The department works in cooperation with the government of India and the other international organizations who are engaged in helping the exiled Tibetan community to improve their livelihoods. There is a Department of Finance responsible for revenue generation and the financial aid to its people. The main income comes from donations. It prepares a fixed budget plan for the running of the administration which has to be sent to the Parliament for its approval.

Immediately after the influx of Tibetans, the main priority was given to education of the Tibetan children. With many difficulties due to financial crisis, CTA was able to set up the Council of Tibetan Education (CTE) which was headed by Tibetans. The integration of this CTE in the Indian educational system was completed by the effort of Tibetan School Society, an independent body founded in 1960 (Praag, 1987, p. 168). With time, different types of schools were founded in India and Nepal to educate them. There are 80 Tibetan schools in India and Nepal functioning under different autonomous administrative bodies taken care by the **Education Department**. There is a 'Child Sponsorship Policy', which runs with contribution from individuals and organizations from across the globe. It grants scholarships to diligent and deserving graduates and post graduate students in India and abroad. It is an important organization dealing with basic education policies and modern teaching skills that aids to promote and preserve its traditional spiritual values too.

The **Department of Security** is responsible for the safety and security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This department also helps Tibetan refugees to apply for and renew the Refugee

Registration Certificate from the Government of India. This Department looks after the new arrivals in the reception centres of Dharamasala, Kathmandu and Delhi. It helps new refugees in finding jobs and getting admission in schools and monasteries.

The Department of Information and International Relations is one of the most important organs of the Tibetan Government in Exile. It is responsible for educating and creating awareness among the Tibetans and the international community about the state of politics, human rights, environment, politics and human rights situation within Tibetan borders. This department publishes books and provides information about Tibet in prints, pamphlets, over the internet and other media sources. All foreign policies and the undertakings of the exiled administration, fall under this department. Its offices are based in most major cities globally like-New Delhi, Kathmandu, New York, Geneva, Tokyo, London, Brussels, Canberra, Moscow, Pretoria and Taipei (Relation, 2013).

The Department of Health provides health care services to the exiled Tibetan community in India and Nepal. It runs 43 clinics, 7 referral hospitals and 4 primary health care hospitals and 4 primary health care centres. The Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute popularly known as the “*Men-Tse-Khang*” is a major medical support contributor of exiled Tibetans. It has over 50 branches altogether in India and Nepal providing traditional Tibetan medical care to their people and also to the local population in their host country. Besides all these departments, there are other institutional bodies such as The Election Commission which conducts elections to elect the members for the **Tibetan Parliament in Exile**, Speaker and the Deputy Speaker and also the *Sikyong*. Other major departments are **The Public Service Commission** comprising of a chairman and other 2/4 nominated member from among the selection committee and the Chief Justice Commissioner, Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and the *sikyong*.

Lastly, there is an office of the **Auditor General**, which works with the auditing of the accounts concerning all departments of the CTA, and its subsidiaries. It audits the accounts of all the public institutions, like trading, educational and cultural institutions, hospitals, health centres, etc. The Tibetan Parliament in Exile seeks the help of different branches of the CTA, to act on different issues on the basis of audit reports.

Since Tibetan issue has evolved constantly regarding its goals, international support and its pre-conditions to achieve its homeland. In the late 1960s Dalai Lama travelled to many countries like Federation of Malaya, Republic of Ireland, Thailand, and Japan. He visited

Europe in 1973 and Asia in 1979 visited the United States of American, Soviet Union, however he was welcomed only as a religious leader particularly in those countries that have good relationship with PRC, and was not recognized as a political head. His foreign visits were considered as cultural or religious tour and not political (Praag, 1987). Even though the CTA remains politically unrecognized except by its own citizens but it has been successful in administering and mobilizing its citizens in exile.

When the Dalai Lama called for the unity of Tibetans all over to struggle with great determination and dedication to achieve its right: “the right to govern themselves”, the CTA tried to make a lobby with the United Nation to internationalize their plight on several occasions. In the year 1959, 1961, and in 1965, the United Nations General Assembly passed resolutions expressing grave concern over the violation of fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and the suppression of the cultural and religious life and autonomy that the Tibetans had traditionally enjoyed (Praag, 1987). But not more concern than this could be heard because PRC had a dominant influence in the international sphere. Since the year 1971 USA lost its interest in Tibet and withdrew its support. Earlier, the United States had denounced the 1951 Agreement and Chinese claims to sovereignty of China over Tibet. It also had condemned the Chinese aggression and its invasion. US has always been careful about its stand over Tibet occupation thus, it did not go beyond the stand by not recognizing ‘Tibet as a part of China’ (Praag, 1987, p. 186). The PRC permanent seat in the UN Security Council also gave a power to it to block any kind of resolution on Tibet. Besides this numerous dialogues failed between the PRC and the Tibetan representatives after the fall of Mao in 1976. After all these attempts, CTA changed its stand on the status of Tibet in the borders of *Cholka Sum*. Ultimately, the Dalai Lama presented His “Five Point Peace Plan⁶” in 1987 before the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus on the Sino-Tibetan Dialogue. Later in 1988, He declared the future democratic and self-governing Tibet in the European Parliament in Strasbourg. This shift towards non-violence approach is known as ‘Middle

⁶ 14th Dalai Lama addresses the USA Congressional Human Rights Caucus in 1987. This plan contains:

- i. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace (including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo.
- ii. Abandonment of China’s population transfer policy, which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people.
- iii. Respect for the Tibetan people’s fundamental human rights and democratic freedom.
- iv. Restoration and protection of Tibet’s natural environment and the abandonment of China’s use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste.
- v. Commencement of earnest negotiation on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese people (Praag, 1987, p. 83).

Way Approach⁷ (Roemer, 2008, p. 83). Dalai Lama's compromise from independence to autonomy did not make any difference to the PRC.

Even though the CTA claims to be founded on the strong lines of democracy yet, its structures and functioning gives rise to its few criticisms. One such criticism is over the role of Dalai Lama's family in the CTA. For example; every cabinet between 1991 -2001 at least one minister has belonged to His Family. Roemer has referred to Richard de Jongh mentioning that the Dalai Lama's family members misuse "Democracy", and manipulate to perpetuate the existing patrimonial structures that do not change the traditional system. This is in spite of the fact that Dalai Lama is no more than an unelected monk who holds little political legitimacy and certainly has no clear position in a democratic framework but leads the exiled Tibetan struggle to return to the homeland (Roemer, 2008, p. 91). The entire governmental works and administrative responsibilities rest upon the CTA ranging from managing to budget. Some scholars opine that it is much obvious that Tibetans' loyalty towards CTA is determined by their ideological commitment and also generated by the CTA by investing certain incentives to serve in the exile structure (Roemer, 2008, p. 94).

According to article "Tibetan Democracy in Exile: The Uniqueness and limitations of Democratic Procedures in a Territory less Polity" by Fionaa McConnell; Tibetan government's transition to democracy has been justified in giving security and hope for the future of Tibet and the Tibetans. Tibetan democracy should have been calculated as a deliberate strategy aimed at key external and internal audiences and for the specific outcomes. (McConnell, 2009, p. 216). She further added that even though CTA has a parliamentary election. it does not have political parties and thus represents a form of politics based on Buddhist prioritization of cooperatives over competition and is the outcome of the aspiration for social unity. There is no political opposition. Secondly, in democracy; symbolic representation is necessary but CTA conducts elections with quotas or reservations of seats for representatives from religious sects and traditional regions of Tibet. Thirdly, the constituency in exile votes articulating its ethnic Tibetan identity rather than influencing the affairs of the government in Exile. Fourthly, she has mentioned that geographically, territory is important for conducting election but in case of CTA democracy is functioning is a de-territorializing processes. Hence the Tibetan democracy is complex articulation of space

⁷ The 'Middle way Approach' is Dalai Lama's proposal to resolve the issue of Tibet with the China. It aims to seek autonomy within China if not complete Independence.

which can be perceived as lying in between and across the models. It is also a key example of a functioning transnational and diasporic democracy (McConnell, 2009).

At the conclusion we can sum up by pointing out that in spite of having some loophole and hurdles; CTA is the only administrative machinery of the exiled Tibetan Refugees which combines the Tibetans under the banner of its nationalism. It gives hopes to its people for the freedom of its Homeland Tibet. It has helped the refugees, to retain a national identity and also to emerge as the most successful refugee community of the world.

2.13. Two Organizations of Tibetan Refugees: Tibetan Women's organization and the Tibetan Youth

2. 13.1. Tibetan Women's Organization

The Tibetan Women Organization was originally formed in Lhasa after overthrowing the Manchu dynasty in 1911. It was the first formal Tibetan's Women organization that stood for the political rights of the women especially the right to vote (Roemer, 2008, p. 110). This organization is regarded as important because it brought a new political concept in the history of Tibet. They became active at the time of Lhasa uprising in 1959. After their flight to India, the members of this organization again revived it in Kalimpong. In the initial days, it focused only on the preservation of culture through education and working opportunities for exile women. Till then, no other women's organization in India was established though women continued to participate in the freedom movement and took active role in rehabilitation programmes. Since its establishment the TWA has been functioning as one of the most prominent women's organization spread all over the world with its members accounting up to 11,000 women. It works for women empowerment and promotes social, economic, political and educational upliftment of women. TWA voluntary (without salaries) manufacture Tibetan clothes, handicrafts and carpets and offer it to CTA which in turn is sold in profit (Roemer, 2008, p. 110).

It is a single platform for Tibetan women to protest against Chinese occupation over Tibet through street march and demonstration. The TWA supports genuine autonomy for Tibet by following the Middle-Way approach. With the changing status of the Tibetan women in exile; they are actively participating in politics since 1980s. The successful participation of the TWA in Fourth UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 turned out to be fruitful

as it increased the international awareness about the Tibetan cause. It reframed and amplified the Tibetan struggle. With their successful participation in the UN World Conference; It was able to set-up its bureaus in India, Nepal, Switzerland, Great Britain, the USA, Canada and Japan. It gained huge success in promoting the campaigns like boycott of Chinese made goods ahead of Beijing Olympics in 2001. At recent the TWA empowerment and its strategies have been feminized by the CTA (Roemer, 2008).

But its main priority is to perform community services and the education of the Tibetans mainly women. It also sponsors education to impoverished Tibetan women to pursue higher studies. Recently, it has started to study the role of Tibetan women in the society, climate change and international media programmes. The TWA function as a social interface between the CTA and the exiled Tibetan women. This organization publishes reports on the socio-political status of Tibetan women. Few publications of this organization are: *Breaking the Shackles: 50 years of Tibetan women's struggles*, *Tibetan Nuns: The status of Exiled Tibetans nuns in India*, *Tears in Silence: A report on China's Birth Control Policy in Tibet* and *The Voice that Remembers: The Life story of Ama Adhe*, *The Status of Tibetan Women in Exile-India*. Etc (Organisation, 2009,2016,).

2.13.2. Tibetan Youth Congress

Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) is the largest international organization of exiled Tibetan youths with 71 branch offices Worldwide (Dolkar T. , 2008). This organization is formed on the new ideas and the values of democracy, adapting from contemporary societies along with their traditional values. This organization was established in October 1970, first at Dharamsala. It is the largest and most democratic Tibetan party with 75 percent of all Tibetan government officials (Praag M. C., 1987).

The TYC aims to preserve Tibetan culture and identity in Diaspora to uplift the issue of Tibetan freedom and to press for complete freedom. Besides this, TYC is founded on a firm stand for complete 'Independence for Tibet'. With this vision and cause, it organizes many seminars, demonstrations, hunger strikes, workshops and many other activities. There are more than 30000 registered Tibetan youth members across the globe, working in favor of Tibet's complete independence. Besides rehabilitating and resettling work, TYC tries to

bridge the gap between the generation through the promotions of goals and values of the elders which are acceptable for the younger ones (Dolkar T. , 2008).

While the TWA and the TYC does not always fully agree with the policies of the CTA. The ideologies of CTA and TYC differ to the point that the former stands for genuine autonomy for Tibet within the Peoples' Republic of China while the latter stands for the complete independence of Tibet. TYC believe that 'Independence' is the ultimate goal of the Tibetans living both inside and outside Tibet. This organization is very critical from the very beginning on the Dalai Lama's announcement of the Strasbourg Proposal⁸ (1988) claiming that it was wrong because such referendum lack the opinion of the majority Tibetans living inside Tibet. There are some moderates among the TYC members who accept the fact that in a democratic system people are entitled to choose any solution. Therefore Middle Way Approach is acceptable (Dolkar T. , 2008). While few members think that this decision is praiseworthy so they neither support nor oppose the approach. TYC preaches the Tibetans a militant approach just the opposite of CTA values (Dolkar T. , 2008). According to it, at recent the exile Tibetan has become the victims of celebrity in fighting for an independent Tibet. The hunger strikes to death in New Delhi and the self-immolation by Thupten Ngodup (1998) of the TYC are the example of their firm affirmation towards their struggle for homeland. They aspire to achieve complete independence from Tibet nut nevertheless; the TYC works within the framework of the CTA structure as they are bound to their loyalty towards the Dalai Lama. In 1994 the TYC founded the National Party of Tibet (NDPT) with an aim of strengthening the democratic process as promoted by the Dalai Lama and the promotion of national unity and the preservation of Tibet's cultural heritage. This party promotes the education campaigns, schools and monasteries to instruct people in democracy and the policies of Central Tibetan Administration. This organization also publishes the reports like *Tibet- the gap between facts and fabrication*, *Tibetan Response to China's White Papers*, *Response- Response to the Allegation of Communist Party of China*.

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⁸ Strasbourg proposal is the Dalai Lama's address to the Members of European Parliament at Strasbourg, June 15, 1988 where he intended to revive negotiations by formally accepting with the Deng Xiaopong's conditions of giving up the idea of Tibetan independence.

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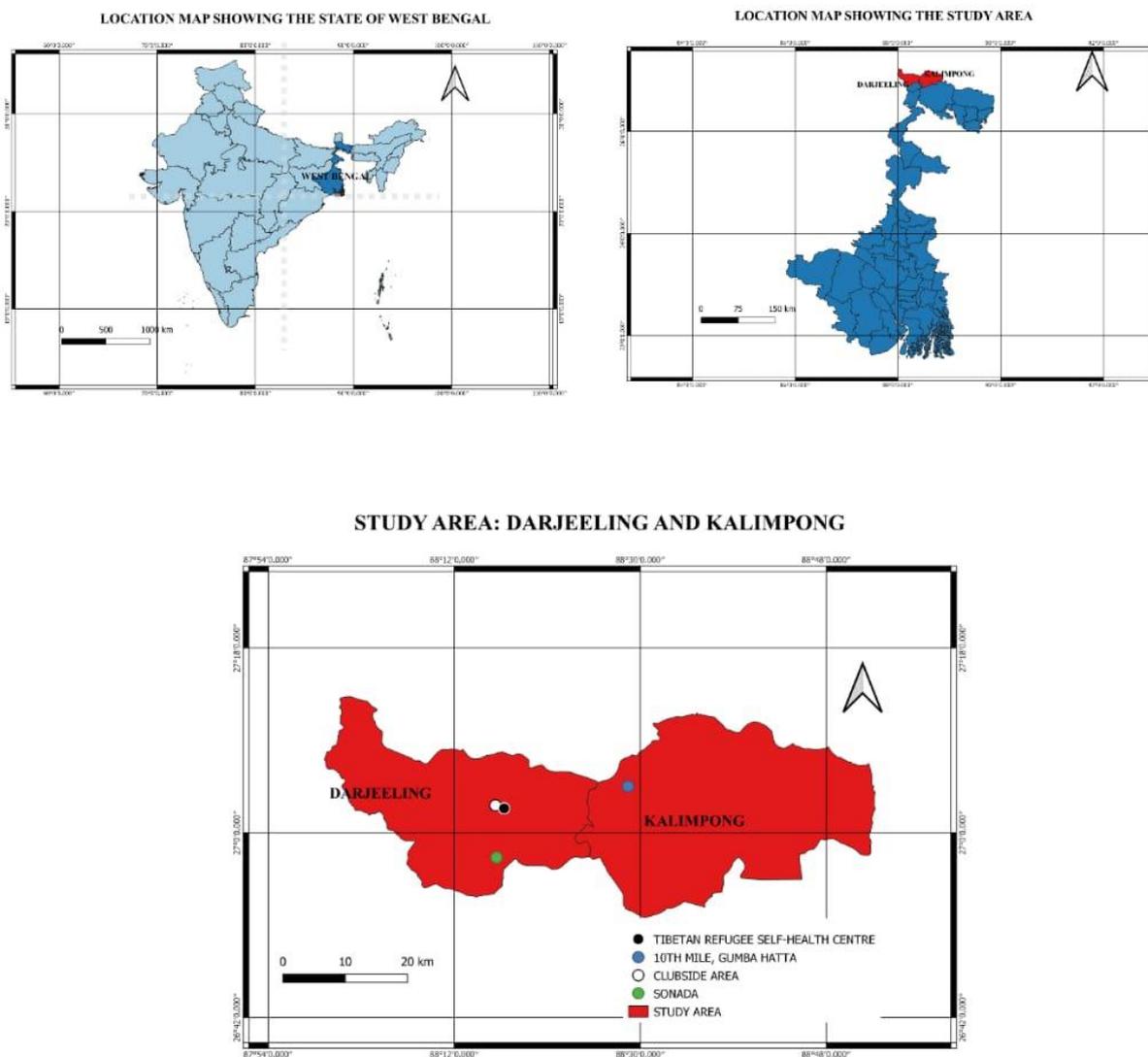
Chapter Three

Chapter III

Tibetan Refugees in India; their Socio – economic Conditions and Political status

This chapter is based on fieldwork which was conducted in the official Tibetan settlements as well as the scattered communities in India. It contains the complete descriptions of the socio-economic conditions and the Political status of the Tibetan refugees in India. The study areas in India are Darjeeling, Kalimpong, New Delhi and Chandragiri in Odisha.

Map II: Map showing the study area in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, West Bengal, India



3.1. Darjeeling: An Introductory Note

Darjeeling is a picturesque hill resort known worldwide for her natural beauty and pockets of nascent hamlets in the eastern Himalayan belt. Geographically, it is a part of the Indian state of West Bengal. It used to be the northern most district of the state of West Bengal consisting of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong. It is a couple of years that Kalimpong has been converted into a separate district and therefore the old district of Darjeeling has now become two. Sudeep Basu has mentioned in his book that ‘Darjeeling is a colonial creation of the nineteenth century’. He noted that because of the British imperial interest to foster trade with Tibet and Central Asia; British prompted to secure the northern border of India against Chinese intrusions (Basu, 2018). Originally Darjeeling was a part of Sikkim. After the Anglo-Gorkha war in 1814 and the *Sugauli* Treaty in 1816 Nepal had to return back the territories that have been annexed from the *Chogyal* of Sikkim to the British East India Company. Again through the Treaty of *Titalia* the British reinstated the *Chogyal* of Sikkim and restored back all the territories and also guarantying his sovereignty. Thus in 1851, the hills of Darjeeling were given back to British East India Company by Sikkim (O.Malley L. , 1990).

The British India had developed it as the summer capital of the Bengal Presidency since 1835 to escape the summer heat of the plains. Darjeeling as a place has a geo-political importance too because it has the international boundaries with Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Since the British imperialist era, Darjeeling has been established as an important tourist destination for the world because of its beautiful landscape and cool climate along with its geo-political prowess.

The military base was set up in Darjeeling for the British soldiers in 1848 and the establishment of commercial tea cultivation encouraged a number of British planters to settle there since the year 1856. The Darjeeling tea was internationally recognized and still regarded as among the most popular teas in the world. The opening of The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in 1881 further developed the region which later gained The UNESCO World Heritage Site status on 2 December 1999. This is one of the few locomotive services of the British imperialist period still in service in India. The Scottish Missionaries constructed several educational institutions and welfare centres for the British residents. Thus, Darjeeling has several British style public schools and other renowned schools and colleges established by them which still attract students from all over India and also from neighboring countries

too. Till today tourism, tea industry, and the education institutions are the most important contributors of Darjeeling's economy (darjeelingmunicipality.org.in, 2018).

Darjeeling is inhabited by multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual people. The population is exceedingly heterogeneous and the majority of the people in the Darjeeling hills are of Mongolian origin belonging to the Nepali community. The Lepchas are the aboriginal inhabitants of the place who call themselves Rongs and Nepali people later emigrated from Nepal to work in the tea gardens and other sectors. Besides, Nepalese ethnic groups like Rai, Limbu, Murmi, Manger, Sunwar, Gurung, Sherpa, and Newar etc. and Bahuns, Chhetris, Kami, Damai and Sarkis (O.Malley L. , 1990). Besides, there are The Bhutias who migrated from Bhutan and Sikkim, and Tibetans during the colonial and post-colonial era. Other communities inhabiting Darjeeling include- the Marwaris, Anglo-Indians, Chinese, Biharis as well as Bengalis who are both permanent settlers and migrant Bengalis of South Bengal and refugees from Bangladesh. The Rajbanshis and Koches are also predominant in the Terai areas of Darjeeling. The Most commonly spoken languages are Nepali, Hindi, Bengali and English. Darjeeling is in fact, described as the “*Babel of Tribes and Nations*” by LSS O'Malley in the ‘Darjeeling District Gazetteer’. Moreover, ‘*Darjeeling*’- the name itself is derived from the Tibetan word “*Dorjee*” which means ‘precious stone’ or ‘ecclesiastical scepter’ which is emblematic of the thunderbolt of Lord *Indra*, and *Ling*- a place, hence, ‘Darjeeling’ means the ‘*Land of the thunderbolt*’ (O.Malley L. , 1990).

Darjeeling as a whole is divided into two districts namely Darjeeling and Kalimpong (newly established in 2017). Other subdivisions are Darjeeling, Kurseong, Mirik and Siliguri. Half of the Siliguri town falls under Darjeeling and remaining half falls under Jalpaiguri district. Further, the foothills of Darjeeling Himalayas come under the Siliguri subdivisions.

3.2. The Beginning of the Tibetan Proliferation in Darjeeling

Tibetan migration to Darjeeling was not sudden. British India had established trade relations with Tibet as early as the mid 19th century. The cultural ties are even older. Tibetans used to travel to India for pilgrimage, because they always regarded India as the holy land where Buddhism had originated. Over time, Pilgrimage facilitated commercial exchanges and there were trade relations along the borders. The religious, cultural as well as political influence of

Tibet on the neighboring states of Sikkim (which was independent till 1975 and Darjeeling in West Bengal being a part of it till 1835) and Bhutan were profound (O.Malley L. , 1990). In the Eastern Himalayas, many Tibetans migrated to India and settled down in the towns of Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Sikkim. A thriving trade of wool developed between Tibet and India through Kalimpong and in course of time, few Tibetan merchants started settling in these parts of India. With the gradual development of political complications between Tibet and China, the rate of Tibetan migration began to grow in these places. However, these Tibetans were mostly from the aristocracy or the upper Tibetan rural strata of traders and wealthy town dwellers. This is the reason why these towns had already developed cultural and religious sentiments with the Tibetan culture and traditions for long. But the major influx of Tibetans started taking place after the political upheaval of Tibet in 1959 and thereafter. So, we can assume that Tibetans had some cultural and historical ties with Darjeeling since the British era and that was the reason why Tibetans chose to settle down in Darjeeling and Kalimpong soon after their escape. Along with them, they brought many Buddhist scriptures and built Tibetan monasteries in and around these towns. Overtime, the majority of local people belonging to other cultural and religious groups started following Tibetan culture, intermixing with their own cultural traditions. Further, the culture of native people also got influenced by the Buddhist culture or the vice-versa i.e. the hybridized version of Buddhism. These are the reasons why we see that the towns are now rich in Buddhist religious and cultural traditions.

The presence of Tibetan refugees all over the Darjeeling and Kalimpong district and their attachment with the place and its people is admirable and unique than any other place of Tibetan refuge. After having lived in this place for decades, they have ingrained socially, culturally and economically, if not politically. In Darjeeling, Tibetans are found in huge numbers in the main town areas of Darjeeling and the Darjeeling Self Help Centre and its adjacent places like, Sonada, Jorbanglow, Mirik, Kurseong, and also in some parts of Siliguri too. In Kalimpong district, Tibetans are mostly found in Kalimpong Town.

In Darjeeling, Tibetan refugees can be divided into two categories. The first group includes those who live in the Tibetan Refugee Self Help Centre, which is situated in Lebung, Darjeeling since 1959 the year of its establishment. This settlement was the first official rehabilitation centre after the arrival of Tibetans in Darjeeling. The life and socio-economic set up of the people living in the settlement has remained unchanged since their arrival. They sustain their life by working for the settlement, carrying out different services for which they

get paid. The overall responsibility of this group like their income, healthcare, education, housing, rations depends upon the administration of the centre undertakings in Darjeeling.

Beside this refugee centre, there are scattered Tibetan settlements in Darjeeling and nearby places which is categorized as the second group. Most of these people are engaged in various entrepreneurial activities. Most of the clothing retail stores are owned by Tibetans in the town area. There are shopping complexes like Mahakal shopping complex and Dragon market, in the heart of the town which is always crowded with young college going students. These are famous shopping hubs in town, which is famous for stylish and beautiful clothes. Almost all the shops are owned by Tibetans. Besides, there are other curios shops selling art, and handicraft owned by them. These Tibetans are rich in terms of economy than the local people of Darjeeling. In fact, they dominate the market economy in Darjeeling. Some of them have an even high standard of living compared to the locals of Darjeeling. These Tibetans follow the same traditional culture and religious practices like the ones in the settlement or any other Tibetan scattered around the globe. The religious and cultural lives of Tibetans living outside the settlements are similar to the ones living in the settlement, the only difference being in their lies in the social life. They are free and independent. The CTA is not liable for their economic and social life. But at the same time, these Tibetans maintain their loyalty towards the CTA in terms of religious rituals and political issues. They participate and contribute towards their cause through social and political organization and associations associated to The CTA for their cause.

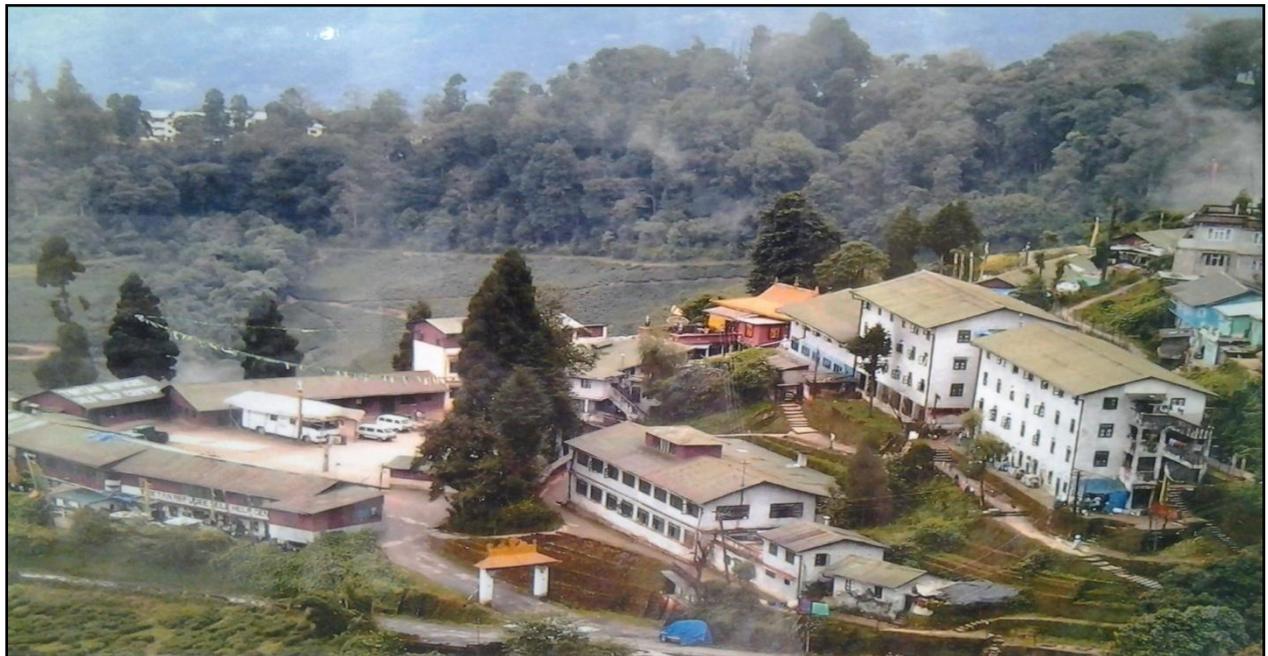
3.3. Tibetan Refugee Self Help Centre in Darjeeling: A Brief introduction

The Tibetan Self Help Centre in Darjeeling was established on 2nd October 1959, following the arrival of The Dalai Lama and his fellow Tibetans to India from Tibet. Dalai Lama's elder brother Gyalo Thondup's wife has a major role in setting up of the centre. It was established on a small plot of land rented from St. Joseph North Point in Darjeeling. She was a Chinese but because Tibetans could not pronounce her Chinese name; she was known as Diki Dolkar. The centre began in 1959 with some 3000 rupees earned from selling tickets to a local football game and later received funding from the India, Catholic Charities 'CARE' and several British aid organizations. Pope John Paul was a particularly generous supporter. The centre set up training courses in weaving Tibetan Thangka painting other traditional

handicrafts. Proceeds from the sale of the crafts helped support the centre. Its carpets and sweaters have been particularly popular sale item. The centre included a nursery for orphaned children, a primary and middle school and a medical clinic. At any given time the centre was usually providing support for some 500 Tibetan refugees. Gyalo Thondup's wife was still working there when she died. "Her presence is still felt in the photographs of her that look down from the walls, as though she is still guiding its work" (Thondup, 2015, p. 221)

In 1961 the Centre was fully registered as a charitable organization under the Indian law. It was also exempted from income tax duties by the Indian authorities. Initially, it was started with two rooms and four workers but later it served home to nearly 650 refugees. At present, there are around 250 refugees living there. A few of the older members are still living there with their bitter memories, along with their families consisting of their sons, daughters and grand children. Others have passed away and a few have migrated to other countries.

PIC.1. Tibetan Self-Help Centre, Lebong, Darjeeling



SOURCE WWW.GOOGLE

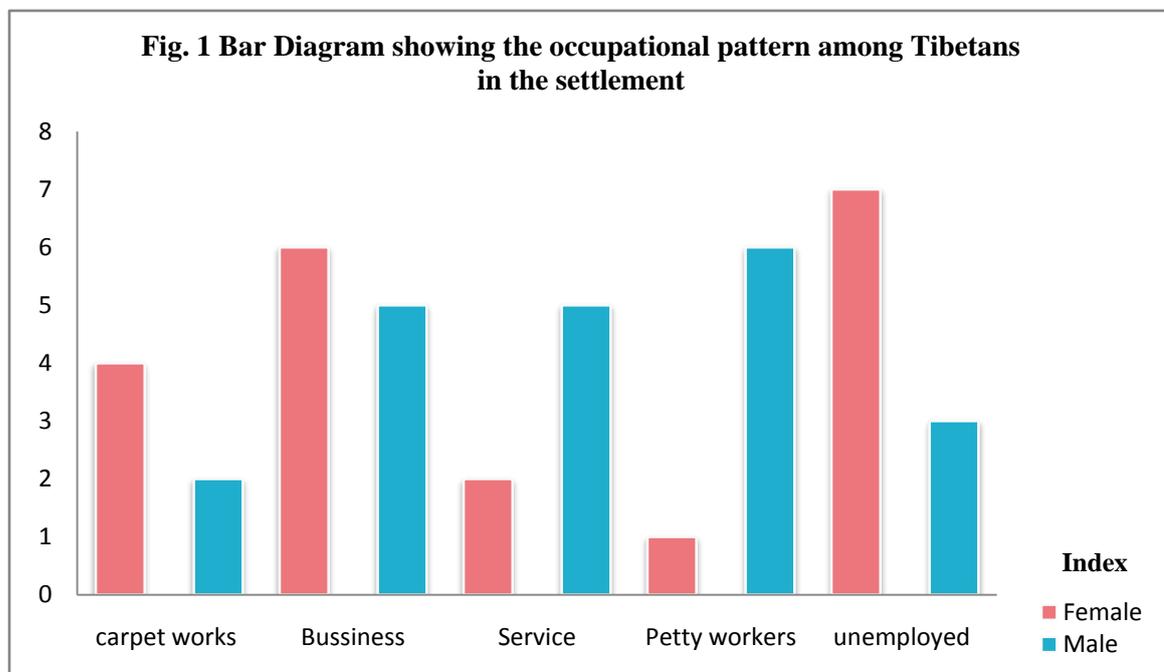
The Tibetan Self Help Centre is run by the export and sale of various handicrafts like carpets, sweaters, woolen jackets and caps, souvenirs, wooden crafts and other greeting cards hand crafted by the people who live in the settlement. There are different sections in the Centre

like praying hall or a small *gumba* (monastery) and a hospital, spinning and weaving section, wood carving, carpet weaving, dying, crèche, painting room, carpentry, an exhibition room and also a workshop where they display all the finished products for sale to the visitors.

3.4. Economic and Social pattern among the Tibetan refugees in Darjeeling Tibetan Settlement or Self- Help Centre:

3.4.1. Economic pattern of Tibetans inside the settlement:

Tibetan refugees living in the Centre carry out different jobs according to their economic suitability. Some of them are retired Tibetan armies. Some of them work outside the settlement, while a few own shops in the town and a handful of them work in private sectors. So, naturally their income also varies from family to family. But most of them render various services inside the settlement depending upon their skill and expertise which helps in running the Centre. Few young people get training in carpet weaving, *thanka* painting, dyeing etc depending on their field of interest. Some women sell sweaters and other woolen products in Chowrasta (a famous tourist spot in Darjeeling town) during the tourist season.



Source: Field Survey

In the Tibetan Self-Help Centre of Darjeeling, a total of 20 household were surveyed. Total respondents were 41 individuals, 21 were male and the remaining 20 female. As shown in

Fig. no. 1, a total of 6 individuals were engaged in carpet weaving and related activities. Mostly older women are engaged in weaving and spinning the thread from Ladhaki wool. They are experts in making carpets and other Tibetan items. Women are commonly engaged in different types of handwork. Inside their workplace, one can experience a typical traditional setting where older women spin wool and create handicrafts while chanting mantras. The chanting of the mantras echo all over their work place making it a peaceful and spiritual experience. The men are engaged in wood crafts, carpentry and other dyeing processes. A few of the finished products are sold in local market while most of these are exported to the neighboring states. The money received through selling the finished products are again used in the welfare and maintenance of the camp. One thing that is noticeable is that these Tibetans are very hardworking and sincere in their work. Their work goes on from 7 am in the morning till 12 in the afternoon and from 1 pm to 5 pm. Afterwards, they usually gather together and play *kouri* (especially men). A woman engages herself with the household chores. After working for almost 9 hours a day, each of them receives Rs. 1200-1400 per month as a monthly stipend. With this small amount of money, they maintain their families and look after their children. The Tibetan refugees in the settlement get free ration from the Indian government. They get free health care facilities and housing from the administration of the settlement. During working hours, they get dry food items as their lunch while the old people get cooked food as lunch.

The refugees in the Centre are mostly of old age. They simply contribute in spinning, weaving, dying the wool and taking care of children in the Centre. Some of the old people are left out by their families; their responsibility is taken up by the Centre.

From the survey, it was found that a total of 11 individuals were involved in various kinds of business activities. Out of these 11 individuals, 5 were male and 6 female. The people who are engaged in small business ventures are the ones who run garment shops in Chowrasta. They sell woollen garments, incense sticks and other daily-use items. Others sell Tibetan food items in the Mall Road area in Darjeeling.

A total of 7 individuals engage themselves in various kinds of services. Of them 3 males are in the Indo-Tibetan army. The others are people who work in the offices of The CTA inside the settlement and also in other offices of the Tibetan organizations in town. 2 Tibetan women are service holders, one a nurse and the other a school teacher in the Central School

for Tibetans. There are Tibetan ex-servicemen who have been working in the Centre as carpenters or other volunteers.

After the household survey, it was found that 7 individuals were engaged in various kinds of activities. Petty workers include Tibetan youths mostly the uneducated ones and school dropouts, of which 6 were male and 1 female, who works as a sales girl in a local shop in Darjeeling. Other males work as cooks in hotels of the local area and as migrant workers in different cities and towns of Indian states like Delhi, Bengaluru, Chennai and others.

Lastly, the remaining 10 individuals were unemployed. The unemployed youth are mostly females who usually do household works like cleaning and cooking. The unemployed males, apart from helping in the settlement, work if necessary, and do not engage in any other activity. The unemployed ones are mostly dependent upon their parents.

The main problem that the Centre currently faces is the increasing mortality among the old aged members who work as carpet weavers and spinners. They are not in condition any more to render their services like they used to. Therefore, the centre lacks young and skilled workers. The new generation is now more interested in other activities rather than working there. Therefore, the elderly people fear that their art and craft skills and culture would vanish with them, because the new generation of educated youths with their different outlook and aspiration refuses to stay back in the settlement after education. They wish to explore their lives outside. Already there is a scarcity of workers in the settlement. Moreover, nowadays, every child after studies wants to settle down in foreign countries so that they could have a secure and better life. In future, the centre is likely to have a shortage of skilled workers in the centre.

Besides this, Tibetans in the Centre also perform social works in the town. They provide health camps for local people and help them in times of crisis and volunteer in the construction of local roads and *jhoras* (small drains) in and around the camps. After living there for decades, they have a developed homely attachment with the place, so they feel happy and blessed if they could help the local people in any manner. The local authorities and political parties too, extend help in times of crisis, like construction of roads and others. The Tibetans of the Centre are not alienated from the native people. They have developed harmonious relationships with the local people.

Tibetan Refugees performing different kinds of work in the centre



Pic.2. Sewing Pangden (Tibetan belt)



Pic.3. Sewing Hoodie



Pic. 4. Carpet weaving



Pic. 5. Sewing sweater

Source: Field Survey



Pic. 6. Wool Dying



Pic. 7. Coloured Wool



Pic. 8. Wood Carving



Pic. 9. Painting greeting Card

Source: Field Survey

Tibetans spending quality time inside the centre during their leisure



Pic.10/11. Playing Parasyo



Pic. 12. Youngsters playing Basketball



Pic.13. Lady with Prayer wheel

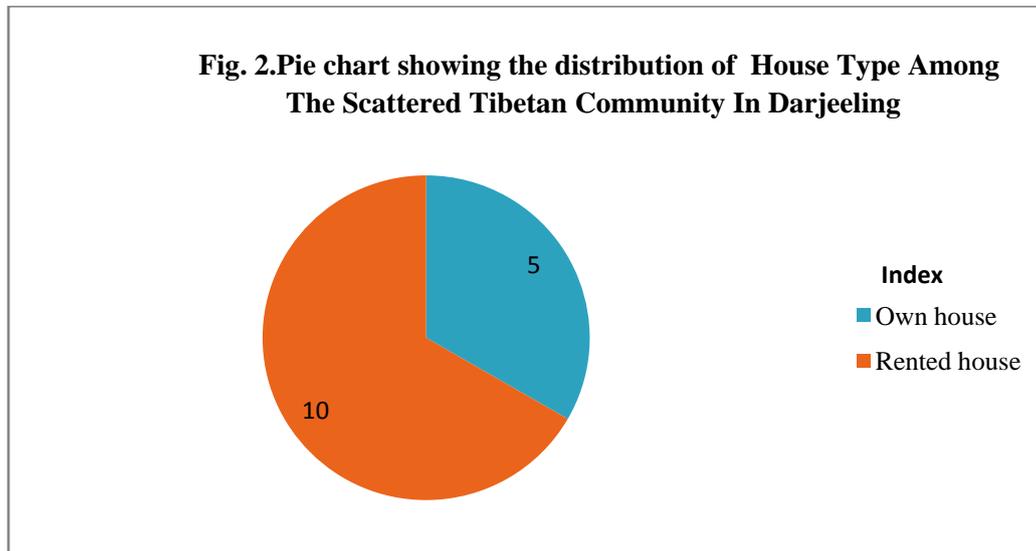
Source: Field Survey

3.4.2. House type:

It is to be noted that, in case of The Darjeeling Self Help Centre, all the houses are provided by the centre, run by The Central Tibetan Administration, so the presentation of the data in the diagram is not required. The Tibetan Self-help settlement is situated in Lebung which is located in the outskirts of Darjeeling town. They are provided with two rooms in a row, of housings in the settlement premises. Each family having four members are allotted with two

rooms, which means that two members share a room. There are around 105 families living inside the settlement now, with a total of 250 members.

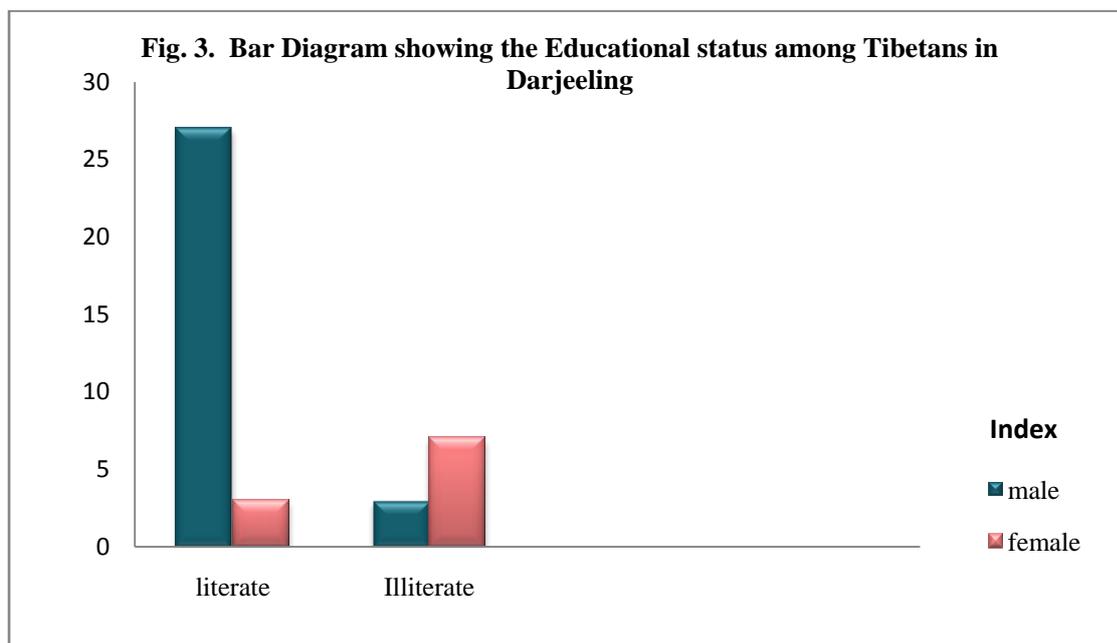
The data shown below is available among the scattered Tibetan community in Darjeeling only.



Source: Field Survey

Out of 15 respondents from the scattered community, a total of 5 individuals have their own houses or buildings. These are the ones who have been living in Darjeeling before 1959. Their ancestors were merchants from Tibet and settled there during the earlier times. Post 1959, their whole family migrated from Tibet and settled there permanently. Only one person was there who had built his own house after years of hardship. His son is a retired government employee from the Indian government services. In the initial days, he had nothing but after years of hard work, he was able to educate his son properly which helped him get a decent job and build his own house. The remaining 10 respondents live in rented houses. These people have been living in Darjeeling since 1960. At first, they used to pay around 5 or 6 rupees a month as house rent. Now the rent has increased up to Rs 3000 - 6000 depending upon the type of house and the area.

3.4.3. Educational Status:



Source: Field Survey

- ❖ The above diagram shows the literacy rate data collected from the field, both from the settlement and the scattered communities in Darjeeling. Other information or the data which is presented below is related to overall educational status of all Tibetans living in Darjeeling.

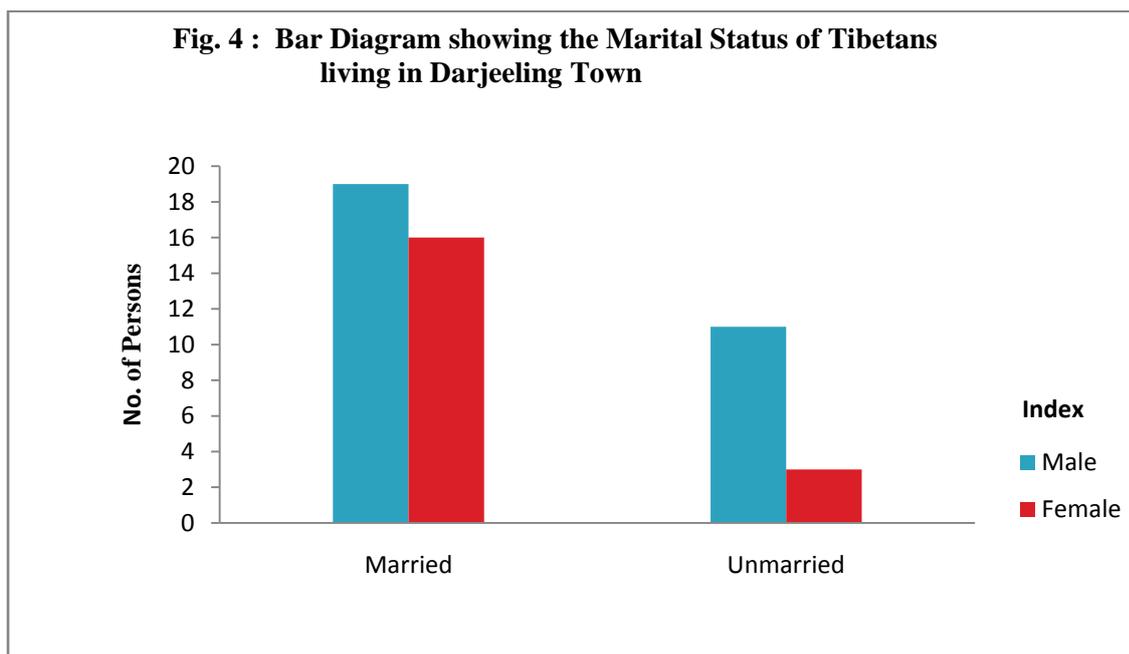
Out of 40 selected respondents, 30 respondents were male and 10 were female. 27 Tibetan male were literate and the remaining 3 male were illiterate. The second generation male were mostly literate. Here, illiterates are the ones who belong to the first generation. They are well versed in Tibetan language and scripts, but were illiterate. The percentage of literacy among men is higher than that of women. Out of these 10 female respondents, only 3 female were literate belonging to second generation residents. Others 7 female were illiterate. Here too, the educational qualification among females is low due to the lack of interest and the household burden. Presented above is the overall educational status and information among the Tibetan population in Darjeeling.

Inside the settlement, there is a primary school (nursery to class IV) for children between 5-10 years of age. There is a crèche where children are looked after when their parents are engaged in work during the daytime. Beyond the 4th standard or from class 5 onwards till the 12th standard, children attend the Central School for Tibetans (CST) which is situated about 1

kilometer above the Centre. The children belonging to the scattered community also attend the same CST after passing primary school. If they wish to study more, they get enrolled in the nearby colleges in Darjeeling. While few parents send their children to Dharamsala (Himachal Pradesh) for education with the help of scholarships and some of them have even moved to foreign countries after finishing the schooling.

Once they get educated, whether inside or outside the settlement, they are entitled to provide their services for five years in the Centre before leaving the settlement if they wish to go to other places for work. This rule is applicable to Tibetans of the settlement only. Others living outside the Centre are not bonded by this rule. Their children nowadays are mostly educated and a few of them are in-fact highly educated. Further, a few of them have been studying in good colleges in different parts of India and some in foreign countries too.

3.4.4. The Marital Status of Tibetans living in Darjeeling town (both from the settlement and the scattered community)



Source: Field Survey

A total of 49 Tibetans were selected randomly to conduct the survey. From the above diagram, we can see that 46% of the females are married i.e. 16 people, and 54% of the males are married i.e. 19. A total of 11 men and 3 women are unmarried. Tibetan males are married to Tibetan females only, to say that marriage takes place inside their own community. But the case is different in case of females. The Tibetans females get married to people belonging to other communities too, both in local areas and beyond. This is quite prominent especially, in

case of scattered Tibetan community. Tibetan females sometimes elope with such men wherever they work. There is no compulsion to marry within their community in scattered Tibetan societies. Though, Tibetans living in the settlement usually marry within their own community outside the centre or in other places where their fellow Tibetans live. The females are mostly married at a younger age compared to men. Only few male members are bachelors due to their economic status or lack of interest; while the reason in case of females may also be the same or due to family responsibilities.

3.5. A Socio-Economic Profile among the Scattered Community Settlers of Darjeeling in Sonada

Sonada is a small beautiful hamlet in Darjeeling that lies on the road connecting Darjeeling and Kurseong. There is a Buddhist monastery and a Tibetan settlement. The monastery runs a Central Tibetan School with a number of Tibetan children from Arunachal Pradesh and Tibetans from the local areas. Basically, Sonada has a large number of scattered Tibetans. As because it was not easy to survey the Tibetans of the scattered community in the main city Darjeeling I have chosen Sonada as my target group because Tibetan people here too, share common features and same pattern of livelihood with the ones living in the main town of Darjeeling town.

In Sonada, one can see the shops and restaurants run by Tibetans along the roadside on the way to Darjeeling. Tibetans here earn their livelihood through small businesses. They sell crockery, gift items and other household items, while some run small roadside eateries. A few own garment shops too. The one I talked to have been living there since their birth which means that they belong to the second generation. Most of their parents had migrated from Tibet and later on settled here from Mussorie. They are mostly low income people, usually with only one earning member in the family. They all live in nuclear families in rented houses. Their children attend the Central Tibetan School there, while some of them attend schools in the nearby town of Kurseong. A few of them also go to colleges in and around Darjeeling town. Tibetans in Sonada are not members of any Tibetan organizations like TWA or TYC, but they participate in rallies organized by Tibetans in Darjeeling. Tibetans in Sonada are satisfied and happy with their life even with scarce incomes. They are relieved of the fact that at least they are now in a safe place, even though they miss their motherland.

Photographs taken in Sonada



Pic. 13. Sonada Settlement



Pic. 14. Stupas



Pic. 15. A Tibetan Tailor



Pic. 16. Students from Arunachal Pradesh

Source: Field Survey

3.6. The Political consciousness among the Tibetans in Darjeeling

The Political consciousness among the Tibetans in Darjeeling and Sonada both is diverse. It was found through the field survey that the political status amongst the Tibetans living inside the settlement and those living outside the settlement is totally different, political stand on their citizenship issue also varies. But their political view on the freedom of Tibet remains the same. Tibetan living inside settlements stick to their refugee status, which they feel is an

advantage for them. This, they feel, allows them to raise their voice out to support the struggle for independence of Tibet. In order to maintain and preserve their religion and culture, they have founded a few organizations there. The most popular are the ‘Tibetan women organization and the Youth Congress’. The former works for the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion and now it has become the popular platform to raise the different issues of Tibetan women and the human rights violation concern of Tibetan communities all over the globe. The latter organization basically advocates Tibetan independence from China. It also raises voice against human rights violation inside Tibet. It also keeps records of the affairs of Tibetans all over the world and raises awareness among the new generation about the issue of autonomy of Tibet.

Tibetans as an exiled community organize themselves and participate in political processes such as demonstrations and procession against any kind of human rights violation against Tibetans, environmental damage inside of Tibet and for the independence of Tibet from China. Of course, these political activities have reduced a little out there by now, but they whole heartedly support the independence of Tibet inside their hearts.

The situation of Tibetans in scattered communities in Darjeeling is different. They are very keen on preserving their culture and religious practices in their daily lives, yet, they hesitate to address themselves as “Refuges”. Most of them have adopted Indian citizenship. As this helps them in receiving many economic and political opportunities, and helps them in terms of education, employment and other government schemes. Thus, many Tibetans now enjoy the benefits of possessing a dual identity in Darjeeling.

3.7. The Beginning of the Tibetan root in Kalimpong

Originally a part of the kingdom of Sikkim, Kalimpong was taken over by Bhutan only to be returned to the British the treaty of Sinchula in 1865, who made it a part of the district of Darjeeling, after this, Kalimpong became one of the three hill subdivision of Darjeeling Later in the year 2017, Kalimpong itself became a separate district.

While both Sikkim and Bhutan were Buddhist kingdoms, these kingdoms practiced the same Mahayana Buddhism, as Tibet, with similar socio-religious characteristics and culture. There is similarity in the demographic composition of Darjeeling and Kalimpong but due to

proximity to the mountain passes, it became a trade centre as well as a common settlement for the Tibetans.

It was during the mid nineteenth century that Kalimpong following its annexation with Darjeeling district started gaining its importance as being located on the trade route between Lhasa and Kolkata. It was also the time when it played an important role in the border politics of the politics of the People's Republic of China. The people's Liberation Army in the early 1950 used the same Lhasa Kolkata route to transport supplies from China to Tibet after the battle of Chamdo (Zhang, 2017). Because of its location it developed as a meeting centre of different groups of Tibetans as well as other foreigners in this critical period of relationship between China and Tibet in the era of Cold War. So much so that it was even described as "nest of spies" (Zhang, 2017). a term later used by Nehru and Zhou Enlai where expansionists, "America and British imperialists, and "Tibetan rebels" rubbed conspiratorial shoulders, it was in 1962 when Kalimpong was represented as a place where Indian authorities were in partnership with the Kuomintang and put the local Chinese through the wringer (Zhang, 2017). Thus Kalimpong has always remained important for Tibetans as conduct of their connection with the outside world.

Kalimpong had close proximity to the Nathula and the Jelepale pass- offshoots of the ancient Silk route and became an important commercial hotspot in the trade of fur, wool, borax, salt, musk and food grains between India and Tibet. This trade relation between the two countries continued till 1962 following The Indo-China War, until the border was sealed. Since then, Tibetan settlers had started coming to Kalimpong along with trade between India and Tibet in ancient times (Datta, June 2006). Tibetans are one of the oldest migrants in Kalimpong with positive cultural, religious and trading relations with the local inhabitants.

Even, Sudeep Basu has mentioned that since the development of trade relation with Tibet from 1850 Kalimpong emerged as a thriving centre. Traders started investing in land, houses and restaurants. Tibetan merchant's families found it suitable place as their second home which has the close distance with their homeland as well as ideal place to carry out their trade activities with other Indian cities (Basu, 2018, p. 229). Thus on a whole, it has been clear that Kalimpong old connection with Tibet encouraged the settlement of Tibetans in Kalimpong. So after the Chinese annexation of Tibet; this town became the easy destination for the Tibetans to come and settle here. There is also a Central School for Tibetans and other

religious institutions. Politically active Tibetans from Tibet also began to take refuge there and use it as a meeting place.

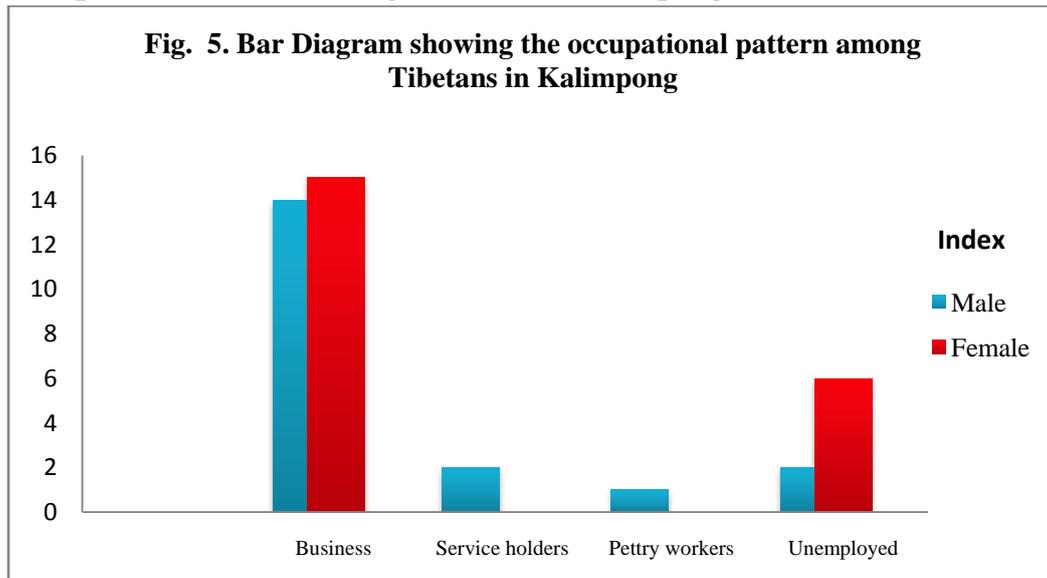
3.8. The Socio-Economic Profile of Tibetan Refugees in Kalimpong

It was found through the survey that Tibetans living in the present day Kalimpong were of the second and the third generation refugees. There are few old Tibetans left who had migrated to Kalimpong and settled there, fleeing the Tibetan uprising and one household had been living in Kalimpong even before that. Their grandparents had migrated from Tibet during The British period as traders. The Tibetans there mostly live in rented houses adjacent to the road in 10th mile, Kalimpong. We can find small, old shops selling Tibetan items like incense, prayer wheels, strings, Thangka paintings, Khadas, chamba, glass noodles etc. and also Tibetan paintings and handmade wooden utensils. ‘India is our home’ was the response of the majority of Tibetans here because they have never seen their motherland-Tibet.

Tibet is lives in their mind as a concept of their homeland like elsewhere. Tibetans are highly religious and culturally strong in their daily lives. They have strong faith and respect for their religious leader, His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. But since most of them have been born and brought up in India, India has become their first home. They have heard stories from their grandfathers and parents about the situation under which they had escaped to India and took refuge here. The stories of hardship, suffering, starvation and the pain of leaving behind everything they had- their families, houses, property and others merely occur to them as tales lost in time. The accounts bring immense pain to their hearts.

Indeed, today they are highly informed of the occurring and institutional changes in Tibet from the internet, newspapers and magazines. They have imagined a picture of their dear ones suffering under the Chinese rule which is why, they are very thankful to the Indian government for everything that they have today. “We are at least living a peaceful life in India” was the voice of a 75 year old Tibetan in Kalimpong

3.8.1. Occupational Pattern among Tibetans in Kalimpong:



Source: Field Survey

In Kalimpong town, a total of 40 Tibetan refugees were surveyed (19 males and 21 females). Out of them, 14 males and 15 females were engaged in businesses, except few. The majority of Tibetans in Kalimpong are not financially sound. Their source of income basically comes from small or unorganized businesses enterprises. From the above chart we can see that the maximum no. of Tibetans in Kalimpong rely on businesses. Here, out of 21 female respondents, 15 earn their livelihoods by doing un-established businesses. While out of 19 male respondents 14 of them run a business in the town.

Tibetans mostly earn their livelihood by selling Tibetan items like incense, prayer wheels, wool, *Khadas* (scarf made out of cloth), *chamba* (edible powdery stuff made of grams, nuts etc.), glass noodles and some hand-made wooden articles which are used for religious purposes. All these articles are produced by local cottage industries in Kalimpong which they buy in whole sale rate and sell it. Few people earn money in plenty through their *thanka* (traditional Tibetan painting) painting skills but due to higher demands of *thanka* abroad, they have migrated to distant places or to foreign countries. These Tibetans have established small shops in their houses where they sell these items. Kalimpong has a long trading history with Bhutan and Tibet. It still continues to main market for Buddhist religious items which are high in demand. Kalimpong supplies almost every religious item to Bhutan and also to other Indian cities where Buddhist people live. It is one of the main hubs or market for such things, but nowadays, these Tibetan items are facing problems due to market economy as cheap Chinese goods have flooded the market. As a result, inexpensive Buddhist religious items

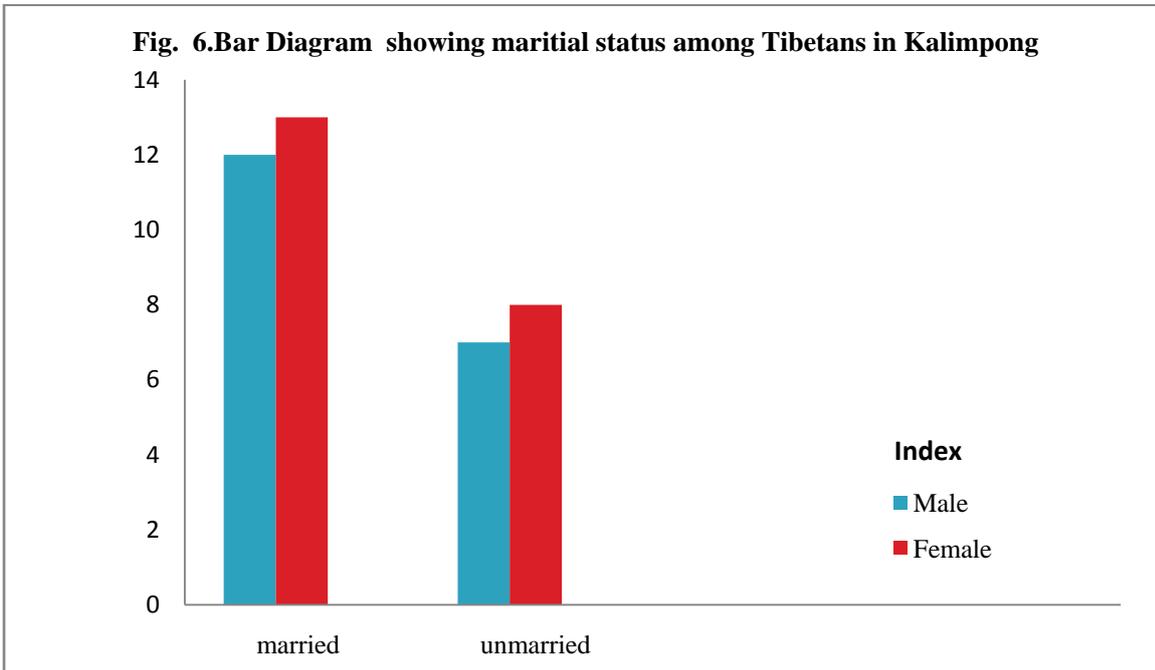
made by the Chinese are available in plenty due to which Tibetans having great skill in producing such religious items are losing their value and interest because of the decline in marketing value and prices. Since hand-made products are usually highly priced, costumers go for cheap products, especially *Khadas* and *Thankas*. Well skilled Tibetans are facing huge losses in this sphere. Moreover, nowadays skilled Marwari businessmen have entered in this business, and the Tibetans find it difficult to cope up with them in business. As a result of all this, Tibetan people are losing their grip in this kind of business. At the end they have no option but to manufacture small, cheap items at home, and then again supply it to the Marwari business houses under contracts. Slowly it is turning into a cottage industry in Kalimpong. Therefore, the scenario today in Kalimpong is that Tibetans either get engaged in these small business ventures with big businessman or they sell it in their small shops for lesser value.

In Kalimpong, only 2 males from among my respondents were engaged in salaried services. One person was an Indo-Tibetan border force personnel and the other was a doctor in Delhi. There are no service holders among the females in Kalimpong. It was observed during the field survey that females are less interested in higher studies and due to family responsibilities; they lack an interest in academics.

Out of my respondents, only one Tibetan youth was found in Kalimpong who works a cook in a restaurant, in Bengaluru. There are many uneducated Tibetan youths and school drop-outs among them most of whom are males. Of late, these under qualified youths migrate to gulf countries or other countries where they have their relatives employed so that they also get employment opportunities accordingly.

The unemployment rate among Tibetan youths is alarming, it being higher among the females. Most of these females are housewives. Unemployed males are mostly school drop-outs and rely on their parents for financial and residential support.

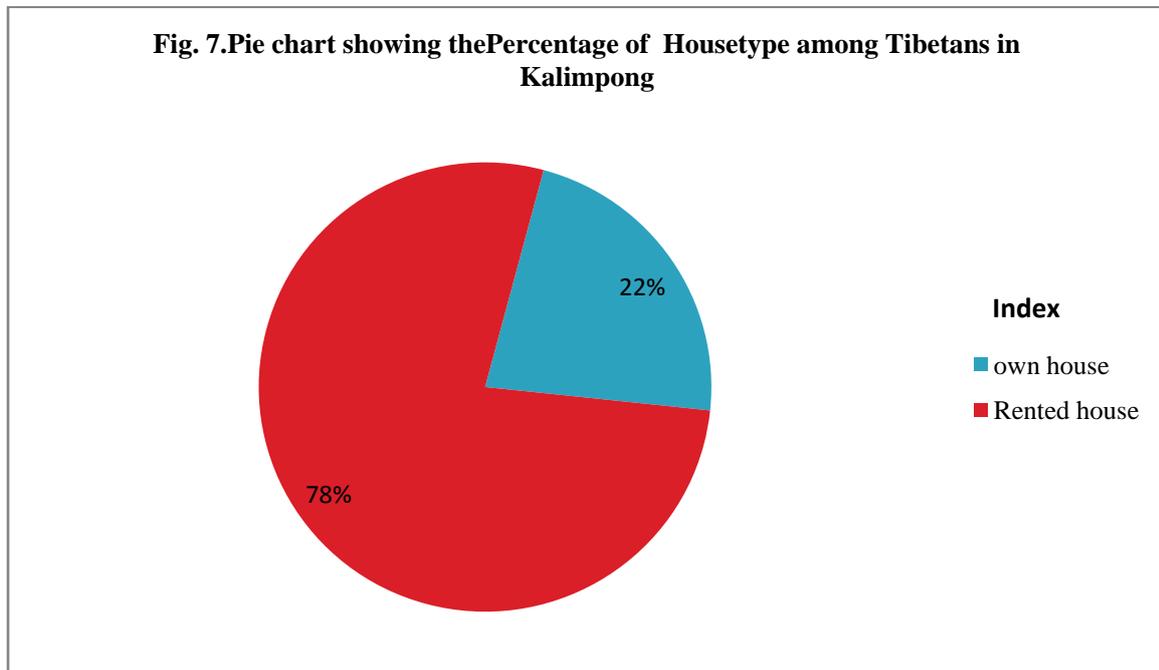
3.8.2. Marital status of Tibetans in Kalimpong:



Source: Field Work

40 respondents were surveyed among the Tibetans of Kalimpong. Out of these, 19 were male and 21 female. 12 males and 13 females are married, while 7 males and 8 females are unmarried whose age ranges in between 30-40 years. Tibetan men are mostly married within their own community but women are married to many non-Tibetans in local areas and even with other Indians in other cities. This is the same with Tibetan women working outside Kalimpong as well. Love marriage and inter-community marriage has been common in recent days, especially among educated and working Tibetan women. The polyandry and polygamy system have now been totally eliminated in their society. The traditional system of joint family has been replaced by nuclear family. The change in social norms among Tibetans could be due to the education and the livelihood pressure and also due to the general lack of resources.

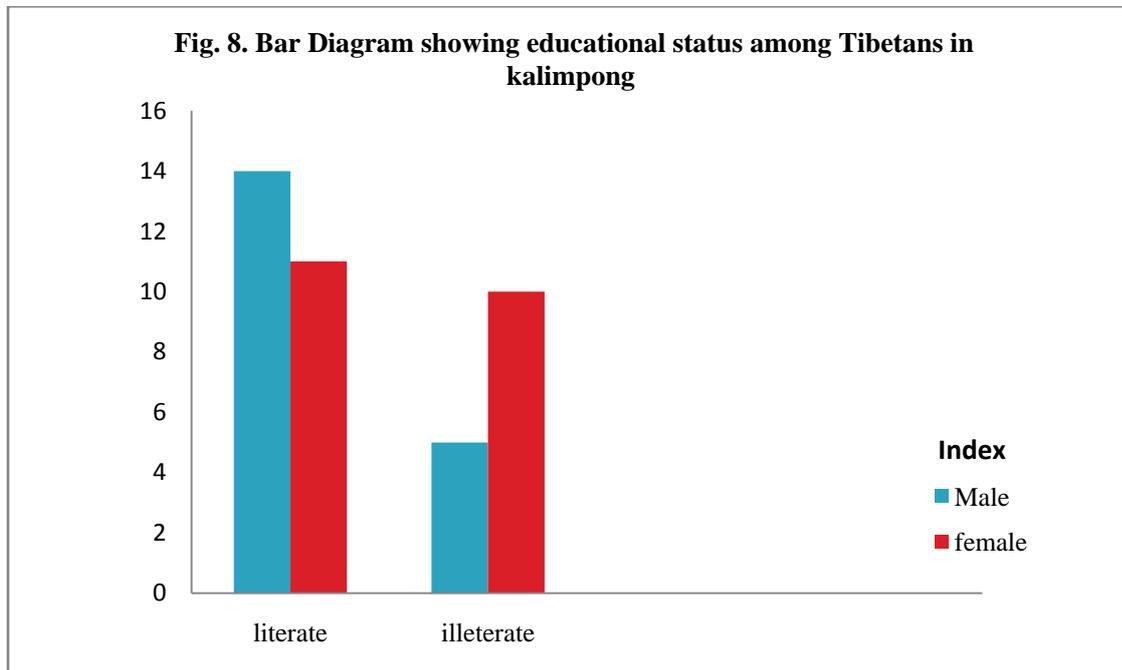
3.8.3. Housing pattern of Tibetans in Kalimpong



Source: Field Survey

Out of 40 respondents, we can see that 78% or 31 Tibetans do not own their own house. Tibetans in Kalimpong mostly live in rented houses with two rooms and a small shop at the entrance of each house. In every house, there are four to six family members. As shown in the above chart, based on the field survey, only 22% or 9 people of the total Tibetan population surveyed have their own houses. These people belong to the rich, old business merchants and people holding respectable positions in the Indian public offices. In contrast, almost 78% of Tibetans live in rented houses, that also in old wooden houses with poor interiors. They have been living in those houses for more than 30-40 years may be since they have arrived. They pay less rent compared to today's market value and the house owner could not throw them out. Tibetan people have set up the shops on their own, where they sell Tibetan handicrafts and incense, and Tibetan food items etc.

3.8.4. Educational status of Tibetans of Kalimpong



Source: Field Survey

From the survey, among the total 40 respondents in Kalimpong, it was found that the literacy rate among Tibetan males is high compared to that of women which is 14 (only 5 males were illiterate). The Second generations of Tibetan males are literate and a few of them hold respectable positions in Indian offices and armed forces. According to the field data, women are more responsible for running the houses so they lack proper education excepting a few. 11 literate and 10 illiterate women were found amongst 21 female respondents. Of all the respondents, they were educated up to the primary level only. Now the, Tibetans are aware of proper education and its value. Most of the Tibetan children of the third generation are interested in receiving a good formal education. Many attend reputed private schools and colleges in Kalimpong and some outside. There is a Central school for Tibetans in Kalimpong but not many Tibetan children attend this school for education. Tibetan parents nowadays prefer formal or professional education for their children as they think that it is good for their future. Tibetans in Kalimpong nowadays, in-spite of their daily hardships, send their children to good English schools like St. Augustine School, Dr. Grahams Homes and St. Joseph Convent or the reputed government missionaries' schools like Kalimpong Girls High School and St. Philomena's Girls High Schools etc.

For those who have acquired Indian citizenship, they are entitled to the facilities that the Scheduled Tribes receive under governmental reservation policies. Tibetan parents are convinced that their children may not bear the hardships which they underwent in the process of settling themselves in a new place, so they want their children to be academically qualified in order to be a successful to lead a better life and to set the future of 'Free Tibet' or provide contributions in Tibet's independence.

Glimpses of Tibetans in Kalimpong



Pic. 17. Tibetan Woman making Handicraft



Pic. 18. Tibetan Shopkeeper



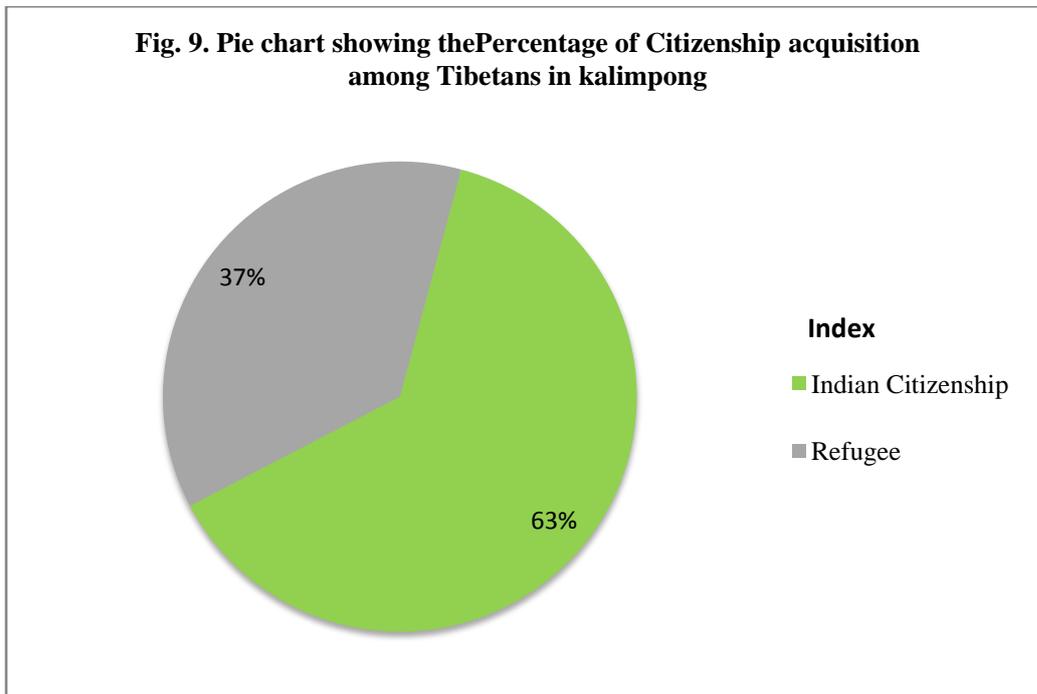
Pic.19. Tibetan Handicrafts



Pic. 20 . Different types of Tibetan Handicrafts

Source: Field Survey

3.8.5. Political mobility amongst Tibetans in Kalimpong



Source: Field Survey

According to the above diagram, among a total of 40 respondents in Kalimpong, 12 male and 16 female Tibetans have obtained Indian citizenship. And, 7 male and 5 female Tibetans retain the Refugee Registration Card. Here, it has to be noted that the former category of people are mostly of the third and fourth generation refugees and the latter category retaining the Refugee Registration Card are mostly old or second generation Tibetan refugees. Among the total number of the surveyed population, 63% Tibetans have obtained Indian Citizenship Card and only 37% Tibetans still retain their Refugee Registration Card.

In Kalimpong, there are families who had migrated to Kalimpong much before Tibet's occupation by China. The others have settled prior to 1960s. According to the survey 63% of them have taken up The Indian Citizenship Tibetans in Kalimpong consider themselves as Indian citizens because they were born and brought up here. They regard themselves as Indians like the locals. During the field survey, it was revealed that they have given up their Tibetan refugee status, so that they could receive the facilities allotted by Indian government to its own citizens. They cast their vote in the Indian elections and a few of them are active in local politics too. They also cast their vote for the CTA as Tibetan nationals. Tibetans in Kalimpong are aware of the political gains in being an Indian national. It was learned that

discarding the refugee status and taking up Indian Citizenship is a gain for them both politically and socially. In this manner, they do not have to deal with unnecessary harassments from the administration like renewing their Refugee Registration Card and inconveniences while travelling. Otherwise, they have to go through several rules and regulations. So in order to escape such hassles, people opt for Indian citizenship. In fact, Tibetans in Kalimpong are a politically mobilized community, as in Darjeeling.

The few Tibetans expressed that unless the Tibetan Registration Card (RC) is renewed every six months otherwise they cannot travel freely. As a refugee, they constantly have to report to the Indian government offices about their whereabouts, and that is the main reason why they conveniently opt for Indian Citizenship. For them, being an Indian Citizen is a means to lead a hassle-free life. Besides, their children become liable to enjoy major facilities provided by The Indian Government, and reservations in the education and employment sectors like any other citizen of the country. Besides these, they are eligible to many other government facilities in their daily lives which make their life easy. Tibetans in Kalimpong are deeply thankful to the government of India for its hospitality, and feel blessed to be its citizen. It is the first country for them.

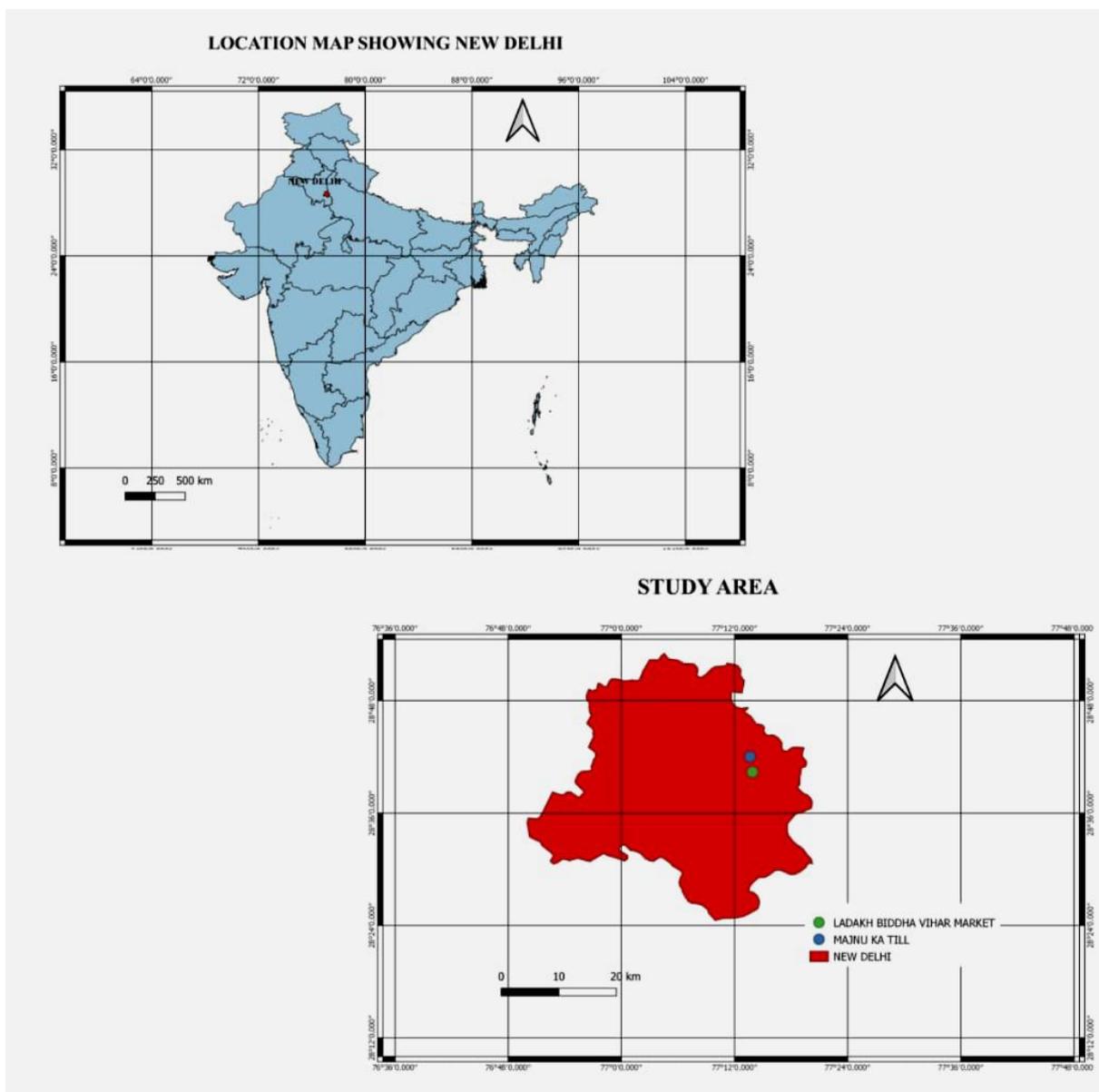
There are Tibetan male and female specific organizations operating in Kalimpong. Women have The Tibetan Women Organization while males have three organizations named The U-Tsang organization, the Do-Toe and the Amdo. All these organizations perform social work for all communities and also they take active part in Tibet protest programmes and human rights violation movements occasionally by organizing rallies and protest movements in Kalimpong. Though, in recent years, Tibet's independence rallies are rarely organized.

3.9. Tibetan Migrants in New Delhi

In New Delhi, Tibetan refugees are found in Majnu-ka-Tilla and Ladakh Buddha Vihara, which are Tibetan colonies having their own markets. Majnu ka Tilla is also known as New Aruna Nagar or Samyeling. It is situated in North Delhi on the National Highway 9 near the North Campus of The Delhi University, covering about 64627.42 sq. meters. This colony is divided into 12 blocks and comprises of about 350 permanent and registered families. According to CTA there are around 2500 population residing there. Besides, there are tenants

and outstation students who rent houses here and stay for some years or months for their own purpose. The Central Tibetan Administration has a permanent representative as the Settlement Officer there. A governing body of 7 members is directly elected by the people for a term of 3 years. The representative office is entitled to send the reports to The Central Tibetan Administration annually. There are approximately 3000 permanent residents in the colony. This colony completed 50 years of its existence in 2012 since its establishment in 1960.

Map III: Map showing study area in New Delhi, India



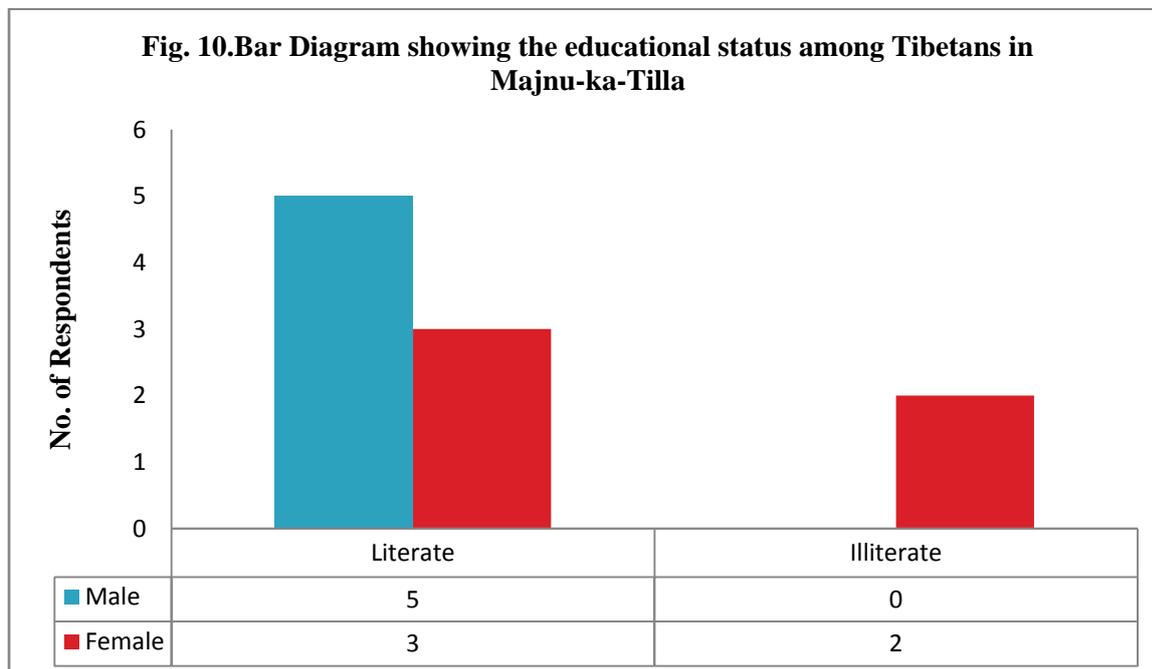
3.10. The Socio-Economic Profile of Tibetans in Manju-ka Tilla

As soon as someone enters from the main gate of the Tibetan colony through a zigzag narrow lane, one can see a courtyard with a temple or a monastery surrounded by old people chanting mantras. The Tibetans living in Majnu-ka-tila have two monasteries. All the lanes are enclosed with shops selling different items ranging from food and vegetables, religious items, *thankas*, books, fancy garments and others. Women were busy in their daily economic activities. Besides, we could find big restaurants, small eateries and internet cafes, jewelry selling curios, sweaters and other woolen clothes on the roadside stalls. In fact, it is fascinating to watch this place reflecting everything about the Tibetan culture in a small contracted place. It represents traditional Tibetan culture and environment in spite of being tucked within the walls of the settlement in the capital city of India. Rightly so, it is known as 'Mini Tibet' among the locals. This place is the one stop destination amongst Delhites for cheap fashionable clothes and Tibetan food.

The Delhi government has provided governmental schemes like sanitation and water supply to the people living here. Few respondents revealed that they had Indian citizenships earlier but the government took it back a few years ago, and they have applied for it again. Now everyone in the colony retains an Aadhar card. It was learned that the policies and regulations on them keep on changing depending upon the government. Some people were given an aadhar card while other people's aadhar cards had to be returned back. It is situational and uncertain. Some people expressed their problems and difficulties to survive in the capital city. They do not get ration from the government and they do not have basic healthcare facilities. In case of illness they have to visit private nursing homes which are costlier as their health centres lack proper facilities. But now, The CTA has a scheme under which they receive health insurance up to Rs 1 lakh which too, requires long processes, otherwise, they travel to Dharamsala for further treatment if possible.

In spite of having many shortcomings in their life, Tibetan refugees in Delhi remain busy struggling in order to earn their livelihoods. Beside all these challenges, they maintain their cultural and religious traditions at any cost and are successful in educating their upcoming children about it.

3.10.1. Educational status of Tibetans in Manju-ka-Tilla



Source: Field Survey

Here in Delhi, due to the busy schedule of the people and their hesitation towards cooperation, only 10 Tibetans could be surveyed. The age of the respondents ranged between 25-60 years. Out of the 10 respondents, 5 males were educated. Percentage of illiterate was nil. There were 3 female literates and 2 illiterates of age between 45-60 years. Amongst them 1 female and 2 male were highly educated.

Majnu-ka-tila has one day school in the colony. Children can pursue both Tibetan and Indian systems of education. The first generation Tibetans or old elderly people are basically illiterate particularly the women. The second generation of men was 100% literate. The present generation youths are not only educated but are highly conscious of their education. All of the children study in the school inside the colony up to their primary level, after which their parents send them to Dharamsala either to get spiritual education in a monastery or for formal education. Since good schools in Delhi are quite expensive, they move to Dharamsala for education. It serves two purposes- receiving formal education and remaining in touch with Tibetan social, cultural and religious values and culture. After finishing the school there in Dharamsala, some prefer professional courses to get involved in private enterprises, while other good students may go for higher education and get them enrolled in the Delhi

University which is located nearby for further education. The government of India has quota for the Tibetans pursuing higher education. This system makes it easier for them to get admissions in good universities if they aspire to do so. Educated youths take good advantage of it. A few conscious and educated youths have taken up Indian citizenship which makes them beneficiaries for a better future in India.

3.10.2. The Economic life of Tibetans in Manju-Ka-Tilla

Note:

- ❖ Here, the data of the economic activities of Tibetans living in this place shows 100% that all Tibetans are engaged in business sectors; be it organized or unorganized, their source of livelihood depends on business.

The economy of Majnu ka Tilla revolves round hotels and restaurants. In addition to this, there are retail shops which include bookshops, metal smiths, curio shops, and beauty parlours, internet cafés and restaurants. These days, tour and travel agencies have mushroomed around Majnu ka Tilla to provide assistance to tourists from foreign countries who wish to visit other places of India. They run daily bus services from Delhi to Dharamsala. The first generation refugees own hotels, restaurants, and personal shops. They own big buildings which are used as hotels. The owners of these hotels live in foreign countries and usually lease out their buildings to others. There are also some having huge houses who rent out their rooms to the newly arrived ones or the tourist. Delhi being the capital of India, and its location being not too far from Dharamsala, receive Tibetans and tourists' all year round heading towards Dharamsala.

It is the one stop destination for local Indians, tourists and seasonal Tibetan business people. Besides this, lots of Tibetan children who come to Delhi for higher education live here as paying guests or in rented rooms. Naturally this place has a high demand for hotels and lodging. In a way, we can assume that for some rich Tibetans, life is much easier than the newly arrived ones because they have adapted properly to the environment and rooted their businesses some way or the other.

Some guest houses are owned by the monastery in this place and this serves as the first destination to the new ones who travel from Tibet, or any other place. It also provides travelers with accommodation or lodging if they wish to visit Dharamsala, which is considered as a holy place for them in India. It is also a place to stay for seasonal traders at

minimal rates. Moreover this place offers cheap accommodation compared to other places in Delhi and is quite safe too; usually tourists and students prefer to stay here. The hotel rates start from 300 rupees per night. The guest houses charge Rs 3500 if rented for a month or more. This is usually hired by seasonal businessmen. Some absentee shop owners are also there who appoint local Tibetans in running their shops and hotels. Few educated youths are engaged in jobs at the offices of The Central Tibetan Administration situated either in Delhi or in Dharamsala itself.

Another important occupation of the Tibetan refugees is selling sweaters seasonally in different parts of India, like Lucknow, Dehradun, Ladakh and others. Although their economic conditions are quite good, there are some, who are still left in poor conditions with petty incomes. According to a few respondents, the colony has a limited space to accommodate huge numbers of people which creates problems for the establishment of new businesses.

Glimpses of Majnu-ka- Tilla in New Delhi



Pic. 21. Majnu-Ka-Tilla Gate



Pic. 22. Inside Colony



Pic. 23/24. Tibetan Hawkers inside the Colony

Source Field Survey

3.11. Ladakh Buddha Vihara

Ladakh Buddha Vihara is the Tibetan settlement in New Delhi. It is also registered market situated opposite to the ISBT, (Inter -state bus terminus) North Delhi. This is one among the popular market places in Delhi, famous for winter woolen clothes and other ethnic goods, food and beverages. It is a huge market with three stored buildings consisting of almost 150 shops. Most of the shops are owned by Tibetans and some are owned by the local Indians who hire Tibetans and other Nepali youths to run the shop. This market sells clothes depending on the season and it is famous mainly for woolen clothes during winters and cheap jeans, shoes and other Chinese products. People come here to buy cheap Chinese articles sold by the shops. Few shopkeepers live in Majnu ka Tilla and travel daily to run their shop while others own a house nearby. There is a two stored building beside the market with a monastery too. At present there are around 250 families residing there.

Economically, Tibetans in this place depend on entrepreneurship undertakings. Ladakh market is a busy crowded place. The shop owners import all the goods from Mysore and Himachal Pradesh. This market attracts customers throughout the year and is a famous shopping hub for Tibetans and other people especially among college youths. This market is also administered by the main office in Majnu ka Tilla so basically it is mainly a trading centre for all Tibetans in India.

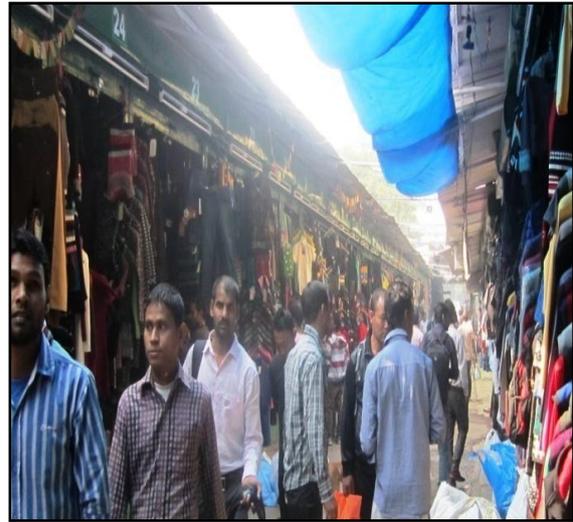
- ❖ The exact data in figure regarding the total population, their marital status and their political perception of the Tibetans living this place is unavailable because of their

busy schedule. As mentioned above, this market is busiest commercial hub. The people were reluctant in responding so it was difficult to communicate with them. Thus, the information here is based on the narration of few respondents and the observations of the researcher.

Ladakh Buddha Vihara Market in Delhi



Pic.25. President of the Market



Pic. 26. Crowded Market



Pic. 27. Market settlement



Pic. 28. Monastery

Source: Field work

Many of the Tibetan traders are either uneducated or not adequately educated. Most of the entrepreneurs belong to the first generation of immigrants, who are mostly engaged in the garment business. Most of them have hardly any formal education or training in skills related to their jobs. Their business firms are family oriented. Tibetans keep the balance between work and family. Through the response of the informants, it was known that for many Tibetans, business is a survival strategy. About 60% of the business personnel were under educated. To get better paying jobs in the capital city and their economic conditions compel them to enter into the family business. In such a situation, self-employment is a better alternative for them to survive so generally, they become a part of small business enterprises.

Besides, the market is a residential housing with a monastery. Tibetans are conformists regarding their religious order and societal values. None of the institutions provide any financial support for their businesses. They are successful in strengthening the internal cohesiveness among the community members. Tibetans show their solidarity on 10th March for “Tibet Uprising Day” every year. All the Tibetan population in Delhi organizes a procession to protest against the Chinese occupation and demand the autonomy of Tibet.

3.12. Political consciousness among Tibetan refugees in Delhi

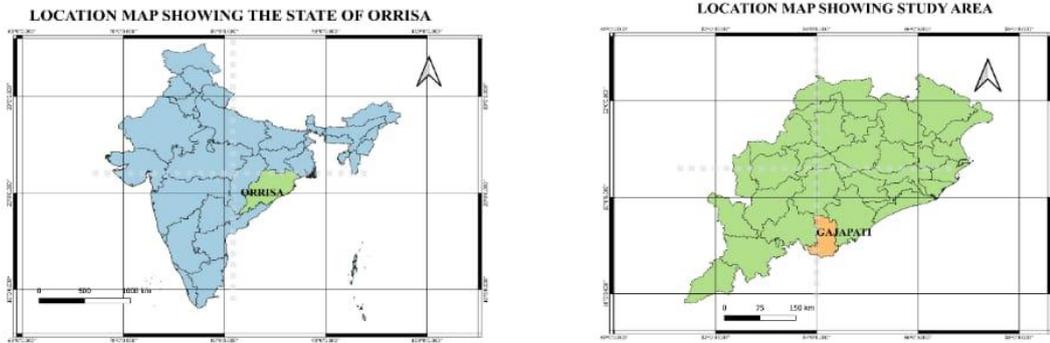
The important psychological aspect observed among the Tibetans in Delhi is their feeling of sensitivity towards their motherland. Although most of the Tibetans are doing well in the host nation, their attachment and love for Tibet is everlasting. Though their social, political and economic survival favours them in every way, they would prefer at least that is what they said, to go back to Tibet if they are provided with such an opportunity. We could understand the sentiments of the older generation about their willingness to go back to their homeland but it was really inspiring to know that even the youths of the current generation have a deep desire to see their homeland at least once. Despite the fact that Tibetans have been living in India and other countries for decades, they are “refugees”. Their stay in India is contractual, that they will have to go back if the situation in Tibet becomes normal.

For the second generation Tibetans, India is the only home they have known. Yet their heart is in Tibet, the land from where their ancestors have fled to settle in India having never seen it in their lives. So in a way they are not sure as to how they will adjust over there, if they

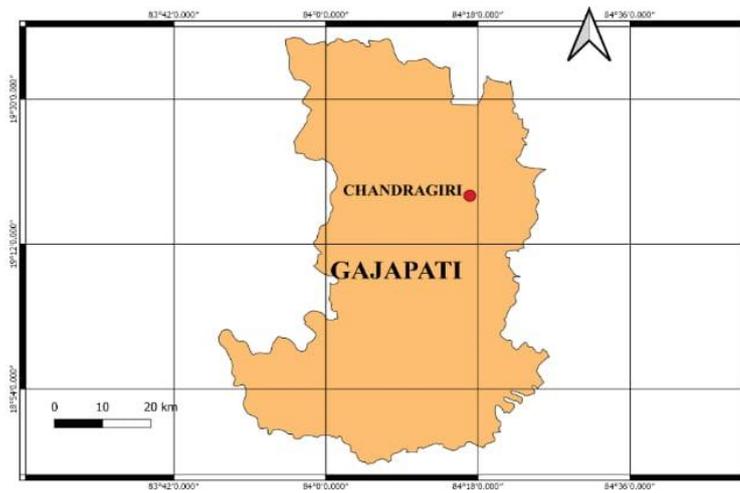
ever get a chance to go back. At the same time, they are confident that they will adjust over there as it is their homeland nonetheless.

Tibetan immigrants truly confess that they are satisfied with whatever modern India has offered to them. The first generation of Tibetans feels that if they were back in Tibet, their children would not have received as much exposure as here in India. They said that they have greater freedom in India to practice their religion in a way that they can. India is our second home 'a home away from home' was the response of an old Tibetan. Tibetans express strong belief that they will definitely return to their native land one fine day. Even their stay in India is growing longer but still their hope never dies. By retaining this hope, they achieve a psychological boost and are able to endure the hardships of their daily lives. Tibetans in New Delhi are active in Political activities like they have been noted for taking out political protest whenever any Chinese official pay visit to India. There had been cases of self-immolations by a Tibetan youth when Chinese President Hu Jintao visited India in 2012.

Map IV: Map showing study area in Chandragiri, Odisha, India



STUDY AREA: CHANDRAGIRI, ORRISA



3.13. Tibetan Migrants of Chandragiri, Odisha

In contrast to Delhi, Chandragiri is a small place which is about 80 kilometers away from Behrampur, a southern town in Gajapati district of Odisha. The place is surrounded by tropical forests, mountains slopes and hilltops. Chandragiri is compact and undiscovered yet. This place becomes admirable because of the presence of Tibetan refugees even in such a remote village in Odisha. Tibetan culture, religious traditions and their survival in such an unfavorable climate often makes this place more attractive for the tourists. This place is a agricultural based settlement which is also famous for seasonal fruits and flowers as well.

The establishment of Tibetan refugee settlements started in Chandragiri from 1st may 1963. Subsequently, refugees started arriving here in batches and arrangements were made by the State Government for their accommodation. The Government of Odisha kindly welcomed the Tibetans in their state and allotted a land of about 2500 acres, enough to ensure food, shelter and livelihood to develop an economically self-supporting community during the period in exile. Thus, the Chandragiri Tibetan settlement was established. The settlement in Odisha is divided into five camps, each at a distance of about 4 to 5 kilometers at Chandragiri (camp-I), Tankilipadar (camp-II), Lobarsingi (camp-III), Jiranga (camp-IV) and Mahendragada (camp-V). All these five camps are together known as The “Phuntsokling Tibetan Settlement”. Phuntsokling means ‘land of happiness and plenty’. It is one of the agriculture based settlements in India. At present, there are about 4000 Tibetans residing in the Phuntsokling settlement. The representative office acts as the Chief Local Justice Commissioner of the settlement. The Local Tibetans Assembly is the highest legislative organ of the settlement. All five camps have their elected leaders who act as an agent to link the representative office and the people of the camp. But as a whole, the representative officer has the overall responsibility of the settlement.

Photographs of the Tibetan camps in Chandragiri



Pic. 30. Camp. no. 4



Pic. 31. Camp. no. 2



Pic. 32. Camp.no. 3



Pic.33. Central School for Tibetans, Camp 4

Source: Field Survey



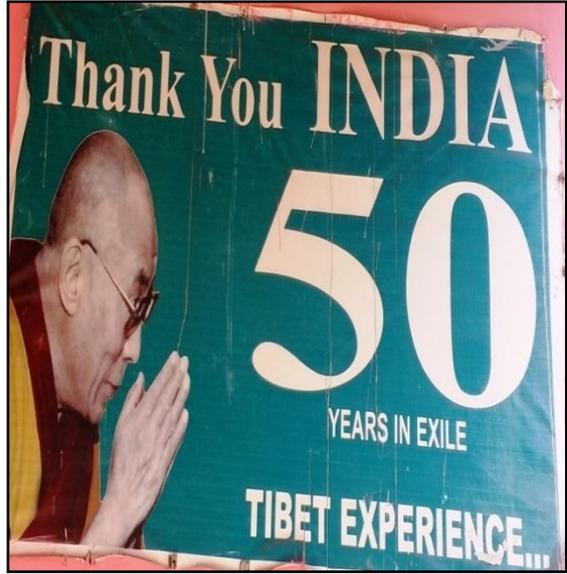
Pic. 34. An Old Age Home



Pic.35. Ware House



Pic. 36. Phuntsokling Bungalow



Pic. 37. Poster in Camp.no. 1

Source: Field Survey

3.14. The Socio-Economic Life of Tibetans in Chandragiri

The Multi propose Tibetan Co-operative Society (MTCS) is the principle machinery of the Phuntsokling Tibetan settlement. MTCS was founded on 27th may 1966 under The Registration Act of the Govt. of Odisha. The society is managed by the law of the society through electoral process. It elects its Boards of Directors for a period of three years. The secretary is responsible for the smooth functioning of the society. The MTCS runs a dairy, horticulture, health centre, mechanical workshop, noodle factory, an old age home, crèche, schools and a monastery. Overall, it can be called as a lifeline and support system for the Tibetans living in the settlement.

As the name stands, MTCS has multiple functions. It runs the Phuntsokling Tibetan bungalow which is the only hotel in the place. The society supplies water to all five camps. It runs a noodle factory where noodles are manufactured and sold in local markets. There is a day care centre for children where parents can leave the children while they are at work. It also runs a bus for the school children as the school is about five kilometers away from each camp. The office of the society also rents trucks for agricultural purposes.

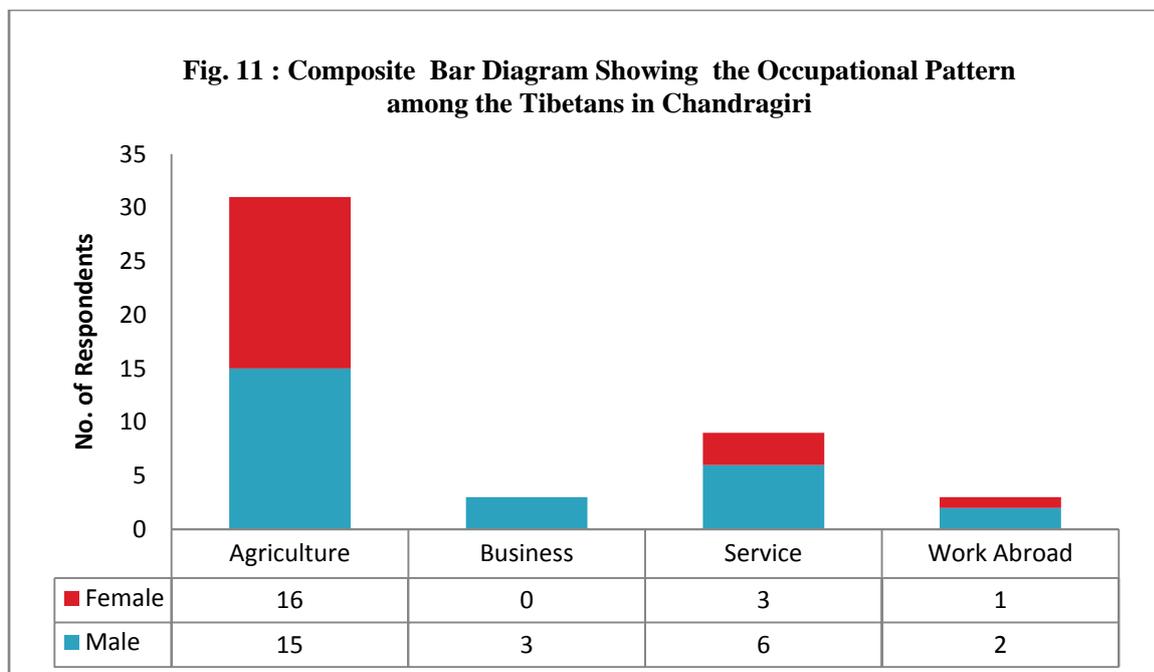
Being agriculture based settlement, the mechanical workshop or tractor section provides with tractor facilities to the people for harrowing the land, intercultural operations, and thrashing of crops. As maize is the main agricultural product of the place, the society takes overall responsibility of the marketing process. It collects all the maize from the agriculturists and supplies it to the traders in Bhubaneshwar. It looks over all the financial conditions of the people in the settlement. It sanctions loans for agriculture, education of children and also for health care.

The MTCS even sanctions loans for the ones who wish to go abroad for work. It gives about 3.5 lakh rupees to an individual if they seek loans from the society but the person has to repay the loan in the allotted time.

The society runs the Central Tibetan School in Chandragiri. The school is located at camp 3, running from class 6 to the 12th standard. There are two other branch schools at camp 5. The MTCS along with the representative office runs a crèche and Montessori. There is also a school hostel facility for the poor students and for those who have to walk many kilometers to reach the school.

There was also a Tibetan Handicrafts Co-operative Society Limited. This was established to preserve the traditional cultural heritage of the Tibetans and also to provide income to them. Unfortunately it is closed now due to the unavailability of carpet weavers in the settlement.

3.14.1. Occupational Pattern among Tibetans in Chandragiri



Source: Field Survey

Out of the 46 Tibetans surveyed in Chandragiri, Odisha, a total of 31 people practiced agriculture, out of which 16 were female while the remaining 15 were male age ranging between 30-60 years. The fact that the Tibetan refugees were farmers and nomads back in Tibet agriculture proved to be the best and the most suitable occupation for them to continue in exile. Eventually, with hard labour they succeeded in transforming the barren land of Chandragiri into fertile, cultivable lands. Agriculture is the primary source of income among Tibetans there.

Maize is the major crop and besides, other fruits are also cultivated. Moreover, this place is called The ‘Maize bowl of the State’. Tibetans earn their livelihood through maize cultivation and other seasonal fruits and flowers. Both males and females work equally in the field and business sectors too. Beside agriculture, 3 male Tibetans were also engaged in seasonal sweater business from October to January in different places of India like Dalhousie, Dehradun, Delhi, Kolkata and Chandigarh. They import all the woolen items from Ludhiana

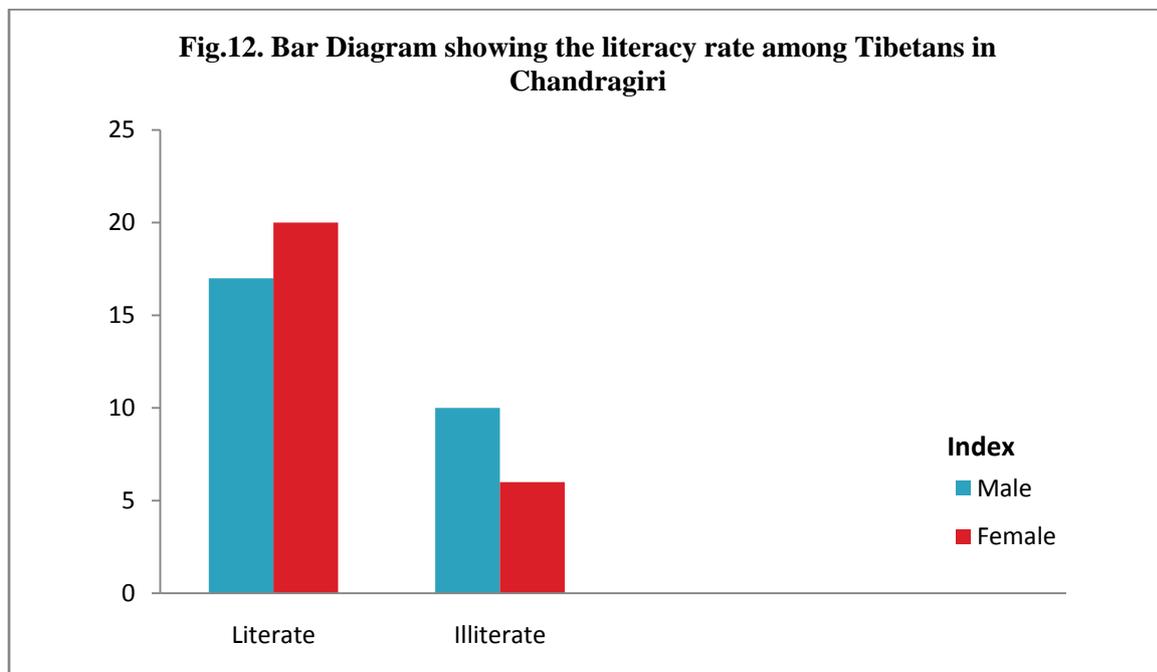
and sell those in different Indian states. They mostly sell sweaters, jackets, gloves and jeans, but, this business is carried out only when they finish their agriculture work. They practice this for extra income which is used for the education of their children and health care.

The people in Chandragiri are engaged in services of the offices of administrations of both the CTA and the Cooperative Society. It was found that 6 males and 3 females were engaged in services. ‘Service’, for Tibetans these means work in the CTA offices like camp managers, caretakers of the old age home, nurses in the health centre and the school teachers.

While surveying, it was found that there were 3 male Tibetan youths who have travelled to foreign countries like USA and Netherland to work in order to support their family back home. They come home once or twice a year. The Cooperative Society provides them loans in order to go abroad for work. It also helps in arranging other official works required to travel abroad. Hence, many educated youths have migrated to foreign countries to earn.

People in this camp used to practice carpet weaving and handicraft as their primary means of livelihood, but the handicraft and carpet centre is now closed down due to the unavailability of skilled weavers. In addition, educated youths now are less interested in such kinds of employment.

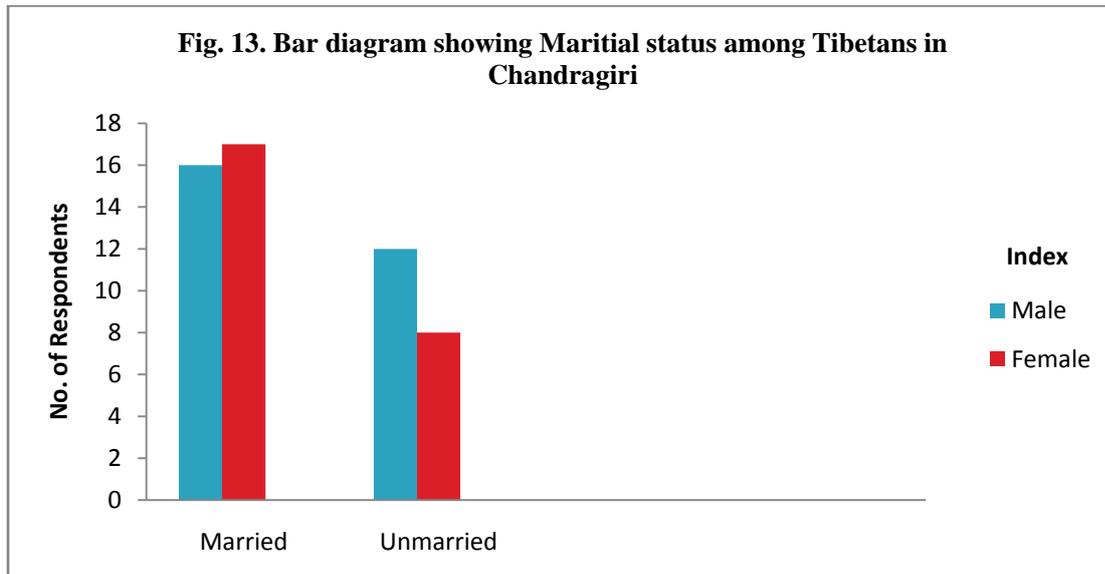
3.14.2. Educational status



Source: Field Survey

Out of 53 total respondents, 27 were male and 26 female. 17 male and 20 female were literate and 10 male and 6 female were illiterate. Literacy rate among the females is more compared to that of men in Chandragiri. Even the second generation women are more literate than men. They are more responsible in running the house and they work hand in hand with men both in the household and in outdoor responsibilities. They have equal share in everything. Older men are less literate because of lack of awareness about education and also due to household responsibilities. But the present scenario is different. At present, due to the life experiences of the parents, children go to school at any cost. They are very concerned about the education of their young members. There is a Central School for Tibetans in camp no.5. The school bus runs through each camp to the school. They also provide free education and other facilities for the under privileged children. After finishing school, most of the students from Chandragiri enroll themselves in the University of Chennai. Some of the students also go to Delhi and Bengaluru for professional courses. The ones who are not interested in further education get engaged in their family business and start contributing to their families. There are also few youths who have travelled to foreign countries to work after graduation. Now the Phuntshokling Cooperative Society gives them financial assistance in the form of Loans under certain conditions. This trend of migrating to foreign countries is now quite common. This is due to the fact that the educated youths do not want to stay in a small place and want to travel. Nor do they want to get into agriculture unlike their parents. They have different expectations out of their life. Many educated youths believe that education and world exploration are the ingredients to bring back the glory of Tibet and its independence. They have been learning a lot about politics and its processes living in India and if they get an opportunity to travel apart from simply earning their livelihood, they will educate themselves and become politically sound in order to fight for their country.

3.14.3. Marital status



Source: Field Survey

The total no. of respondents were 53, out of which 16 male and 17 female were married and 12 male and only 8 female were unmarried. According to the data presented, the percentage of married females is high compared to that of the males. The Tibetan society also runs on patriarchal norms. As women are more family oriented they tend to get married at an early age and bear most of the household responsibilities. On the other hand, the percentage of unmarried male members is high because of high rate of unemployment. People in Chandragiri are more engaged in agriculture which makes their life difficult and uncertain in terms of earning. They sometimes feel incompetent in managing their family so they refuse to start their own families. During the field work it was found that Tibetans living at the camps have similar types of problem and the justification was the same regarding their hesitation towards marriage. At present, there are some people from the camp who have migrated to foreign countries and settled there.

Note: House Type

- ❖ It was found from the field survey that all the houses in Chandragiri are owned by the Tibetans themselves; therefore, data on the house owned and the type is not necessary. Almost everyone has at least one storied house with a small courtyard at front. Other well settled businessman and those working in different foreign countries have two or three stored building. Hence, houses in the Phuntoskling settlement are

owned by the Tibetans themselves. Although the houses are built on government land, the houses were constructed by themselves, for which they have to pay the annual rent to the Odisha government.

3.15. The Political Status and Social Profile of Tibetans in Chandragiri

Since Chandragiri is a settlement, all the Tibetans staying here maintain Refugee status. None of them have obtained dual citizenship till date. They have a strong faith in Dalai Lama and His middle way approach so they are in a hope that their country will be free someday. Tibetans of this place do not take active participation in any kind of political activities like the protest protests.

Tibetan refugees in Chandragiri are highly religious. It is reflected in their day to day life like in any other place in India. Here, there are small monasteries in each camp. The Phuntsokling settlement observes Tibetan New Year, birth anniversary of The Dalai Lama, Tibetan national uprising day, Tibetan democracy day and also The Indian Independence Day and Republic day in the settlement. Almost all religious activities are carried out in the camps together in the monastery located in the camp. Like any other Tibetan settlement, religion plays a major role in their social, cultural and political life.

The representative office also runs an old age home. This home supports the senior citizens who have no one to look after them. It has all requirements- housing, prayer hall, dining and a big lawn with about thirty old people as its members. The caretaker looks after the management of the home. The members of the camps volunteer in taking care of the surroundings of this home. The Tibetan refugees in Changdragiri are rich in terms of socio-cultural set-up. They have been trying to preserve their culture in the society.

It was not easy for the Tibetan refugees coming from an entirely different climatic and cultural background to adapt to a new tropical weather, in an alien land, but with time and need, they have successfully acclimatized with the conditions in Odisha. Today they are one of the best acclimatized and content refugee groups in India.

Chandragiri belongs to the tribal people of Odisha. This place also has some Naxallites (Insurgent group) present, so this area is politically disturbed. Despite this, in such an

environment Tibetans have adapted well. Although they have the full support and cooperation from the government, sometime develops tension amongst the local people and Tibetans. Actually to understand the case, (according to the people) the local people are in fact jealous of the Tibetans because of their economic achievement. Tibetans are financially well-off compared to the local community. The market business of Chandragiri is dominated by them only. The local people are in poor conditions, both in terms of living standard and economy. Tibetans are the main consumers of the local traders too. They entirely depend upon Tibetans for the smooth running of their businesses. Many poor locals are even hired by them in the agricultural work as laborers and women as housemaids. In fact, locals do all the manual jobs for Tibetans. So naturally, some local goons display extreme hatred and jealousy towards the Tibetans there. They sometimes come into open confrontation with them. Many such incidents have been reported. In order to solve such cases, Tibetan officials have made some political arrangements with the local political parties. In spite of it, such cases have been reported several times in Chandragiri.

In spite of having some social strife and problems amongst the Tibetan community and the some local goons in this place; Tibetans have been leading better life than any other Tibetan refugee communities elsewhere in India. Through the field observation it was learned the economic conditions of the people here is much better than the ones living in other places which is reflected in their living standard. Being situated in the remotest area, few problems exist there like communication and improper healthcare facilities in case of serious illnesses. Still, life in Chandragiri is easy and satisfying than any other settlement according to the opinion of the Tibetans themselves there. There is a sense of peace here. Tibetans here love this place and they perform lots of social work for the local people there like free health camps, cleaning and beautifying the area etc.

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Chapter Four

Chapter IV

Tibetan Refugees in Nepal; their Socio-economic Conditions and Political Status

This chapter is based on fieldwork which was conducted in the official Tibetan settlements as well as the scattered communities in Nepal. It contains the complete descriptions of the socio-economic conditions and the Political status of the Tibetan refugees in Nepal. The study areas in Nepal are Jawalakhel Carpet Centre and its Samdupling settlement and also the surroundings of Syambhunath Temple in Kathmandu.

4.1. A Brief history of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal

The relationship between Tibet and Nepal can be traced back to ancient times. Historically, Nepal and Tibet enjoyed close relations in terms of economy, cross border migration, diplomatic relation and cultural exchanges. The marriage between King Songtsen Gampo (617-650) of Tibet and the Nepalese princess Bhirikuti who is credited for introducing Buddhism to Tibet is an evidence of the relationship between the two. In the early seventeenth century due to increased trade between the two countries, Malla Newari (1624-1674) rulers of Kathmandu minted coins to use as Tibetan currency. The countries signed a trade treaty in the year 1645 which boosted the trade relationship between the two nations. One of the clauses of this treaty also agreed for Kathmandu court the right to post a representative (*naya*) in Lhasa. Further it was also guaranteed that the trade with India would be channelized through Kathmandu instead of routes like Sikkim, Bhutan or Tawang. But the reign of Pritivinarayan Shah's Gorkha expansionist Programme (1743-1775) caused conflict with all the neighboring countries including Tibet (Praag, 1987). And the Gorkha armies even invaded Tibet in 1788. In order to wipe out Manchu intervention, Tibet negotiated a treaty with Nepal in the year 1789. But instead, the Gorkha destroyed the Shigatse and the monastery of Panchen Lama. In the year 1792 the combined forces of Tibetan-Manchu and the Chinese army was able to sent Nepalese army back. The Gorkha army again invaded Tibet in 1854 over the claims to the Border districts of Kuti and Kyron. Besides this Jung Bahadur Rana wanted to establish his supremacy by replacing Manchus in Tibet. However, it was clear that Nepal wanted complete independence of Tibet from the Manchus which was

very clear from their negotiations with the Tibet as a nation. Henceforth, on March 1856 Nepal-Tibet Treaty of Friendship which is also known as Thapathali Treaty was signed between the two. It was concluded that Nepal would help Tibet from any kind of foreign attack and both the parties would respect each other keeping its religious and cultural bond (Praag, 1987).

Annamari Nahide Ali in her thesis "*Tibetan refugee women in Nepal-full of life but formally non-existence: Paths from vulnerabilities to resilience*" has mentioned that the treaty of 1645 which was concluded between Tibet and Nepal also, gave Nepali men the right to marry Tibetan women and settle in Tibet. The male child born out of such a marriage would be given Nepali citizenship and the female child a Tibetan citizenship. This system was regarded as *Khachara* System (Ali, 2016). This system continued till 1956, after when China occupied Tibet and Nepal had to recognize Tibet as an autonomous region of China. Thus, whatever privileges the Nepalese citizens used to enjoy were revoked (Ali, 2016).

From history we come to learn that the Government of Nepal has always been interested in maintaining relationship with Tibet in various occasions and events. With religious and commercial ties Tibetan migration have been taking place in Nepal from those times only. That may be the reason why she has granted political refuge to those Tibetans who left Tibet under difficult situations and compulsions since the period of political turmoil caused by China inside Tibet. Keeping in mind its historical connection and ties, Nepal, in spite of being one of the least developed countries in the world, extends an appreciable degree of support to the Tibetan refugees since the beginning.

Nepal had also played an important role in the Sino Tibet relation for about two decades from the 1960s onwards. It had in fact provided a foothold to the Tibetans to carry on their resistance movement against the Chinese takeover of their country in the form of guerrilla warfare under the organisation Chusi Gandrung. And in that era of Cold War and American antagonism towards the Communist regime of China they had been backed by none other than the C.I.A. The story started a decade ago, from the 1950s onwards.

The Tibetan resistance to the Chinese takeover of Tibet started from 1950 onwards as a series of independent uprisings in the Kham district of Tibet. These independent groups were later organised into a voluntary army under the name Chusi Gandrung or the Four Rivers and Six Ranges. From the very beginning of its initiation the Chusi Gandrung tried to garner international support primarily from the US and of course from India. Following the signing

of the 17 point agreement between China and Tibet on May 17th, 1952, several high ranking Tibetan officials, that included Gyalo Thondup, Dalai Lama's elder brother, even travelled to India and consulted PM Nehru who however advised them to encourage a peoples' democratic movement that would be recognized by the world as a legitimate alternative to the Chinese. Within a few years the movement took turn to guerilla warfare against the Chinese. From 1956 onwards the condition worsened in Kham with the bombing of four monastic complexes. A group of Khampa leaders met with Gyalo Thondup to ask him to contact foreign countries for military help. By this time C.I.A had already taken notice of the movement against the Chinese. The Far East Division of the C.I.A decided to support the Tibetan resistance in their fight against the Chinese. The resistance was organized by Andruh Gompo Tashi. The C.I.A established its Tibet programme and in 1956 an initial group of six Tibetans were even trained in the island of Saipan and then airdropped in Tibet. The secret training of Tibetans continued in US, first in Virginia and then from 1958 onwards in secret Camp Hale in Leadville in Colorado.

After 1959 the guerrillas shifted to Mustang in Nepal. With the flight of the Dalai Lama to India many Chusi Gangdrug units had also shifted to India and they took up jobs in Darjeeling and Sikkim. Later on, under the leadership of both Gompo Tashi and Gyalo Thondup about 200 leaders and 3000 soldiers decided in a meeting in Kalimpong to move out of India and set up military operations in Mustang in Nepal. Mustang was a territorial enclave extending into Tibet some 350 miles southwest of Lhasa and even though it was nominally under Nepal it was ruled by a king who had Tibetan ancestry and practiced Buddhism. Gompo Tashi was familiar with the area as he had travelled several times to that place for trading purpose. Selection of this place was approved by both the C.I.A and Gyalo Thondup. India was also aware of the developments. Mustang's geographical location made it a politically strategic base for resistance operations and the army even managed to achieve some initial successes and snatched some important documents from Chinese soldiers that revealed the actual condition of Tibet to the international community. Men who were chosen as leaders were sent for training to U.S and other recruits received training in India itself before leaving for Mustang. In Mustang the C.I.A trained guerrillas provided training to other soldiers. Two airdrops of supplies consisting of arms, ammunitions and food were made in 1962 and in 1965. Later on the CIA even provided financial support to the resistance movement via the intelligence headquarters in Delhi. In fact, India too became involved in the operations, particularly since the border war with China in 1962. Tibetans were recruited

in the Indian armed forces and became operative in defence of India's border in the Himalayan region. Even though they were never allowed to cross over the border into Tibet, the Tibetans thus recruited considered themselves the Indian counterpart of the Mustang guerrillas. Initially they operated under the joint supervision of both India and the C.I.A. For India these soldiers represented a potential force for attaining an independent Tibet which would in the long run provide ultimate security to the Himalayan frontier. The Tibetans accepted the support of both the countries in the hope of using it for their immediate objective of reestablishing an independent Tibet.

The U.S support however was not to last long. The U.S supported the Tibetans as a means of challenging Chinese aggression as a part of Cold War struggle. They wanted to use these Tibetans as a means of intelligence gathering from China. With the changing international scenario U.S decided to patch up relations with China and thus to wind up the Tibet operations. U.S relations with India also soured in 1970s as India turned more towards Soviet Union. In the meantime, Gompo Tashi had passed away and the leadership was in the hands of Mustang Commander Baba Yeshe. There was shortage of weapons along with some other problems among the guerrillas themselves. By May 1965 half the men in Mustang had not been armed. Initially C.I.A even wanted to relocate them inside Tibet as it was impossible to get Washington's approval for further armsdrop in Nepal. Early in 1969 C.I.A. informed Gyalo Thondup that it was withdrawing its support and Thondup was asked to prepare a resettlement plan to be carried out in course of the next three years. Even after the C.I.A.'s role ended, the Mustang based operations continued for another five years. A few years later, even the Nepal government ended its policy of turning a blind eye. Pressured by the Chinese authorities, the Government of Nepal tried to force the guerrillas to shut things down, publicly calling them bandits and claiming not to know that guerrillas were there in that place. An earlier picture of the King in the camp however speaks otherwise. Not until 1974 however did the Tibetan soldiers finally call it quits. Even then, they did so only in deference to the pleas of the Dalai Lama. Dalai Lama's brother carried a taped message to the soldiers in Mustang by hand. The Tibetan spiritual leader, who was the greatest unifying force of the exiled community, urged the soldiers to surrender saying that it would not be good for them to fight with the Nepalese army. The guerrillas finally ended their operations and turned over the weapons to Nepali officials.

Chusi Gandrug continued to operate with head office in Darjeeling and later Delhi and Dharamsala. In Nepal Mustang veterans formed an organisation called Lo -thik to address

issues of social and economic welfare. Lo thik provided and still provides a pension to veterans based on their years of service. The fund was generated through different Chusi Gandrug business ventures in Nepal and India. No pension was provided by the C.T.A or the U.S Government (Morrison, 2002). This little known account of Tibetan resistance has now received the attention of several scholars and books have been published on the theme

Actual influx of the ordinary Tibetans refugees started in Nepal from 1949 onwards when the People's Liberation Army moved to Tibet. The numbers rose after the Tibetan Uprising in 1959. Initially, Nepal facilitated the refugees to resettle in their soil with the help of other international organizations (Mandal, 2011).

Initially it was only the Swiss international organization that gave full assistance to the Tibetan refugees in Nepal since the year 1960. This organization was responsible for helping the refugees to resettle and rehabilitate. It took full initiative to set up a carpet industry including the establishment of Carpet export companies in Nepal for them to be self-sufficient economically. The carpet industry after a while became the main source of income for the Tibetans and finally turned out to be the largest foreign currency earner in Nepal. In 1963, through technical, financial and other assistance, the Swiss Government started the industry at various places in Nepal like Tashi Palkheil, Jawalakhel, Dhorpatan and Chialsa. Apart from this organization, The UNHCR and The International Committee for Red Cross (ICRC) were the main organizations that helped Tibetan re-settlement in Nepal through their assistance in terms of food, finance, health care and other relief programmes etc. It also established the Kathmandu Tibetan Welfare Office which functioned as a liaison between the Tibetan refugees, various aid organizations and the Nepalese government. In course of time many Tibetan settlements developed in Nepal, Jawalakhel, Boudha, Swayambunath, and Jorpati in Kathmandu; Jampaling, Paljorling, Tashi-Ling and Tashi Palkhiel in the Pokhara region, and Dhorpatan, Chialsa, Chairok, Shabrus and Lumbini in the northern regions of Nepal. The majority of these settlements were established in the early to mid 1960 to 1974. Estimate of the total number of Tibetan refugees currently living in Nepal differ. Approximately 20,000 were believed to have arrived in 1959 during the initial conflict. Many more arrived in the following years, and it has been reported that almost every year Tibetans try to escape through Nepal to other countries particularly India. In fact, Nepal acts as a transit zone for Tibetans who wish to leave Tibet. Thus, the actual number of Tibetans residing in Nepal is indefinite as Tibetans immigrate to other countries. According to The Demographic Survey of Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala, in 2009, the population

of Tibetan refugees in Nepal stood at 13,500. The legal and socio-economic status of these refugees are dependent on the refugee policy of the Government of Nepal which, in its turn is determined by the country's security concerns and foreign policy vis a vis China.

4.2. The Gentleman's Agreement:

This Agreement happened to be the important landmark in Nepal's policy towards the Tibetan refugees. The "Gentleman's Agreement" is an informal agreement concluded between the Government of Nepal and the United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees to ensure that "Nepal will allow Tibetans leaving Tibet a safe passage to escape from China to India". The objectives mentioned under this agreement are:

Firstly, to ensure safe access in the territory of Nepal for Tibetans who want to enter India.

Secondly, the prohibition of forced return (refoulement) in the Nepal-China borders.

Thirdly, to ensure that Tibetans are neither detained, nor penalized on grounds of immigration for "unlawful entry".

And lastly, it will ensure that the Nepalese government would provide exit permits to newly arrived Tibetans by the UNHCR to allow them to depart to India in time (Centre, 2002).

Tibetans detained by the police at first arrested be handed over to the Department of Immigration and then interrogated in order to find out the reason for their escape to India. Only after this process, Tibetans would be able to apply for permits in the Indian embassy. Once the entry permit is issued, the UNHCR sends a request to the Department of Immigration for exit permits to be issued to them. This permits the person, the right to travel to the Indian border at Sonauli.

Under this agreement, UNHCR with government of Nepal was to allow only 2,500 Tibetans Refugees per year to cross over to India. This is an unwritten agreement in which it is the Nepalese police that is to ensure Tibetan's entry into Nepal and help them to carry on the subsequent formalities through. But in reality, the terms of the agreement was followed only slackly whereby, Tibetans enter Nepal independently or with the help of local guide (Tibet, Dangerous Crossing , 2004). Their passage to India is also not always smooth. According to

the report “Dangerous Crossing” 2004 update by International Campaign for Tibet; in May 2003, a group of 18 newly arrived refugees were imprisoned in Kathmandu and were handed to the Chinese authorities. All of them were maltreated in Chinese custody where they were kept for three months in jail. There had been other cases of refoulement in the year 2004, when groups of 11 and of 4 were detained. Another group of 13 were beaten and robbed by the Nepalese security forces in civilian clothes.

The Nepalese authorities lifted up the “Gentleman’s Agreement” in 1990 for Tibetans or for those who got arrested by the Nepalese security force. In recent years, the Gentleman’s Agreement has become insignificant following the border monitoring harmonization between The Chinese officials and The Nepalese officials. Nepal’s policy towards the Tibetan refugees has been changing as a result of its changing relation with China. Thus, Nepal owing to its security concern has been accused of violating this agreement by forcing Tibetans escaping Tibet to return. The Tibetan welfare office and the office of the Representative of His Holiness Dalai Lama were opened in the year 1960 with task of assisting the newly arrived Tibetans in Nepal, were closed down in 2005 with the order of King Gyanendra with the reason that it was not held by Nepali citizens required by the law. Even though the closure of these two offices was condemned by the international community, it was assumed that Gyanendra closed to show its support with the Chinese government (Tibet, 2011). However this issue has been discussed in details in the subsequent chapter.

The status of the Tibetan refugees in Nepal is going to be affected further in Nepal if the news published in the Tibet express 23rd January 2020 is authentic. As per this report: China and Nepal have signed an agreement recently during Chinese President Xi-Jinping’s visit to Nepal in October 2019. The agreement with the objective of curtailing the entry of Tibetans in Nepal is about handing over people entering illegally to each other’s country without enough supporting documents from their country of origin within 7 days of being taken under custody. Khabarhub, a Kathmandu based News portal the revelation is said to have come from Nepal’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Pradeep Gyawali’s written clarification to the members of Parliament. It was the first point of the 20 point agreement signed by the foreign ministers of both the countries during Xi Jinping’s visit to Nepal. It was basically targeting the Tibetans who arrived from Tibet. It will officially come into effect from February but Nepal seems to be under influence to enforce it before time’. Before Chinese Presidents’ visit to Nepal it was widely reported that Kathmandu was being pressed to sign an extradition treaty

with Beijing during his visit. The Agreement was criticized for violating the Gentlemen's Agreement with UNHCR which advocates the refugees' right to travel to a third country. (Tencha, 2020)

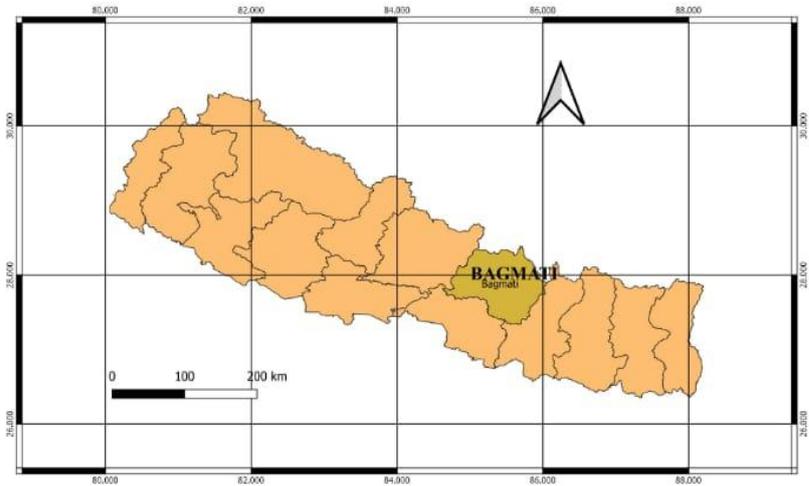
Table No.1. Population Distribution of Tibetans across various settlements in Nepal

Settlements	Populations
Namche, Solukhambu	145
Swoyambhu, Kathmandu	1919
Kathmandu city Area	727
Namgyaling, Mustang	278
Deleking, Solukhambu	486
Samdupling, Jawalkhel	1082
Tashipaikhel, Pokhara	913
Gageling, Rasawa	181
Tashigang, Pokhara	62
Pajorling, Pokhara	368
Jampaling, Tanahum	618
Sampheling, Walung	318
Tashiling, Pokhara	688
Manang	688
Nubri	57
Norziling, Dhorpatan	250
Boudha and Jorpati	5250
Others	52
Total	13611

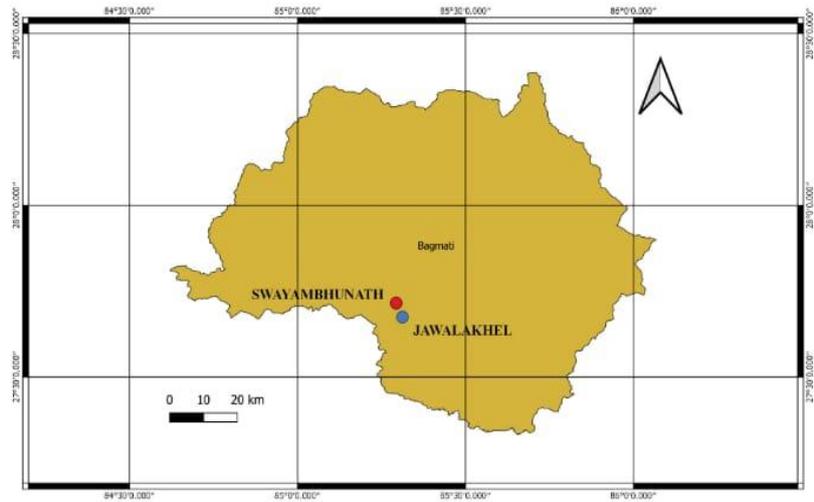
Source: Annual Report 2008-2009 Snowline foundation.

Map V: Map showing study area in Jawalakhel and Swayambhunath, Nepal

LOCATION MAP SHOWING STUDY AREA



STUDY AREA: SWAYAMBHUNATH AND JAWALAKHEL



4.3. The Socio -economic Conditions of Tibetan Refugee in Nepal

The major influx of Tibetan Refugees in Nepal started from the year 1959 onwards. The Nepalese Government at first allowed them to settle down in the different places like Jawalakhel, Tashi Palkheil, Dhorpatan, Chialsa, Chairok, Shabrus and Lumbini. Later on other places were also added both in Kathmandu and Pokhara area. All these settlements were established with the help of the Swiss Association for Technical Assistance with the founding of Carpet Industry in Nepal. That later became to be the largest source of livelihood amongst them and eventually this establishment emerged to be a pioneer of Tibetan carpet industry in Nepal.

The Jawalakhel handicraft centre is situated to the south of the Kathmandu city, the capital of Nepal. This centre provides employment to about 500 Tibetans from the settlement. The people are engaged in different stages of carpet weaving. This centre produces high quality carpets. This centre not only helps the poorer Tibetans living in the camps in earning their livelihood but it also contributes immensely to the foreign exchange of the Government of Nepal. This handicraft centre was established with certain aims and objectives like preservation and promotion of traditional Tibetan handicrafts, to provide employment to its people and educate their children in exile, etc. It aims at helping the needy and destitute, old Tibetan citizens, including the preservation of its culture and religious tradition. The premise of the handicraft centre has a small *gumba* on the right side, a four storied building and a warehouse. There is a cooperative office inside the centre that is run by the management of the centre.

The settlement officer is responsible for the entire management of the settlement. There are three elected members from the community called the *thume*. They act as decision makers in the centre. Other than this, the community also elects 15 members called the *thojok* (elected by people) who are engaged in welfare activities of the settlement. They coordinate the people in the settlement and the welfare office in the meetings. The welfare office has to send an annual report about the settlement to the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) in India. The CTA also helps them in times of crisis, but usually the settlement office takes care of the centre and the camp in Jawalakhel.

The Samdupling settlement at Jawalakhel, adjacent to the ring road of Kathmandu was built in 1960 by the international committees with funds allotted by the Swiss government in the

land allotted by Government of Nepal for Tibetan refugees at the initial stage. But after many years the Swiss Corporation handed the responsibility of the camp over to Nepalese government. It is situated just opposite to the handicraft centre. There is a row of huge three storied buildings with a monastery at the center of it. Today about 105 families live there with a population of around 1082 in the camp. The staffs of the centre reside in staff quarters provided by the centre. There is a Jawalakhel Co-operative Society founded in the year 1966. It is a multipurpose society. It ventures a poultry farm, food market and other small businesses. It runs the handicraft stores which sell antiques, handicrafts and curios. There is an old age home supported by the Snow Line Foundation and the Jawalakhel Cooperative. There is a management board that is responsible for the functioning of the society consisting of eleven members who are elected for a term of three years. The income of this cooperative society is used for the maintenance and management of the old age home, health clinic and the administration of the society. The surplus profit is also distributed among the shareholders during the Tibetan New Year '*Losar*' every year.

There is a Norbulingka sports club which started in 1972, emphasizing on social and cultural activities. It organizes programmes related to education and the environment, among them. The Snow Line Foundation has a clinic in Boudha and Jawalakhel which caters to both the Tibetan and the Nepalese people.

Pictures from Nepal



Pic. 38. The Jawalakhel Handicraft Center



Pic. 39. Carpet Display room



Pic.40. Atisha Primary School



Pic. 41/42. Samdupling Tibetan Settlement



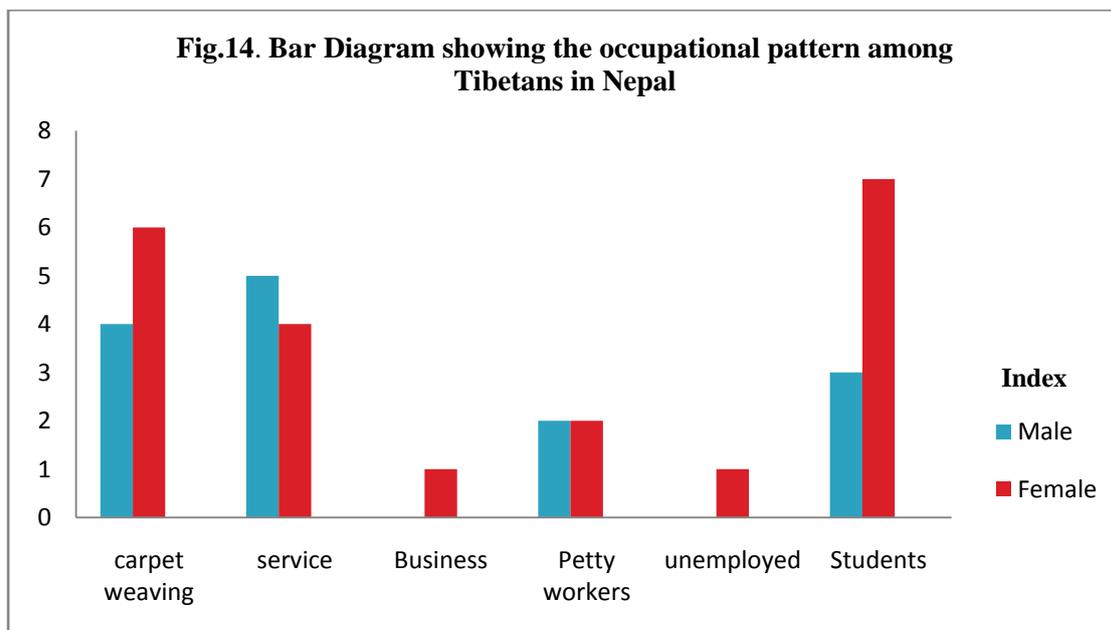
Pic 43/44 First generation Tibetan Refugees

Source: Field Survey

Note: As I have mentioned above that there are many Tibetan settlements in Nepal but I conducted my field survey only in The Jawalkhel Handicraft Centre and its settlement. There were many difficulties in conducting the survey in Nepal for various reasons. The settlements in Nepal mostly lie in the remote interior places so my target group was only those Tibetan refugees living inside the Kathmandu city area. Here, I have presented only the occupational chart of them. This is because of the hesitation of the Tibetans to respond to other queries. The Nepal government in recent years has been harsh upon them by imposing strict rules

imposing all sorts of restrictions on their social, cultural and civil liberties. Even their livelihoods and sustainability is at risk. Many cases of detention and arrests have taken place. In such a situation their awkwardness or hesitation to speak out is understandable. So whatever written here is based upon my personal observations and conversation with the people at the restaurants during my repeated visits to the place. The exact data is unavailable regarding their educational status because it was difficult to communicate with them, particularly with the youths as they were unavailable and it was the same regarding other issues also. All these statements were provided on the basis of a few respondents working in the centre and through normal conversation with the people in the restaurants in and around the camp.

4.3.1: Occupational Chart



Source: Field survey

Out of 35 respondents, 14 were male and 21 female. 6 female and 4 male were engaged in carpet weaving jobs. The number of educated female working in the Jawalkhel Carpet Centre office and school nearby is 4 compared to 5 male. Besides these, they were 2 male and 2 female either running small eateries or food stalls outside the camp or works in unorganized sectors like beauty parlours, hotels and other offices as receptionists which has been categorized as petty workers with very less income. Only one female owns a leased curio shop in the Syambhunath Temple premises. Apart from that there was 3 male and 7 female

college going students age ranging from 18-25. Among all the respondents only 1 female was employed.

After the establishment of the carpet industry in Jawalakhel, hundreds of Tibetans were employed in the centre to work for carpet production and administration of the centre. This centre has now become the main source of livelihood for the people living in the camp. Here, varieties of work are performed by the people, both male and female, ranging from weaving to spinning and packing. Basically, women are experts in weaving and spinning. Other works like packaging and labouring are done by the males. There is a big showroom displaying beautiful carpets inside the centre. Many tourists and customers come to see and purchase it. Tibetans having the skill and interest in carpet weaving, work in the centre, while the remaining population of this camp survive and support their livelihood themselves doing odd jobs. They do not get any kind of support from the Nepalese government.

Initially the carpet weavers in the centre come from the first generation of skilled workers. After that, their skills were transferred to the second generations who have now become master weavers. The carpet weavers are mostly illiterate and learnt the skills that their parents had passed on to them. The working hours are from 8am to 5pm, with one hour lunch break. The finished products are sent for export. The handicraft centre is a popular destination amongst the tourists in Kathmandu. This settlement has become one of the most successful rehabilitation centres in the urban setting in Nepal.

As for their living arrangements, one room is allotted to one member working in the centre and if two members of the house work, then two rooms are allotted to them. Ultimately, if the numbers of family members are more, they will definitely have accommodation problems. The people do not have to pay the rent of the house but they have to contribute for all facilities in the camp like sanitation, healthcare and other development works. The workers get a salary of about 7000 per month or even less depending upon their work. With this income, they have to bear the expenses of food, health, education, etc. of the children and the others. Since Kathmandu is reasonably expensive, the people expressed that it is very hard to maintain their families with such a small amount of money. Since they have to look after the overall expenditure of the family, healthcare and education of their children, so they are left with little money or minimal savings for the future. There is a small hospital for them which is not up-to-date they have to visit private dispensaries in case of emergency, which is beyond their means. So in such cases, they have to face lots of crisis in terms of money and are often

left in debt. Unemployed women are also higher in numbers compared to men. Men are mostly engaged in the service sector which means that the male members work in the management and administration of the offices and the camp.

Besides working in the carpet industry and its offices, the people of this camp are engaged in various other jobs. Few of them work outside the centre. Some travel to Boudha to work in shops as shop keepers or make handicrafts. A few own small eateries outside the camp and in the surrounding areas. Some of them run the shops around the Kathmandu valley especially in the Shyambhu temple area. Only one or two Tibetans have an established garment business out there in Kathmandu. Others struggle to earn their livelihoods. Some male youths do manual work as cooks and waiters in the restaurants, potters, tourist guides etc. Educated youths fail to get employed with government affiliated institutions without a Nepali citizenship. They somehow manage to get jobs in small enterprises or in private firms with less pay. Otherwise they have to stay unemployed.

Tibetans do not have property rights in Nepal. Since they cannot acquire any property legally, they buy properties in the name of local people or the residents of Nepal. Some Tibetans run guesthouses and restaurants or garment shops in the city. For the registration of this business, they have to have a business partner having Nepalese citizenship. But after 2009 these registrations are also strictly checked or else the registration may be cancelled. If anyone had a running business, then they had to pay double tax to the Government.

Tibetans are not being allowed to own any motor vehicle since the past two to three years. Earlier they could possess vehicles but now the government has stopped issuing any kind of license to them. Whoever owns a motor vehicle, now faces the problem of renewing the license as it could not be done in Kathmandu or it can be an expensive affair. So they go to 'Pokhara' (another Tibetan settlement in the outskirts of Nepal) where the renewing of such a license is possible. "Life of Tibetans in Nepal is not easy like that in India"- was the opinion of the people living out there in the settlement.

Apart from The Jawalakhel Handicraft centre, there are other carpet factories in Nepal namely, Solukhambu, Dhorpatan, Pokhara, etc. These factories are the major sources of livelihood for the refugees and even Nepalese people. About 280 Tibetan-owned carpet factories are there with 300 home-based weavers. However, following the Maoist movement in Nepal (1996-2006) these factories had to face a crisis, meeting the demand of Maoists for money. Even the Trade Union of Nepal started black mailing the owners regarding the

regularization of the work backed by the insurgent groups. The Maoist movement in Nepal and the subsequent political crisis in Nepal have badly affected the situation of Tibetan refugees economically.

4.3.2. Education status of Tibetans in Nepal:

There are thirteen schools in Nepal which is operated by the Snow Line foundation and other NGOs with the help of the Tibetan Government in exile. Earlier, these schools used to teach Tibetan with other subjects as well. In the 1970s, these schools were nationalized and the curriculum was changed as a result of which no schools are allowed to teach Tibetan. Hence, Tibetans feel alienated from their mother tongue. The education of Tibetans is headed by the Snowline foundation in Nepal. After the completion of their primary education, students enroll themselves in the Namgyal boarding school in Syambhu which is far away from the camp. Again, the travelling cost becomes an extra burden for the school going children. The settlement office often helps the students to find sponsors for them to fund their education. According to the people in the camp; they had experiences with the sponsors as there have been cases where the sponsors left the children in the middle of their schooling and the children had to face lots of problems and finally had to leave the school in the middle. Some Tibetan parents admitted that they prefer monastic education for their children as it would prove to be better for their future. They would be inclined towards their religion and culture, and moreover, their future would be secure. The chances of being unemployed would not be there. A few parents want their children to take up small professional courses in mechanical jobs, carpentry and others, so that they would earn their livelihoods wherever they live, as they do not have any certainty of their own selves. Wherever they go, they will be able to earn their livelihood by doing these kinds of manual work. They do not want their children to go for higher education because they believe that they will never be able to get government jobs or any other high-official white collar jobs in Nepal because of the fact that they are refugees. Hence, they feel that educating their children is apparently a waste of their hard earned money. Tibetans do not get any kind of scholarship or financial assistance from the government in the field of education. They do not even have reservations in higher studies like that in India. So they do not have faith of goodwill from The Nepalese Government. They believe that they do not have freedom of religion, culture and others like Tibetan refugees in India.

Some Tibetan youths have already migrated to foreign countries for a better life and still a few wanted to migrate but it is not easy to get a visa for them in Nepal. Since the youths, especially males are not interested to work in the carpet industry; it has started to face the shortage of workers.

4.3.3. The Political or Legal Status of Tibetans refugees in Nepal

All Tibetan refugees are required to have their registration card to stay in Nepal according to Nepalese laws, which has to be renewed annually. In order to have freedom of movement and to work, The Refugee Identity Card is a must. The Refugee Identity Card has been an important document for the Tibetans, issued since the year 1974, for their movement in the unrestricted areas of Nepal. As this card is required to be renewed annually, Nepalese officers usually visit the camp or settlement offices for the renewal of the cards and the people there have to pay NPR 100/- for each card, which is illegal, according to the people in the camp.

Since 1989, Nepalese officials have stopped issuing this card for new arrivals following Chinese pressure and even renewal has become difficult. Tibetans nowadays, face lots of difficulties and harassment to renew the card. Again, if they fail to get their RC renewed, they are subjected to pay bribes to avoid arrest and detentions. Prior to 1970s, during the reign of King Mahendra, there were two ways of getting a Nepalese citizenship for Tibetans. Firstly, it was granted to those groups of Tibetans who were inhabitants of the Himalayan regions along with the Sherpas, Tamangs and Dolmas, who had been politically marginalized or the ones who lived outside the settlement. These people would qualify for citizenship because they shared some common ethnic characteristics with other Himalayan people. Receiving citizenship under this system was called '*Nagrikta*'. Taking advantage of this system, many Tibetans took up *Nagrikta* in Nepal. Another form of citizenship was called '*Angrikta*' which was given by the King to the Tibetans who had surrendered before The King from Tibetan Guerilla groups after 1974 (Tibet, 2011). But these cases are very rare. There are few individuals who have acquired citizenship through unlawful means by paying huge amounts of money. But after the 1990s, the practice of getting citizenship through bribe has also become impossible because of the changing behavior of Nepalese Government towards them. So during my field survey I did not find anybody holding a Nepalese citizenship. Not a single Tibetan in Nepal has taken up the Nepalese citizenship like the Tibetans in India.

They do not have the right to take part in Nepali electoral processes or have any part to play in the political system there. They vote for the Central Tibetan Administration in India. The interview taken during the field work with Tibetans in Kathmandu revealed that there were restrictions on their freedom of expression. One of the respondents revealed that whenever any kind of human right violation incident occurs Tibet, Nepalese security force come over to watch and examine the settlements and camps for counter protest movements without understanding the situation properly. They are kept under tight surveillance, sometimes for day or more for anything that happens in Tibet. The respondent revealed that any form of expression relating to the issues of Tibet or China indiscriminately falls under severe scrutiny and subject to restriction. For instance, there have been incidents of arrest for carrying Tibetan flags in a peaceful protest against human rights violation in Tibet and the use of T-shirts reading 'Free Tibet'(Narrative from respondents). Respondents informed that restriction on expression is not limited to political issues but they face restrictions on cultural and religious expression as well. Two three years ago, they could not even celebrate the birthday of His Holiness, the Dalai lama or even *Losar* (Buddhist festival) in a grand way, but now again the authorities have become lenient on these celebrations. Tibetan refugees in Nepal are warned by local authorities to refrain from any sort of political involvements at all times within their territory.

From my observations and interactions with Tibetans, it was obvious that the status and condition of the Tibetan refugees is highly challenging, which changes from time to time. This fact is understood by the Tibetans as well. They are aware that their situation and treatment depends upon the affairs between Nepal and China, for various aids granted by Chinese government to Nepal. Thus, it is apparent that the activities of Tibetans in Nepal if construed are anti-Chinese or harmful to the Nepal-China foreign relations. Any act of insecurity on the Nepali side indiscriminately subjects Tibetans to restrictions or imminent expulsion.

Tibetans in the camp however have developed a good rapport with Nepalese people and yet they maintain their culture, tradition as in India. In spite of living in Nepalese society and experiencing the blend of cultural and religious traditions for years, Tibetans are successfully keeping their Tibetan culture and tradition intact and alive amongst themselves. They have been successful in transmitting the same to the next generation, who are more exposed to contemporary western cultures. Otherwise, Tibetan youths strictly remain inclined towards their culture and traditions in their day to day life in Nepal. There are a few civil societies in

Nepal which have supported them in situations when their Human Rights have been curtailed by the authorities especially after the 2008 uprising in response to the Beijing Olympics and crackdowns across Tibet. There is a Human Rights Organization of Nepal (HURON) which has organized two interaction programme with Sambad- Nepal to discuss on the situation of refugees in Nepal. The basic idea was to add refugee law in Nepal but this could not yield a fruitful result.

Tibetans living in Nepal now belong to the third generation and a few first generation old people are still present. They still have painful memories of leaving Tibet when they were just 8-13 years old. They remember their houses, families and life in Tibet. Some of them still could not speak Nepali or any other language except Tibetan. They live with their family and a few live alone, but they believe it was their karma (deeds) that they had to pay by leaving their homeland. Most of the Tibetans from this camp have not travelled outside Nepal except a few middle aged men and women who had visited India for *kaal-chakra* or for the pilgrimage tour to Dharamsala. Still, they are satisfied with their life and thankful to the people and Government of Nepal for their help and support.

All Tibetans have strong faith that one fine day 'Tibet will be free' and there will be a place on earth which they can call their country or homeland. Only few of the respondents have expressed their grievance against Nepalese Government while others apparently are happy and feel free in Nepali soil or at least they want outsiders to believe that in spite of their hardships and insecurity, Tibetans in Nepal have been successful in keeping their culture, religion and traditions alive and they never give up their dream of seeing 'Free Tibet'.

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Chapter Five

Chapter V

A Comparative Account of Socio-economic Conditions of Tibetans in India and Nepal

5.1. The Social profile and Economic issues of the Tibetan Refugees in accordance with the CTA Demographic Survey Report in India and Nepal

My research work is a comparative study of the socio-economic condition and political status of the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal. So, in this chapter, I will present a complete summary of the Demographic survey report published by Planning Commission of CTA along with some information from the books and reports on the Tibetans and then compare it with my findings to show the actual conditions of the Tibetans in exile. I have also included some case studies in order to support my data.

The Central Tibetan Administration is an autonomous government of the Tibetan in exile. They keep in contact with all the Tibetan population all over the globe. The Planning Commission as mentioned earlier is a department of the CTA which makes plans and projects for its people as a Five Year Plan for their social betterment, economic and sustainable development. It publishes the annual demographic survey to document all the reports of the Plans. The Demographic Community information shows the characteristic of a society based on statistical data recorded from the respondents. The first Tibetan demography survey (TDS) was conducted by Planning Commission in June, 1998 to make a complete demographic and socio-economic data bank which was felt necessary for the efficient planning and sustainable development of the Tibetan community in Exile. Based on the survey, the Planning Commission publishes its Tibetan Demographic Survey (TDS) with the aim of presenting the findings of the overall developments programmes. This report also records the disputes and issues that have been made during the last fifty years in exile. It presents full information concerning the problems and grievances of the Tibetan refugees living across the globe (Commission, 2010).

There are about 22,060 Tibetan household in India, out of which 20,709 are normal and 1,351 are institutional. Households include a group of individuals who regularly live and eat together unless exigencies prevent them from doing so. According to the TDS survey of 2009, household are categorized as:

- i) Normal: Those concerning blood relations or non-related or may be both.
- ii) Institutional: Religious or Educational; which includes old age homes, and homes for destitute etc, Institutional household is categorized as ones which is formed exclusively, such as school-homes/ dormitories and monasteries where people live and eat together.

According to the reports of The Planning Commission, the total population of Tibetans outside Tibet is 127,935, out of which 94,203 lives in India and 13,514 in Nepal, 1,298 in Bhutan and 18,920 elsewhere. As per this accounts, the annual growth rate of Tibetans in exile is 1.96%. This report presents a clear indication that the Tibetan people are passing through the last phase of the demographic period where there is parallel decline in mortality rates. In India, Dharamsala has the largest population of Tibetans- 13,701, following Doeguling (9,847), Lagsam (9,229), Ladakh (6,769). In Nepal, the densest Tibetan concentration is in Boudha (4,846), next is Phakshing- Swayambhu area (1,867) and Samdupling (988) (Planning Commission, 2010).

To understand the economic standard and condition of any community and household amenities and ownership of property of a person is important. In case of Tibetans, the people living in agriculture based settlements own three or more rooms, along with the land. In the scattered communities and other non-agricultural settlements people are provided two or less rooms, especially where Tibetans live in rented houses in Indian cities. In Nepal and Bhutan, more than two third of households (approx. 70%) occupy 2 rooms. When it comes to private houses, 26% of the total houses are owned by Tibetans. 80% live in settlements or rented houses and 20% of the population lives in staff quarters. Most Tibetans live in rented houses and the others in settlement houses (CTA, 2010).

Majority of the Tibetans living in the Indian subcontinent have 4 members per household, which is termed as a “nuclear family” while Tibetans in Nepal have the highest average family size (5.1). Information has been collected from each household regarding the number of living rooms occupied by a household to understand the living condition and to study the degree of housing congestion. Half of the Tibetan households i.e, 58% of the population living in the Indian sub-continent occupy two or less than two living rooms. While 30% of households live comfortably with 3-4 living rooms, and 11% have more than five living rooms. The agriculture based Tibetan settlements have been provided with land and housing with two rooms or more, whereas in scattered communities and other non-agricultural

Tibetan settlements, majority of the households do not have more than two rooms, especially the rented houses in towns and cities. It has been estimated that 67% or more people live in less than two rooms particularly in camps or settlements.

As for the information regarding household amenities and availability of certain basic necessities such as running water, toilets, electricity etc, it has been pointed out that 75% of Tibetan households in India have access to drinking water and other facilities within their house premises and electricity is available almost all the time.

In Nepal it varies from place to place. The primary source of water is tap water or water pipes supplied by the government. No household has access to uninterrupted electric supply. In other respects, basic household items like television, fridge, computer, cell phones, etc. are owned by 90% of the people concerned in both India and Nepal. A quarter of Tibetans own two wheelers while some even have cars and some Tibetans in India own immovable assets such as land and houses, most particularly among scattered communities. Tibetans in Nepal secure only basic amenities like television, fridge, cell phones, etc. but no property in assets. According to the CTA report, most Tibetans in India make use of banking facilities (min. 77%) compared to Nepal which is disappointing.

According to the report, the total percentage of Tibetans in the aforementioned countries is on the decline. This is due to the decrease in the fertility rate among Tibetan women. Another reason shown is the migration factor. Here, the migration trend has been classified as both internal and international migration. The reason for internal migration mentioned is in order to pursue religious studies which accounts up to 14% in India and Nepal. The next reason for migration is for a better future, common among Tibetan men compared to women. According to TDS'09, out of an estimated 78% of the exiled population, about 52% among them are found to have migrated or changed their residence permanently, either for education or for better employment opportunities. It is common amongst educated youths and adults of all ages. Estimated trends show that there are as many as 68% of the adult population intending to migrate to foreign countries (Planning Commission, 2010).

Data indicates that young Tibetan women are more educated than their parents. They were brought up in relatively better economic conditions. They took a long time in building a career that delayed their age in marriage resulting in fewer children. The corresponding figures for effective literacy rates for males and females are 88.7 % and 74.4% respectively. Over four-fifths of the male population and about three-fourths of the female population in

exile are literate today. Still, there is not much improvement when it comes to specialized and professional education among them. When it comes to language proficiency, Tibetan men are more proficient in their Tibetan vernacular than Tibetan women. Besides this, Hindi, Nepali, English and other regional languages are spoken by them. Education among the Tibetans is sponsored by non-government organizations, funding agencies of the CTA and some are self-financed. Greater numbers of educational organizations are sponsored by various parties for women compared to men.

Carpet weaving is the main skill among Tibetans which is dominated by women compared to men. Earlier, economic activity was primarily agriculture which is now replaced by a major shift towards diversified tertiary sectors. Tertiary sectors include carpentry, music, *thangka* painting, driving, computer programming etc. There are as many as 36,755 non-workers which make up 34% of the total population out of which 15.5% are unemployed. The mindset, literacy level, knowhow and the external exposure of the present generation is different and higher from the previous generation. During this period of time many educated people had joined various NGOs and CTA affiliated organizations. Thus, steady growth is recorded in household activities and the informal industrial sectors (mainly sweater business and teaching profession).

Not all Tibetan refugees are directly benefitted from development projects and programmes of Planning Commission, CTA. It reports that Tibetans are the most alienated and vulnerable people in terms of external forces and hazardous elements. The Scattered Tibetan community faces many problems compared to institutionalized settlements. They are faced with problems like socio-cultural alienation, discrimination and identity crisis in the social arena. They have been victims to deadly diseases like HIV/AIDS/drugs/ substance abuse. They lack access to proper Tibetan education which is the source of major problems. As per the report, among Tibetans, the measuring amount of poverty is based on socio-cultural parameters rather than simple material construct. An individual or a family who does not have a material and socio-cultural capacity to achieve individual and collective aspiration is deemed as poor. The man-land ratio together with the lack of economic resources and human skill/ education makes this population vulnerable which makes them undergo internal change. In addition, they are placed in the most remote parts of India with little or no employment opportunities.

5.2. Life of Tibetan Refugees analyzed from Secondary Sources

Many researchers have done research on the Tibetan refugee communities in India. Almost all of these give a general description of their lifestyle and economic activities. In this section I have tried to refer such books so that the picture becomes evidently clear.

The Tibetan: Their life in Exile in India; a book by Mamta Desai & Manish Kumar Raha is based on social and economic change along with the ecological adaptation among the Tibetan refugees. The authors have attempted a comparative analysis with regard to the past and present socio-political history of the Tibetans refugees. The book discusses the Tibetan refugees in India as a whole, and their adaptation in this country (Desai, Mamta., Raha, Manish.Kr, 2011). According to this book, there are about 24 agriculture based settlements, 16 agro- based settlements and 10 handicrafts units and others lives in scattered settlements in various towns and settlements in India. However the given data does not match with the CTA report. Sweater selling business is one of the important economic activities among them. Besides, agriculture is the primary occupation, especially in South India. Many youths are engaged in various types of services. Some are doing business while in some places, people are engaged in agriculture with trained and mechanized farming practices at the same time; they are also engaged in the manufacturing and selling of woolen garments, carpets and other Tibetan handicrafts. The CTA operates some educational institutions up to the school level after which, they have to depend on Indian institutions for further education. In order to exercise the privileges of the government allotted facilities and reservation, Tibetans usually take up Indian citizenship which is of course a sensitive issue. It has been found that because of the citizenship card, some Tibetans are holding high and prestigious positions in the administrative sectors both in India and abroad. This has been mentioned in the previous chapters.

According to this book, 4% of income of the Tibetans comes from trade and business. Salaried employment includes services in the army, government sectors and teaching profession, which make up for about 3% of the household income, whereas agricultural and allied activities account for 26% of the total household income. Apart from this, Tibetan households rely on subsidiary sources of income, which include income from sponsorship, governments and foreign remittances. Furthermore, economically deprived households are either looked after by the government or are supported by sponsors from abroad. In some

areas, the economic conditions are far better than native Indian villages. Almost all the settlements are provided with primary and secondary schools, health center and co-operative societies. Education has been always priority of the Tibetan administration. Therefore, the literacy rate of Tibetans has reached 78% it and literacy rate of 99% in the age group between 19 and 25.

Even occupation mobility is distinct among Tibetan refugees. 70% per cent of traditional agricultural occupation has shifted to some form of business and trade, and other profession because of education. As a result, the tentative pattern of monthly income of each household has also changed.

In spite of a high percentage of literates among Tibetan youths, unemployment among them is evident or rampant, because of their refugee status. Youths with higher education along with professional training have lesser problems concerning employment, but educated youths with no vocational training have to face greater difficulties for employment. Hence, Tibetan youths prefer vocational training rather than higher educational degrees. For these reasons, getting a citizenship gets priority if not a compulsion. Also, at the same time, they are quite aware of the fact that getting a citizenship of any other country means a loss of their own identity. The authors of this book have clearly pointed out that the problem of unemployment among the Tibetan youth could have far reaching consequences on the Tibetan community as a whole in the future. Until and unless the Tibetan administration in exile is able to initiate a sustainable rural based economy in their settlements, the problem of Tibetan migration to other places will continue. The Tibetan Government in Exile understands the issue and trying to make the settlements economically sound and sustainable, according to the Tibetan demographic survey.

In report prepared by Institute of Defence studies and Analyses, New Delhi entitled “Tibet and India’s Security: Himalayan Region, Refugees and Sino-Indian Relations” 2012, throws light on socio- economic condition of Tibetans based on field surveys conducted in Dharamsala and Dehradun. It highlights that the socio-economic condition of Tibetans in these two places are satisfactory. Firstly, it has mentioned that there exists a good relationship between the locals and the Tibetans. They are influenced in many ways in terms of their lifestyle and dressing sense. There is free social mixing between the two groups. The cases of inter marriage has also been noted. In Dharamsala, youths are a little secluded from the local Indian youths as are seen more as foreigners, but in case of Dehradun, there is so much of

affinity and connection between them in terms of fashion, lifestyle, etc. Though, their political policy is maintained differently in both the places. In Dehradun, it has been mentioned that intermarriage between Sikh boys and Tibetan girls have been taking place but there is no record of marriage between a Tibetan boy and any Indian girl. In McLeodGunj, on the other hand, Tibetans are more interested in getting married to foreigners rather than the locals, so that they get a chance to migrate to western countries. A survey was conducted among four categories of people on the basis of their occupation i.e. those who work in different offices of the CTA, schools and workers of other organizations of the CTA. These workers get salaries ranging in-between 7,000 – 2,000/ Rupees. While the business categories belong to those who run Tibetan markets in cities. They sell woolen clothes, Tibetan attires etc., they also do seasonal businesses during winter. They purchase items from Ludhiana and sell mostly in Delhi. Others are engaged in catering services in restaurants or in internet cafes, photo shops or any other computer centers. Of late, there are many youths who are getting jobs in renowned hotels and bakeries like Taj, Hotel Rajdoot in cities like Delhi, Mumbai and Goa. This is because of the vocational training centre in Dehradun. In Dehradun, some youths work in catering and sales in shops owned by Indians (Report, 2012).

The Central Tibetan Administration shows contentment on the economic condition of Tibetans in exile but its people have different connotations regarding it. They opine that though their lifestyle is maintained, they lack financial security. They have no job security. Most of them survive on international charities and donations which come from the US, Canada, UK, Germany and France. If these donations stop, their lives will be critically affected. Regarding political situations, Tibetans of these two places think that there is a possibility of negotiation between the two parties i.e. the host countries and the Chinese authorities. Most youths want to achieve freedom before the inevitable demise of The 14th Dalai Lama, as they believe that there will be an intense power struggle in the structure of the political hierarchy in the Tibetan government in Exile. The third generation youths want to wage a liberation war from inside Tibet which could be more effective during important events involving China like The Beijing Olympics. Albeit, few Tibetans are of the opinion that Buddhism is the path of non-violence, therefore, a bloody war against China may hurt the sentiments of the Dalai Lama. This action might also harm India. So by going through this report it has been clear that, the economic condition of the Tibetans is quite similar in all places. Social status differs but there are diverse ideas, understanding and assumptions among the exiled Tibetans regarding the political status of Tibet and the Tibetans.

There are some other books like '*Tibetan Refugees search for Assistance*' by Dr. Anand (2012) and '*Social Mobility and Change among Tibetan Refugees*' by Monu Rani Gupta (2005). There are also some articles on the same theme like Little Lhasa, "Tibetans in Exile by Amina Muhtar (2011), Tibetan in Bylakuppe by T. Tarodi (2011). Since general picture presented by all is more or less similar I have not gone into separate discussion of each. The subsequent portion is based fieldwork and personal observations in India and Nepal.

5.3. Socio –economic profile and political issues of the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal: A Comparative study

In this section, I have attempted to present the general description about their lives both in India and Nepal. This is basically on the basis of my field work and personal observation. I have compared my findings with the reports issued by The Planning Commission of The CTA. In the course of my study, I have also attempted to find out the answer to the questions such as: Does the programmes and plans made by The CTA have benefitted the refugees or not? Does a simple Tibetan refugee enjoy direct contact with the Tibetan administration? Are Tibetans leading a satisfactory life in exile? And most importantly, what is the perception among the Tibetan youths on the autonomy of Tibet?

Generally speaking, it was found out that Tibetans residing in camps or settlements are beneficiaries of every facility and development schemes allotted to them by the Government in Exile. Every settlement is under the supervision of a manager in a camp along with other staff members who are responsible for taking care of the camp. All detailed reports have to be sent to the CTA office annually. In the camp, people are allotted with housing, healthcare facilities and educational facilities for free. They are also given jobs inside the camp.

The CTA gives special attention to educate their community in order to make them self-reliant. Thus, Tibetan refugees are given free education till class XII in the Central School for Tibetans established by the Government of India with assistance from the CTA. After that, they may pursue higher education in colleges without the help of the CTA. There is the provision of granting scholarships to meritorious students in the university level from the government and sponsorships from foreign countries too. Few scholars even go abroad for higher education. Some reservation policies are also there by the Indian Government for the

Tibetan refugees in Indian institutions for higher studies. Many good students have benefitted through this scheme and are placed in good positions both in public and private sectors.

In every Tibetan settlement in India, Men Tsee-Khang (Tibetan Medical & Astro Institute) is responsible for providing health care. It is instituted in all the areas of Tibetan settlements and camps. It is a traditional method of curing diseases. For minor illness Tibetans use this method of treatment otherwise, they go to in local hospitals. And if in crisis, the CTA looks over all the medical expenses or else, they get free treatments from the local state government hospitals.

Tibetans in India are liable to get free rations from the Indian government. In fact, they are beneficiaries to most of the facilities that are granted to Indian citizens. The people living in camps have limited source of income compared to the scattered ones. They earn money by working inside the camp by rendering their services through their daily work where they are paid a salary on a day to day basis which is limited. Otherwise, few individuals earn their livelihoods by selling traditional Tibetan items in local markets. Some of them are retired personnel who receive a pension and employ themselves in some manual jobs inside the camp. At present, some of the educated youths have migrated to foreign countries for employment, who send back money to their parents. Almost every educated Tibetan youth aspires to travel abroad for a better livelihood. The administrative office of every settlement sends detailed reports to the CTA regarding everything, annually. Besides this, Tibetans have developed a good relationship and understanding with others, so they extend their help in maintaining and repairing roads and other premises from time to time. Tibetans have developed great rapport with the locals so they intermix with them in every social event in Darjeeling. More or less, Tibetans living in settlements have a content life. According to Sudeep Basu (Basu, 2018, p. 163) the perception of the locals on the economic status of Tibetans in the settlement is different. The local youths think that it is eyewash that Tibetans have limited access to resources. Actually, the Tibetans are well off because of the external assistance they receive as donations which give them edge over native people. They have jobs, ration cards, and are doing good business in Darjeeling. On the contrary, the old aged local inhabitants opine that Tibetans are very hard working and that is the reason for their economic success in Darjeeling area (Basu, 2018, p. 163).

Outside their camp, Tibetans mostly rely on entrepreneurship; hence, scattered Tibetan refugees in places like Darjeeling are more or less economically viable. In some areas, they

dominate even hill economy, particularly in the garment business and small hotel businesses. Tibetans are major contributors in the economy of Darjeeling. Moreover, all shops run by Tibetans are legally owned by them. Only a few shops are rented. They have their own house and business establishments. Though they are busy in their survival, they are well informed about their political condition and other issues like human rights violations going inside Tibet and they take active part in political activities organized by Tibetan organizations like protest movements and rallies. But at the same time, these people have affiliations in the local politics and they actively take part in local bodies. From my personal observation it was found that almost every Tibetans living in scattered communities maintain dual identity both as Indian citizens as well as Tibetan refugee. However, Tibetans living inside the settlement retain Refugees Registration Card till date. This means that they have single identity as Tibetan refugees.

In case of Delhi, the scenario is different. Being residents of the capital, they have to encounter many hurdles both in social and political life. They have to work hard for their livelihood. Business is their main source of livelihood. Running hotels, travel agencies, garment shops and seasonal garment business in different cities is common. They run their businesses in rented places, either owned by Indian citizens or by Tibetans living abroad. There are two places in Delhi, Maznu-ka-Tilla and Ladakh Buddha Vihara market where the majority of Tibetans live and run their businesses. These two places are famous in terms of Tibetan food and woolen clothes as well as from other fancy items. It attracts a lot of Delhites, especially young college going people. Here also the CTA representative office is present to look over all the problems and development works including the maintenance of their settlements and governing the people. Ladakh Buddha Vihara market has its own housing facilities allotted to them by the CTA, and market establishments are owned by the people. Tibetan youths who have attended good colleges in Delhi are much advanced compared to their parents. But socially they feel alienated and sometimes become victims of racial discrimination by the other Indians in Delhi according to the field survey.

Tibetans in Delhi are well informed and versed in politics. They have sound knowledge about the government and politics. Ambitious in their outlook they take full advantage of all facilities allotted to them both by the CTA and the Indian government. Many educated youths in Delhi work in multinational companies and others in the CTA representative offices but many of them have now migrated abroad.

In case of Chandragiri, Odisha, Tibetan refugees solely depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Maize is the main agricultural product. Besides this, floriculture and horticulture are also practiced in a small scale. Tibetans also travel to other cities to sell woolen garments in winter season. Since this is a settlement; the Tibetans here strictly retain their refugee status. There are five camps in Chandragiri which are looked after by the Tibetan government. One of the unique features of these camps is the cooperative society that functions like the lifeline of Tibetans living there. Besides this, they get all kinds of welfare schemes and assistance from the CTA.

Despite being situated in a backward area, these camps are well managed in a systematic manner. People are hard working and in fact, it was found that these refugees enjoy better living conditions than the natives of this village. In fact it was also found that the local people depend upon Tibetans for employment. They hire the locals to do manual jobs like cleaning, labour work, as well as in agriculture. The living condition and the houses are also better than the local people. It can be said that the economy of this place depends upon Tibetans. This is the reason why there is a kind of political stiffness and indignation among the natives and the Tibetans of this place. The second generations Tibetans are educated mostly here and render their services in different sectors of the offices in the CTA. The present generation youths are highly educated. It was found that the office bearers were the young, ranging from 25- 40 years of age. Many of the Youths from almost every household have migrated to foreign countries from where they remit money. As a result of which the houses in the camps are concrete and the people live in better conditions than in any other place. Remaining educated people either work in offices of CTA in different departments or practice entrepreneurship in and outside the state.

Coming to the political perception among the Tibetans in India, it was found out that only the first and the second generation group of Tibetans are keen on seeing their country free from China. They rest their full faith on the leadership of the Dalai Lama and His Middle Way approach and the guidelines of the CTA functionary. However, the perception of the Third generation or the existing youth is different. They show less faith in the Middle Way approach for Tibet's independence, though they have full faith and the Dalai Lama. They see no hope of getting any fruitful result out of continuous dialogues and negotiation with the People's Republic of China. They are very confused of their condition and feel frustrated about their refugee status. Therefore, every youth wants to migrate abroad to lead a better life.

As it is the economy and income of that determines the social and livelihood condition of any person, we can assume that Tibetans living in India are in a comfortable condition socially and economically. We can conclude by noting that these groups of refugees are much privileged than any other refugee groups, and are economically viable and have been satisfactorily adapted in the Indian soil. They are much obliged to the Indian government and the Indians for the hospitality.

In Nepal, the condition of the Tibetans is somewhat different from those in India. Tibetans have been residing since the initial days of their refuge. In spite of that, taking into consideration the economic condition and political crisis of Nepal as a country, Tibetans do not have a grounded life or proper conditions. They face many political and social restrictions within the country. The economy of Tibetan refugees in Nepal relies on carpet weaving, running small eateries, or shops owned by the settlement. Few people work as hired workers in the shops owned by Nepalese businessmen. Just because of the changing governmental policies and rule of law, Tibetans have limited access to economic as well as social resources unlike those residing in India. But of course, in both the countries, they receive the same amount of facilities and perks out of the plans and policies executed by the CTA to its fellow citizens, though the level of policy execution differs on the binding offices in these countries. It can be assumed that Nepal, which maintains close connections with China, keeps Tibetan refugees under surveillance where their social and political activities are rather limited. Further, Nepal is one of the poorer countries in Asia, which itself has many political and economic issues and internal challenges. In such a situation, it may not be easy for Tibetan refugees to live an easy life like that in India. Moreover, Nepal's proximity to China makes the situation even worse and difficult for them. The status and treatment of Tibetans from the Nepalese government is unpredictable, often depending upon the fluctuating relationship between Nepal and China.

Though Tibetans are not the real citizens of either of these countries and have been labeled as refugees, it is still evident that Tibetans are resourceful community in both in India and Nepal. They contribute in generous percentage when it comes to economy, particularly in the area of retailing, food, carpets and in tourism sectors too.

5.4. Case Studies:

The following case study will give an idea on their economic status and social condition of the Tibetans.

Case study I

Chunor Samdup is a 67 year old man who is the secretary to the office of the Central Tibetan Administration in the Phuntsokling settlement in Chandragiri, Orissa. He had migrated to India at the age of seven with his parents. At first his family had stayed at Dalhousie and his parents had worked as labourers in the Kullu-Manali road construction.

Chunor recalls how horrible the journey was from Tibet to India. They came on foot leaving everything back in Tibet- their possessions, house, cattle, land and dear ones. They had struggled with poverty during the initial years in India and gradually the situation got better. Chunor got admission to a school at the age of ten. Later, he finished his graduation in commerce and shifted to Chandragiri with his family and joined his service in the CTA office where he is working since then. Many years of economic and social struggle finally made his situation stable. Now all of his three children are well settled. Two of his children are in foreign countries and one in Delhi who is a doctor in a private hospital. He has a leased land where he practices agriculture as a source of surplus income besides his salary. His expenses are mainly healthcare related. He is a self-sufficient and influential person in the settlement now. He is elated to serve his people in the settlement. He expressed that in no matter what environment his children grew up, he never noticed any cultural or religious change among his children. In fact, one of his children married a foreign national, yet her love and consciousness towards her fellowmen and culture is still intact. With time, they understood their situation as refugee and realized their responsibility towards their lost country. Chunor does not have an Indian citizenship but he has an Aadhar card. Being a secretary in the CTA office, he is more occupied with work concerning community welfare and organizes social events like health camps, distribution of clothes to poor local population, and helps people in case of calamities in nearby areas.

Chunor Samdup is deeply conscious of the issues concerning Tibet and the political developments in their government. He has a strong faith in the Dalai Lama and his middle way approach and believes that the Dalai Lama and his preachings would only be for the betterment of his people. He is highly obliged to the Indian government and its support towards Tibetans. He believes that peaceful dialogue between the Central Tibetan

Administration and China could bring autonomy back in Tibet. He further adds that if it does materialize, he will happily move back to Tibet.

Case study II

Tenzing Tshegh is a 25 year old girl in Chandragiri who has just finished her Masters in Economics from Chennai University. Tenzing Tshegh studied in a local Central School, up to the primary level. Then she studied in CST in Kalimpong till class XII, after which, she went to Chennai University for a Bachelor Degree. Despite being good at studies, Tenzing could not get a reservation or any kind of governmental stipend in academics because she did not have an Indian Citizenship card. She only retains RC. She never opted for an Indian Citizenship. She has completed her studies now, and hopes that she may find a decent job in the office of the Central Tibetan Administration. She believes that getting a job in the CTA office would be a great opportunity for her to serve her own people. Presently, she does not have ambitions of going abroad for a better future.

Tenzing's family has been living in Chandragiri from the beginning, though her father has established his business in Shillong. They have a one stored house with a courtyard at the front of the house at camp no. 1. in Chandragiri, Odisha. Her family income is dependent upon her father's business and some earnings come from maize production in a leased land. She has four family members in the house. Her father is a cloth merchant in Shillong. Her elder brother stays with her father and helps in the business. Her mother lives in Chandragiri and overlooks the responsibilities of agriculture and the house. Her younger brother is studying Science in Chandigarh University.

Their major expenditure is for the education of two children. Fortunately, there are no health concerns in the family. In case of illness, they go to the government hospital in Behrampur. Otherwise, they sometimes visit the local health-centre for minor illnesses. They have all household luxuries including television, fridge, cell phones and a motorcycle. In a way, her family is financially self-sufficient.

Tenzing admits that the attainment of education and making of friends among other communities in schools and colleges have influenced the moulding of their attitude. They often get attracted towards other cultures and lifestyles which are quite obvious and unavoidable. Their outlook towards life gets infatuated but ultimately they have to remain

under the domain of their own culture and religion. Tensing is not interested in inter-caste marriage and wishes to marry within her community. Tensing was an active member of The Tibetan Student's Association of Madras in her college days, but now she is no more a member of any association. She has deep faith in the institution of the Dalai Lama. She believes that the Middle Way approach would bring autonomy back to Tibet. Born in India, she considers India as her home but if Tibet gets her freedom, Tenzing would definitely visit her country once, though her plans to move back to Tibet would depend on the timing and situation at that point of time. Tenzing, despite being an educated Tibetan youth with a modern outlook, holds a strong faith in her religion and culture.

Case study III

Darjee Thinley Bhutia is a 60 year old man living outside the settlement in Sonada, Darjeeling. He runs a small tailoring shop where he sells self made jackets and track suits. He lives with his wife in a rented four room house. He has two children. His elder son is a media professional in Delhi and his daughter works for a private firm in Delhi.

Thinley came to India at the age of eleven with his neighbours. At first he lived in Bhutan and after staying there for about three years, he travelled to Mussorie and then again to Darjeeling. In Mussorie, he used to get ill often so he shifted to Darjeeling where his relatives had moved to. Since then, he has settled over there. He had set up his business through his hard earned money and savings. He struggled a lot in order to provide education to his children. Despite facing many economic problems, he was successful in educating his children in reputed North Point School in Darjeeling. Thinley expressed that he had understood the value of good education at an early age. Life without education would be worthless and full of problems, he worked hard for the education his children. Now he is happy and satisfied with the achievements of his children. He has become self-sufficient now. His children send him money.

Thinley has every basic necessity at home including a motor cycle for transportation. His expenditures only concern his daily expenses and healthcare. In case of illness he visits the local health centre and sometimes goes to a private healthcare facility in Darjeeling or Siliguri, in case of any serious health issues. They only get rations like rice, kerosene, wheat and sugar from the government fair shop. His family still retains RC. He is an active member of the Thumo Yathing Organisation in Darjeeling.

Thinly could still remember the suffering that he and his family had to go through while escaping to India. He recalled how people had carried large quantities of luggage on their back along with their babies. As the journey was tough, through harsh mountainous pathways, people began to fall ill and weak and therefore, one had to carry them on their backs, often with their swollen legs. His sisters and uncle are still in Tibet. He had once visited Tibet, way back in 1986, after nearly 30 years. It was a new Tibet as he noticed major changes in Lhasa and other places of Tibet, which now bears the look of a modern city with roads, buildings, amusement parks and hospitals unlike the previous one, which he left behind prior to 1959. Today he maintains contact with his sisters over telephone. He even meets his sisters in Nathula (Indo-China border in Sikkim) where he carries food grains, oils and other food items for his sister and exchanges gifts. On the other side his sister too brings Tibetan food and other items which may not be available here. These interactions among them provide great comfort to his heart. He feels as if he is in his own motherland spiritually, though not physically.

Case study IV

Pema Namgyal is a forty five year old restaurant owner in Kalimpong. He lives with his wife and two children in the town. He was born and brought up in Kalimpong. He does not have his own house. The restaurant which he runs is also on rent. He has set up his business with his own money. He and his wife work very hard to live and educate their children. Almost all his earning is spent on his children's education. He educated both of his children in reputed private schools of Kalimpong. At present, his daughter studies in St. Xavier's College, Kolkata and his son studies in Dr. Graham's Homes in Kalimpong.

Pema does not notice any cultural change among his children though they hangout with friends belonging to different cultural backgrounds. He feels that intermixing with the local people will not hamper their culture. He proudly claims that it is their upbringing which would never get uprooted at any cost. Pema being a resident of Kalimpong since his birth has adopted Indian citizenship. He sees nothing wrong in having the citizenship card as he opines that India is his first homeland. He has never been to Tibet, which for him is history now. Positively, he has a soft corner for his original homeland and wants to visit Tibet if he ever gets a chance. Yet he loves India as the country. His entire family has Indian citizenship cards. In fact, according to him, retaining a refugee card is problematic as it has to be renewed annually and for that they have to go through various inefficient offices. But if they

have an Indian citizenship card, they would live a hassle-free life. Because of this card his children could enjoy all governmental facilities. They get stipend in schools for their Scheduled Tribe status. Likewise, many other governmental facilities can be received if they are Indian citizens. It is because of this card, that his children's future could be secure. He is also a member of the Tibetan organization operating there. He participates in both electoral processes of India and the CTA. Pema being a Tibetan has full faith in the Dalai Lama and his teachings, and believes that one day through his blessing his motherland would be free.

By reading these case studies one can have an idea on how the life of Tibetan refugees revolves in India. While some Tibetans have an easy life, others struggle to lead a decent life. On the other hand some Tibetans maintain dual identity as Indians and Tibetans. Yet, somehow all have a deep faith in their culture, religion and their spiritual leader The Dalai Lama, and importantly, all Tibetans want to go back to their homeland i.e. "Free Tibet" once in their lifetime. What is particularly noticeable is that the Tibetan parents are fully committed to giving good education to their children. They themselves had experienced various hardship and do not want their children to experience the same.

A comparison of report prepared by the Planning Commission with the primary data collected from field points to the fact that there is not much difference in the social life of Tibetan refugees.

The political life and the status are much different in India and Nepal. Tibetans in Nepal have no political freedom or rights. Their economic opportunities are also very limited. Tibetan in India has limited political rights. Almost every Tibetan youth has Indian citizenship card. They get reservation in Indian top universities also. They are eligible to apply in all the administrative services as equal to Indian citizens. Recently in the advertisements of the Indian top civil services like Indian Administrative Services, Indian Polices Services and Indian Forest Services. It is mentioned that 'Tibetans refugees who have moved to India before January 1, 1962' are eligible to apply for such post⁹. In Darjeeling we can see that the Tibetans run good garments and hotel business. Their living standard is much better than the average native people. Even in Chandragiri, Odisha, it was found out that Tibetan refugees were actually wealthy than the local tribal population. They were the ones who hire the locals to do their household jobs. Almost in every house one member works abroad. So in the conclusion we can assume that Tibetans economic life is satisfactory than the native people in

⁹ timesofindia.com, 13th February 2020.

some places like Darjeeling and Chandragiri. But their social and political life varies according to their place of refuge.

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Chapter Six

Chapter VI

The Geopolitical nexus between India, China and Nepal and its impacts on Tibetan Refugees:

6.1. Introduction

The three countries India, China and Nepal are interconnected with each other geographically, culturally, economically and also historically. Yet they are in competition in this region both politically and economically. Nepal landlocked between India and China has to depend upon both of these two nations for its economic survival. There are several bilateral ties and border disputes between India and China. China's dream of becoming powerful Asian player has become more determined after the occupation of Tibet. China is trying to visualize its ambition by using Nepal's vulnerability of being an immediate neighbour and a poor nation. India, on the other side, has always assisted and helped Nepal in all the matter including its statecraft since inception. So at recent, both these two countries have been trying to expand influence over and tighten grip over Nepal.

After the occupation of Tibet by China in the year 1950, the political status of Tibet became tangled with the geopolitical ambitions of the three nations of South Asia; India, China and Nepal. India- China being the main players in the scenario and Nepal being a poor independent polity is squeezed between the two; trying to survive in its own terms and potential. Over the decades this nexus has become more mystical and ambiguous. Nepal and Tibet used to play the role of buffer state between India and China earlier also but after the occupation of Tibet by China; Nepal became the only front line between the two nations. Both these countries have maximum number of Tibetan refugee settlements owing to historical, cultural and religious bonding since ancient times. Thus the presence of the Tibetans for decades makes the Chinese apprehensive and cautious.

Tibet as a nation has been of crucial importance to the superpowers. 1950 onwards, Tibet became the area of conflict between the two nations struggling for power politics. The border dispute between India and China is of major concern since long which still erupt time and now. The signing of "Panchasheel" agreement with China in 1954 and the recognition of 'Tibet as integral part of China' by Nehru could not bring peaceful understanding between the two nations. Apart from border issues as being the main problem between the two

nations, the Tibetan question also upset the Chinese which reflected the strategic importance of 'Independent Tibet' for both the Nations. The involvement of India in the Tibetan cause and then, the granting of asylum to Dalai Lama and the Tibetan refugees in 1959 further aggravated the situation which led to Sino-Indian war in 1962.

Another area of concern is the gradual changing attitude of Nepal and its turning pro-Chinese nation. It has become important taking into consideration the Chinese favoritism towards Nepal. As border between India and Nepal runs through 20 various states, border management is becoming an integral part of the India's internal security management. The border between these two countries two is open and there is no visa system for persons of both the countries. Taking an advantage of this, huge illicit illegal trade and smuggling are operated between the countries (Upreti, 2009). Chinese interest in Nepal is purely geo-strategic. Chinese growing influence and presence in Nepal will definitely challenge Indian security over time. Most probably, this case is going to be the area of dispute between the two Asian giant in future.

In this chapter I have tried to analyze the relationship between these three countries and also tried to look this cluttered relationship through the security perspective. An understanding of these tripartite complexities will help us understand the vulnerable situation of the Tibetan refugees. To make it easy to understand, I have divided this chapter into separate sections below.

6.2. India and China Relations

The relationship between India and China is deeply rooted in history and its rich cultural heritage as being the oldest civilizations that existed till date. Both India and China have transformed into modern republics from the mid twentieth century onwards and now competing to be rising power in the Asian rim with many similarities and contradicting polities. At present, both the nations are in a competition for resources, markets and most importantly they have entered into the race of becoming global powers.

In this context, it is important to mention that these two countries are neighbours at many joints and share common borders in Indian states of Ladakh, Uttarkhand, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, and Arunachal Pradesh. India achieved its independence in 1947 and started functioning on the lines of parliamentary democracy as its ideology following the policy of

non- alignment in its foreign policy. On the other hand, China emerged as a Communist country in the year 1949. Initially these two countries tried to pacify their relationship with friendship and cooperation under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and Mao Zedong respectively. But it was not before long the relationship soured over the issue of border dispute of 1962. Moreover, the relationship between these two nations is often shaped by the external factors of regional and global settings.

India -China relationship can be marked in several phases. The first phase started between the newly independent India and newly constituted the People's Republic of China. In fact, India was one of the first non-communist countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. There were several official visits between the Prime ministers of the two countries in the year 1954-1956. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had the visualization that India and China could play an important yet competitive role in shaping the future of New Asia. Thus he wanted to maintain cordial relation with China. India had put immense effort in advocating China's entry in the United Nations and extended its support in integrating Taiwan in the Mainland China. It also tried to normalize the conflict in Korea. All these initiatives of India were highly appreciated by Zhou En Lai (Mishra, 2004).

This culminated into the second phase in the 1950s with the chanting of the popular slogan *Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai* (Indians and Chinese are brothers) and then the Sino-Indian Agreement "Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India" that was signed on 29th April 1954. Along with it, the historic Panchasheel Agreement was also concluded between the two. The clauses of this Agreement included the following five principles (Singh, 2011):

- i. mutual integrity and sovereignty;
- ii. mutual non-aggression;
- iii. mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- iv. equality and mutual benefits;
- v. Peaceful coexistence.

Both tried to strengthen their relationship with the opening of enumerated trade marts and pilgrimage routes. Though this agreement was a turning point at that point of time, it did not last long due to border conflict with China and also China's occupation of Tibet. The border conflict has an old origin from the British colonial periods in India. In the Simla Conference (1913-1914) the British India, *de facto* independent Tibet and the new Republic of China

under the Nationalist had separated provinces of inner and outer Tibet. India and Tibet conference signed the McMahon Line. McMahon line is the demarcation line between the North east region of India and Tibet with an area extending for about 4,056 km and after the change of political situation between India and China after 1959 when China occupied Tibet. It became an issue between India and China. Once signed, it was not ratified by the Independent India and the PRC. The issue came up much later in 1962 when the border conflict erupted between the two countries when China built a road to connect Xinjiang with Tibet. Controversies erupted over the Indo-Tibetan border or Indo- Chinese border in general. One was in North East Frontier Agency which Chinese view as South Tibet and the others in western sector that included Aksai Chin plateau bordering Kashmir, Xinjiang and Tibet (Mukherjee, 2010).

Tibet as a nation has been of crucial importance to the superpowers. It was the dome of great game between Great Britain, the Tsarist Russia, and China in the early 20th century and after the emergence of China and India as main players in the politics of South Asia, Tibet once again became the area of conflict between the two nations struggling for power politics. The issue of Tibet however, was always there as a British legacy who had already recognized the Chinese suzerainty but not sovereignty over Tibet. So after India's independence, Nehru did the same. But when the uprising took place in Tibet resulting into the flight of Dalai Lama in India in 1959, the relationship between the two deteriorated further. Apart from border issues as being the main problem between the two nations, it was clear from this that Tibetan question did annoy China which was reflected in their fluctuating attitude towards India.

Although Zhou Enlai visited India in 1960 to settle the border issue, both the contracting sides failed to solve it and it ultimately led to Chinese aggression and first ever Sino- Indian War in 1962. In November 21, 1962 China declared a ceasefire in McMahon line. This brief 31 days war ended with the victory of China. Meanwhile the grant of asylum to Dalai Lama had upset China that was also regarded as an in direct cause of this flare up.

The next phase is described as a cold war between the two nations by the political experts. During this period, India developed a discord with Pakistan and fought war in 1965, 1971 and 1999. During this period Indian leaders closely watched and observed the role and moves of China in support of Pakistan. When the United States stopped transferring military assistance to both India and Pakistan in 1965, Beijing provided military aids to Pakistan and even threatened to open a front with India on the Sikkim border. It was only after the US and

United Nation Resolution intervention that it backed off (Mukherjee, 2010). According to Gautam Das China's continued support to Pakistan for providing military missiles has to be addressed which is unacknowledged tension between the two (Das, 2009, p. 290).

After Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1978, his foreign policy changed and started focusing on economic strength. The goodwill relationship started between the two countries when Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao signed the Declaration of Principles of Relation and Comprehensive Cooperation during an official visit of Mr. Vajpayee to China from 22 to 27 June 2003. This was the first time that India formally recognized Tibet as a "part of the territory of China, and also promised to prohibit "anti-Chinese political activities" by Tibetans in India (Centre, 2016). Soon this cold war that existed due to external factors turned into reconciliation with many talks and official exchanges between the two countries. In 2003, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao officially recognized Sikkim as a part of India¹⁰. Year 2006 was declared as 'India –China Friendship Year'. It was celebrated by exchanging dignitaries and yearlong cultural event programmes. Nathula trading post was reopened in the Sino-Indian border of Sikkim. But the North Eastern state of Arunachal Pradesh and its issue of border along the McMahon line still remained as a disputed area between the two countries. Thus, Dalai Lama's presence in India and His visits to Arunachal Pradesh in the years 2003 and 2009 upset the Chinese. China even opposed the use of an Asian Development Bank loan to India for projects for which India calmed China by declaring that it would raise funds for that state internally (Mukherjee, 2010). It is interesting to note that in spite of those differences, in 2009 India-China became top trading partners with signing over various economic ventures.

There is a notion that two Asian rising powers have huge growing potentials both economically and politically. Both as nations exist with giant global ambitions appeasing each other often with its insecurities and cooperation as well. There is a huge market competition between Chinese and Indian producers for goods in textiles, garments and light machinery and leather goods.

Besides the market competition and the long pending border disputes; the Tibetan issue continues to remain the main reason of discomfort in the relationship of these two nations

¹⁰ Though Sikkim became a part of India in the year 1975 itself, it was only in the year 2003, Chinese agreed to recognize Sikkim as a part of India for the purpose of border trade with Nathu La as the route.

which is understood in every move they make in their engagements. There is another area where conflict is emerging and there too, Tibet on account of its geographical location is involved. This is the issue of water policy of Beijing, involving the major rivers on the region which originates in Tibetan plateaus and flows through all the countries of South Asia. South Asia as a whole accounts for 22% of the world's populations but manage with barely 8% of the global water resources. Water therefore has emerged as a very precious resource in the region and water sharing has become a major issue in international relations.

India has a unique riparian status- It being only the regional country that falls in all categories –viz upper, middle and lower riparian status. Due to its geographical spread, it has a direct stake in all the important rivers basins in the region and is politically affected by water related actions of upstream countries, especially China and Nepal. On the other hand, its own room for maneuver is constricted by the treaty relationships. It has with Pakistan and Bangladesh. India is absolutely vulnerable to China's reengineering of transboundary flows because it alone receives, directly or via rivers that flow in through Nepal. Nearly half of all rivers waters that leave Chinese controlled territory or Tibetan plateau to be more specific. A recent study has shown that Tibet now tops the list of places across the globe that has experience an increase in water. This means flood warning more crucial. This is because Brahmaputra and the glacier that feed Ganga originate in China. As An upstream riparian region China maintains an advantageous position and can build infrastructure to prevent water from flowing downstream. Beijing has already constructed several hydro power dams on the river which is known as Yarlung Zangbo in Tibet (Challeney, 2019).

China says it does not directly or store water and they will not go against the interest of the downstream countries, but in recent years the North Eastern states of India are apprehensive that China could suddenly release a huge amount of water. In fact, residents of Dibrugarh, Assam where the river has one of its widest stretches says they have witnessed sudden rise and fall of water levels in very short period of time. Of late, the apprehension about China's intention has intensified over its refusal to share hydrological data with India.

The two countries of both India and Bangladesh have agreements with China that requires the upstream country to share data of the rivers during monsoon season between 15th May & 15th October. The data is mainly on the water level of the river to alert downstream countries in case of flood. The EA Ministry disclosed in 2017 that it had not received this data from China for reasons undisclosed to them. The Chinese side hinted at a technical problem. "Last year

due to the need of reconstruction, after being damaged by the flood and for technological reasons of upgrading and renovation the relevant hydrological stations in China do not have the conditions to collect relevant data now” a Chinese spokesman said at a press briefing. The official of Bangladesh however confirmed that they were still receiving water level and discharge level data of the Brahmaputra from China. (Khadka, 2017).

Now this policy of China to turn the eco-fragile Tibetan plateau into the centre of its mining and dam building activities has added another dimension to Sino- Indian relations and here also Tibet remains in the heart of the problem. The environmental crisis emanating from Chinese policy in the Tibetan plateau threatens India’s ecological well being. China’s water policy and tension over Brahmaputra is just an illustration of this. Brahma Chellaney has discussed this issue at length and calls it an ‘unconventional tool of coercive (Challeney, 2019).

As Tibet remains vital issue in the India China relation it gets surfaced due to the activities and statements that Dalai Lama makes from time to time. His visit to Arunachal Pradesh for several times is perceived as an act of provocation by the China. To illustrate, despite clearance from the Government of India, Dalai Lama’s visit to Arunachal Pradesh in 2017 became controversial. He has the right to travel whenever He wants if it is a religious tour was the stand taken by Government. Immediately after that, there was a China -India border standoff near Bhutan in Doklam over Chinese construction of road near a trijunction border area known as Donglang. Already there are some border disputes between Bhutan and China. ‘Resolution of Territorial Disputes” was signed between Bhutan and China in 1998, since then, China has been insisting Bhutan to give up its claims. But at this point, by making advances into the area with a road construction project, China was probably testing in resolution to protect Bhutan. This act of China is a clear indication that it want to establish good relationship with both landlocked countries .i.e. Bhutan and Nepal to serve its interest (Ribeiro, 2017). Fortunately within no time both the countries withdrew their troops from Doklam. China India border skirmish occur from time to time. Even recently in May 20, there was some conflict with Chinese forces at the Nathu-La Pass above Sikkim. In Western Himalayas also the forces of the two countries came face to face in the Pongong Tso Lake in Leh. The confrontation escalated with death of soldiers on both sides and in spite of several military levels and even one minister level talk the situation continues to remain grim.

It has been observed by defence expert that there has been a shift in India's Tibet policy under Modi. According to Phunchok Stobdan, Modi government has realized the Dalai Lama's prolong stay in India has upset China as a result of which it is shifting its Tibet policy. In order to normalize the relation, India wanted to reconnect with major Asian Buddhist institutions in Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Russia and China in a hope that it would open up the prospect for India playing a larger role in Asia (Stobdan P. , 2019, p. 216). Keeping in mind the fluid nature of the dynamics in security relationship in the Asia- Pacific region Modi had time and again advised other powers to avoid a confrontationist line to prevent great power rivalries. The process of resetting ties between the two countries began in Wuhan in May 2018 where they jointly planned for future improvement of their relationship. The Wuhan talks enabled Modi to alter the game of using Tibet leverage against China rather than simply getting played by the Dalai Lama agenda. (Stobdan P. , 2019). He further adds that Ram Madhav the ruling BJP's general secretary in his speech during the 60th year celebration of Dalai Lama in exile said that "hope Dalai Lama would be able to find a solution to the Tibetan issue through peaceful and democratic means that will facilitate an honourable return to His Homeland", which sounded like farewell speech to the Dalai Lama (Stobdan P. , 2019, p. 266). Between 2014 and 2019 Prime Minister Modi and Chinese President Xi-Jinping have met sixteen times. Both aims at achieving \$100 billion target by 2010 in trade and investments (Shakya, 2019). The recent course of border tension in Ladakh shows that this has not produced the desired effect and it is imperative on part to rethink its China and particularly Tibet policies. The banning of Chinese apps and effort to curtail Chinese imports is an effort in this direction.

Against this backdrop, and keeping in view the Dalai Lama's age and the question of His succession confuses the stakeholder. The Dalai Lama's contradicting statements that He might not be reincarnated at all, and then that be reincarnated as female that also as an attractive one to draw the attention to the Tibetan issue or be incarnated in any free country outside Tibet often creates confusion (Stobdan P. , 2019). On the other side there is an apprehension that China would reinstall its own Dalai Lama like it had in case of the Panchen Lama¹¹. In March 2019, Dalai Lama even said that "in future there might be two Dalai Lamas, one from free country and other chosen by Chinese. He even hinted that His next birthplace could be Tawang or Ladakh. Both these areas in spite of old contacts with Tibet

¹¹ There was a controversy regarding the reincarnation of 11th Panchen Lama declared by Dalai Lama in 1995 which was rejected by the PRC and was taken into custody. After which China installed its own Panchen Lama.

are now claimed to be part of China. In such a situation, if it happens then, there could be a dangerous power struggle between India and China in future (Stobdan P. , 2019). So in such a tough position, both India and China needs a joint effort in inclusive dialogues and understanding with the mutual acknowledgement of its similarities could only find peaceful cooperation in the Asian rim.

6.3. India and Nepal Relations:

Nepal an immediate neighbour of both India and China is one of the least developed countries in the world. It is a landlocked country enclosed between the two giants. Thus, Nepal strives to preserve its sovereignty by balancing its power against these two Asian superpowers both of which are determined to expand their hegemony over the Himalayan state. Nepal shares an open border with India in five Indian states in Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Bihar, West Bengal and Sikkim. Nepal as a nation has been shaped through conquest and assimilation since the rule of King Prithivinarayan Shah of the Gurkhas in 1769. At that time Gurkha ruler had followed an expansionist policy and conquest of Kumaon and Garhwal up to West and Teesta River in the east of British India. It again lost its territories in the Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16 followed by the Treaty of Sagauli (1816) as a result of which it had to return Kumaon, Garhwal and the areas o the west of the Gandhaki river and also Terai region of Rapti and Kosi. Thus, this Treaty demarcated its boundary between Mechi and Mahakali rivers (Upreti, 2009).

The 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship concluded between India and Nepal is very important because as per the clauses of the same, Nepal citizens enjoy the same privileges as the Indian citizens. Accordingly, the Nepalese citizens shall have the right to trade, transmit and have the freedom of movement. Under this Treaty, both the countries agreed to acknowledge and respect each other sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. It shall inform each other if any serious friction or misunderstanding is likely to erupt with any neighbors that might breach friendly relationship between the two. India has conferred ‘special relation’ status on Nepal after its independence that guides its Nepal policy till date And finally, Nepal has granted the right to Indian control of Nepali arms acquisition by agreeing to import arms, ammunitions or any warlike materials for the security reason from or through India. Thus India formed Military Liaison Group in 1963 and established checkpoint at the China- Nepal border. India also signed 1951 Treaty of Trade which was modified in 1961 and 1971 incorporating provisions on transmitting facilities for Nepal’s

trade with India and also other countries. (Pant, 2010, p. 163). Under these treaty obligations, India has been generous to Nepal in economic and other infrastructures developments.

India's interest in Nepal since 1950s can be seen from four points i) sharing rivers; ii) increasing connectivity; iii) capacity building and iv) to counter balance China. There are about 6000 rivers of Nepal that join Ganges contributing about 71 per cent of water flow into it. British India had entered into agreement to construct Sarada Canal Project in Mahakali but after independence, India and Nepal engaged into the construction of the Kosi Project(1954), the Gandak irrigation and Power Project (1959) and the Treaty of Integrated Development of the Mahakali River, the Sarada Barrage, the Tanakpur barrage and the Pancheshwar Multipurpose Project (1996) (Sahu, 2015, p. 199).

Second most important factor that defines the relationship between India and Nepal is the cross border movement. As mentioned above the obligations of Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship 1950, is of enormous implications and issues in this respect. Firstly, open border implies enormous economic opportunities as well as vulnerabilities from both the sides. With time, the open border has become life line to those living in the borders areas. Just a economic migrants from Nepal enter India on daily basis. Indian population are also crossing over to and settling down in Nepal from the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar side. Due to industrialization and better economic opportunities both the skilled and unskilled labours migrate to India. India serves as a destination for medical treatment, education, tourism and religious rites for Nepal. It enjoys a huge influence in Nepal because of cultural, social and linguistic similarities. (Shakya, 2019).

The continuous flow of people has led to demographic changes in the entire border region especially in the Terai region of Nepal and the border areas of North Bengal. Simultaneously anti social activities and criminal acts, money laundering, human trafficking, drug trade and other illegal smuggling are also taking place which is of serious concern for both the states. Due to its porous nature it becomes difficult to monitor the borders. Uncontrolled migration of people from Nepal into India could pose serious security challenges to India. However, in 2007 both have agreed to re-energize their bilateral mechanism to manage and maintain boundary pillar on its borders in order to monitor the mutual security concerns and to curb the circulation of fake currency notes and cross border terrorism (Sahu, 2015).

Thirdly, India and Nepal being immediate neighbour with open border at various junctures in different states and Nepal being the landlocked country; its economy is dependent upon India

to a large extent. The people residing at border areas are more dependent on Indian markets for their necessities. They are dependent on India for employment too. Overall market economy depends on the Indian economy that surely influences the Nepalese economy as well. India has always been a trading partner of Nepal. Of late, between 2012- 2013, bilateral trade between the two amounted to US\$4.7 billion, which is 66 per cent of Nepal's bilateral trade of US\$7.2 in total (Sahu, 2015, p. 200). India has assisted Nepal in manufacturing Nepali products in India so that they could find third market in neighboring regions. India has invested around Rs. 542 crores in projects to build roads, schools and community centers; US\$250 for roads, rural electrifications, power transmissions. India is the largest trade partner and the largest foreign investor in Nepal. It provides transit route for almost entire Nepal's trading partners. India holds around two third of merchandise trade, one third of trade services and thirty-six per cent of foreign direct investments and almost 100% of petroleum supplies. There are about 150 operating Indian ventures in Nepal engaged in manufacturing services, insurance, education and telecom, banking, dry port, power sector and tourism industries (Dahal, 2018). Every year about 3000 scholarships are awarded to Nepalese students. It also organizes training programmes for Nepalese bureaucrats, custom officials and members of election Official for their best practices (Sahu, 2015, p. 200). In spite of several bilateral engagements between the two countries, the actual relationship is not as smooth as it appears from the 1950 treaty clauses post 1950, their relationship did not follow a smooth pattern. There are quite a few areas where their interest clashes thereby leading to not so happy relationship between the two.

The developments in China Tibet relations leading to the takeover of Tibet by China and flight of the Dalai Lama with huge numbers of refugees to India had some far reaching impact on India Nepal relations. In spite of India's initial attempt to the contrary, Nepal gradually shifted away from India and turned towards China. The changing political scenario in Nepal and the emergence of communists in the policies of the country also contributed to this change.

Now that Tibet has ceased to serve as the buffer state between India and China, Nepal has become important for both China and India. Both the countries are in competition to extend their influence on Nepal. Nepal on the other side faces the pressure of balancing the power struggle between the two nations. Following the 1954 China –India Agreement on Tibet; India exercising its veto power, advised Nepal to defer links with China until India reaches an understanding with China on Tibet. India also forced Nepal to conduct its relation

with China from its embassy in New Delhi until 1958 (Pant, 2010). After influx of the Tibetan refugees in India in the year 1959 and 1962 border conflict with China, it became necessary for India to maintain its engagements in Nepal never like before. It expanded economic aid to Nepal. India even agreed to provide free military materials to Nepal but it withdrew its military Liaison Group and the military checkpoint on the China Nepal border after realizing the Nepalese sensitivities to the issue. In 1980s in response to Nepal and China's secret agreement in intelligence sharing and Nepal purchasing arms and aircrafts guns from China, India set off economic blockade by closing thirteen of the fifteen transit points on its border with Nepal (Shakya, 2019). With the new democratic Government of Nepal since 1990 the relationship between the two normalized to some extent. Thus, in 1991 the Trade and Transit treaty was revised by the new government of Nepal. Again in the time of political transition in between the year 2006 -2008 India appointed a governmental official to head the anti-corruption body and the continuous effort to keep K.P Oli out of power expressed the India's dissatisfaction over the drafting of new Constitution of Nepal. This sort of political interference of India did sour the relationship between the two countries (Shakya, 2019).

It is not possible to analyze the relationship of India and Nepal without considering the various engagements and blooming relationship between Nepal and China. Because of the presence of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, China has been trying to bring Nepal's confidence in all manners. Thus India has to be more cautious in favoring Nepal for its own security measures. After visit to Nepal in 2014, Mr. Narendra Modi's expressed India's interest to engage with Nepal. He proposed three major ways to enhance the relationship by HIT, i.e. Highway, Information ways, and Transways. He also announced soft credit line of US\$1 billions for infrastructures development and energy projects and also the completion of Mid Hill Highway and the construction of the Raxual Amlekhgunj Kathmandu petroleum pipeline. He agreed to open air entry points at Janakpur, Nepalgunj and Bhairahawa. Both the countries agreed to sign a power trade and to establish Project Development Agreements for the developments of various hydropower projects. Modi also announced to grant scholarship for Nepalese students in the leading Indian universities (Sahu, 2015, p. 198). India makes a huge contribution in areas of employment generation, revenue generation and industrial development as also in establishing and operating various subsidiary industries in Nepal.

All Nepali investments in India are through the *hawala* route. There is a law that prohibits Nepalese from investing outside Nepal (Shakya, 2019, p. 248). Again, the disapproval of new

Constitution of Nepal by India followed by imposition of restriction on petroleum products and other essentials items from India in 2015 resulted into severe economic crisis in Nepal (Shakya, 2019, p. 252).¹² This blockade made a huge impact upon Nepal as it was in suffering due to earthquake disaster. So ultimately, Nepal had to look for alternative economic partner to sustain and reduce its dependency upon India which is none other than China (Shakya, 2019).

6.4. Nepal and China Relations

The relation between Nepal and China was in general cordial. Nepal has always remained committed to 'One China Policy' and recognized the PRC as the only legitimate China and has never allowed its soil for any kind of anti-Chinese activities. China too have respected late King Birendra's plea to consider Nepal as a "Peace Zone"¹³. Thus, China has never interfered in the internal matters of Nepal. The relationship between the two countries took a turn with the assistance that China gave in building infrastructures in Nepal since 1975. The Treaty on Trade and Intercourse was signed on 20th September 1956 between Nepal and China. It also agreed to allow the Tibetans on pilgrimage without any legal documents. At that time Nepal used to give shelter and allow transit to Tibetans to enter India. In the year 1961, Nepal and China signed agreement on the construction of the Kathmandu –Kodhari road or the Boundary Agreement (Kumar, 2011). It was from the time of King Mahendra (1972) that a sincere effort was been made by Nepal to develop good relationship with China. Since then Chinese have been engaged into developing communications and building every infrastructures in Nepal. For example in 1980s, it built trans-Himalayan highway linking Pokhara with the Xinjiang- Tibet highway. In 1998 it constructed a road from Lhasa to Dazhu to facilitate Tibet transportation links. After the completion of building roads and highways, China started further investment in the economic and technical cooperation programmes in Nepal and over the years China became the persistent partner in Nepal's development ventures. China has been providing financial and technical assistance to Nepal in the infrastructure development, industrial development, transportation, hydro power

¹² Nepal adopted its Constitution on 20th September 2015. The issues like rights of women, representation and demarcation of federal provinces was controversial thus, India disapproved it and ultimately imposed restriction on the certain essential items from 22nd September to Nepal that resulted into negative 0.8 per cent of Nepal economic growth.

¹³ King Birendra had made a proposal to the Chinese to declare Nepal as 'Zone of Peace' on 25th February 1975 to improve its relationship with China. This was intended to ensure Nepal's security, development and independence.

development, health and education. Few other major projects built under Chinese assistance are: Arniko Highway, Prithvi Highway, Kathmandu Ring Road, Pokhara-Baglung Road, Syaphrubesi Rasuwagadhi Road Project, Hetauda Cotton Textile Mills, Bansbari Leather and Shoes Factory, Harisidhi Brick Factory etc. China has become the largest source of Foreign Direct Investment in Nepal now. Prime Minister K.P. Oli signed 'Transit and Transport Agreement' in his official visit to China in 2016. Chinese investors have expressed their wish to spend over \$13.51 billion in Nepal in the Nepal Investment Summit in Kathmandu in March 2017. Nepal and China have taken up new initiatives "One Belt and One Road Initiative" for further connectivity. Xi Jinping's ambitious project of One Belt One Road aims to connect about 60 countries of Asia, Africa and Europe. He has a vision of creating a 'community of common destiny' through 'Go West' and 'Peripheral Strategy'. Nepal too is committed to support the project of One Belt One Road project (Sharma, 2018). In order to reduce Nepal's dependency of internet services from India; it has acquired internet access from China from 2018 (Shakya, 2019, p. 153).

China became over ambitious in influencing Nepal through various perks and assistance. China has opened Chinese study centres in Nepal. Even organizations like Nepal- China Youth Friendship Association and the Nepal- China Cooperation Society have been established in Nepal to foster their relationship. Chinese government has started Mandarin language class at very low cost since 2007, and they teach Mandarin in primary schools for free. They run the programme in Nepali on FM radio that translates news through Chinese lens. *China Daily* has been started with other publications in partnership. China's international channels like Global Times and CGTN have become popular at recent times in Nepal (Shakya, 2019, p. 254). Tourism is another sector that has been flourishing in Nepal. China is promoting itself as transit point for Nepal to the Americans and Australians. Many flights have been introduced between Kathmandu and China. What is worrisome is the excessive involvement of Chinese in understanding Nepali people, their culture and language and working with other international agencies in Nepal (Shakya, 2019, p. 254).

The increasing involvement of Western powers in Nepal has forced China to become more conscious of the feasible regional impact and geopolitical implications in future. Assuming that the Western powers may try to use Nepal to create instability in Tibet, China has been continuously extending political, diplomatic, economic and cultural trade and aids to Nepal over the decades. Today, China's investment in Nepal has overrun to India in all sectors. Such Chinese economic investments and pro-Chinese nature of Nepalese Government makes

India more insecure. Consequently Nepal became the proxy combat zone between the two countries.

6.5. The Role of the Host Country

Both India and Nepal as host countries have assisted in rehabilitated the Tibetan Refugees right from the initial year of their flight. Even though as a political nation could not extend full support to Tibetan cause completely and openly. They have assimilated, rehabilitated and natured them with all the possible hospitality that they could offer. They are bound by several commitments and engagements to maintain good relationship with China for various reasons. The Government of India has border disputes with China and had been engaged into border war in 1962 over MacMohan Line in Arunachal Pradesh. There are other border disputes in Akshai Chin in Ladakh and the recent confrontation over Doklam in tri-junction between India, Bhutan and China. These border problems erupt from time to time. Besides this, the presence of Tibetans in India and their Tibetan Government in Exile appears to be the reason of disputation between these two countries. This is in spite of the fact that India and China appears both are committed to many inter -governmental trade and commerce. The historical ‘Panchsheel Agreement’ was signed on 29th April 1954 between the two following the “Five Principles of Peaceful Existence” in Beijing. This was the event when India recognized China’s authority over Tibet explicitly (Stobdan P. , 2019). Nehru, at this point of time did not finally commit total support to Tibet rather advised Dalai Lama to adjust with China. India’s stand on the issue changed gradually over the years.

The amount of favoritism that Tibetans receive from India naturally irritates Chinese. India’s policies of allowing Tibetan pour into India in the name of pilgrimage if not as refugees. India seeks to tackle the Tibetan issue diplomatically by allowing the Tibetans freedom of religion, culture and social life. Tibetans are allowed to live in peace without any interference as such from the Indian government. In many occasions, they have showed their distrust, frustration and anger against the China from India. Theoretically to China this implies non-recognition of the Chinese control over Tibet as such it challenges to the sovereignty of China. Tibet has always remained in the heart of Sino- India relation under the government of Modi. When Chinese President Xi-Jingping visited India in mid September 2014 the deep divide over Tibet became prominent. There was a Chinese military incursion across the

traditional Indo Tibetan border in the Ladakh region. Modi on the other Hand allowed Tibetan exiles to stage street protests during Xi's two days stay in New Delhi (2014), including some close to the summit venue.

This was definitely significant because earlier in the 1990s police would routinely prevent such protest during the visits of Chinese leaders. During the time of Manmohan singh police would impose a lockdown in the Tibetan area of New Delhi and beat up Tibetans who attempted to rally. Even Dalai Lama was allowed to speak during Xi's visit and earlier Lobsang Sangay was invited to the swearing in ceremony of Narendra Modi in May (Challaney, 2014).

There has been an incident of the self-immolation in 2018 in Delhi when Chinese ambassador had visited India. But, it is also the fact that India never encourages Tibetans to indulge into any kind of violent political action against China. The government of India has recognized 'Dalai Lama' only as a religious head and not the political one and from the very beginning Nehru had made it clear that India granted asylum to the Tibetans on humanitarian ground keeping in mind the cultural and religious and commercial links between the two nations. This makes clear that Indian government has made a clear distinction between religious and political dimension of the Tibetan issue. Yet, at the same time the *de facto* CTA dictates the entire Tibetan community over the world and the Dalai Lama exercises His diplomatic moves from Indian soil only. He often expresses His opinion and statements over many issues of Tibetan autonomy and adjustments with China and also on various disputes related to political relation and border disputes between India and China. Many speculations are made on presence of Tibetan refugees in India yet there is no record of Tibetans using Indian soil to plot against China.

Nepal is the second largest sanctuary for the Tibetans other then India. From the beginning only it has been a safest route and safe shelter for them. But over time Nepal has been changing its stand on Tibetan refugees. Nepal being a poor country and also the immediate neighbour of China has its own political priorities. It has to survive the power struggle of the two neighbours India and China. From late 1980s onwards there has been growing pressure on Nepalese government from China in dealing and handling the Tibetan Refugees especially after the 2008 Tibetan Uprising in Lhasa. Since then, the Government of Nepal has been using harsh policies like banning the celebration of several Tibetan festivals, programmes and public demonstrations. Many cases of detention, harassment, extortion and violation of civil rights and cultural rights including right to freedom of movement, expression and assembly

have curtailed in Nepal particularly after 2008 (Alternatives, 2013). Tibetans inside Nepal are kept in high surveillance.

The ill-treatments of the Tibetans and incidents and cases of extortion in the hands of Nepalese authorities have been documented and published time to time by International Campaign for Tibet under the title “Dangerous Crossing” Tibetan in Nepal. In a way we can assume that China has the anxiety over the possibilities of Tibetans using soil of Nepal against it. Nepal could be an easy route to contain India in near future. On October 12-13 2019 during an official visit of President Xi Jinping; several cases of police crackdown and arrest took place. The two countries made a joint declaration to control the border and to crush dissent in Nepal and also inside Tibet. They signed the “Treaty of Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters” which enables the signatories to serve subpoenas and collect evidence. This could be used to target and punish Tibetan Refugees in Nepal by China. Even Tibetan old age home was kept under surveillance and Jawalakhel refugees settlement was locked down. Former chairperson of the Asia-Pacific Refugee Rights Network, Gopal Krishna Shiwakoti told the Nepali press: “There is visible discrimination towards Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Therefore Nepalese government needs to treat every single refugee group equally on humanitarian grounds. Safeguarding Tibetan refugees’ rights is wrongly perceived as annoying the Chinese, which is not true. That mindset needs to change in our politicians and bureaucrats (Tibet, 2019)

In spite of huge engagements and investment of China in Nepal and its growing anxiety over Tibetans in Nepal; China has a self assumption that Nepal soil could be used by Tibetan to plot against it. Hence, it has been clear that the status of Tibetans in Nepal determined by Nepal-China relation. And Nepal being a poor country is on a win win situation because it is getting favorable amount of assistance of all kinds. It is natural for it to get influenced by the perks. However unstable policies is applied by the Nepali Governmental on Tibetans but to expect Nepal in supporting Tibetan cause for autonomy is an illusion.

6.6. The Imbroglia and its Impact on the Tibetans

The idea of having own homeland ‘Tibet’ and returning back is like a dream for second generation Tibetan refugees because they have never visited Tibet, but have just heard the stories and myths about Tibet as their homeland from their ancestors. Being born and brought

up in foreign lands either in India or Nepal, they face many obstacles in their life related to identity and economic sustainability. In Nepal, They do not retain legal documents other than the Registration Card. Though, in India has given them the choice of obtaining natural citizenship, majority of them have not opted for citizenship and it is also against the policy of the CTA. For the older generation of refugees, the homeland is a place where they once lived and the memory which refuses to fade away. In that case they want to see “free Tibet” as far as possible. But for new generation, Tibet is a dream land, a utopia and imaginary homeland. The new generation grew up with memories passed into them by the elders yet; it is their longing for their homeland that binds them, without which Tibetan diaspora would have not been what it is today. The day Tibetans lose their national identity the issue of Tibet will cease to extinct. Under the present political situation, maintaining their identity as Tibetan itself is a big challenge to them. The Tibetan issue, though unsettle even after these decades has now reached a crucial stage. The advanced age of the Dalai Lama and his compromise with independence of Tibet have given rise to different political factions among the Tibetan, even though His towering personality has so far kept all the dissenting voices under control. It is not possible to predict what turn their movement will take after His demise. Since it involves the concerns of both India and Nepal, the roles of these two as host countries remain significant.

It is important to understand how the Tibetan Diaspora has become successful in building their imagined nation “Tibet” without its geographical boundaries. Tibetans have been struggling for autonomy of Tibet even after so many decades. This is the issue over which they have managed to keep their identity intact. The most important aspect for keeping the Tibetan community unified is “Dalai Lama”. Even Though He stepped down from His political position, personal loyalty to Him is the most important feature of Tibetan society. In fact, Dalai Lama and His popularity is most basic reason behind the integration of Tibetan nationalism till date. In spite of the several failed attempts of dialogue with Beijing on the status of Tibet, Tibetans have kept their faith in His leadership. Another factor which has worked for Tibetans in keeping their cause alive is internationalization of the issue of autonomy of Tibet. Dalai Lama’s advocacy for autonomy for Tibet in a peaceful non-violent manner makes Him a charismatic leader respected by the international community. In fact it is His personality that has kept the Tibetan issue alive.

After receiving the Noble Peace Prize in the year 1989, Dalai Lama has become a role model of spirituality, compassion, peace and tolerance in the world. Tibetans regard Him as an

‘Institution’ rather than just a monk: which He calls himself. Just because of His image and popularity He has been successful in soliciting international support. CTA has even brought in the Hollywood production to shape the so-called ‘virtual’ Tibet for the Western world. With the box office hits *Kundun* and *Seven Years of Tibet*, almost everyone could get knowledge about Tibet (Roemer, 2008, p. 150). Further, Stephen Roemer has mentioned that entering into Hollywood proved to be a genuine opportunity for the CTA in general but for the Dalai Lama in particular, to generate financial support through promoting the Tibetan cause. He increasingly became an international symbol of wisdom and a protector of oppressed and dispossessed people. Through His philosophy of non-violence, selflessness and political struggle He was successful in gaining support of great celebrities like Richard Gere, Pierce Bronan, Sharon Stone, Brad Pitt and many other famous personalities. At first, it helped Him in lobbying with film industry and secured the media industry’s profits through their celebrity status and lastly, organized concerts, reading and fund raising events for Tibet. So the selling of a particular image of Tibet helps to motivate support from the international community and to generate loyalty within the national community too (Roemer, 2008, p. 150). All this has been possible due to His personality and diplomatic efforts. He has also become the face of Buddhism to the international community.

Dalai Lama’s frequent visits to different countries can be understood as His diplomatic activity. Through these visits He has created awareness about Tibet’s’ autonomy, the issue like Cultural Revolution, Chinese model of socio-economic development, environmental damages, population transfer and similar issues which caused damage to Tibetan life and became the major areas of disagreement and concern among the Tibetans worldwide. And these issues help the Tibetans make their political move and strategy more determined in gaining international attention. The regular visit of Dalai Lama to different countries and gaining more popularity became a strategy and agenda for them.

Yet in spite of His personality, His political position can be called shifting and even confusing. Stepping down from the demand for complete independence He says that the movement no longer is for independence but adjustment and reconciliation with China. He has been trying to pressurize China indirectly by saying that He would be reborn in India (Stobdan P. , 2019). Perhaps this is to prevent China from having a control on the selection of the reincarnation as there is every possibility that this is going to become tussle between India and China. But it is also true that Dalai Lama is only accepted as spiritual head by the World and not even a single country has openly supported the Tibetan cause (Roemer, 2008). Of late

Dalai Lama has been trying to use His all His diplomatic strategies either to please China or to impress India so that India might help them solve their issues with China and also China may take Tibetan cause critically. If this continues then, there will be a tug of war for supremacy and stability between the two nations. Here the real question that arises is “Will the International community sympathise with the Tibetan cause or will they extend financial support for the cause after the Dalai Lama? Will CTA be able to keep its nationalism alive post Dalai Lama? Or will it compromise with China or India under the contracting condition?

Next, the CTA’s effort at democratization of Tibetan polity also helped them to modernize. Over the years Dalai Lama and the CTA have been successful in governing their exiled community by them to keep their identity and culture intact. Dalai Lama has now stepped down from the demand of complete independence of Tibet and rather advocating genuine or meaningful autonomy within the framework of Chinese constitution. It was based on the idea of mutual interest and benefits of the Tibetans and the Chinese people. In 1997 a preliminary opinion poll was conducted in all the communities to find out the opinion of the Tibetans on the approach. Notwithstanding His personal charisma not all the Tibetans were convinced about this new stand. 64% of Tibetans expressed their support for the Middle Way Approach so there is no need of referendum (Tsetan, 2008, p. 107). Hence, the Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputy passed the resolution in September 1997. The supporters of complete independence of Tibet on the other hand opined that such decision did not represent the overall voice of Tibetans living inside Tibet. The Tibetan Youth Congress, the National Democratic Party of Tibet, the Gu-Chu-Sum movement which is a Tibetan non-governmental organization and the international Tibet Support Network has expressed their disagreement with this decision (Roemer, 2008, pp. 107-114). More radical in their approach; they want complete independence from China. There is a growing disillusionment concerning the middle way approach, which has so far yielded no concrete results, and does not seem to have any future either. Tenzin Tsudue, a well known political activist who has a great faith in the leadership of His Holiness has different tone on the goals and method of the approach. He said in an interview that Dalai Lama is an advocate for Tibet under Chinese rule. He wants accommodation: He looks for a mutual benefit. But he and others like him want a clear statement. “What we want is independence from China”. (Tsetan, 2008, p. 113). Further, Tsetan noted that when Dalai Lama was asked about the existing Tibetan youth’s frustration about the non-violent Middle Way approach, Dalai Lama answered” yes, it is healthy sign. On few occasions, youths who are little militant come and argue with me, but I remain

stubborn. They start crying. (Tsetan, 2008). P. Stobdan has given serious twist to the issue by mentioning that at least 150 Tibetans are supposed to be committed to Guerilla activity inside Tibet along with Europeans, Americans, and Latin Americans. They are receiving trainings in Switzerland, Taiwan, and other places. Tibetan migration to America has increased. Hundreds of young Tibetan Muslims are leaving home and are supposed to be working in international banking sectors in Pakistan, ready to join extremist groups if need be. Even in India, Tibetans youths are moving towards northern borders to join radical groups in Nepal. He further adds that majority of Tibetans are losing faith in the Dalai Lama's soft approach so, a certain section of influential Tibetans and their followers are turning towards Karmapa (Stobdan, 2009, pp. 107-108).

If these claims are true then it confirms the facts that at least some sections of youth have turned more radical. They might have had to accept Middle Way Approach for time being because of their high regard toward Dalai Lama, but how long will they contain their frustration? One wonders whether this dissatisfaction will flare up when Dalai Lama will be no more. Are there any chances of revival of more active extremist group post Dalai Lama? Or will there be any understanding between the CTA and the radicals?

The question of "Citizenship" becomes significant in this context. The dilemma on citizenship is real for the new generation who have been born and brought up in India. To stand for the cause, it is essential for the exiles to maintain their refugee status. As opting for the citizenship of the host country means compromising with their Tibetan identity and giving up their claim over Tibet's autonomy and it is considered as betrayal to the community. As staying as refugee implies that one day they will go back to their homeland. Tibetans are in state of confusion over the option of acquiring Indian citizenship or proving their patriotism on the other. There is a particular instance of Himachal Pradesh as a pointer to the complex nature of the issue. The Government of Himachal Pradesh had offered Tibetan community a proposal to cast their vote in the Lok Sabha election 2014 for the first time. The Statesman March 2014 reported, India born Tibetans in Dharamsala were allowed to vote but only few had taken up the offer. It was the first time ever in which Indian born Tibetans (between 1950 to 1987) were given rights to vote (Centre, 2016). Again in 2017, many Tibetans voted for Himachal Assembly election¹⁴. The community was divided over the issue as one interpretation was that casting vote in Indian election would eventually mean loss of

¹⁴ Times of India. September 30,2017

their refugee status. The real intention for allowing Tibetan to vote by Indian government is unknown.

An analysis of the complicated connections and probabilities there arise several doubts. Does it mean that Indian Government has the intention of assimilating the Tibetans in the Indian population? Is it the reason that Government mentions that Tibetans who have moved to India before January 1, 1962 are eligible to apply in India's top administrative services like Indian Administrative Services, Indian Police Services and also in Indian Forest Service¹⁵. Or does the Indian Government have intention to use Tibetans as a "soft-power" to counter China? Geostrategist Brahma Chellaney had analyzed how Tibet has remained at the heart of India China divide.

The Dalai Lama, according to his analysis remains a strategic asset for India yet, as he criticizes India for not reflecting that indeed, according to some sources, New Delhi has in fact, changed course in early 2018 to show official relations with the Dalai Lama and other exiled Tibetan leaders a shift that non Beijing tacit appreciation. Yet, Tibet's shadow over India China relations remains long. Beijing is waiting to install a marionette as Dalai Lama's successor. China's increasing militarization of Tibet directly impinges on India's security. Its denial of hydrological data to India in 2017 of the water card is fashioning.

To help curb China's territorial and riparian revisionism India has the option of opening Tibet as an outstanding issue and thus could elevate Tibet as a broader strategic and environmental issue that impinges on international security and climatic and hydrological stability (Chellaney, 2019).

There are many such pre-assumptions and suspicions about the future of the Tibetan issue and its political solution. The role of host countries cannot be speculated because both the countries will have to give priority to self interest and security. On the other hand, what stands the CTA and its people will take up cannot be predicted. India is a powerful country so it will prepare itself to bargain over Tibetans with China. Whatever happened with Tibetans in Nepal will not be same in India. But in future, if the real power struggle begins between these three countries over Tibet and the Tibetan refugees then all the three nations will have to suffer socially, economically and most importantly over the issues of security.

¹⁵ timesofindia.com, 13th February 2020

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Summary and Conclusion

In the beginning of the 20th century, Tibet by virtue of its location got involved in the geopolitics of the three powerful nations surrounding it viz. Russia, Great Britain and China. In course of time Great Britain had to leave India and Russia also following its revolution lost interest in Tibet and it was only China that remained to claim control over Tibet. The political developments following the 1910 revolution and overthrow of the Manchus in China and ultimately the proclamation of the Communist government under Mao Tse Tung ultimately culminated into the Chinese takeover of Tibet and the subsequent flight of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959. This initiated a flow of Tibetan refugees to India and Nepal and to some extent in Bhutan. This was followed by the Cultural Revolution in the 'Land of the Lamas' when 'reforms' were initiated by the Communist regime of China to alter the religious tradition of Tibetan society to convert it into a modern secular society. The cultural attack followed by a full-blooded political assault resulted in the escape of even more Tibetans from Tibet. The flight of the Tibetans has been continuing till date.

At that critical moment, India government ensured all possible assistance to accommodate the Tibetan refugees. It allotted land to establish many refugee settlements by leasing land in the states of Himachal Pradesh, Ladakh, Arunachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, South Sikkim, West Bengal, Maharashtra, and Odisha. Now, about 75% of the Tibetan refugees in India reside in settlements and remaining others in scattered community amongst Indian mainstream population. Indian Government also allotted land to establish their Autonomous Government in Exile which is known as Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh. For education of the children schools were set up in different parts of the country close to the Tibetan settlements.

The second destination of Tibetan refugees from early 1950s onwards was Nepal. They established camps primarily in the Himalayan border regions of Western Nepal such as Mustang, ethnic Tibetan kingdom of Nepal as well as in Nubri and Solu Khumbu with the assistance of UNHCR, the Swiss government, the Australian Refugees Committee and the International Committee of the Red Cross society. By the early 1960s, the Nepalese government provided the Tibetan refugees with land in regions like Chialsa in Solu-Khumbu, Tashi Palkheil, Dhorpatan and Jawalakhel with the help of the United Nations High

Commission for the Refugees. Same year, the Swiss International Organisation set up the Tibetan handicraft centers in Nepal which became main source of livelihood. Thereafter, with the assistance of non-governmental organizations, they built roads, homes, schools and hospitals. With time more settlements came up in the places like Jawalakhel, Boudha, Swayambunath and Jorpatani in and around Kathmandu; Jampaling, Paljorling, Tashi Ling and Palhkeil in the Pokhara region; and Dhorpatan, Chialsa, Chsirok, Shabrus, and Lumbini in the northern regions of Nepal. Even though the CTA exercises supervision over the refugees in both the countries, there is a stark contrast between the socio-economic and political condition of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal. This dissertation is a comparative study of the refugees in these two countries and the political considerations determining the same.

This thesis is a comparative study of the social and economic life and the political status of Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal where they have settled mostly. It is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is the **Introduction** where we have introduced the basic theme of the study along with the research objectives and questions. The statement of the research objectives has been introduced after an extensive literature review. Books on the Tibetan issue are many but I have discussed only those which seemed to be directly relevant to my dissertation. These can be broadly divided into three groups. i). literature related to the Tibetan history from which the Tibetans derive their argument regarding their political status. ii). The concept of Refugees, Diaspora and identity are discussed as a “Community” for an understanding of the Tibetans. I have referred to many books that are available on the Tibetan Refugees and India, China and Nepal relationship as the secondary source. The area of my field work includes Darjeeling, Sonada, Kalimpong, New Delhi (Manju-ka-Tilla and Ladakh Buddha Vihara), and Chandragiri in Odisha and Jawalakhel and Syambhunath in Nepal. iii.) Research Methodology. As for the methodology of the work, I have relied on both primary and secondary sources. I have used interview, sampling, snow ball sampling, observations and the narratives as my primary sources. This chapter also includes the limitations of my research.

The second chapter “**Tibetan Refugees in India and Nepal, the Legal Status, Social and Political Traits**” is based on secondary sources. In this, I have discussed The United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees and its policies and laws applicable for the protection of the refugees in general. The Policies of host countries in India and Nepal are discussed in details. The laws and policies ruling the Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal are different. India is not

party to the 1951 Convention relating the Status of Refugees or its Protocol. It has only accepted fundamental principles of refugees' law and of refoulement. All of them are regarded as 'foreigners' and the rules are subject to change because it deals with them case to case.

On the other hand, Nepal is too not party to Refugees Convention but it guarantees certain rights to the refugees like equal protections, religious freedom and protection from expropriation of property. The freedom of expression, of movement and right to acquire or own property however are not allowed to them. Nepalese laws simply regard them as 'aliens.

The Registration card is mandatory in both the countries as an official proof of being an acknowledged immigrant by the respective governments. This card also makes them liable to certain basic rights. The legal policies over Tibetans in India have remained same over the years. While in Nepal, Government policies have changed or have become harsher since 1990s curtailing most of the basic human rights of the Tibetans. This is due to the political equation between Nepal and China. The second half of this chapter discusses the Tibet – China relationship in historical perspective as a result of which Tibet lost its independence to China. Finally it also briefs the social customs and cultural traits of the Tibetans as a whole.

The third chapter **“Tibetan Refugees in India; Their Socio- economic Conditions and Political Status”** and the fourth chapter **“Tibetan Refugees in Nepal, their Socio-economic Conditions and Political Status”** These two chapters are purely based on fieldwork. The detailed interpretations of data on the socio-economic conditions and their political mobility and awareness among the Tibetans in India and Nepal have been described in detail with the help of charts. In India Tibetan refugees' economic life is dependent upon entrepreneurship or on business ventures. The scarcity of land makes them dependent upon small business ventures be it Kalimpong, Darjeeling or Delhi. They have been sustaining their livelihood on carpet business and handicrafts, running small shops selling souvenirs, Tibetan food items, incenses, running internet cafes and the restaurants. Less educated Youths work in private sectors like in hotel industry and in shopping malls in India. Few Tibetan youths are working as doctors, teachers and others are into other Indian government services where Indian government has provided them with reservation. Seasonal sweater business is common everywhere in India. Chandragiri in Odisha is entirely dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. They grow maize, fruits and flower. Tibetan refugees in India are satisfied with the government treatment upon them and express their gratitude with much pride.

But in Nepal in absence of any governmental schemes and reservation for them; the entire Tibetan population is dependent on either business or work in private sectors. They take license in the name of Nepalese citizens as ownership of private enterprise is not allowed for them.

What is interesting is that in India, a large number of Tibetan youths have acquired Indian Citizenship. This is because Indian citizenship entitles them many privileges that they cannot claim as refugees. Not only the renewal of the RC from time to time is botheration for them but it also restricts their travel abroad. In the absence of job opportunities in India, it is common for the Tibetan youths to migrate to the USA and Europe in search of a better life. Even in Chandragiri, in heartland of India it was found that almost all families have their children in different parts of India and abroad. This is even more common in places with more scope and exposure like in New Delhi. Tibetan diaspora has now become a global citizen. But it is not to say that they have given up their Tibetan identity. They are bound together as Tibetans by their common identity and aspiration. Even without a homeland with geographical territory they are held together by their nationalism. They have built their identity as a “Tibetan” with the common indicator of religious force and traditional customs.

Chapter five” **A Comparative Analytical Report of Socio-economic Condition of Tibetans in India and Nepal**” will discuss about the Central Tibetan Administration and analyze it critically. Tibetans are recognized as one of the most successful refuge groups in the world because of the towering personality of the Dalai Lama and the Government of Exile set up in Dharamsala. The CTA (Tibetan government) runs like any other democratic government. Its primary organs is Cabinet or *Kashag* under which there are others organs like Planning Commissions, Tibet Policy Institute, Tibet Justice Commissions, Tibetan Parliament in Exiles, the Department of Home and the Department of Information and International Relations. The Planning Commission of the CTA often makes plans and policies which they execute in the Tibetan settlements in India, Nepal and Bhutan. This department also conducts demographic survey to find out the results of their policies and find out whether their people has been benefitted or are deprived of their development policies. It is understandable that CTA is in obligation to show that the Tibetans live in poor conditions to show their plight and collect sympathy from the international community. So, the second half of this chapter will analyze the demographic report published by the Planning Commission and compare it with the data collected during the field work. This comparison is

an attempt to find out the exact conditions of Tibetans and find out its rationality in accordance with the CTA report. CTA exhibits that the Tibetans are deprived of many rights and amenities but the actual picture is different according to my study. It was found out that Tibetans have better and satisfactory life in India. They lack employment opportunities compared to the growing percentage of educated youths but that is same with the common Indian youth. But in Nepal, the scenario is different. Tibetans are socially adapted but then, their economic opportunities and civil and political right are nil. In order to support my data, I have mentioned few case studies too.

The last chapter or sixth chapter “**The Geopolitical Nexus between India, Nepal and China**” is also based on secondary sources where I have written about the India- China, China -Nepal and India -Nepal relations. This chapter will explore the political nexus between the three countries and its imbroglio which would affect the political status of Tibetan refugees in the host countries.

The Tibetan issue is turning out to be very complex and unpredictable. The attempts to arrive at a consensus over the status of Tibet vis a vis China has failed and there seems no hope for a free Tibet in the near future. Notwithstanding the worldwide support for the Tibetan cause; not a single nation has come out openly in support of Tibetan independence from China. CTA has been working with five year strategy for returning to dialogue with China and preparing for a fifty year struggle if needed with the Middle Way approach as political means to realize the Tibetan dream. Dalai Lama has climbed down from the demand of total freedom and now proposes the Middle Way i.e autonomy within the Government of China. His towering personality binds all the Tibetans together, yet not all and especially the youths are happy about His giving up of the demand of complete freedom and demand of mere autonomy. The Tibetan Youth Congress has expressed its reservations regarding this . It is difficult to predict the possible turn of events in His absence in the future. The position and functioning of the CTA from India and the issue regarding the reincarnation of Dalai Lama may turn to be incomputable after the demise of Dalai Lama. The role of the Government of India will be crucial in that eventuality and this will naturally impact on the status of the Tibetan refugees. India’s policy towards the Tibetans is bound to the country’s relation with China. The same is true of Nepal as well. In spite of historical relations and huge trade relations between India and China there are boundary problems between the two and it often erupts into confrontations as it did in 1962 followed by some more minor skirmishes in both Eastern and Western Himalayas. The confrontation is ongoing in the Ladakh sector and in the

context of this problem with China, India, in order to put pressure on China, is already giving space to the CTA to voice its opinion regarding Chinese policy towards Tibet and also highlighting the role of the Tibetans in the Indian army. It is difficult to predict how India will act in the case of any outbreak of anti Chinese movement among the Tibetan youths from the soil of India. China however has managed to bring Nepal into its fold through economic investments and some agreements. Tibetan refugees are already living under restrictions in Nepal with little political freedom. China has already assured Nepal's support in case of any challenge to China's control over Tibet from among the refugees. These issues and the political compulsions of both the countries are discussed in the sixth chapter.

Over the years China has turned Tibet into a modern nation through its overall development programmes like construction of railways highways, roadways, hospitals, industries, modern agricultural systems and a modern education system. All these developments, China hoped, would assimilate the Tibetans in the modernisation process and the Tibet issue would be gradually forgotten. But this strategy seems to fall short as issues of Human Rights violations and environmental destruction cases are coming up. The series of self immolations in Tibet is an indicator of the grudge that the Tibetans continue to bear against China. So in such a situation, China falls under various assumptions and in a complex situation.

The political uncertainty naturally brings in the questions of Dalai Lama's reincarnation. Identification of a reincarnation is now highly politicized as was seen in case of the Panchen Lama. Already the Chinese government has expressed unusual interest in choosing the next Dalai Lama and claimed its right to do so. It also warned that "if Delhi disregards the appointment of the new Dalai Lama then, it may adversely impact the Sino-Indian ties"¹⁶. Dalai Lama Himself is ambiguous about His reincarnation and has left the decision upon His people. Stepping down from His decision to not to be reincarnated, He has now stated that 15th Dalai Lama would be born outside Tibet but did not, outside China as 15th Dalai Lama has to continue the work of the present one (www.bbc.com, 2015). Both the parties have taken lessons from their past experiences over the issues of Panchen Lama's reincarnation in 1995. Henceforth in future, there is a possibility of a conflict over the issue of two Dalai Lamas; one of Chinese and another born in India or elsewhere. Therefore, the role of India and other parties cannot be ignored. Hence, this might further deteriorate the India China relationship.

¹⁶ Times of India, Kolkata, dated 15th July 2019.

As for the Tibetan refugees, they might settle down in India permanently and refuse to go back even if settlement concludes between the two parties. In that case, they may pose a hindrance to good relationship with China in the long run. On the other hand, Tibetans could take advantage of sympathetic attitude of Indian government towards them. The Tibetan radical organizations could use Indian soil to wage freedom struggle against China. China is already trying to win over a section of Tibetan monks through bribes. The *Karmapa* himself is not above suspicion. All these hypotheses may jumble up with the border problems between the two countries.

The illegal entry of Tibetans into India in recent times is also a concern for India's security. It has been reported that in between 5-16 January 2006, around 8,600 Tibetans had entered India during the *Kalachakra Tantra* in Amravati, Andhra Pradesh. Similarly in the same month, thousands of Tibetans arrived in India to attend Karmapa's ceremony in Bodhgaya (Stobdam.P, 2009). Some Tibetans in India have been reported to have become involved into scandalous illegal activities like money laundering, border smuggling, smuggling of wildlife products, rare artifacts and antiques (Stobdam.P, 2009). Numbers of Tibetan religious monuments have been destroyed by Chinese inside Tibet. As a result, many replicas of those destructed monuments are being built up in India and Nepal. There are 208 monasteries and 17 nunneries with additional 6 cultural centres for the study of spiritual Tibetan traditions in India (Analyses, 2012). Particularly in the Himalayan regions like Darjeeling, Sikkim and Kalimpong as well as in the western Aravalli range. So such construction practices of Tibetan monuments with the help of foreign aid and support is debatable especially when their Government in Exile wishes to remain refugees here and return back. India should take more concern to find out the sources of their capital flow.

Thus considering all this it may not be wrong to say that the Tibetan issue and presence of Tibetan refugees may pose a security threat to India in the future.

Both India and Nepal had provided shelter to the Tibetans on humanitarian ground and they have also adapted to their new life accepting India as their second home. However, the complexity of the issue involves security risks for India particularly in the context of the already existing border problems between the two countries. No one is sure about the turn of events in the future but there is always the possibility that the refugees may become a soft power in the hands of India or they may even wage a war of independence from the soil of their second home. It is difficult to say how India and also Nepal will mould their refugee policies in that eventuality.

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List of Appendices

Appendix I: List of Abbreviations

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Appendix I

Abbreviations:

CTA- Central Tibetan Administration

TGIE- Tibetan Government in Exile

TCV- Tibetan Children Village

TAR- Tibet Autonomous Region

UNHCR- United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees

IDPS- Internally Displaced Persons

SEP- Special Entry Permit

FRDD- Foreigner Regional Registration Office

TDS- Tibetan Demographic Survey

CST- Central School for Tibetan

NORI- No Objection to Return to India

RC- Registration Card

EC- Election Commission

IC- Identity Certificate

TYC- Tibetan Youth Congress

TWA- Tibetan Women Association

SATA- Swiss Association for Technical Assistance

HURON- Human Rights Organization for Nepal

MTCS- Multi Purpose Co-operative Society

Appendix II

Publication

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Understanding the Legal Identity of Tibetan Refugees in Kalimpong

Abstract:

Tibetans have been living in Kalimpong before the Chinese occupation of Tibet but the mass influx began in 1959 with the flight of the Dalai Lama from Tibet to India. After living in Kalimpong for about three or more generations, Tibetans have been discarding their Registration Certificate and began to opt for Indian citizenship for various reasons, in order to get better future opportunities and political gains. At one hand they advocate for the freedom of Tibet and on the other they retain the citizenship card which is both confusing and vague.

Keywords: Tibetan refugees, Legal Status, Indian citizenship, identity.

Deepika Chettri
Assistant Professor
Defence Studies
Susilkar College
Kolkata, India

Constructing political and legal identity of an individual in the nation-state is fundamental in distinguishing the national community from the others. Political identity is an important marker to denote the membership of any national political entity. The membership of any polity makes the person liable to certain reservations and rights granted to them by the state. It also shapes the legal commitments of a citizen binding the state. So it is imperative for any individual to get associated with it. Tibetans in exile are categorized as 'refugees'. The term 'Refugee' is used to identify them as different from the rest of the native population. It justifies their 'identity': identity of a person in exile. It becomes very important for the host country to categorize them for security reasons.

Tibetans have been living in India as refugees particularly after the year 1959. In case of Tibetan refugees, negotiating political identity is a process of constructed practices. To quote Dibyesh Anand; It involves the conscious deployment of language, culture and traditional religious practices. Here, identity can be perceived as something that is constructed politically. It is a discourse which is practiced as "Tibetans" outside of their homeland. There are several factors that influence and shape 'Tibetanness', which include their refugee status, space-time projections of homeland, the overriding need of the preservation of their culture, the western audience's preconceived notions of Tibet and the Tibetans, the community's self

perception, the personality of the Dalai Lama, the attitude of the host government and most importantly- the desire to project a sense of continuity in a changing external environment. (Anand, 2010)

Tibetan refugees have been living in India for about three or four generations now. They had abandoned their homeland 'Tibet' prior to 1959 and entered India to seek refuge. The Tibetan spiritual leader His Holiness, the Dalai Lama followed by hundreds of his fellow Tibetans were granted asylum by the Indian government. Within a short period of time, the Indian government rehabilitated them by providing land on lease to establish settlements in different parts of the Indian states. The Indian government also permitted them to establish an autonomous Tibetan government, also known as the Central Tibetan Administration in Himachal Pradesh which till date functions as the representative government of Tibetans all over the globe. It works with the sole aim of preserving Tibetan identity, culture and religion. It runs on democratic norms which is significant in maintaining their nationalism in exile. The Dalai Lama is considered as a symbolic head of the community in exile after his decision to step down as the political head of Tibet. After living in a foreign land for about sixty years, maintaining their national identity without any dilution is beyond their control and obligation. The influences of the host population, modernity and the assimilation with the mainstream politics and culture having lived outside their own country for decades cannot be overlooked.

Tibetan refugees in India are in an indeterminate state and their existence is in a great limbo. This is because India is not party to the 1951 UNHCR Convention relating to the Status of Refugees nor its 1967 Protocol regarding the same. It has not adopted the national legislation for the protection of the refugees. Therefore, Tibetan refugees do not qualify as 'refugees' in the legal sense so the government treats its refugee population on an *ad hoc* basis. Two legal statutes rule the legal status of the undocumented Tibetans: the Foreigners Act of 1946 and the Registration of Foreigners Act of 1939. This means that Tibetans are simply foreigners, which means that the government will regulate the movement of all foreigners and they are required to report to the Indian authorities. It is also bound by customary international legal principle of non- refoulement which prohibits the return of a refugee to any place where his or her life or freedom would be in peril. To reside legally in India, it is mandatory for the Tibetans to maintain a Registration Certificate (RC) which is required to be renewed every six months or at least once in a year. This RC authorizes them to reside in a particular locality or settlement camps without any harassment from the government administration and also permits them to travel domestically. Besides this, it is mandatory for the Tibetans to retain their RC to work and own property in India. It also makes them eligible to enjoy other basic civil liberties. For them this registration card is the identity certificate which has multiple uses. They should have this Identity Certificates (IC) to travel to a few foreign countries like the United States, Switzerland and other states of Europe which is used in lieu of a passport. Meanwhile, Tibetans have to present this certificate bearing "No objection t return to India" (NORI) to re-enter India. (Centre T. j., 2011)

There is also a Special Entry Permit (SEP) which is a joint initiative of the Indian government and the Central Tibetan Administration which was started in 2003. This SEP enables Tibetans to enter India via Nepal. It ensures their safe transit from Nepal to India and permits them to stay in India only for stipulated period of time after their arrival. There are different criteria for the Tibetans on the basis of which this permit is issued. The time permit is allotted depending upon the reason of their visit i.e. pilgrimage, education and other specified affairs. For a pilgrimage the SEP allows the bearer to remain in India for three months and could be extended further, and are restricted to acquire an RC or any other unambiguous document in India which may prolong their stay here. Tibetans entering India for education and other reasons may remain for a longer period of time and are permissible to obtain an RC. While the 'other' category SEP are reserved for special cases like former political prisoners of particular significance to the CTA. (Centre T. j., 2011)

The debate over citizenship is important when we discuss about the legal regime for Tibetan refugees, because the law determines who is to be considered an Indian citizen, and on what basis. In part III of The Indian Constitution, there are certain criteria which are required of every person to be fulfilled in order to be eligible for Indian citizenship, applicable both for its citizens and as well as for foreigners. However, an Indian citizenship can be acquired through birth, registration, naturalization and incorporation of territory. The citizenship encompasses the relevant articles in the constitution and the conditions under which refugees may be eligible for applying for Indian citizenship.

The Indian Constitution on The Citizenship Act, Part II, deals with the citizenship of India at the commencement of the constitution. Section 3 (amended) governs citizenship by birth; every person born in India-

- (a) Between January 26 1950, and July 1st 1987, or
- (b) After July 1st 1987, but before the entry into force of the citizenship Act of 2003, if one of the individual's parent is a citizen of India at the time of his or her birth; or
- (c) On and after the entry into force of the citizenship Act of 2003, if both the parents are citizens of India, if one parent is a citizen of India and other is not an illegal migrant, shall be a citizen of India by birth.

Section 4, as amended, governs citizenship by descent; it provides that every person born outside of India

- (a) Between January 26, 1950, and December 10, 1992, if their father is an Indian citizen at the time of their birth, or
- (b) On and after December 10, 1992, if either parent is a citizen of India.

A person is not entitled to citizenship unless his or her birth had been registered at an Indian consulate or unless either parents which is available to:

- (a) persons of Indian origin,
- (b) person married to citizens of India

(c) holds the government service at the time of the birth. Section 5, provided citizenship by registration, minor children of citizens

(d) adult citizens of India, and

(e) persons registered as overseas citizens of India for five years who have resided in India for the previous two years.

Section 6, provides citizenship by naturalization. It requires that the applicant:

(a) not an illegal migrant, which is defined as a foreigner who entered into India without valid travel documents,

(b) denounce the citizenship of any other country.

(c) Reside in India for the preceding twelve months,

(d) have resided in India for nine of the twelve years preceding that twelve month period,

(e) have a good character.

(f) Speaks one language listed in Scheduled 8 of the constitution, and

(g) Intend to reside in India.

So, by going through all the conditions under which a person could qualify to be Indian citizens, a Tibetan refugee qualifies to acquire Indian citizenship under section 3 by birth and section 6 by naturalization. However, there is a great dilemma or confusion regarding the citizenship regime of Tibetan refugees in India. According to CTA reports, Tibetans are required to obtain and submit a "no objection" certificate from CTA as the custodian and representative of Tibetans in exile and the CTA's official position is that it will not withhold its approval if a Tibetan wishes to pursue Indian citizenship (Centre T. j., 2011). The adaptations of Indian citizenship ultimately depend upon individual choice. Thus, majority of Tibetans wish to remain refugees and many others acquire Indian citizenship depending upon their situation and the need.

Tibetan Refugees in Kalimpong:

Kalimpong is a small town situated in the northern part of West Bengal. In the mid 19th century, Kalimpong was ruled in succession by the Sikkimese and the Bhutanese kingdoms. Later in 1865, it became a part of Darjeeling district; originally being a part of Sikkim. Following the treaty of Sinchula, Kalimpong became a part of The British East India Company and then it was finally incorporated into Darjeeling (Placeholder1). Meanwhile Kalimpong became one of the two districts of Darjeeling. Kalimpong had proximity to Nathula and Jelepala pass, offshoots of the ancient Silk route which was an important trading out spot in the trade of fur, wool, borax, salt, musk and food grains between India and Tibet. This trade relation between the two countries continued till 1962. Following the Indo-China War the border was sealed. The Tibetans had started coming up to Kalimpong along with the ancient trade between India and Tibet (Datta, Heritage of Tibetans Culture among the people of Darjeeling, 2006) Tibetans are one of the oldest migrants in

Kalimpong. Tibetans have shared their cultural, religious and trade relation with Kalimpong since time immemorial. It is because of this reason Kalimpong had an immense impact on the religious and culture practices of the local people and also due to the presence of a profound number of Tibetans there.

In Kalimpong, there are a few families who had migrated to Kalimpong much before the Tibetan occupation by China. Others have settled after the 1960s. Almost every Tibetan there possesses Indian citizenship. They consider themselves Indians because they were born and brought up there. They regard themselves as citizens of India as much as others. During my field survey, I discovered that they had given up their refugee status and taken up the Indian citizenship so that they could obtain every facility allotted by the Indian government to its citizens. They cast their votes in The Indian electoral polls and participate in local politics too. They are active members of regional parties and support the Gorkhaland movements. At the same time, they also cast their vote for the CTA being a Tibetan national. Tibetans in Kalimpong are aware of the political gains associated with being an Indian national. It was learned that discarding their refugee status and taking up citizenship is a gain for them both politically and socially. Being Indians, they do not have to deal with unnecessary harassment from the administration like renewing their refugee registration card and unnecessary hassles while travelling to other places. Otherwise, they have to go through several rules and regulations. So in order to escape such trouble, people opt for Indian citizenship. In fact, Tibetans in Kalimpong are highly mobilized politically.

If they retain The Tibetan Registration Card (RC) card they are required to renew the card every six months. Besides that, they are not allowed to travel freely. They constantly have to report to Indian government offices about their whereabouts and that is the main reason why they basically opt for Indian citizenship card. For them, being an Indian citizen means leading a hassle-free life. Besides, their children get major government provided facilities and reservations in their education and employment sectors like any other citizen of the country, so Tibetan refugees nowadays prefer Indian citizenship. Besides this, they are liable to many other government facilities in their daily lives which make their life easy.

Even if they hardly pass the tenth standard, they will be eligible for The Tibetan border police or can get work in private sectors in big cities. Basically it is an easy way to avoid dealing with unemployment problems among the youth. The better future prospect for their children is the most important factor for them at the moment.

There are many Tibetans in Kalimpong belonging to the second generation of Tibetan refugees who have become respected professionals like doctors, teachers and engineers and a few in Indian army and other governmental jobs. This has been possible because of the citizenship card and government benefits. It is to be noted that in Darjeeling there are many Schedules Tribes, Bhutias being the one of them. So in Darjeeling, it is difficult to distinguish between the Bhutias and Tibetans. Both the community coincides

with the same surname- "Bhutia". They fall under the schedule tribes category in the government schemes of reservation. When Tibetans get enrolled in schools, they automatically come under the schedule tribe category becoming legally eligible for all the government facilities guaranteed to them by the reservation schemes of the government. Not only in schools, they benefit from the quota system relating to all government schemes right from education to employment. So it is natural for them to get tempted in obtaining The Indian citizenship.

Tibetans in Kalimpong are of the opinion that possessing the Indian citizenship card means to be at home. They have been living in the place since their birth so naturally this is their first home. Tibet as their original homeland is an oblivion. Tibetans in Kalimpong belong to the third generation now. The memoirs of their ancestors are just horrific accounts of oppression. They have been hearing about their homeland and the bitter experiences of the Tibetan flight to India from their grandparents. They do have curiosity and questions regarding the political and social conditions of Tibet but at the same time they feel at home here. They have assimilated in every manner in the local societies and life in exile. So it does not make any difference to them living in a foreign land. It is the older generation that has yet to give up hope to return back to Tibet. There are few individuals in Kalimpong who escaped the Chinese prosecution. They still have bitter memories of their place and the circumstances under which they were compelled to flee from their homeland leaving back their family members and properties. Still they dream of going back to their place once before they die.

It is note-worthy that the old Tibetans have been successful in transferring their religious-cultural lineage to their succeeding generation. Tibetan life revolves around religion and in exile, practicing it is also presumed as their way of expressing their nationalism. Though Tibetans have been negotiating with their political identity in the place of their refuge, yet it cannot be denied that they have strong faith in their religion and culture. They are very keen in preserving it. There are few Tibetans among the youth who aspire to visit and see their motherland but they are not sure whether they will stay there permanently or not. It would not be easy to start a new life in a new place. They have to start their life from the beginning which would not be simple, as yet again, the place would be a foreign land to them.

In spite of being Indian citizens legally, Tibetans in Kalimpong have well functioning organizations like Tibetan Women Organization while the males have three organizations named as U-Tsang organization, Do- Toe and other one is Amdo. All these organization perform social work among all communities and also they take active part in Tibet's independence programmes and organizes protest marches in the town against human rights violation movements or organizes rallies occasionally for the autonomy of Tibet and the atrocities rendered upon Tibetans in Tibet. But in recent years, these activities have become rare. The reason for this is because everyone nowadays is busy in their own life struggles and they do not have time for such activities. The Tibetans feel that The Government of India could do much in negotiating with China

for Tibet's autonomy. They have lots of expectations from the government. But at the same time they feel that they are leading a happy and content life in India. They are not sure about the future about the Tibet or what will happen after the passing way of The Dalai Lama, but they are deeply thankful to the Indian government for their warm hospitality and peaceful life in India.

Here we can observe that at in one hand, Tibetans claim that they are refugees and they dream of going back to Tibet. They wanted China to grant them autonomy of their homeland and for this they look upon The Indian government for settlement. On the other hand, they hold The Indian Citizenship card for better opportunities. This makes their struggle for autonomy of Tibet confusing. Survival has become their primary goal as they see no hope in The freedom struggle of Tibet.

It has been noted that Tibetans have been offered chance to participate in electoral process by the state government of their residing place but this created a confusion and contradiction among the Tibetans in India. The Central Tibetan Administration has been encouraging the exiled Tibetans to maintain their Tibetan nationalism and citizenship at any cost. It has been keen in preserving its culture and tradition intact from the very beginning. But at the same time, it is left upon the people for self appraisal. It is a matter of choice for them to decide their future. Tibetans can decide to forgo the political benefits granted to them by the Indian government or remain as genuine citizens of Tibet. While the Tibetan government highly encourages them to remain as "Tibetan Refugee" it is as "affirmed as patriotism in order to emphasis the desire of returning to Tibet. The CTA vows to get autonomy of its homeland and hopes to return back to Tibet. So it strongly recommends it citizens to maintain its 'Refugee Identity' as it a key mechanism to determine the Tibetan attribute. It affirms to return back to its original country if and when it gets autonomy.

In summarizing, the issue of political and legal identities of Tibetans involves a complex nexus of relationship between the Central Tibetan Administration and it fellow Tibetans. Political identities are central to the CTA for unifying its citizens and creating nationalism with a hope of returning home. Well, at the same time it is also impetus for the Tibetans to negotiate with their legal status for defining their life security till they return back home which is indecisive.

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Appendix III

Questionnaire Schedule

1. Name: _____ Age: _____
2. Place: _____

Name of the family members and relations	Age	Sex	Marital status	Educational qualification	Occupation

3. Since when are you staying here?
4. Have you migrated here from any place? Yes/ No
- a. What was the reason? (If yes)
5. The house where you live is your own / rented area. Type
6. What is the source of your income? Business/ Employment
- b. Where
7. What kind of shop do you own?
8. Do you receive any Governmental benefits? Yes/ No
9. How did you set up the shop? Self financed / Loan
10. Do you get the loan from the bank or any organization for shop? Yes/ No
Which.....

11. How many earning members are there in the family?
12. Do you possess any kind of electronic gadget?
13. Do you have any kind of motor vehicle?
14. Do you have bank account/?
15. Are you entitled to bank loans?
16. What kind of school does your child attend?
17. Is there any reservation in higher education?
18. What kind of education do you prefer for your child? Monastic / Formal/ Professional
19. Do you find any kind of cultural change among your children with the intermixing with non-Tibetans? Yes/ No Nature:
20. Does anyone have poor health in your family? Yes/ No
21. Where do you treat yourself in case of illness?
22. Have you taken Indian Citizenship? Yes/ No
23. Why? (If yes)
24. What kind of benefits do you get from the Indian government?
25. Do you receive any special rations for Tibetans?
26. Do you vote? Indian govt. / Tibetan govt.
27. Are you a member of any Tibetan organization? Yes/No
28. What organization?
29. What are the activities of your organization?
30. Do you participate in rallies?
31. Do you receive any kind of help from it in times of need? Yes/ No
32. How frequently do you visit monastery?
33. Do you make any donation for your organization or monastery?
34. Do you have relatives outside Darjeeling? Yes/No
35. Where?
36. What is their profession?

Few words from the Respondent:

Researcher's impression: