

IN SEARCH OF A HOME: AN EXPLORATORY
SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF
TIBETAN REFUGEES IN INDIA

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment
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D E C L A R A T I O N

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PREFACE

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P R E F A C E

The present study is an attempt to study the problems faced by a refugee community in an alien social environment especially the problems of adjustment and assimilation in the socio-cultural milieu of the host country. It is a case study of Tibetan refugees in India. An attempt has also been made to compare the Tibetan refugees with other refugee communities in India, viz. the Panjabi and Bengali refugees.

In this study, my endeavour was to verify whether the adaptation of the refugees in the social and cultural milieu of the host country is an on going process or an once-for-all process. The hypothesis has been tested with reference to Tibetan refugees in India and the results accrued confirms that the adaptation is a continuous process rather than a one step process.

A pertinent question might be asked as to the selection of the problem. In my opinion, the refugee problem being one of the major problem faced by most of the countries has drawn little attention of social scientists. Thus, in order to explore various dimensions of the problems, venturing into such an area did not seem to be a futile exercise.

I faced various problems in collecting data and tapping other sources. There is an acute paucity of literature on the topic. Secondly, the government officials reluctance to let me have an access to the classified material further added to the problem, since the section (Tibetan refugees) considered as a secret and sensitive issue by Ministry of Rehabilitation and hence did not encourage investigation of the problem. Even the information that was available from the Ministry, especially statistics regarding the number of refugees, the expenditure on each refugee camp and the like did not always conform with information available from other sources.

It should be emphasised here that this study is exploratory in nature. This is to be regarded as a preliminary effort to full fledged research which I propose to undertake for my Ph.D work subsequently.

C H A P T E R - II N T R O D U C T I O N

IN human history, wars, natural calamities, religious and political persecutions have been creating continually a class of displaced persons who are uprooted from their native abodes. This class of displaced and uprooted persons are referred to as refugees.

The presence of refugees creates several problems in the social, cultural, political and economic spheres of both the hosts and the refugees. The magnitude of these issues has increased considerably during the 20th century. This is partly due to the enormous increase in the refugee streams witnessed during this period. The division of Europe during the second world war forced thousands of persons to leave their homes in Poland and East Germany and to seek refuge in West Europe. The creation of Israel produced a number of Arab refugee camps and the events in mainland China, Cuba and parts of Africa (Nigeria) have created several mammoth refugee streams. In this regard, India since Independence has perhaps

witnessed the world's largest refugee influx from East Pakistan (now Bangla Desh), West Pakistan and Tibet.

This enormous increase in the influx of refugees puts considerable burden on the host society especially if it is itself an 'underdeveloped' country like India not having the requisite resources to feed its own people. Not only does it create economic problems for the host society, but it also poses a host of political problems for the host society.

The mere act of hosting refugees may also generate tensions in the international political relations of the host country. Even the assistance that the host country may receive may depend on its political posture. Internally also, a new class of refugees receiving assistance and favoured treatment of the local government and various international agencies may often lead to unrest from within. Apart from generating such political tensions both nationally and internationally, the extent of adaptation of the refugees to the host society and vice-versa may affect the social structure of the host society itself. Hence it is essential for social scientists to study the refugee problem in all its dimensions.

Yet, inspite of the importance of the problem, very few studies exist on the refugees. Most of these studies have been in the field of psychology and social-psychology emphasising

on issues such as nostalgia, depression and invulnerability of the refugees. The sociological literature in the field however remain scanty. Hence in this dissertation an attempt is made first to review the sociological literature that is available on the refugees and next to develop a framework to study Tibetan refugees in India from a sociological perspective.

The term refugee has been subject to various interpretations by social scientists and experts in International law. According to Sir Simpson¹, "a refugee is one who finds himself deprived of legal action, mutual support, the access to employment, and the measure of freedom of movement which happier mortals take as a matter of course. In an ordered world this legal protection and mutual support constituting what might be called social security is enjoyed by the nationals of a sovereign state. Security is extended to them, not only at home, but when they move around the world in other countries. The refugee, unless special means are taken for his protection, has no such security but exists in any country on sufferance. His defencelessness lies in his inability to demand the protection of any state. For all practical purposes he is outlawed by his country of origin; in his country of refuge, he has a measure ordinary legal protection in any

1. As cited in Vernant Jacques: The Refugees in the Post-war World (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London; 1953) pp. 4-5

decently governed state. Above all, he has no claim such as the right to continued residence, and he is liable to expulsion if his presence for any reason is no longer desired. The essential quality of a refugee therefore may be said to be that he has left his country of regular residence, of which he may or may not be national as a result of political events in that country which rendered his continual residence impossible or intolerable, and has taken refuge in another country, or if already absent from his home, is unwilling to return without dangers to life and liberty".

Regarding the definition of refugees in international law; two conditions must exist² :

- (i) Persons or categories of persons qualifying for refugee status must have left the territory of the state of which they were nationals.
- (ii) The events which are the root cause of a man's becoming a refugee derive from the relations between the state and its nations that is victims of natural disasters are excluded.

Keller³ described three main types of refugees such as:

- (i) Those who have become refugees due to economic causes;
- (ii) Those who became refugees due to war, and those
- (iii) who owe their refugee status to political, religious or ethnic reasons.

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- 2. Saxena, R.N. "Refugees (Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1961) pp. 2-3.
 - 3. Stephen L. Keller: Uprooting and Social Change: The Role of Refugees in Development, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1975) pp.5-10

The first category of persons involves those men whose moves are voluntary and the cause of displacement can be described as positive motivation or a desire for economic betterment. The actual travel is felt to be more of an adventure than an escape. Since in most of the cases, death is not the alternative to migration and violence does not attend it, these people suffer little or no psychic damage.

The second category, 'war refugees' includes those made homeless by war and who have not yet been resettled, the displacement sometimes voluntary, sometimes not is negatively motivated. It becomes necessary to flee if one's safety is to be guaranteed. Since these type of refugees in most of the cases returned to their homelands, it becomes difficult to characterize them as refugees, but in some other cases, in which they cannot return to their homeland, they are usually known as war evacuees.

The third category of refugees, is a relatively new one: Those people who as the result of a new government or new policies find themselves threatned in a hostile environment and secondly because of community's ethics and religious world-view is out of harmony with a new governing majority or thirdly because of certain political beliefs, which is not in consonance with the new government's policies are forced to flee their native land for the purpose of security.

These three types of refugees is a broad classification and in any nation there may be more than one type: e.g. Korea has both the second and third types, Australia has the first and third, Holland and Israel have all three and in India we also have second and third type of refugees such as Tibetans, Panjabis and Bengalis etc. Further, even among one refugee group, depending on their migration and time of departure different types can be found. Recently there has been a resurgence of the second type, the war evacuee of external variety i.e. traditional people who, because of enemy occupation of their territory are forced to flee to more or less inhospitable or unsympathetic areas e.g. the Nigerian Civil War had the effect of forcing many into a precarious life in the jungle, and the Chinese occupation of Tibet has sent thousands of Tibetans into the hilly regions of India.

In these definitions of refugees, we noticed that all of them regard refugees to be nationals who have migrated to another country. While this could be accepted, it should be emphasised that Keller's category of economic migrants does not fit in with other definitions of refugees which regard the refugee as an involuntary migrant, who cannot return to his country and enjoy the same citizenship status as those of other nationals. To accept Keller's categorisation of an economic migrant as refugees would lead us to categorise Indian migrants to the middle east countries in search of job opportunities also as refugees. Therefore,

a refugee for our purposes is regarded as a person who has been compelled to abdicate his motherland due to loss of political status or due to hostile environment created by the emergence of new religious or political groups.

This definition is also in conformity with Indian government's approach to the refugee problem. The Indian government does not treat these refugees as foreigners and gives them full citizenship rights if they so desire. This definition comes close to the third category of refugees as defined by Keller.

India, has absorbed three diverse refugee streams in its short history since independence. The partition of the country in 1947 led to an exodus of 8,500,000 refugees from East and West Pakistan. Of these, 50,00,000 were from West Pakistan in the period 1947-'48 and 35,00,000 refugees from East Pakistan in the period 1950-51⁴. According to the census 1951, the total number of displaced persons in India in 1951 was 74,79,278. These figures, it is believed, understate the refugee inflow. In addition, the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 also led to the inflow of additional 50,000 refugees led by the Dalai Lama since 1959. It is to be borne in mind that all these refugees lost their homeland and were catapulted into an uncertain world. Murphy⁵ cautions that the refugees in India were unlike those from Europe to

4. Vernant, Jacques: op-cit. pp. 745

5. Murphy Gardner: In the Minds of Men: The Study of Human Behaviour and Social Tensions in India (Basic Books Inc. Pub. New York, 1955) pp. 166-167.

American shores or European Jews to Israel, people endowed with a great hope for a new life or people fulfilling an ancestral destiny of a religious community. The refugees in India were "more struggling sufferers trying to pull together the fragments of a lost life but unable to do so"⁶.

Unfortunately, very few studies exist of these refugee communities in India. To be precise there are three major studies one each for the three refugee communities in India.

Of these, two viz., Pakrasi's⁷ study of the Bengali refugees and Palakshappa's⁸ study of Tibetan refugees have been conducted from the sociological point of view. The third study conducted by Keller⁹ on the Panjabi refugees in India has been done from the psychological point of view.

Pakrasi's study was conducted keeping in view with the following objectives:

- i) How the displaced persons behaved to remain together in family level by inner kin bonds and in doing so, what structural modifications they had to accept within family units in post-migrational living ?
- ii) How far caste influence caused differentiations among the refugee migrants in their propensity for building up a new after migration disorganised kinship organisations on family level in West Bengal ?
- iii) How the displaced families originating from different occupation classes (agriculture and non-agriculture behaved in reorganising disrupted families in West Bengal ?" 10-a

6. Ibid. pp. 167-168

7. Pakrasi B. Kanti: The Uprooted: A Sociological Study of the Refugees of West Bengal, India, Calcutta, India, 1971

8. Palakshappa T.C. Tibetans in India: A Case Study of Mundgod Tibetan Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1978

9. Keller: op.cit.

10. -a . Pakrasi B. Kanti op.cit. pp. 9-10

In other words, Pakrasi was interested in studying how the traditional caste and kin bonds of refugees were affected by the trauma of partition and forced migration. His study also focused on the extent to which the refugee's occupational background supported them in reorganising their post migrational family life in West Bengal. Pakrasi used the field data collected immediately after the partition in 1948 by the Indian statistical Institute, Calcutta:

His analysis of West Bengal data led him to the following conclusions:

- i) The refugees with the occupational background of trade, business and commerce, bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic professions reacted "more quickly and vividly in taking far reaching decisions in favour of migration.
- ii) Those refugees whose occupational background was agriculture quickly settled down in rural habitats in consonance with their occupational background. However, a sizeable minority of them went to the cities of Calcutta and Howarah had proved to be a problem group there as they could not adjust themselves to miscellaneous non-agricultural avocations.
- iii) The class of refugees who belonged to the occupational background of the trade and commerce mainly congregated in the cities in search of jobs. Those who belonged to the bureaucratic and other services preferred to migrate to the towns in West Bengal.^{10-b}

Pakrasi's study also reveal that crisis of partition and uprootment did not disrupt the institution of joint family. This he attributes to the persistence of the cultural norm related to the Hindu way of life and the strength of the caste system. Thus Pakrasi's study highlights the importance of Hindu Culture and Hindu way of life in explaining the minimal disruption of family life among refugees. He further stress^{es} that unlike in the case of other social structures which are disrupted by crisis to individuate the human

beings, the crisis of partition in Bengal maintained the existing social structure based on joint family and caste. This culturological explanation of Pakrasi's, however, does not take into account the more important and interesting issues namely success of refugees in adapting themselves to the new circumstances^{10.}

On the basis of a review of several studies quoted in Pakrasi's book itself¹¹ it is apparent that those refugees who migrated to the cities of West Bengal found it extremely difficult to adjust themselves whereas those who settled down to agriculture in rural areas found it least difficult to rehabilitate themselves. If we match this fact to Pakrasi's analysis of occupational background of the migrants settled in the rural and urban areas, it becomes evident that the problem of adjustment was most acute in the case of refugees with the background of trade and commerce and minority of agriculturists to settle in cities of West Bengal. Pakrasi is of the view that since a sizeable portion of displaced families continued to regard themselves even after 14 years of partition (at the time of study) as refugees they have not been able to 'assimilate themselves' into the mainstream of Bengali life. He seeks an explanation for this in social psychological factors, but

10. Pakrasi B. Kanti: *The Uprooted: A Sociological Study of the Refugees of West Bengal, India, Calcutta, India, 1971, pp. 115-20.*

11. *Ibid.* pp. 127-28.

he does not elaborate on this. While Pakrasi recognises that this lack of assimilation has something to do with governmental financial support to refugees, he regards the refugee problem as not an economic problem but a social psychological problem.

Many observers of the refugee scene in India have commented on the lack of adjustment and assimilation of Bengali refugees as compared to that of the Panjabi refugees, although both the refugee communities were mainly settled in states which were contiguous to the states from which they migrated. The Panjabi refugees were quick to adapt themselves and succeeded in agriculture, trade, commerce, and industries. The Bengali refugees, however, did not show this dynamism. There are several explanations offered. According to U. Bhaskar Rao¹², "the East Bengali refugees were mainly agriculturists, the pressure on agricultural land in West Bengal had already reached such proportions that the resources one could mobilize for the relief of immigrants were negligible. The displaced persons in the West revealed a praiseworthy mobility; they were ready to spread themselves out over the whole country, as it was not so with the refugees from East Pakistan. They were reluctant to move beyond West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where they were largely concentrated. West Bengal naturally, had to afford asylum to by far the largest number, a burden for which it was ill-equipped."

12. Rao Bhaskar U. "The Story of Rehabilitation: Rehabilitation in the Eastern Wing (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation) Govt. of India, Delhi-1967) pp. 141-142.

Thus, while Pakrasi suggests that only ^{these} refugees who converged to the cities of West Bengal posed a problem in rehabilitation, Bhaskar Rao goes on to point out that because of the non-availability of land, even those Bengali refugees who were settled in agriculture proved to be a problem. While this statement of Bhaskar Rao is broadly true, it is interesting to study the problem of those Bengali refugees who were settled outside the state of West Bengal. The newspaper reports of the Mana Camp located near Raipur in M.P and of Dandakaranya project in Orissa also indicate the lack of adaptation of the Bengali refugees. The Mana Camp according to Indian Express¹³ consists of 65,000 to 70,000 refugees who crossed over into India in the early 1960's from East Pakistan. These refugees have been deserting the camp in the hope of reaching Sunderbans of West Bengal where they feel they could be resettled in an environment which is familiar to the one they left behind. According to this newspaper report, the refugees miss the soil rich, rainfed, verdant environment of the 'Sonar Bangla'. In addition, this report attributes the failures in adapting to the conditions in Mana Camp, to the habitual ⁶'laziness' of the refugees bred by the fertile soil and fish laden waters of their 'Sonar Bangla'. Other newspaper reports on Mana Camp while commenting on the lathi charge and police action upon the refugees refer to the step-motherly attitude of the

13. Indian Express, 20th June, 1975

central and the concerned state governments regarding these refugees. According to the editorials in the Statesman¹⁴ the trouble in the Mana Camp was the result of accumulated indignation of 5.2 million people of East Pakistan. These editorials, speak of the discriminatory attitude of the central government towards Bengali refugees vis-a-vis Panjabi refugees. While the total expenditure on Panjabi refugees reported to have been 456 crores it was argued that only Rs.85 crores were spent on the Bengali refugees. Not only this, the Centre according to the editorials disowned the responsibility 14 years ago with a final grant of Rs. 220 million. Even this amount was not properly spent. The ameliorative measures such as School facilities, low interest bearing loans and tax concessions to industrialists who employ refugees were piecemeal and tentative leading to horrors of Mana refugees camp. Scorched earth, blazing canvas, endemic dysentery and no medicines to be had within miles speak of the rigours of existence of refugees in inhospitable tracts.

Another major effort to resettle Bengali refugees is the famous Dandakarnaya Project, where the forest area straddling two states namely M.P. and Orissa¹⁵ was cleared in 1958. According to a report in Patriot¹⁵ the project authority took up 37,000 displaced families of which 80,000 families consisting of 90,000

14. The Statesman, Editorials of 11th, 14th September, 1974

15. Patriot, 11th August, 1977

members were settled in 325 villages set up in this area. The Statesman report of 22nd October, 1977 points out that these settler's villages resemble a typically backward Indian village, complete with money-lenders, opportunists, and politicians who thrive on the misery and ignorance of common man. The settlers, the report says, have been reduced to an alien community viewing everything and everyone with distrust and pessimism. Land and money were distributed, dams and highways built and priorities were determined arbitrarily and policies changed with persons leading to protest, agitations, police actions and political sloganeering. It is alleged that the members of extension staff were mostly drawn from U.P. who had no idea as to how to tackle the problems peculiar to the laterite terrain with uncertain rainfall. Further, another report in Statesman published on 20th May, 1975¹⁶ points out that the refugees were the victims of political intrigues between the Centre and state governments. The Central government points out that the state government views the refugee problem in terms of its leverage against the central government. The central government charge is that the successive state administrations misused the funds allotted to the refugees, abused contracts for camp amenities and obliged influential political supporters under

16. The Statesman: 20th May, 1975

the pretext of land for redistribution, and regarded the refugee camp as a reservoir of willing manpower for election duties. The project officials on the other hand complain against the lethargy of the refugee themselves leading to a lack of success of these resettlement projects.

Recently, we have witnessed a massive exodus of Bengali refugees from Dandakaranya to the Sundarban areas. In spite of having been settled in Dandakaranya for more than 15 years, the Bengali refugees have not been able to grow roots in their new homeland. There are various reasons to be accounted for this massive desertion from the Dandakaranya.

The obvious reasons are the rocky terrain, poor irrigation facilities, poor productivity along with the politics by vested interests at the expense of the poor refugees. Further the hostility between the local tribals and the refugees have contributed also to aggravate the situation. With the completion of Pteru dam project in Malkangiri zone for irrigation purposes, there has been a consistent effort to deprive the refugees of this potentially rich land by some vested interests. In other words, the extremely hard work the settlers had put in clearing and reclaiming land in this zone which was due to be rewarded in 1978 has been systematically sabotaged by the vested interests¹⁷.

17. "Show the Moon and Pick the Pocket", Editorial Comment on Refugees, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XIII, No.14, April 8, 1978, p. 594.

The exodus is not quite spontaneous. DDA (Dandakaranya Development Authority) which was established in 1958 have been able to resettle 20,101 families on agriculture and 1,168 on other related jobs. Moreover, 1,202 local Adivasi families also have been absorbed in rehabilitation project. But more than 50,000 refugees have left Dandakaranya in the past few months, all for the vaguely defined heaven of Sunderbans¹⁸.

The accumulated indignation over the years of Bengali refugees and the feeling of desertion has got deeper roots in the step-motherly attitude of the central and state governments. A cursory glance at the amount of money spent in terms of rehabilitation and compensation to Bengali refugees against their counterparts (West Pakistani refugees) would present a clear picture and would reveal the reasons for the miserable plight of Bengali refugees.

The amount of property with which the West Pakistani refugees have been compensated are as follows: 70 lakh acres of land, nearly 7 lakh village houses, 302,300 urban houses, shops and industrial enterprises all abandoned by evacuee Muslims. The centre built at its ^{own} expense 2,21,000 urban houses and put them into the compensation pool. A parliamentary committee found that an

18 Roy Choudhury: "Who is behind the Exodus", Special Report in Sunday, May 21, 1978, pp. 16 to 18.

investigation of only 78 claims, each of over Rs.1 lakh had disclosed that excess claims totalling Rs. 1.19 crores had been made by the refugees concerned¹⁹.

Apart from all this, the Home Ministry set up a special cell to find employment for West Pakistani refugees in government offices and public sector undertakings upto 1964, the number of West Pakistan refugees given employment by the cell was 2,02,000. The Ministry's record shows that up-to that time only 204 Bengali refugees had found employment in central government offices and public sector undertakings. Loans were given on a liberal scale to the West Pakistan refugees and set off against their compensation claims.

The Bengali refugees have not only not been given any compensation, they have been forced to live in the camps on dole. Whatever rehabilitation expenditure has been incurred on them has been treated as interest - bearing loan advanced to them.

For the Bengali refugees, till March 31, 1977 the DDA has spent in 14 years almost Rs.79 crores. This includes Rs.23.5 crores on general development, Rs.16 crores on Adivasi welfare and Rs. 38.5 crores on refugee rehabilitation²⁰. The other important

19.d Ibid. pp.18

20. Ibid. pp. 19

factor for the maladaptation of Bengali refugees. ^{They} unlike their counterparts, could not integrate with new surroundings. Even after 15 years of settlement, the invisible umbilical cord of his ancestral home (Bari) has been tugging on him. In response to a single emotive appeal, he is prepared to move lock, stock and barrel to an inhospitable marshy Land of the Sunderbans, nearer 'home',²¹.

While the Bengali refugee problem attracted mainly the attention of sociologists and journalists a serious psychological study of the refugees had to wait for the analysis of Keller. Keller takes for his study, the successful adaptation of the Panjabi refugees in order to discover the psychological factors involved in the process. He is of the view that the refugees may tend to become parasitical and may lapse into an 'infantile dependent-state' as in the case of Bengali refugees if sufficient economic support of the host country is not available. The Bengali refugees, he points out, lapsed into the mentality of a frustrated infant to whom all is owing²² because pre-partition land arrangement and distribution of wealth in Bengal were such that the Bengali Hindu refugees could not be resettled on land as easily as his Western counterpart. In Panjab, however the fact that immigrant Muslim land was available for resettlement made many of these Panjabi refugees who had suffered great calamities and threats to life, invulnerable. Invulnerability, according

21. - The Times of India, June 4, 1978

22. Stephen L. Keller; op.cit. pp. 67.

to Keller's psychological trait which makes a man feel that he belongs to the chosen few for whom no danger would cause any great harm. This feeling of invulnerability, he explains, is the result of the harrowing ordeals and threats to life refugees experienced in spite of which they manage to survive. Invulnerability according to Keller infuses the need for power (n power) which makes them to take to business, commerce and large-scale agriculture because the doors to conventional careers such as the military, the government and politics are blocked off by groups that have already staked out for these vocations. Hence the 'invulnerable Panjabi refugees' became successful agriculturists, businessmen and industrialists transforming Panjab and Haryana into the granary of India and into a highly industrialized state. Keller is of the view that the invulnerability resulting in the high n power would make the refugees take high risks and search for unconventional strategies in order to succeed. Such high risk-taking ability led them to make significant contributions to the development of Panjab and Haryana. Keller's explanation counters McClelland's²³ argument which locates in the need for achievement (n-Ach) the psychological raw material for economic development. One of the characteristics associated with n-Ach is a willingness to take moderate calculated risk. Keller believes that McClelland's argument fits well in situations in which the economic development has already begun. In the relatively underdeveloped

23. McClelland, David The Achieving Society (The Free Press, 1961) as cited in Keller op.cit. pp. 248

society in which rapid growth has just begun or is on the horizon, a high-risk, high-gain situation prevails. In such situation a strategy in which there is a high risk component is likely to be socially as well as individually beneficial.

Keller goes on to point out that the refugees' ability to take high risks and succeed though not especially aggressively made them the target of aggression by envious non refugees²⁴. This led to a situation of competition between the refugees and non-refugees which legitimised and institutionalised the synergy. Synergy is the socially shared world view that sees competition as legitimate. Each individual in a synergistic situation while maximising his personal goals, benefits society. Thus synergistic situation created by the influx of refugees contributed to the over-all sustained growth of the entire Panjab and Haryana region. The over-all result of synergy which is gradually transmitted from refugees to non-refugees makes for greater participation in economic development and that the values of the society does not become concentrated in the hands of few magnates and Zamindars. Thus Keller sees in refugeehood the potential for economic development and social change in the host society under certain specific conditions.

24. Keller, Op-cit. pp. 252

Unlike Keller, Hazelhurst's²⁵ study of a Panjabi town points to the fact that refugees entrepreneurial success is related to their greater social mobility which he attributes partly to the influence of religious reform movements such as Arya Samaj and partly because partition has deemphasised already diminished importance attached to such elements of orthodoxy such as sub-caste distinctions and obsequence to Brahmins. Hence, freed from the traditional obligations and values which tied down the local merchant communities, the refugees could use unorthodox strategies for success in entrepreneurial activities. It is to be noted here that the refugees studied by Hazelhurst mainly belong to the trading and business class. Thus Hazelhurst's thesis comes close to the well known sociological theories which isolate the marginal man who, freed from the traditional values and obligations could strike out in new directions to become successful in the entrepreneurial field.

Thus the review on available literature on the Bengali and the Panjabi refugees lead us to conclude therefore that the former represent a case of unsuccessful adaptation while the latter represent a case of successful adaptation. Successful adaptation could be regarded as a situation when the refugees become self-reliant either individually or collectively and also loose their identity as

25. Leighton W. Hazelhurst in 'Structure and Change in Indian Society' ed. by Milton Singer and Bernard & Cohen. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1970. pp. 288-289.



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refugees. Adaptation is unsuccessful when the refugee^s still regard themselves as aliens in the host society and continue to depend upon support from external agencies.

From the above mentioned studies, the crucial factors that makes for successful or unsuccessful adaptation of refugees are:

- 1) The amount and nature of governmental assistance to rehabilitate refugees
- 2) The elements of social structure and culture of the refugees prior to migration
- 3) Actual experience^{the} of refugees in the process of uprootment.

This way of identifying the factors responsible for adaptation however may lead us to view adaptation as a once-and-for-all process. But adaptation is a continuous process, ^{well} as we are aware from Keller's study and that of Hazelhurst's that successful adaptation may itself lead to refugees becoming the envious target of host society. While such hostility may under certain circumstances lead to over-all development of the host society and changes the social structure and culture of refugees themselves, it is quiet conceivable that the hostility from the host society may adversely affect the refugees integration into the host society. This may be particularly the case if the social structure and culture of refugees is completely alien to that of host society. In this context, it is relevant to study the process of adaptation of Tibetan refugees in the Indian social and cultural milieu. Unlike the Panjabi and Bengali refugees, the Tibetan refugees belong to a social and

cultural order which is distinct from that of the host society. Hence in the what follows, we attempt to explore the process of adaptation of Tibetan refugees in the Indian setting.

To analyse the process of adaptation at work in the case of Tibetan refugees it is essential to have an understanding of their economic, political and social life prior to their arrival in India. Hence the traditional polity, economy and social structure of Tibet is delineated in Chapter II. Following on this in Chapter III, we discuss the events that led to and that followed the entry of Tibetans into the Indian soil and the attempts made by the government and several voluntary agencies in resettling the Tibetans. In doing so, the part played by Dalai Lama's organisation is also discussed in Chapter IV. We proceed to analyse the actual process of adaptation of Tibetan refugees to the Indian milieu and the consequences thereof for both the refugees and the host society. In the last part of Chapter IV we compare the adaptative process of Tibetans with those of the Bengali and Panjabi refugees in order to develop a model for understanding the process of change created by the refugee influx into India.

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C H A P T E R - I ITHE TIBETANS - BEFORE THE EXODUS

IN order to understand the process of adaptation of Tibetan refugees in Indian setting, it is necessary to comprehend the sources in the traditional social structure which makes for adaptation. This would imply that we study the Tibetan social structure and culture as a unified system and not as a collection of diverse cultural traits and classes. It also requires us to map the social structure and culture over the geographical terrain of Tibet, because at low levels of technology, ecological factors significantly limit the social structure and culture.

Tibet is a vast plateau of around 4,70,000 sq.miles with an average altitude of 16,000 ft. above the sea level. It lies between the latitude of 27° and 37° north. It is a land locked plateau being at least a 1,000 miles away from the sea in any direction. The plateau is bounded on the north by the Kunlin range and in the South by the Himalayas. In the west, it is bordered by the Ladakh ranges and the East consists of a rugged-terra with deep gorges.

Palakshappa¹ divides the Tibetan plateau into the four following regions:

1. The northern plateau with an average altitude of 16,000 ft. is cold and dry with hardly 20 c.s of rain-fall. Moss, lichens and the sparse grass are the only vegetation found in this area and is thinly populated with nomads.
2. The western highland region which is a source of rivers Indus and Sutlej is more hospitable. While cultivation is possible in the river valleys of the region, there exists nomads and semi-nomads with large flocks of sheep and herds of yaks and mules.
3. The south central region which is the land of valleys is a fairly well populated area. The river Brahmaputra and a number of tributaries flows in this region. The average altitude is not more than 15,000 ft. and the valleys are only 11,500 ft. high. There are forests with timber and orchards. In some villages even rice is cultivated. The vegetables and fruits are grown in this area. This is the region in which the capital of Tibet Lhasa is located. There are several other cities apart from Lhasa in this area.
4. The Eastern plateau known as Kham is rugged and comparatively dry. It is the home of the Khampas and through this region passes the trade route to China. Agriculture and fruit gardening is possible in the valleys and pastures on the slopes support the livestock.

1. T.C. Palakshappa: 'Tibetans in India', A Caste Study of Mundgod Tibetans. Sterling Publishers (Pvt.) Ltd. New Delhi, 1978, pp. 23-24.

Thus being located in an inaccessible region, Tibetan society has had minimal contact with its neighbouring countries. The Tibetan society has been virtually left untouched by the impact of western civilization. Therefore it should not surprise us to find in Tibet its own form of religion, social and political structure which in many respects remains unique in the world.

Although Tibet is a land of many religions including Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Bon-a folk religion peculiar to Tibet, the dominant religion of Tibet is Mahayana Buddhism. Buddhism was purported to have been introduced in Tibet, by a Nepalese prince who converted the King and Queen of Tibet. The Queen of Tibet came to be regarded as the reincarnation of the Hindu Goddess Tara, and is the only female Goddess worshipped by Tibetan Buddhists. Many of the animistic rights prevalent in the Bon religion were assimilated by the Tibetans in their Buddhist practices. The worship of Goddess Tara being one such instance, the religious ceremonies at death, initiation and marriage being the others. Syncretism of this nature illustrates the emphasis on divination in Tibetan Buddhism. It is used to tap the knowledge which a Tibetan feels must always exist somewhere, but which is not attainable by any means other than divination. This process is used to communicate with spirits, forecast the future and to cure the diseases. Powers of divination gives its possessor

considerable prestige in the community.

The Tibetan Buddhism is a rich philosophy having its own dialectics and metaphysics. It also consists of an advanced depth psychology linked to the techniques of a meditation and the control of psycho-physiological functions (yoga); an enormous pantheon, countless rituals, popular practices, cosmological speculations and systems of divination².

Mahayana Buddhism which constitutes the Tibetan brand of Buddhism plays a predominant role in their lives. To perceive the manner in which it influences the attitudes and way of life, it is necessary to provide a broad outline of the principles implicit in Mahayana Buddhism.

The Buddha taught that the ultimate need was liberation and that this had no other object than the experiencing of Nirvana³. But the Buddha when pressed for answers regarding the nature of Nirvana, the origin of the world, the reality of the self and the like withdrew into a 'noble silence'. Intellectual curiosity unable to remain content with that silence sought to indulge in varied intellectual speculations. Many claim that it was this that led

2. R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, Faber and Faber Ltd. London, 1972, pp. 164.

3. Nirvana is 'de-spiritualisation' it is the act of one who has comprehended the futility of trying to hold his breath or life (Prana) indefinitely, since to hold the breath is also to lose it. Thus Nirvana is the equivalent of release. Moksha or salvation. Nirvana is seen as the cessation (NIR) of turnings (VRITTI), hence the cessation of turnings of the mind.

to Mahayana Buddhism. This, as Waits points out, is false, for 'the vast body of Mahayana doctrine arose not so much to satisfy intellectual curiosity as to deal with the practical psychological problem encountered in following Buddha's way"⁴. The central theme of Mahayana Buddhism has always been to bring about the experience of Nirvana, hence the provision of 'skilful means' (Upāya) for making Nirvana accessible to every type of mentality.

Implicit in Mahayana Buddhism (Maha meaning 'Great', Yana being 'vehicle' hence the great vehicle of liberation⁵) is the concept of individualized and collectivised mind. The unenlightened man, far from the stage of full awakening believes himself to be in possession of a mind uniquely his own, that is an individualised mind. This is an illusion. What is unique is the one cosmic mind. It is quite absurd⁶ to think of Nirvana as a state to be attained by some being. There are in fact many Buddhas. The idea of a Bodhisatva is implicit in the logic of Buddhism⁶.

The Bodhisatva became a focus of devotion (Bhakti) "a saviour of the world who had vowed not to enter the final Nirvana until all other sentient beings like-wise attained it"⁷. It is for

4. Waits, Alan, The Way of Zen, Penguin, 1975, p. 77

5. R.A. Stein, Op.cit. pp.164

6. Waits, Alan, Ibid. p.77

7. Waits, Alan, Ibid. pp.81

their sake that he consented to be born again and again into the round of Samsara (which refers to the everlasting round of birth and death) until, in the course of innumerable ages, even the grass and the dust has attained Buddhahood.

One of the fundamental tenets of Mahayana Buddhism is the belief that Nirvana does not emerge through an annihilation of the senses, nor is Nirvana a separate entity from birth and death. You do not seek Nirvana for it is a folly to look for what one has never lost. Jung⁸ calls it "the self-liberating power of the introverted mind". The sphinx gazes at no distant horizon across the sandy wastes. Its winflinching gaze is directed inwards and its posture bares the calm arising out of self-knowledge. The Buddha, in other words, is within each one of us and Buddha-hood is simply the manifestation of perfection already in man.

The Buddhist is a Bhikkhu (a beggar) and is characteristically represented by a begging-bowl which he takes from door to door to acquire his food. Even food which is the basic necessity, is not to be bothered about. The only thought is Nirvana.

It is this essence of the Mahayana spirit which is ingrained among the Tibetans. It moulds their attitude to life, in fact their entire weltanschung.

8. C.J. Jung: Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation (ed.) by W.Y. Evans Wentz, Oxford University Press, London, 1954, pp. 38-39

Tibetan Buddhism, however is a special form of Mahayana⁹ Buddhism, viz., Lamaism. In it an important role is played by the Lama who is just not any monk but a person's spiritual master or teacher (guru). The interesting and significant characteristic of Lamaism is that its central religious activity is the concern of only the monks and hermits and is inaccessible to ordinary believer. The latter pin their deep faith on the members of the monastic community and can only hope to improve their karma through the giving of the gifts to monasteries, lamas or the poor, by making pilgrimages, lighting lamps before the images of deities and asking the blessings of the lamas. The ordinary folk or lay Buddhists do not hear sermons or have any private prayers. They belong to that class of persons whose intellectual faculties are not developed enough.

Tibet is usually described as theocratic state because the Dalai Lama (or the head) is considered to be the incarnation of Avalokiteswara Tibet's patron Boddhisatva. But Stein¹⁰ stresses that it would be more accurate to speak of Tibet as an ecclesiastical state.

The Buddhist monasteries in Tibet are highly privileged. They are exempt from tax and services and may be regarded as independent overlords, for they own land and serfs yielding them tax

9. R.A. Stein : Op.cit. pp. 172-173

10. Ibid. pp. 138-139.

and services, and discharge all functions of authority¹¹. The monasteries supply the government with officials and in this way are able to exercise political control. In addition to this the monasteries indulge in money-lending and acquire thereby an extra source of revenue (fees) through the performance of rites. Rich monks even own property and have two monks as servants. The clear polarisation of social classes is maintained inside the monasteries. The impoverished lower clergy cannot afford to pay for the lengthy studies needed to reach high monastic positions and remain in the state of Avidya, or ignorance, and must devote their lives to one of deep and sincere faith on the richer monks and lamas.

The Tibetan religious order is hierarchical and highly authoritarian. At the top of this system is the Dalai Lama who rules in consultation with his tutors. (That is, those who as authorities on religion, taught the Dalai Lama in his younger days). At the lower rung is the abbot who heads a monastery and is responsible not only for maintaining the land and property of monastery but who in his capacity as religious head is also expected to resolve the religious arguments that crop up from time to time. Every abbot has five lamas assisting him. The status of the lama depends on the number of oaths that he takes. The higher categories of lamas take what is known as the complete oath which involves keeping two hundred and fifty vows.

11. Ibid. pp. 40.

Upward mobility in the religious hierarchy is achieved with severe penances. While one has to take at least hundred vows to achieve the status of a lama and pass rigorous religious tests, not many can keep the vows and pass the tests and hence end up in the lower order without reaching the status of lama.

The Dalai Lama in Tibet is not only a religious authority but the political head as well. But though in theory the Dalai Lama is the supreme and at the top of the hierarchy in reality, the district and often the village sub-divisions enjoy considerable autonomy in the interpretation of laws and in their administration¹². The head of the district is a member of nobility who is appointed by the Dalai Lama. The nobility is distinguished from the common people in Tibet and the nobility enjoys certain privileges. The recruitment to the class of nobles in Tibet is made on the following principles:

1. A commoner family in which Dalai Lama is supposed to be reincarnated is raised to the status of nobles. This family receives a large estate from the government. Thus many of the Lhasan nobles were descendants of the brothers of previous Dalai Lama.
2. Some families are raised to the status of nobility by the government in return for the past services as warrior body guards.
3. The third group of nobles consists of families who trace their ancestories back to the early Monarchies which existed prior to the rule of Dalai Lama¹³.
4. Some of the new noble families are descendants of marriage between the nobility of Tibet with that of Sikkim and neighbouring countries¹⁴.

12. R.A. Stein : Op.cit, pp.127

13. Sir Charles Bell; The People of Tibet, Oxford University Press, London, 1968, pp. 65-67.

14. Rinchen Dolma Tsering, Daughter of Tibet, The Camelot Press Ltd. London, 1970; pp. 81-82

The nobility in Tibet formed an endogamous group. They manage estates for the Dalai Lama who in theory owns all land in Tibet. The nobles pay an annual rent to the Dalai Lama for the estate they hold. The nobleman has full rights of taxation and of administering justice within his estate. He can select servants for his household amongst his serfs.

There are nobleman who are also traders and manufacturers of rugs and blankets which they export to other countries. But their major source of livelihood comes from the landed estate¹⁵.

Below the district administration, comes the village level administration which is usually small consisting of ten to twenty families belonging to a clan organisation. It is a locus of patrilineal clan and hence exogamous. The position of the head of the village is hereditary and is usually the clansman who combines seniority with capability. He sits on the tribal council of the region as a representative of his clan. The tribal council and the clan and at a still lower level the family, all represent the principle of cooperation that works in the hierarchical Tibetan social structure. The members of the village cooperate in herding cattle. The responsibility assigned for herding is that of the herdsmen of the village. Careful compensations are made for those

15. Carrasco, Pedro, Land and Polity in Tibet, Seattle, 1959, pp. 101-102

families who are short handed because of the call for community work. This type of cooperation extends to the tribal level also to organise raids and battle campaigns by the tribal council.¹⁶

The family is also organised on the principle of cooperation in Tibet. The family is a corporate unit possessing rights over lands and over pastures. The noble families thus form a corporate unit with rights of taxation over the landed estate. The families among the peasantry are also corporate entities with tenancy rights over land. To preserve the corporate nature of the family, usually polyandry (especially fraternal polyandry) is practiced, though other types of polyandry such as among friends, and among father and sons when the father marries a second time are also prevalent. The eldest son in the family becomes the head of the family and his younger brothers have to work under his jurisdiction within the family corporation.

The cooperation and corporate living embodied in the Tibetan society is however not universal. Among the commoners, there exists a group called the Du-Jung, where family does not act as a corporate entity. Access to land among them is on an individual basis and they practice monogamy and polygyny¹⁷.

16. T.C. Palakshappa: Op.cit. pp. 27.

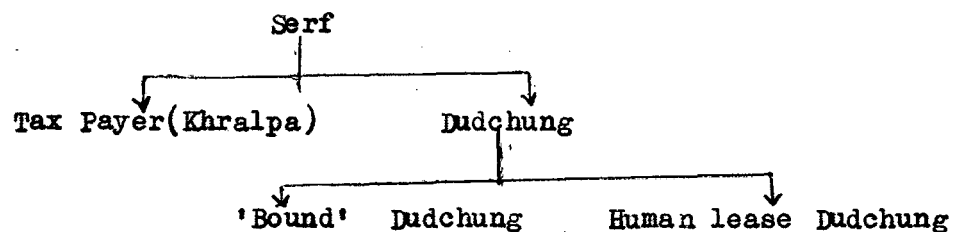
17. Ibid. pp. 30.

It is to be noted that the control exercised by the district over the village and by the central governments over the districts is dependent on the geographical location of the districts and the villages. In the remoter areas of Tibet, political control of the central government is almost negligible due to bad communications and transport during the winter season. The ecology of Tibet modifies the political hierarchy and grants considerable autonomy at the village and district level.

The principle of cooperation which widely operates in the traditional Tibetan social structure is interrelated with the Mahayana philosophy of collective Nirvana. No man attains Nirvana alone. Liberation is a collective aim and a Bodhisatva is born again and again till all his other fellowmen achieve the peace of the 'noble silence', the realisation of the truth. The quietⁿessence of this philosophy is expressed through the dominant principle of cooperation prevalent in the Tibetan social structure.

This principle of cooperation works not only at the level of the tribal village, clan and family, but also within the context of secular hierarchy. The hierarchy is based mainly ✓ on rights over the land. The nobles who hold estates engage serfs to till the land. There are different categories of serfs. According to Gold Stein, as quoted by Palakshappa, there are two

major types of serfs as indicated in the following diagram:¹⁸



Charles Bell identifies another category of serfs whom he regards as the masterless peasants. These peasants are dependent on the regular tax-paying serfs from whom they rent land. The serf became bound to his landlord because of the low productivity of land which makes him borrow in order to survive. Many of the serfs who live in abject poverty are indebted to the nobility, monasteries and large land owners for nearly three generations. The serfs are therefore not only tied to the land but also to the nobility. There is no way out of this system for the serf except through joining the priestly order, which also is difficult if not insurmountable¹⁹.

Tibet has a very short agricultural season confined to the summer. During this season only barley, buckwheat, mustard, potatoes and turnips can be grown. The land available for cultivation

18. Ibid. pp. 39

19. Charles Bell, Op.cit, pp. 85-87

is limited and is barely sufficient for the members of the village. Hence most families take to animal husbandry also. Animal husbandry may range from keeping door animals such as the goats, sheep, milk cows and horses to keeping yaks. Yaks are herded in distant pastures. Most of the Tibetans aspire to owning Yaks. And as those families who own Yaks usually own a herd of them, they are compelled to go in search of pasture land, the rights over which are also clearly demarcated between villages. Hence such peasants are called semi-nomads and are distinguished from the sedantry farmers.

Besides the semi-nomads there exist full fledged nomads in Tibet herding Yaks across well defined routes. In summer these herdsmen move to different grazing grounds on mountain slopes and in winter they assemble in their villages in the valleys and live on Yak butter. These herdsmen are also tied to the nobility who own thousands of animals.

Besides agriculture and animal husbandry which stratifies the society into distinct 'estates' the Tibetan economy comprises of a trader class also. The Trader class could be regarded as the middle class. However trading is also indulged in by the nobility. Trading involved, till the Chinese occupation of Tibet, the import of salt, cotton goods and luxury articles for the nobility. The chief export items are wool, yak-tail, hide, borax and herbs.

There also exist in Tibet highly skilled artisans such as carpenters, painters, builders and iron-smiths to make weapons. But the category of artisans do not enjoy a high status in the Buddhist Society of Tibet²⁰.

Thus we notice that the Tibetan social and political structure while being hierarchical provided considerable autonomy for the villages, partly because of the geography of Tibet. Further, cooperation forms a dominant theme in Tibetan society ranging from the family to the nation. This spirit of cooperation is infused not only by the Tibetan Buddhism which emphasises on collective Nirvana but also by the Dalai Lama who is the supreme authority both in the religious and the secular spheres of Tibetan social life. Further, although Mahayana Buddhism emphasised other worldly concerns, it nevertheless recognised the this worldly concerns of the laity which was necessary to maintain its polity and economy.

20. Macdonald David The Land of the Lama, London, 1929, pp. 243

C H A P T E R- IIIEXODUS AND THE PROCESS OF REHABILITATION

Eighteen years have now elapsed since the flight of the Dalai Lama from Tibet in March, 1959. The Tibetan refugees who accompanied him in large numbers into exile in India and its neighbouring states of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim have now lived for almost a generation in their new surroundings. Their children have been born and educated without contact with their home-land depending solely on the memories of older generations for their knowledge of the 'land of snows'. Since the present Chinese rulers of the Tibet have virtually sealed the country off from the outside world, only a handful of persons have in recent years been added to the original groups of 80,000 to 1,00,000 refugees. Some even put the figure at 1,20,000.

The genesis of the Tibetan exodus lay in events as far back as 1949 when several editorials appearing in the communist press in China hankered over the liberation of Tibet from the capitalist reactionaries and its return to the motherland of

the People's Republic of China. For the annexation purpose, the advance units of the people's liberation army invaded the eastern frontier of Tibet, and within days captured the eastern region first and then whole Tibet came under their control.

On November 7, 1949, an appeal was made to U.N. for intervention, but Russia and China in U.N. claimed that Tibet is the part of China. The issue was regarded as the internal affair of China and the U.N. had no jurisdiction over it. The Tibetan appeal was thus shelved and no action taken. Having waited to test the world reaction, the Chinese army renewed its offensive.

Finally, the Tibetan officials signed a 17-point agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet in Peking on May 23, 1951 but it bore no fruit. To expedite political consolidation and military build up, China embarked upon a programme of extensive road-building in Tibet and hundreds of thousands of Tibetans were conscripted for labour. By 1956, China began to implement land reforms and cooperatives in the eastern region which soon led to rebellion. Revolt broke out in the Litang, Batang, and Chab-mdo areas of eastern Tibet, and then spread to the southern province. Local Chinese garrisons were attacked. The communists also retaliated by bombing the monasteries. This only intensified the determination of the people to resist, especially the Khams-pa natives of the Eastern Tibet¹.

1. Encyclopaedia Britanica Vol. 21. William Benton Publishers, London, 1969, pp. 1107-1110

In 1956, Dalai Lama paid a visit to India and told the Indian Premier that he was afraid that Chinese meant to destroy the Tibetan religion. He therefore pinned all his hopes on Delhi and explained that he wished to stay on in India until his country could regain its freedom by peaceful means. Mr Nehru advised him to go home as he had received assurances from Chou-en-Lai, who was visiting Delhi at that time, that the complaints against the Chinese in Tibet would be reported to Mao-Tse-Tung and the causes removed. Hence he returned to Lhasa².

But upon his return, he found the situation had reached a breaking point. The Chinese commander put pressure on the Dalai Lama to deploy Tibetan troops to suppress the revolt, but he refused. The Tibetan officials fearing for the Dalai Lama's personal safety urged him to flee the country. On the night of March 17, 1959 the Dalai Lama escaped from Lhasa with a few of his loyal officials and his family members to India. Along with him many other Tibetans also crossed into India³.

Regarding the motives that made Tibetans leave their country, Palakshappa⁴ who interviewed a number of refugees in Mundgod settlement has mentioned the following: The first was that there was an acute feeling of anxiety about the future of Tibet and its people. They were apprehensive of the fact that their rich culture

2. Gelder Roma and Stuart: The Timely Rain, Travels in New Tibet, Hutchinson of London, 1964, pp. 199-200

3. Ibid. pp. 201.

4. T.C. Palakshappa; Tibetans in India, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1978, pp. 16-17

would lose its identity as Tibetans under communists. They would not be allowed to practice Buddhism. The second and more specific reason was that many Tibetans heard of the massacre of Tibetans on a large scale because they did not toe the line of communism. In addition, the Chinese were said to be coercing the Tibetans to take a bride or a groom from the Chinese. This measure was aimed at destroying their race of which the Tibetans are so proud. The fourth reason was the information that their spiritual leader the Dalai Lama had taken refuge in India. The fifth reason was that the Chinese had planned the annexation in such a way that the families were split among themselves. They used the children to 'spy' upon the parents, and the wives upon their husbands. Thus the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese had created a sense of insecurity which drove them to emigrate.

No ^cacurate _k statistics are available on the number of Tibetan refugees. The official estimates made by the Indian government are not quite accurate, and in any case do not include the number of children born since the refugees arrived in India. Although small numbers of Tibetans have emigrated to Switzerland, Canada and in still small numbers to other western countries, the vast majority remain in the Indian sub-continent where the principal efforts of the relief agencies have been concentrated. Here too, the attempt is being made to keep alive the traditions of ancient Tibet, and to maintain, in a free and independent atmosphere, even if in an alien setting the continuity of Tibetan religion and culture.

Like all other refugees, the Tibetan refugees have been confronted with two mutually contradictory pressures. If, on the one hand, they seek to keep alive the idea of return, they must somehow prevent their physical dispersion, and, by their very plight, arouse the concern of the world, in the hope that political conditions can be changed in their favour. The frustration of these ambitions, however may lead to their abandonment or to their persistence as one of the world's unsolved problems, as has happened earlier with the Palestinian refugees. On the other hand, if the refugees willingly accept the generous contributions of relief agencies and by their own endeavours, succeed in rehabilitating themselves in their new homelands, they will inevitably be subject to pressures to assimilate or amalgamate with their host populations, with the gradual extinction of their distinctive characteristics. To be sure, because India is already a multi-cultural, multi-religious country the pressures to assimilate culturally (as distinct from politically) was expected to be minimal⁵.

The fate of such refugee communities depends largely upon the calibre of their leadership. The Tibetan refugees, in this respect have been doubly fortunate. Not only did the Dalai Lama

5. Conway, J.S The Tibetan Community in Exile, Pacific Affairs, Vol.48, No.1 Spring, 1975 pp.74-80.

their acknowledged leader succeed in escaping to India unharmed, but this took place when he was only twenty five years old. The continuity of leadership through him in the succeeding years has greatly assisted the consolidation of Tibetan community in exile.

The Dalai Lama is well aware of the dilemma of his own situation. He nourishes and indeed must nourish the belief that the political circumstances may change before too long, so that he and his exiled followers will be able to return to Tibet. As he told an audience at Bylakuppe, one of the Tibetan agricultural settlements in South India, a year ago:

' It appears that within three to six years, the situation may be likely to change. We are now in a hopeful situation, that is, hope is nearer. Therefore, I urge you that everyone should struggle continuously for our common interest as we have done in the past and we should not loose our morale. In Tibet, not only the older people, but the younger people who accept communist ideology are opposed to Chinese aggression and thus have great moral strength to get Tibet back to Tibetans. The whole Tibetan people have one common goal, "The independence of Tibet" ' (6)

The Dalai Lama has not discouraged emigration to Western countries, and has assiduously encouraged the majority of his supporters who remain in India to rehabilitate themselves in their new surroundings and to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Indian government and the voluntary agencies to establish

6. Ibid. pp. 80-82

viable communities designed to become self-sufficient and self-sustaining. This policy has two obvious merits; first, it will ensure that the Tibetan refugee community as a whole remains intact gathered in sufficiently large groups to be able to maintain their own language and religion, and with Tibetan schools teaching the essentials of their heritage. Secondly, the economic support created will prevent the Tibetan from becoming a depressed and dependent minority, existing solely from the handouts of world community, which might so easily forget them, or ignore them in favour of more pressing claims elsewhere. The policy of self-sufficiency, however, runs the risk that the settlements might become too successful. In Karnataka, for example, strenuous efforts have been made to prevent a situation where less fortunate or industrious Indian groups be envious of the Tibetans achievements⁷.

There are estimate to be about seventy thousand refugees in India. The majority of them were poor hailing from the areas of Tibet bordering Bhutan, Nepal and India. A few thousand refugees from western Tibet also came into Ladakh and some came through the passes of Panjab, U.P., Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim, while many came through the North East Frontier Agency, now Arunachal Pradesh.

7. Ibid. pp. 82-83.

The Ministry of External Affairs, which was put in charge of the refugees recorded 14,000 refugees in 1959-60. In its 1960-61 report the number reported had risen to 25,000. The next year the number of refugees was put at 33,000, some 4,091 being new arrivals. In 1962-63, 35,000 were recorded and in 1964-65 the numbers had jumped to 45,000 in the country⁸. This jump in number can also be attributed to the unstable conditions and disorder following China's cultural revolution, the impact of which did not escape Tibet. At the 20th Session of the General Assembly (1965) of the U.N. the Indian delegate had also mentioned that, "to-day there are thousands of Tibetans refugees in my country. Approximately 50,000 who have left their hearths and homes and fled from their country to join their leader and seek refuge in India. The plight of these refugees still continues..."

By 1967-68 the number had stabilized at 56,000 and this figure continued to be recorded in subsequent reports. New entries were becoming fewer in number and do not seem to have made an appreciable difference to the over-all numbers. Most of those who managed, and still manage to escape the increased vigilance of the Chinese belong to the Southern parts of Tibet. As late as 1975, 1976 new entrants were recorded⁹.

8. Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India, Annual Reports, 1960-'61, 1962-63, 1963-64 and 1964-65.

9. Ibid. 1967-68. p. 18.

When the work concerning Tibetan refugees was taken over by the Indian Ministry of Labour, Employment and Rehabilitation in 1968, the same number of refugees was recorded in its annual reports until as late as 1974-75. How far these figures are reliable is of course difficult to say. Neither the Indian government nor the Bureau of the Dalai Lama have very clear records especially of the present increases. The 56,000 relates to refugees who came in since 1959 into India including Sikkim and Bhutan of whom approximately 12,000 were children, 3,000 old and infirm and 2,600 were Lamas originally, some 20,000 to 30,000 were said to have entered Nepal but dwindled down to 12,000¹⁰. According to the latest reports the government claims that a total of 56,000 Tibetan refugees are in India of which 33,700 are rehabilitated, over 10,000 have been able to settle on their own while 6000 are still waiting to be settled.¹¹

According to the latest estimates of the Bureau of the Dalai Lama¹², there are approximately 83,000 refugees in India, Bhutan, Nepal, Switzerland, Canada, Europe (excluding Switzerland). The break down of figures is given in Appendix I. The Ministry of Rehabilitation, however, are ^{wary} of definite figures attributing

10. Ibid. 1968-69 - 1974-75.

11. The Hindustan Times, July 17, 1978 and the Times of India, 8th August, 1978.

12. A Report on the ten years of Rehabilitation of Tibetan Refugees. Issued by the information and publicity office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharmasala, 1969.

this uncertainty to the migratory nature of Tibetan population. No official census has therefore been made and figures provided by the Bureau of refugees in India, have yet to be verified by Indian Agencies. Thus, even if we take the estimate of the Bureau of Dalai Lama as accurate, we notice that the Tibetans form a trickle compared to the refugees streams from West Pakistan and East Pakistan¹³

√ The settlement of Tibetan refugees in India has not been an easy task. The Indian government tackled the problem sympathetically, and to some extent, a number of voluntary agencies also gave assistance. To start with, these agencies posed problems, in that each wanted to help according to its own prediliction. Therefore, a coordinating agency, the central relief committee (India) was formed¹⁴. It is generally agreed that the Tibetans were far less of a problem than the other refugees. With the cooperation of the Dalai Lama they showed discipline, tolerance and endurance. Although most of the refugees were not agriculturists, but most of the rehabilitation schemes had an agricultural bias. It was not possible to get agricultural land to suit the climatic needs of the Tibetans, who were used to living at great heights and in dry

13. The Sunday : An Anand Bazar Patrika Publication, May 21, 1978.

14. P.N. Kaul, Frontier Callings, Vikas Publishing House, (P) Ltd. Delhi- 1976, pp. 115-116

climate. With the cooperation of various state governments, some jungle areas were made available for the settlement of Tibetans. Agricultural settlements, combined with other subsidiary cottage industries, were gradually set up in Karnataka Orissa, Arunachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. To start with, since all the settlers were not used to agriculture and particularly not in the hot climate of India, it looked like a losing battle. One of the best settlement areas which government of India gave to Tibetan was the three thousand acres at Bylakuppe in Periyapattana district of Karnataka (formerly Mysore State) fifty miles from the Mysore town on the Mysore Coorg road. This has been regarded to be in the most successful settlement¹⁵.

In all of these southern settlements, leadership is vested in the cooperative society, which is usually headed by the representative of the Dalai Lama in the settlement, assisted by many younger Tibetans who have graduated from the school system.

In most of the settlements, small irrigational schemes were evolved. Simple and cheap family huts were provided and in a short time the settlement became a collection of small Tibetan villages. Eventually many of the settlers became rich enough to build their own improved huts. Various facilities like bullocks, ploughs and a few tractors were provided, carpet-making centres were set-up as well as other cottage industries. By tradition many

15. Ibid. pp. 117-118.

Tibetans are good carpet weavers and from this source they earn a good income and foreign exchange. Years later, another settlement in Karnataka was set up at Mundgod and this is also believed to be doing well. Settlements were raised in the hill areas of Orissa at Chandragiri in the Parlekemedi sub-division of Ganjam district. The 2,500 acres settlement was at a height of 3,000 ft. but very hot with a rocky ground. At first, it seemed nothing could ^{be} achieved, but with perseverance and patience the Tibetans made this settlement a success. Small irrigation schemes have been introduced, combined with animal husbandry carpet weaving and similar cottage industries. Another settlement was set up at the 3,000 ft. high Mainpat plateau in the Sarguja district of Madhya Pradesh. This 2,500 acres settlement initially appeared to have limited chances of success as the irrigation possibilities were few and tube-wells were not feasible. The condition of the cattle in the area did not give one much hope for any worthwhile animal husbandry scheme. The settlers have had to depend more on cottage industries than on agriculture or animal husbandry but have made a success of their settlement. A small settlement was set-up in the foothills of the Kemang district of Arunachal Pradesh. One more settlement was set up in the lower areas of Lohit district very close to Tezu, the district headquarters. Although the climate was adverse, the Tibetans made it a success through their hard work. They were able to

supply a major portion of the vegetables, poultry and similar requirements of the town and earn a good income. Another settlement at Changlang in Trirap district of Arunachal Pradesh, has not proved very successful because there were no irrigation facilities¹⁶.

While twelve to fifteen thousand people thus found rehabilitation on the land, most Tibetans resorted to other means for their livelihood with the assistance of the government of India, they set-up big handicrafts centres for carpet weaving and production of other Tibetan products at Dalhousie in H.P and elsewhere. The remainder initially found employment on road construction in the cool; hilly areas. With the passage of time, they have also been shifted to various agricultural settlements or absorbed in Handicraft centres. Besides many of them have left the settlement to venture out on their own.

In the process of building self-sustaining and viable settlements, the contributions of foreign voluntary agencies have been significant. Beginning in 1966 with the provision of 3,50,000 dollar from the funds of European refugee campaign, large-scale rehabilitation projects have been organised and financed mainly from European and North American sources. The board of trustees for the common project of European Refugee campaign established as its Indian partner, the Mysore Resettlement and

16. Ibid. pp. 118-120.

Development Agency (Myrada) which has been responsible for the creation of four major settlements in Karnataka. It has now built up a body of expertise that makes it a valuable and effective agent for development, not only for the Tibetan refugees, but also for the associated projects of a similar nature designed to assist landless people of the region¹⁷.

It is noteworthy that the Tibetan refugees burst into the world scene in 1959- the very year designated by the United Nations as world refugee year. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees did not recognise the Tibetan exiles in India as refugees. The General Assembly of the U.N. therefore passed a resolution authorising the High Commissioner to extend assistance to refugee who do not come within the competence of the United Nations and to use his good offices in the transmission of contributions designed to provide assistance to them. It was a clear realization that the refugee problem was a continuing one, and not be confined to the European sphere or limited to those refugees falling within the scope of the statute of the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees or the convention relating to the status of refugees¹⁸.

17. Conway J.S "The Tibetan Community in Exile : Pacific Affairs, Vol. 48, No.1, Spring, 1975, pp. 80-82

18. General Assembly Resolution 1388 (xiv) 20th Nov.1959. 841st Plenary Meeting General Assembly Official Records.

While the United Nations could not resolve the political status of Tibet, the humanitarian situation had been acknowledged and deplored and the plight of the refugees highlighted, by virtue of long discussions held within the United Nations and outside. While the General Assembly at most condemned to Communist Chinese actions, any idea of direct intervention remained frozen. Yet unlike the political problem, the continuous flow of refugees could not be shelved. The U.N. was ably supplemented by a varied number of agencies specialised to look into the vast problems of human welfare. Thus, while the brunt of the responsibility for the refugees fell on the host countries, the United Nations could act through its office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to help alleviate the refugee problems.

By 1961, the refugees had been dispersed to various organised locations for settlement in India. The Central Relief Committee's monthly report lists some 32 locations either at campus or institutions including Nurseries, Schools, and hospitals being rendered relief assistance in the form of food, clothing and medicines. Stipends were also given to meritorious students, who were eligible to study in schools other than those created purely for the refugee children and for those undergoing training in social welfare and later in various trades and vocations¹⁹.

19. Fourteenth Session, Suppl. No.16 (A/4354) p. 45. Para 81, C.R.C.I. Monthly Reports. 1961

These localities were spread all over the country, and included Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Sikkim Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir in the North and Madras and Karnataka in South, the majority being concentrated at Himachal Pradesh. Shortly after the rehabilitation processes were begun in earnest, land settlements were also located at Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

Besides the Indian government bearing the expenses of settlement, sources of relief aid mentioned in the 1961 reports were traced to some fourteen organisations and governments. These include the following: American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees (AECTR); Catholic Relief Service (CR); Church World Service (CWS); Committee on Relief and Gift Supplies (CORAGS); Cooperation for American Relief Everywhere (CARE); Council of YMCA of India and Ceylone Refugee Section; Dr. Thomas Dooley Foundation, California, USA; Govt. of South Vietnam; Indian Red-Cross Society (IRS); Junior Chamber International, US (JCI); National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC); National Christian Council (NCC); Save the Children Fund, U.K (SCF) and the Service Civil International (SCI)

The Church organizations often acted in Cooperation with each other and much of the aid seems to have been provided by these and AECTR. This list, however, neither seeks to indicate the comprehensive assistance given through the years nor the total

works involved - it does not for instance give any indication of the personnel involved either voluntarily or as attached to organizations, or individual donations. Besides, as noted by Woodcocks, some organizations choose²⁰ to ignore the CRC (I) channel and operated independently.

Last, but not the least, this chapter will not be complete without giving an account of the Dalai Lama's administration in India which has played a significant role in the rehabilitation efforts. The Tibetan administration has been established with a view to take care of the Tibetan refugees in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and at the same time preserve their separate entity. The new administration sought to drastically change the character of the administration existing in pre 1959 Tibet. Although the new administration claims to be the government of Tibet in exile the Government of India has refused to acknowledge it as such. The new administration was decentralised into separate departments each with its own portfolio of responsibilities and administrative functions and with considerable freedom in day-to-day decision-making, though still held together by the Kashag or the Cabinet in important matters of policy and general supervision. The administration of the Dalai Lama is based at

20. Iabella, Khalthing: Tibetan Refugees and the United Nations. Unpublished M.Phil dissertation, School of International Studies, JNU. New Delhi, 1977, pp.39.

Dharmasala, Himachal Pradesh his temporary headquarters and is made up of several bodies²¹.

Kashag, which both in form and function resembles a Cabinet, consists of the Senior most officials of the Dalai Lama's administration and makes policy decisions on matters relating to the five administrative departments of the Tibetan government. To-day, it consists of the five departmental directors who are ex-officio members of the Kashag.

Further there altogether 17 elected representatives of the people - four members from each of the three provinces of Tibet, including one woman member for each of these regions, one member from each of the four major Buddhist sects in Tibet and one member nominated by the Dalai Lama. The members of this body undertake periodic tours of the various settlements, handicrafts centres and other Tibetan institutions and help to bring their problems to the notice of the administration in Dharmasala. Their other function is to keep a check on the work being done by the various departments in order to ensure that all Tibetan refugees are looked after properly.

Regarding Tibetan national working Committee, the 17 elected representatives, the Kashag and a representative from each of the five major departments of the Tibetan administration in Dharmasala together form a Tibetan National Working Committee.

21. A Report on Ten Years Rehabilitation of Tibetan Refugees 1959-1969, published by the Bureau of Dalai Lama, Dharmasala, pp.5-10, 1969.

The Committee is the ultimate decision-making body dealing with matters in which Kshag cannot take a decision.

The procedure laid down is as follows: the subject in question is first discussed by the committee and then brought to the notice of the Dalai Lama. It is, then, again discussed by the Committee in the light of his advice and a resolution is passed and submitted for the Dalai Lama's approval. The actual work of the administration is divided into the five departmental offices. They are:-

- i) The Council of Religious and Cultural Affairs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama
- ii) The Home and Rehabilitation Office
- iii) The Council for Tibetan education
- iv) Information and publicity office
- v) Security and personnel office

In addition to these five offices, there are the offices of Tibet in New York and Geneva, and the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Delhi, all three of which came directly under the Kashag. There is also the office of the charitable Trust of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Calcutta which manages the funds of the Tibetan government in exile and comes directly under the authority of His Holiness²².

22. Ibid. pp. 10-15

C H A P T E R- IVTHE PROCESS OF ADAPTATION

IN this Chapter an attempt would be made to study the process of adaptation of the Tibetan refugees to their new abodes in India and compare their experience to that of the Punjabi and Bengali refugees. In order to do so we draw heavily upon the sociological study of a Tibetan refugee settlement in Karnataka and a few interviews and newspaper reports available on the Tibetan refugees. It should be pointed out that with the paucity of material the conclusion drawn are tentative and are to be used as hypotheses for a full-fledged research proposed to be undertaken by the researcher in his Ph.D work.

As has been mentioned in the last Chapter the Tibetans in India have been rehabilitated in agricultural settlements as well as in rural industries and handicraft centres in India. While the government reports speak of successful rehabilitation of the refugees in agricultural settlements, in the initial phase, the industrial centres posed considerable problems. Thus for instance in 1966, a group of international voluntary agencies envisioned a novel idea of rehabilitating 5,000 Tibetans on small scale industries

requiring semi-skilled and un-skilled workers in the state of Himachal Pradesh next to the foothills of the Western Himalaya. They called themselves (Tibetan Industrial Rehabilitation Society) (T.I.R.S.). By 1969 the construction of the Indian settlements was almost over. Then the cell founded for the 5000 refugees scattered all over the Himalayan foothills engaged in building India's strategic roads to 'come home'.¹

Since 1959 these refugees (road workers who were scattered) had been living in tents, earning an average daily wage of about Rs. 2.50 and leading a very insecure life. Though reluctant to root themselves in an alien land, the refugees were willing enough to 'wait for rangzen' (independence) in these industrial settlements indefinitely. So they rushed to their newly built settlements, eager to start a more secure life. But no sooner they 'settled down' than they had to go back to road construction. Industries which were supposed to employ them flopped one after the other, after consuming most of the investment in the ignition, and leaving behind empty factories and quarelling managers and discontented workers. What were the causes? The official explanation sees belatedly though an incompatibility between the agricultural and nomadic background

1. Tibetan Review: Vol. VIII No.6, July, 1973.

of the Tibetans and the 'complex modern industrial setting' in which they were placed, albeit for a short while. But it would be a sheer technological superstition to maintain rigidity because the Tibetan workers had no 'industrial experience'. The schemes failed when the industries required little or no skill at all such as plucking tea leaves or digging lime stones.

Things went wrong at the managerial level. There was a deplorable lack of rapport between Indian managers and the Tibetan leaders. And the decisive blow came from the contradictory system by which these industries operated. Being purely voluntary enterprises, the industries were expected to operate along humanitarian lines. But there was neither the devotion and commitment of a social worker nor the profit motivation of the company executive. Between the two extremes were individual interests which sought to gain at the expense of majority². Besides the industrial sites show little economic planning. The Fiberglass Plant at Paonta is a case in question. The plant had to get its raw materials from Bombay and its products had to be transported to distant parts of India from a remote village.

Having learned from their past experience, the newly appointed directors of TIRS, are now trying to give the defunct industrial settlements a new lease of life by making them,

2. Ibid.

agricultural based, supported by handicrafts. "Good earth seems the only hope for the pre-industrial Tibetans". This change in orientation towards industrial centres seems to have succeeded if one goes by the government reports.

The government reports mentioned above do not however make clear the concept of 'successful rehabilitation' which they use quite frequently. Probably, it meant that the settlements became financially self-sufficient. But, the process of rehabilitation and adaptation of Tibetan refugees is essentially a social process. Hence to analyse this process we have to focus on the social dimensions of adaptation. There is however, only one book by Palakshappa³ which takes the social dimension into account also. Hence we now turn to Palakshappa's sociological study of a Tibetan settlement at Mundgod in Karnataka. At Mundgod Tibetans were given virgin land which they cleared and made it into dwelling units. The settlement is divided into 11 villages. The social composition of these villages has much to do with the history of resettlement. The refugees while they were in transit camps were organised into groups based on tribal affiliations. During the process of rehabilitation the group leader used to be allotted land and houses for members of his group. Each family is given a maximum of 5 acres of land.

3. T.C. Palakshappa, Op.cit.

He is in consultation with the families in his group distributed the land and houses. This institution of the group leader operates even now in the settled villages although the group leaders have changed. Recruitment as a group leader is done by rotation every year. Everyone in the group of families gets to be a leader some time or the other. The group leaders act under the village leader. Their main task is act as a channel information between the village leader and the member families. The group leaders would report to the village leader the felt needs of their representative families and also pass messages which the village leader receives from the cooperative society in the settlement and other official agencies to their representatives. They also attempt to settle disputes among the groups if only it is not settled are these disputes referred to the village leader⁴.

The Tibetans have retained another feature of their traditional life. During the process of migration the Tibetans came along with their village leaders. The village leaders played a significant role in protecting the members of their village and in the distribution of food in the transit camps. They continue to play this role in the Mundgod settlement also. Though in theory they are elected by all the adult males who are heads of families in the village and though their term of office is supposed to be

4. T.C. Palakshappa. Op.cit. pp. 44

for three years, in practice the village leader gets selected and many have retained their position from the days of the transit camps. The village leader looks after the interests of the diverse tribes rehabilitated in the village through the group leaders. They also act as a link between the cooperative society for the whole settlement and the village. The village leader is answerable to the secretary of the cooperative society. He mobilises his village people for the common communal tasks that have to be undertaken like cleaning land, mobilising savings and the like. He also acts as a mediator between the villagers and the commercial banks set up in the area. He ensures prompt payment of loans to the banks. He transmits messages from the secretary to the cooperative society. He performs his traditional functions of settling disputes that arise among the members of his village⁵.

At the apex of the Tibetan settlement is the Tibetan Cooperative Society. The society is run by the Secretary who is a representative of the Dalai Lama's headquarters at Dharmashala and is paid by the latter's office. He is the virtual king of the settlement especially because he carries Dalai Lama's authority. He also is responsible for planning crops, and marketing and the like. He can command people within the settlement. He acts as a mediator between the local Indians and the government rehabilitation office which funnels funds from various international and government agencies. The society has in its possession 27 tractors

5. Ibid. pp. 45-46.

2 jeeps and a car for the use of the settlement. The tractors were the gift of the Swiss government. The society has used the services of two Swiss technicians to train Tibetans in using the vehicles and in repairing them. It now maintains the workshop set up by the Swiss government. The workshop now also caters to the needs of the local inhabitants in the area. The society also runs the primary schools in the settlement.⁶ In the Mundgod settlement, the Lama villages exist as a separate group. They are the equivalent of the monasteries of Tibet. The routine of the Lama villages and their organization are different from that of the other villages. Every Lama is given some land on lease in Mundgod. But all the land in the Lama village is pooled and is cultivated jointly. The income from land is used to meet the day-to-day expenses and the residue is spent on religious purposes such as contribution to prayer halls and the preparation of holy scripts. There is a hierarchy among the Lamas. At the top are the Abbots who are again ranked as senior or junior depending on their age. The Abbots are the final authority on religion within a particular Lama village, next come the Lamas. The Lamas who are bachelors live in groups of twenty. Lamas are those who have achieved 150 gunas or vows. The others are called Monks. Lamas devote themselves exclusively to religious tasks

6. Ibid. pp. 43

such as reading of the scriptures, teaching new Monks and the like. The Monks however combined religious tasks with economic activities such as agriculture. Those of the Monks who are not physically capable of out-door work take on the charges in the communal kitchen⁷.

The Lama villages is autonomous of the other Tibetan villages in the settlement. Each of them has its own cooperative society independent of the Tibetan Cooperative Society. The finances, purchase and sale of goods for the Lama villages^{are} undertaken by these societies. These societies are directly linked to the Dalai Lama's office at Dharmasala. They nevertheless obtain assistance from the Tibetan Cooperative Society in the form of both men and machinery.

While the foregoing description of the Tibetan settlement of Mundgod clearly demonstrate that the essential features of the traditional Tibetan society incorporating the values of hierarchy as well cooperation are preserved in one crucial respect, the villages in the settlements differs from the villages in traditional Tibet. As the refugees were settled in Mundgod on the basis of the first come first serve principle in each of the settlement villages, people belonging to different class and different regions of Tibet live cheek by jowl to each other. Hence no settlement village

7. Ibid. pp. 48-49

is homogeneous in terms of clan affiliation. This fact reduced considerably the importance of clan organisation and has strengthened the family as the basic unit of organization. Palakshappa's data reveal a majority of the families are nuclear and although polyandry is not prohibited most have preferred monogamous marriages. The families continue to be patriarchal and authoritarian with the eldest male being the head.

How far has the social organization helped in the adaptation of the Tibetans to the local milieu? Palakshappa argues that Tibetans at Mundgod represent the case of 'progressive adjustment'⁸. According to him, economically the Tibetans have made their settlement a success. Though new to agriculture they quickly learned the techniques of growing jowar and rice with the help of the cooperative society. They ^{are} now able to produce a surplus which they sell in the local market. Some of them have even taken to subsidiary occupations such as carpet weaving and sweater making, which they sell in the bigger towns and cities of Karnataka. They have become so prosperous that many have been able to re-build their dwellings with better material. Many have also acquired consumer durable goods like transistors, watches, colourful clothes and the like.

8. Ibid. pp 111-112.

This economic prosperity of the Tibetans was however, not easy. In the initial stages there was considerable hostility between the local inhabitants and the Tibetans. The former felt that their land is being given away to outsiders. However, gradually a symbolic relationship developed between the local inhabitants and the Tibetans. This was possible because the government also gave land to the landless among the local Indians. Further, the Indians found agricultural work in busy seasons on the Tibetan land whereas formerly they had no work. The Tibetan settlement also gave a boost to the demand for milk and butter (which they consume in large quantities), fish, meat and vegetables apart from other daily provisions. In the beginning the Tibetans being illiterate and not knowing language used to get cheated by the local traders. But now they have been able to overcome these deficiencies and have even become skillful traders.

This economic prosperity of the Tibetan is no small measure to their cooperative spirit. Their cooperative society has procured funds, machinery and technicians to help the settlers. Their communal organisation also acted as a buffer vis-a-vis the resident Indians of the area and have protected the illiterate settlers from being exploited by the local money-lenders and traders. The communal organisation has been so purposeful that now the individual Tibetans can carry on trade

independently with local Indians.

Economic prosperity has brought about several changes among the Tibetans. Of these the principal change is the creation of the generation gap. The younger generation of Tibetan, many of whom have had education and have become independent have adopted an Indian style of life. They dress in shirts and trousers and have discarded the traditional Tibetan dress which is cumbersome and heavy in the warmer climate of Mundgod. They also have changed their dietary habits and prefer Indian food for the traditional Tibetan diet. They have also become independent of their parents in matter of the choice of a spouse. They also look down upon what they regard as unclean habits of their parents and older member of the family. This has seriously eroded the traditional authority of the elders among the Tibetans.

Apart from the incipient generation conflict, the Tibetan social structure is also witnessing changes along class lines. Among the Tibetans class distinctions are beginning to show in the families. The economically more successful families have taken land on lease from the Indians as well and display consumer durable items such as cars, transistors and the like and have a more 'modern' style of life than the others. Rank of families is beginning to be evaluated on the basis of class now⁹.

9. Ibid. pp. 82-95

Then do all these changes convey the disintegration of the Tibetan identity and assimilation into the host society? The answer that one can derive from Palakshappa's study is in the negative. Despite the cooperation of the local Indians in the economic sphere, the Tibetans are not employed easily by the local Indians who feel they do not know them sufficiently. In the cultural sphere there are still differences in values and beliefs which keep the Tibetans apart. The Tibetans on their part cannot comprehend the caste system prevalent amongst the Indians. They also cannot understand the Indian's attitude towards animals. If a snake is found in the field the Indians kill it whereas the Tibetan would prefer to take it unharmed and leave it in a distant place. Similarly, the Indians do not appreciate the purity-pollution ideas of the Tibetans and regard them as filthy. Added to this, the schools run by the Cooperative Society do not teach Kannada the local language nor do they encourage the Tibetan educated youth to join colleges in India. Another contributing factor has been the impression in the minds of the local Indians that the Tibetans will be going back home one day leaving the land for them. Thus, it can be said that the changes that have come about have not eroded the Tibetan identity although many of the distinctive aspects of Tibetan culture are giving way.¹⁰

10. Ibid. pp. 101-105.

It may be pointed out that the process of adaptation delineated above may relate only to those who have been permanently settled whereas many of them have sought a livelihood independently outside the settlement. Unfortunately, there is no study available on the Tibetans living outside the settlement. But if the newspaper reports such as that of Jamuna Rao is any indication, the Tibetans outside the camp have also successfully adapted themselves from Jamuna Rao's reporting on Asha, a Tibetan who sells woolen garments in Bangalore it is clear that she has voluntarily left her camp in a settlement colony near Hunsur in Karnataka. She prefers to call herself a Nepali in order to evade officials scrutiny. Her family still retains the house allotted to them in the colony although they reside there for only two or three months in the year. In the remaining they are on the move selling sweaters bought whole sale ^{from} Ludhiana as Chinese or Japanese sweaters to the gullible buyers. She also sells smuggled items for the discerning buyers. To buy woolen goods wholesale three or four friendly families pool in capital worth rupees ten thousand to fifteen thousand and buy the goods once a year either in Ludhiana or in Bombay. This reflects the strength of community ties even among the Tibetans outside the settlements. In fact, Asha prefers to stay outside the settlement and avoids officials lest they transfer them back.

to the settlement¹¹. From a few stray remarks that Jamuna Rao makes on Asha it is quite clear that polygamy is still prevalent among the Tibetans. They still form an endogamous group maintaining their separate identity in terms of clothes, language and style of life.

The other journalistic reports available mention of the Tibetan taking to hoteliering, circus, selling himalayan herbs. Some mention that the Tibetan settlement have even become red-light areas. From these reports on those who have not been officially rehabilitated it is clear that Tibetans continue to remain aloof and preserve their identity although they come in closer economic contact with the local Indians¹².

Thus, although the Tibetans have displayed remarkable capacity to adjust themselves to the host country and remain self-sufficient economically, this adjustment process does not seem to have eroded the Tibetan community feeling. However, the generation gap that is witnessed in the Tibetan community to-day has provided much cause of concern for the older generation of Tibetans who fear an erosion of Tibetan culture and values due to the impact of Indianisation and Westernization among the young. The following interview by Ghanshyam Pardesi with

11. Deccan Herald, June 21, 1978.

12. Youth Times, June 9,-22, 1978, a Times of India Publication.

Dawa T. Norbu , former editor of Tibetan Review a journal published by the Dalai Lama headquarters highlights many of these fears .¹³

Q. According to you what are the outstanding problems which the exiles are facing in the field of relief resettlement and culture etc.

Ans. I think the outstanding problem facing the exile in the field of relief and resettlement is the lack of rapport between the foreign agencies and the Tibetans. This means firstly what type of settlement - agricultural or industrial would be most suitable to the Tibetans in view of their peculiar background. Secondly, Tibetan suggestions and requirements were not very much respected and so a lot of funds were wasted on projects which later on turned out to be unsuitable for them. Now the relief workers have found practical and suitable ideas and plans for proper rehabilitation but now the funds are drying up. The cultural estrangement is most actually felt by the youth. The older Tibetans with strong Buddhist background have been resilient though they feel out of place and even out of the country. The youth have been most susceptible to westernization and indianization.

13. Pardesi Ghanshyam : "Tibetaner in Exil" - Die Politische Rolle der Exiltibetaner seit der tibetischen Volkserhebung Von 1959. Maximilians-Universitat, Munchen, 1973.

The best of them find themselves living in two worlds.

Q. Are enough efforts being made to preserve and further the Tibetan culture (way of life) by those responsible for such matters at Dharmasala and in the camps, in order to survive the crisis (forced to leave the country) which may last for an indefinite period ?

Ans. The Tibetan Camps and schools and even groups of students sent abroad are organised in such a way so that Tibetan culture would be preserved. It may not be possible to preserve the Tibetan way of life as such but the Tibetan leaders, specially the Dalai Lama are most keen to preserve the essential Tibetan values. I feel, this is the practical solution, there is no point in creating an artificial Tibetan way of life amidst in overwhelmingly different environment.

Q. Do the provincial, cultural and sectarian differences (every country has them) among the refugees manifest themselves in such a way so as to cause disunity in an essentially identical national group ?

Are these differences respected by Dharmasala or are these groups simply ignored ? What would you say ? It is the impression that all groups of refugees from any part of Tibet and belonging to any sect are Tibetans, they all respect the Dalai Lama's spiritual authority, they all entertain some sort of loose national feeling

and they all want independence of their country, city, town and village from the foreign occupation ?

Ans. Provincialism and sectarianism do exist but they do not take precedence over nationalism. Some of the western Buddhist converts have created a sectarian consciousness among the refugees which did not exist in Tibet among the lay followers.

Q. How would you put the Tibetan aspirations regarding the independence in the context of the present reality ?

Ans. In the context of the existing reality, it seems rather difficult to comment on the Tibetan aspirations for independence. As far as Tibetans are concerned, they would accept nothing short of independence. However, it might be possible to have a dialogue with China especially considering the present international detant mood.

Q. Any comments about the administration in exile which you may like to make ?

Ans. Tibetan administration in exile is rather unequipped to meet the new situation. The Tibetan people as a whole are passing through a most critical period Transition from old to new. Most Tibetans hope to retain whatever good values existing in Tibetan way of life and to absorb good values from the outside world. In this respect the mixture of old and young Tibetans with modern education which constitutes the administration is helpful. But the

danger seems to be that young Tibetans with better brains and talents would drift away for better prospects, and mostly mediocres with neither decent Tibetan education nor modern education remain.

From the above interview it is clear that inspite of the efforts of the Tibetan authorities to preserve the essential Tibetan culture, there is a fear that better educated youth would become individualistic and drift away into the Indian society loosing all the Tibetan moorings. Mr Norbu however recognises that although some provincialism and sectarianism has crept in amongst the refugees, on the whole the Tibetan nationalism has held them together as a community so far and has not yet given way to the process of assimilation with the host society.

What is the basis of this 'nationalism' ? According to a summary of a research report by Claes Corlin published in Bangkok Post (1976)¹⁴, this nationalism among the Tibetan exiles has been forged by religion. This in turn elevated the spiritual position of the Dalai Lama who became the symbol of collective identification. Therefore the Dalai Lama and his administration became the main link with the past. The Dalai Lama's authority according to Corlin has made the Tibetans accept innovations so long as they have been

14. New light on the role of Tibet's Dalai Lama, Bangkok Post (Bangkok) 28th May, 1976.

blessed by the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan refugee administration have therefore been able to succeed in its aim of preserving Tibetan identity and in nurturing hopes of return to Tibet through the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama.

But, the above facts however do not make Mr Dawa Norbu's fears unfounded. The recent developments among the Tibetan youth if anything confirms his fears further. Recently a body known as the Tibetan Youth Congress has been formed by some of the educated Tibetan youth. This organisation is attempting to arouse the political consciousness of the Tibetan refugees. According to its leaders, the reports emanating from journalists and authors visiting Lhasa and other areas of Tibet as well as a B.B.C. team's documentary film on the present day Tibet by Felix Greene, shows that Tibet has entered the modern age. Hence they are advocating the idea of going back to Tibet. Even if the Chinese ill treat them, they argue that it is better to die fighting for freedom inside Tibet rather than to just sit, eat, pray and sleep. They are becoming critical of the Dalai Lama and his administration in India. They comment on the 'unhappy traits' of the Dalai Lama's headquarters such as the excessive bureaucratisation and the proliferation of offices, committees and sub-committees. They feel that the Dalai Lama is only a religious head and not a political one¹⁵.

15. Dalai Lama facing challenge from youth, Sunday Standard (Delhi) 18th Sept., 1977.

The heightened political consciousness of the Tibetan youth is also reflected in the increasing frequency of demonstrations in front of the Chinese Embassy in Delhi. The Tibetan Youth Congress recently issued a warning to the Indian government to resist from any move to negotiate with China over the land that belongs to the Tibetans¹⁶.

The increasing political consciousness of the Tibetan youth has forced the Dalai Lama also to differentiate between religion and politics. In a recent interview for Asia World he even expressed his willingness to accept a communist system of government provided the freedom of religion is left to the individual. He also has been trying to rally Tibetans more in the name of Tibetan nationalism rather than in the name of Tibetan religion. He goes on to state that the reports of foreign journalists are not accurate because their tours and itinerary were conducted by the Chinese authorities and their interpreters were selected by them. He states that even the Tibetan communists residing in Tibet are unhappy with the Chinese domination. For The Dalai Lama, there exist common grounds between Mahayana Buddhism and the original Marxism.

*6, "The Tibetan Question" in Asia World, August 21, 1978, Post-Meridian Publishing Co. Ltd. Calcutta.

Thus, it appears that the religious basis of their communal identity is slowly giving way to the political notion of Tibetan nationalism. This has come about in no small measure due to westernization and Indianization process being witnessed among the Tibetan youth in India. All this supports the Eisenstadt's view that "the culture of an immigrant community is not simply a carry-over of its traditional culture, but the result of interactions between this and the receiving societies" (quoted in Bangkok Post 1976, op.cit). That this has occurred in spite of the Tibetan administration's effort to preserve their culture reinforces Eisenstadt's position.

CONCLUSION

In the concluding section now we shall undertake a comparison of the three dominant refugee groups in India in the process of their adaptation to the local milieu. Of these three by all accounts the Punjabi refugees have been most successful in adaptation, so much so that they have been completely absorbed by the host society. Far from posing a 'problem' to the host society they have contributed to the economic development of the host society. Keller regards this mainly due to the finances and land that were available to the Punjabi refugees, which created a feeling of invulnerability in them.

While this may be accepted, it should also be pointed out that

Keller's case studies of the refugees also brings out their individuality, Although they relied on kin ties in India immediately after they crossed over from Pakistan, ^{they} quickly parted company of their hosts and were prepared to venture out on their own. They were also more willing to spread themselves out in the country. In contrast the Bengali refugees were less individualistic and more culture bound. The studies of Pakrasi, and newspaper reports on those settled in the Dandakarnya project bring out their anxiety to go back to their 'Sonar Bangla'. Their kin ties also were strengthened instead of weakning in the new environment. Yet they continue to pose a 'problem' to the host society. It is true, as Keller states that the resources and land that was given to them were meagre as compared to the Punjabi refugees. But even the resources that were available to them could not be used by them effectively because, unlike the Tibetans, they did not possess a community organization to protect their interests, with the result many of them who were illiterate peasants became the victims of unscrupulous politicians, money-lenders, traders and government officials. According to the recent newspaper reports available from the Sunderbans area of West Bengal to which place they had marched from the Dandakarnya project area, they have been treated with considerable hostility from the host society and there have occured several clashes between the refugees and the local villagers. All this goes to prove that lack of an effective

community organization in the traditional Bengali social structure similar to that of Tibetans has further exacerbated the plight of the Bengali refugees. It is also probable that had an effective community organization existed among the Bengalis they could have secured more grants and a better treatment from the Indian government as well as from other international agencies. We can therefore conclude that traditional social structures contain elements which are often peculiarly suited to cope with crises which may even threaten the very roots of the traditional society.

Comparison of the Bengali refugees with the Tibetan refugees cannot however be stretched too far. In the first place, the Tibetan refugee stream is just a trickle in comparison to the Bengali refugees. In the second place the world wide sympathy and attention that the Tibetans received enabled them to get substantial aid from several governments and international agencies apart from the Indian government. Yet, inspite of all this, the role of the Dalai Lama's administration sanctified by his unquestioned spiritual power went a long way in protecting the interests of Tibetan refugees in India. Hence we can conclude that apart from the financial support from various agencies, the social structure and culture of the refugees before they migrated is also important in the successful adaptation of refugees in the host society. The latter becomes more important

the more vulnerable the refugees are in terms of their education and skills.

Another, important conclusion that we can draw is that the interaction between the refugees and the host society is likely to change considerably the culture of the refugees, especially in those aspects of living which do not clash directly with their religious beliefs and core values. We have to view adaptation as a continuous process rather than an once-and-for-all change.

Appendix I

The following breakdown of population of Tibetans in exile has been kindly furnished by the information and publicity office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharmsala. It is believed that the number is much more than that officially recorded as many are untraceable for various reasons:

Place	Number
Dharmsala	3,591
Mysore (Karnataka)	17,077
Mainpat	1,347
Chandragiri, Orissa	3,690
Jharkhand Pradesh	6,247
Bhandra, Maharashtra	1,109
Ladakh	4,177
Darjeeling area	4,175
Kalimpong	1,973
Dehra Dun and Mussorie area:	11,369
Kulu	2,060
Simla Hills	3,140
Bir area	2,436
Dalhousie	1,144
Calcutta, Bombay and Bangalore	415
Delhi and Chandigarh	1,580
Gaya and Varanasi	542
Sikkim	2,406
TOTAL	68,348

Note: The above figures relate to the estimated population of Tibetan refugees until, 1976.

TOTAL NUMBER OF REFUGEES REHABILITATED

<u>Year</u>		<u>Total Number of arrival</u>	<u>Actual number of Rehabilitated or settled.</u>
1959-'60	:	14,000	-
1960-'61	:	11,000	-
1961-'62	:	8,000	-
1963-'64	:	4,000	-
1964-'65	:	8,000	-
1966-'67	:	5,500	-
1968-'69	:	5,500	14,000
1969-'70	:	-	9,000
1970-'71	:	-	2,300
1971-'72	:	-	3,700
1972-'73	:	-	2,500
1973-'74	:	-	1,700
1974-'75	:	-	8,000
1975-'76	:	-	4,000
TOTAL	:	56,000	45,900

Source: Drawn upon the basis of Annual reports on refugees published by Govt. of India, Ministry of Rehabilitation, New Delhi.

TIBETANS IN EXILE - Estimated NumberINDIA, SIKKIM AND BHUTAN

<u>Place & Groups</u>	<u>Settled</u>	<u>in process of settling</u>	<u>in bad conditions</u>	<u>Total Number</u>
Mysore :	12,839	3,600	-	16,139
Chandragiri :	3,000	-	-	3,000
Mainpat :	1,340	-	-	1,340
Mahendragarh :	1,000	-	-	1,000
Small groups :	-	5,000	10,000	10,000
Road workers :				
Dharmasala, monks and administrative personnels :	2,000	-	-	2,000
Scattered in big towns :	3,000	1,000	500	9,500
Various handicraft centres :	2,000	500	-	2,500
Old-age people :	-	-	1,000	1,000
Children in school :	8,000	-	-	8,000
Recruited by the Indian Army :	7,000	-	-	7,000
Sikkim :	1,000	4,000	-	5,000
Bhutan :	-	3,000	-	3,000
G. Total :	41,179	10,100	11,500	69,479

Source: Ganshyam Pardesi "Tibetans in Exile" (unpublished, op.cit.)

Note: The blank column regarding road workers indicates that they have not been accounted for.

During the past 17 years some 39,319 Tibetans have been rehabilitated in the following settlements:

1) KARNATAKA

a) Bylakuppe	:	4,762
b) Mundgod	:	5,321
c) Old People's Home	:	553
d) Cauvery Valley	:	2,912
e) Kollegal	:	2,899
f) Hansur	:	2,468

2) MAHARASHTRA

Bhandra	:	793
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3) MADHYA PRADESH

Mainpat	:	1,449
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4) ORISSA

Chandragiri	:	2,691
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5. ARUNACHAL PRADESH

a) Tezu	:	1,252
b) Miao	:	1,072
c) Bomdilla	:	860

6. UTTAR PRADESH

a) Clementown	:	900
b) Rajpur Women's Centre	:	181
c) Lingstang	:	197
d) Habarpur	:	107

7) HIMACHAL PRADESH

a) Dalhousie Handicraft Centre	: 167
b) Simla-Sanjoting	: 118
c) Simla Handicraft Centre	: 154
d) Simla Dolange	: 338
e) TIRS-Tashijong	: 325
f) Bir, Dege Dir	: 760
g) Bir, Nungjen Dir	: 598
h) Bir, Tibetan Society	: 510
i) Sakhya Puruwala	: 445
j) Poanda	: 450
k) Sataon	: 520
l) Kumrao	: 578

8) WEST BENGAL

a) Darjeeling Handicraft Centre	: 601
b) Sonada	: 253

9. JAMMU & KASHMIR

a) Ladakh, Leh	: 2,085
b) Bhutan	: 3,000

G. TOTAL : 39,319

There are still about 12,000 Tibetan refugees not yet rehabilitated, as follows:-

Jhongthang (Ladakh) Some, 2,172 nomad refugees are living in this remote border area. A scheme for the settlement of 1,000 is under consideration. The people are scattered in about 18 different places and have to be settled somewhere in Ladakh. A settlement scheme for another 2,000 has already been set up in Leh (there being about 4,000 refugees altogether in Ladakh)

Sikkim: There are 3,444 Tibetan refugees out of which 2,500 still need to be rehabilitated. The government policy is to settle them in Sikkim itself, although some were sent to Kallegal previously. Many have been working on the roads until now and about 760 were on a tea-estate working as labourers and it is hoped to get land and resettle them nearby.

Arunachal Pradesh : This is another remote and difficult area where 1,205 refugees in Tuting and 27 in Manjubar need to be resettled.

Simla : (H.P) A large number of Tibetans are still working on the roads, or as labourers and living in very poor conditions, around 1,120.

Kulu: Road workers awaiting resettlement, 947

Dhamsala : Elderly people, labourers and those in a temporary camp above Tej awaiting resettlement.

Mandi	:	655
Kalimpong	:	275
Darjeeling	:	155
Okhlabari (Darjeeling)	:	573
Dehra Dun	:	197
Delhi Camp	:	810
South India	:	762
(In settlements: but without land and housing)		572
Orissa	:	248

G.Total :12,018

The Home Office of His Highness Dalai Lama is currently negotiating with the Govt. of India for the resettlement of these refugees.

Source: Tibetan Review, December, 1976

GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF TIBETANS IN EXILE

Place	Agriculture	Handicrafts	Industries	Students and Teachers	Monks and Nuns	Business and office	Old and Retired	Labourers, Housewives etc.	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Dharamsala, H.P.	-	112	-	1200	147	1772	60	200	3591
2. Mysore, Karnataka	12127	50	-	1800	2062	250	548	240	17077
3. Mainpat, M.P.	957	-	-	310	80	-	-	-	1347
4. Chandragiri, Orissa	2662	-	-	445	241	-	-	342	3690
5. Arunachal Pradesh	3094	-	-	395	97	677	-	1984	6247
6. Bhandra, Maharashtra	903	-	-	106	70	-	-	30	1109
7. Ladakh	2162	-	-	315	-	200	-	1500	4177
8. Darjeeling Area	194	564	-	1084	401	1900	100	232	4475
9. Kalimpong	-	-	-	285	99	1386	50	153	1973
10. Dehradun and Mussoorie	515	84	389	1591	240	1550	-	7000	11369
11. Kulu Valley	-	-	-	240	112	300	-	1408	2060
12. Simla Hilla	-	151	907	377	209	1190	-	306	3140
13. Bir Area	1305	840	-	100	191	-	-	-	2436
14. Dal-Bousie, H.P.	-	464	-	354	46	-	-	250	1114
15. Calcutta, Bombay & Bangalore	-	-	-	100	-	315	-	-	415
16. Delhi and Chandigarh	-	-	-	80	-	1500	-	-	1580
17. Gaya & Varanasi	-	-	-	6	116	420	-	-	542
18. Sikkim	588	-	-	506	202	100	-	1010	2406
G. Total	24507	2365	1296	9294	4166	11560	758	15355	66748

Source: Information and Publicity office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, 1976 in "Tibet Under Chinese Communist Rule"—a compilation of Refugee Statements 1958-1975.

Note:— The figures for refugees outside India has not been included in this table from the source.

- The grant total in agriculture comes all most the same as us shown in Govt.'s annual reports on Table no.6.

AGRICULTURAL LAND SETTLEMENTS OF TIBETANS IN EXILE

Place	1963-64 (1)	1964-65 (2)	1967-68 (3)	1968-69 (4)	1969-70 (5)	1970-71 (6)	1971-72 (7)	1972-73 (8)	1973-74 (9)	1974-75 (10)	TOTAL (11)
1. Bylakuppe (Mysore)	3000	-	-	-	257	425	23	-	-	-	3705
2. Nepha	-	2000 (Tirap & Lohit Frontier)	-	-	2020 (Tezu & Changlang)	-	-	-	-	-	4020
3. Mainpat, M.P.	700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1600	-	2300
4. Chandragiri, Orissa	700	-	-	-	3000 (including Mahendragarh)	-	-	-	-	-	3700
5. Mundgod, Mysore	-	-	800	2000	330	520	125	-	-	223	3998
6. Cavery Valley settlement	-	-	-	-	1160	625	815	170	1080	-	3850
7. Bhandra (Maharashtra)	-	-	-	-	-	-	901	-	-	-	901
8. Kollegal (Karna- taka)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1524	1524
9. Gothangaon (Maharashtra)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	800	800
G. Total										:	<u>24798</u>

Source: Drawn upon the basis of, Annual Government Reports published by the Ministry of Rehabilitation, New Delhi. 1959-60, 1975-76

APPENDIX

The following is the description of annual reports published by the Govt. of India and has been explained into two main sections i.e. Economic settlements which includes agriculture and industrial settlements and the second is social adjustment. In economic adjustment, we shall first take up settlements of Tibetan refugees in agriculture.

To start with the year 1959-60, when the Tibetan refugees came to India along with the Dalai Lama, nothing can be said definitely since the annual report is incomplete in all respects. The same is true about the next three years i.e. till 1961-62. However, the 1963-64 report says that around 3,000 have already been settled on land at Bylakuppa in Mysore district and 2,000 are in the process of settlement in the NEFA. Further, it says that two more agricultural settlements have recently been started: one in Manipat plateau in the Sarguja district of Madhya Pradesh, and the other at Chandragiri in the Ganjam district of Orissa. 700 refugees have already arrived in each of these settlements and have started cultivating the land allotted to them. Each of these settlements will ultimately absorb 2,500 refugees.

The 1964-65 report says that it has been decided to rehabilitate 12,000 refugees in five land settlements comprising an area of about 10,000 acres of land. 3000 have been settled in the

settlement at Bylakuppe in Mysore district, which is now nearing completion. About 2,000 refugees have been settled in the lower areas of Tirap and Lohit Frontier divisions of the North- East Frontier Agency. Another 2,500 are being settled at Chandragiri in Orissa, and 2,000 at Manpat in Madhya Pradesh. Work on reclamation of land in these settlements is in progress.

The refugees in these five settlements have been given accommodation and land along with bullocks, agricultural implements, seeds and fertilizers, facilities have also been provided to these refugees to enable them to supplement their income from agriculture by raising poultry and pigs and opening dairies.

The 1966-'67 report says that the work has started on a scheme for the settlement of about 5,000 refugees at Mundgod in the Belgaum division of Mysore state. The 1967-'68 report does not say much except that around 14,000 have been settled in six land settlements already explained.

The 1968-'69 report says that so far 14,000 Tibetan refugees have been settled on agricultural settlements established at Bylakuppe in Mysore state, Chandragiri and Mahendragarh in Orissa state, Manpat in M.P. and Tezu and Changlang in NEFA. The agricultural colony which was established in 1967 at Mundgod in Mysore state is making progress; it will eventually absorb 4000 Tibetan refugees. 2,500 are already in the settlement and it is expected to be self supporting by the end of 1970.

The 1969-'70 report explains the position regarding agricultural settlements in each state i.e. in Mysore State at Bylakuppe, 3,257 acres of land. The project has been completed and the settlement has become self supporting. Each family of five members have been provided with a house, five acres of cultivable land and small plot for a kitchen garden. In Mundgod settlement, 1,400 acres of reclaimed land have been put under cultivation. Another 500 acres are likely to be reclaimed by the end of 1969-'70. A special feature of the project is the construction of the Baichang dam near the settlement, which will help irrigate about 3,000 acres of land in the Tibetan settlement as well as nearly 1,000 acres of land by the local people. This is expected to be completed by March, 1972. In the cauvery valley settlement, the project covers 4,000 acres of land for the resettlement of 4,000 Tibetan refugees. The first batch of 460 was moved to the site in January, 1969. So far another 700 refugees have been moved to settlement. It is proposed to move 500 more refugees to the settlement by the middle of 1970. 700 refugees have been provided with permanent houses and the remaining have been accommodated in a transit camp. Reclamation operations in an area of 1,800 acres of forest land released by the state government are in progress.

In Madhya Pradesh, at Mainpat settlement, 303 families of Tibetan refugees were sent for permanent settlement in an area of 2,000 acres. 201 families were expected to be settled in agriculture. In NEFA at Tezu and Changlang settlement, 2,020 refugees have been

settled. Here each family of five members has been allotted a house with five acres of land for cultivation and a small homestead plot for growing vegetables. In Orissa at Chandragiri and Mahendragarh settlements, about 3000 Tibetan refugees have been settled in the two settlements.

The 1970-'71 report it explains that in Bylakuppe, 3682 refugees have been settled on 3,500 acres of land and agricultural operations in the settlement have been mechanised to a large extent. In Mundgod settlement, so far 3,500 acres of land have been reclaimed. 3,650 refugees have since been moved to the settlement for rehabilitation. In the Cauvery valley settlement, so far, 1805 acres of land have been released by the State Government of Karnataka out of which 1,600 acres of land have been reclaimed. 1785 refugees have been moved to the settlement, of these, 1280 have been provided with permanent accommodation. In M.P at Wainpat settlement, out of 297 families 241 families are being settled on agriculture. In NEFA, around 2020 refugees have been settled at tezu and Changlang and each family of five members has been allotted a house with five acres of land for cultivation. In Sikkim, 98 refugee families have been settled in the Kewzing, Tea Estate in Sikkim. In order to make these families self supporting a scheme for providing agricultural implements, vegetable seeds, milch cows, poultry birds, chicken coops, cattle sheds etc. was sanctioned on 9th June, 1970.

The 1971-'72 report records the further increase of only 23 persons thus raising its total to 3,705 refugees in Bylakuppe on 3,500 acres of land. In Mundgod settlement, the rehabilitation of 800 refugee families on 4,000 acres of land has been established at a distance of 3 miles from Mundgod. The entire area had been reclaimed by the swiss technical cooperation by the end of May, 1971. Nine villages have been established, Homestead lands of 90' x 60' have been provided for kitchen garden, horticulture and cattle sheds for each house. In Cauvery valley settlement, out of 4,000 acres of land, 1805 acres have since been reclaimed and allotted to 2,600 refugees.

In the Bhandra district of Maharashtra, the government has agreed to release 2,500 acres of land for the settlement of 4,000 refugees. An area of about 460 acres of land has been reclaimed.

The 1972-'73 report says about the Cauvery valley settlement, around 1,950 refugees have been resettled in the 1800 acres block and about 1,700 refugees have been sent so far to the 2,200 acre block. This project is being implemented in collaboration with foreign voluntary aid agencies operating through (Myrada). In Tezu and Changlang, the refugees have however not been fully settled because of the low productivity of the land allotted to them. In Andhra Pradesh, at Kalaktang, 230 refugee are being resettled.

The scheme recently sanctioned provides for land and fertilizers, plant protection equipment, irrigation facilities etc. The 1973-'74 report says that in Cauvery valley settlement, 1,950 refugees have been rehabilitated on 1,800 acres of land at Doddaharve, and 2,300 on 2,200 acres at Gurupara. A few more are likely to be inducted in Gurupara land. The scheme of resettlement in Mainpat is in concluding stage. The total number of refugees in Mainpat is about 1,600.

The 1974-'75 report explains almost the same position of agricultural settlements as explained in earlier reports. The important feature regarding the Coathangoan settlement in Maharashtra for the resettlement of Tibetan refugees on land irrigated by Itiadh canal was completed during the year. The report of 1975-'76 explains almost the same position as explained in earlier reports. In nutshell, the agricultural settlements are at Bylakuppe, Mundgod, Cauvery valley and Kollegal in Karnataka; Mainpat in M.P., Chandragiri in Orissa; Tezu and Tensingaon near Kalaktang and in Arunachal Pradesh, Namchikha ^{del} ^{del} in J & K, Coathangoan in Maharashtra; and in Sikkim.

Regarding the Kollegal settlement, about 2,000 Tibetan refugees from Sikkim and H.P. who were engaged on road works have already been sent to the settlement and the implementation of the scheme is in progress. The next batch of about 1,400 will be moved to the project for resettlement in a phased programme. In Cauvery valley settlement about, 4,800 refugees have already been settled on land at Daddaharve, Gurupara and Laximpura in Mysore district.

281 refugees were sent during 1975 for resettlement on land at Chowkur. In Mundgod settlement, about 4,300 have been rehabilitated on about 4,000 acres of land. 239 more were sent to the settlement during 1975. Regarding the Leh settlement, the scheme for the resettlement of 305 refugee families on land near Leh in Ladakh district of J & K which was sanctioned in 1971, is still in progress. In the Tensingaon, the two schemes sanctioned for the resettlement of 215 refugee families and 236 refugee monks on land at Tensingaon in Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh are making satisfactory progress and are likely to be completed in 1976. In Namchick Miao settlement, Arunachal Pradesh, a scheme for the resettlement of 286 families of refugees consisting of 1,359 persons has recently been sanctioned. In Sikkim about 1,300 refugees have been settled in Sikkim mostly in agricultural schemes and tea-estates.

Absorption of refugees into industries:

Since sufficient land is not available for settling all the refugees and since all of them do not possess an aptitude for agriculture, there was a proposal to start an industrial project where a few thousand Tibetan may be absorbed. The government is trying to find industrial avenues for Tibetan refugees. Vocational training is also imparted to them in various trades, social welfare and nursing. The subsequent absorption of Tibetan into various types of industries in the following years are given as below:-

According to 1960-61 report, a handicrafts training-cum-production

centre was established at Dalhousie and employs 600 skilled Tibetan refugee craftsman. ^A self-help centre consisting of about 200 refugees is functioning at Darjeeling. 100 refugees have sent for training in small-scale industries to centres at various places in India. The report of 1961-62 and 1963-64 does not mention the absorption of refugees in any of the industries.

The 1964-'65 report says that three handicraft centres, mainly for carpet weaving have been set up at three settlements at Bylakuppe, Chandragiri and Mainpat under an agreement between the government of India and the Swiss Aid abroad.

The 1966-'67 report says that the Tibetan industrial Rehabilitation society (TIRS) set-up in 1965, has established a woolen mill and a tea estate in the Kangra district which will provide employment and rehabilitation for about 675 refugees.

The 1968-'69 report says that the Tibetan industrial rehabilitation society proposes to settle about 4500 refugees in various industries such as a) Fiber Glass project, Paonta Sahib, d) Lime stone quarry, Kumrao; e) Dehydrated lime plant, Sataun. Around 3000 refugees have already been moved to Bir, Paonta Sahib, Sataun and Kumrao in Himachal Pradesh. Regarding Handicrafts, approximately 600 refugees are working in handicrafts mainly carpet-weaving, at centres functioning at Bylakuppe, Chandragiri, Mainpat, Dalhousie, Simla, Darjeeling and Kalimpong.

According to 1969-'70 report, in handicrafts, at present 1040 refugees are working at seven handicraft centres, Where a carpets,

blankets, brass wares, Tibetan and Indian garments and knitted wear are being produced. The UNCHR has agreed to provide Rs. 2.98 lakhs to meet the needs of various handicraft centres.

The 1970-'71 report says that 12 refugees from various camps and settlements are being given training in heavy mechanical-cum-driving course in HMVD centre at Mana in M.P and 50 refugees from Ladakh are being given training in carpet weaving and other Tibetan crafts in the Tibetan handicraft centre at Dalhousie in H.P. The entire expenditure amounting to Rs. 66,250 on the training of these trainees is being borne by the U.N.C.H.R. The UNCHR has also agreed to give an aid of Rs.1.50 lakhs from his programme of 1971 for providing vocational training to refugees. Regarding the industrial projects, the revised employment potential of the projects is estimated at 4,000 persons. The society has so far received an aid of about Rs.84 lakh from various foreign aid agencies.

The 1971-'72 report says that 1040 refugees are working at seven handicraft centres. The UNCHR has agreed to provide an aid of Rs.3,75,000 from its programme of 1971 for construction of accommodation and working capital. The Tibetan women's centre, Raipur, Dehradun, (U.P) has been given an aid of Rs.25,000 by the Norwegian Refugee Council through the CRC (India)

According to 1972-'73 report, the main handicraft centres where 1,040 refugees are working are given as below:

- i) Tibetan refugee self help centre, Darjeeling,
- ii) Teckecholung group, Kulu,

- iii) Tibetan Women's cooperative Association, Dharmsala
- iv) Gyulto Centre, Dalhousie
- v) Tibetan refugees self help centre, Simla
- vi) Tibetan handicraft Centre, Dalhousie,
- vii) Tibetan handicraft centre, Rajpur (U.P)

The main feature being the establishment of multi-purpose societies, in which 1,200 refugees have also been rehabilitated in the following projects:

- i) Tibetan Nehru Memorial Foundation, Dehradun.
- ii) Lama Hata Takda Society, Darjeeling.
- iii) Sonada Multi-purpose society, Darjeeling.
- iv) Dolanji Settlement, Simla.

Regarding vocational training, 12 more Tibetan boys are now being trained in the various trades in the industrial training centre at Mana. 7 others are receiving training in secretarial practices in New Delhi. 50 refugees from Ladakh were trained in carpet weaving and other Tibetan crafts in the Tibetan handicraft centres at Dalhousie. 56 refugees are now under training in the handicraft centres at Dharmsala, Dalhousie, Simla, Paonta and Rajpur. Further, the Tibetan industrial rehabilitation society which was set up in 1965 for the rehabilitation of refugees in small scale industries has been able to settle 4,700 refugees in seven projects which are

given below:

- i) Bir Woolen Mill
- ii) Kumrao Lime Quarry
- iii) Dehydrated Lime Plant, Sataun,
- iv) Fiber glass industry, Paonta
- v) Tea-estates at Bir and Chaunkura
- vi) Tibetan craft community at Paprola
- vii) Sakya settlement, Puruwala

The government of India also have given an aid of Rs. 2.30 lakhs from the aid received from UNCHR for providing working capital and other facilities to some of the projects.

The 1973-'74 report does not explain much except that about 110 refugees have been given vocational training in various trades.

The 1974-'75 report explains that around 170 refugees have already been given vocational training.

The 1975-'76 report says that about 210 Tibetan refugees have already been given vocational training in heavy vehicles machines, driving, carpet weaving, secretarial and commercial practice. 85 refugees are now undergoing training in the handicraft centre at Changlang and Tensingaon (Arunachal Pradesh) respectively.

Social Adjustment

Now we shall take up the second major variable which is 'social adjustment' of Tibetan refugees in India. Coming from a different background (socially, politically and culturally) speaking, from the country of their refuge, it was but difficult for them to adjust themselves almost to a new way of life. However, the government of India has tried to keep their culture intact by way of opening schools for the younger generation plus giving them those occupations of which they were suitable for and helping them by way of providing so many amenities to the refugees. The Tibet being essentially a religious state, a large number of lamas came to India, who could have proved a liability on the government. But on persuasion by their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, they all have been gainfully employed in such pursuits where they can pursue their religious practices alongwith earning. Again on the basis of annual reports, published by government of India, we shall see how the various classes among Tibetan refugees have adjusted themselves to a new way of life.

According to 1960-'61 report, a camp at Buxa was opened specially for Lama students which accommodated 1,500 student lamas. An equal number of old and infirm monks are accommodated at Dalhousie. Further, a residential school which will eventually accommodated 500 Tibetan refugee children has been opened at Mussoorie.

The 1961-'62 report says that the responsibility for providing educational facilities to the Tibetan refugees was transferred to the Ministry of Education, and a Central Committee was set up for co-ordinating such educational activities. A Tibetan schools society, with the representatives of the government of India and the Dalai Lama as members, has been formed. It has been entrusted with the management of the Mussoorie School. The new school at Simla and Darjeeling were opened during the year.

As 1963-64 report says that regarding education, residential schools, with a special syllabus designed to meet the needs of Tibetan children have been opened at Simla, Mussoorie, Darjeeling, Dalhousie and Panchmari. 2,000 children are receiving education in these institutions. Temporary schools have also been opened in all the Tibetan refugee camps. 20 homes for orphan children have been set up at Mussoorie. Each home has 20 to 25 orphans who are looked after by foster parents.

In keeping with the wishes of Dalai Lama 3,000 refugee lamas are provided with facilities to pursue and practice their religious studies in Buxa and Dalhousie. A separate home has been opened for the aged and sick refugees where they are looked after and their special needs are attended to other refugees who are unemployed are provided free rations and other facilities. Various voluntary agencies are helping the Tibetan refugees with donations both in cash and kind. The reports of 1964-65 and 1966-'67 explains the same thing as mentioned in earlier reports

The report of 1967-'68 first time gives the sex ratio of Tibetan refugees. It says that the number of Tibetan refugees who have taken asylum in India since 1959, rose to 56,000 of these, there are nearly 11,000 children, 3,000 old and infirm persons and 2,600 lamas. It further says that nearly 5,500 Tibetan children are receiving education at schools run by the Tibet school society, an autonomous body, under the chairmanship of the Union Ministry of Education. The society runs 7 schools at Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Mount Abu, Simla, Mussoorie, Dalhousie and Panchmari and day schools at Bylakuppe, Tezu, Changthang, Maktapat and Chandragiri. In addition the Tibetan Homes Foundation, set up at Mussoorie as a charitable society, manages 24 homes for Tibetan children. Nearly 380 children of these homes are given a grant of Rs.50 per child by the Tibet school society. A children's nursery has been established at Dharmasala, which is run by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, with the assistance of the Government of India and the central relief Committee. It takes care of about 700 children most of whom are either orphans or semi-orphans. The Institute of Higher Tibetan studies was inaugurated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Varanasi. The Institute would provide higher education for 1,200 lamas. 2,000 Lamas are being maintained at Buxa Lama Ashram in West Bengal and in Dalhousie.

The 1968-'69 report explains the same position regarding children's education but about Lamas it says that , 2000 Lamas are being maintained in Buxa (West Bengal) and Dalhousie (H.P).

Since the climate in Buxa is not congenial, it is proposed to shift these lamas from Buxa to the Tibetan refugee settlements in Mysore State. Regarding the role of central relief committee, it has been instrumental in obtaining assistance from abroad of value of Rs.95.18 lakhs. Of this Rs.50.08 lakhs was in cash and Rs. 45.10 lakhs in the form of food, clothing, medicines, etc.

The 1969-'70 report explains the position about Lamas in the Lama Ashram at Buxa (West Bengal) where about 1,000 lamas were accommodated has been closed as the climate of Buxa was not found suitable for them. 600 Lamas belonging to Drepung and Gyanden monasteries have been shifted to Mundgod and the remaining Lamas belonging to sera monasteries have been moved to Bylakuppe settlement. A scheme for the resettlement of Lamas in agriculture is being implemented with the assistance of the UNHCR. Under the scheme the Lamas will form themselves into cooperative societies. They will take to agriculture including dairying, horticulture and other subsidiary occupations and cottage industries so as to become economically self-supporting. While engaging in these activities which will give them the means of their sustenance, the Lamas will also continue their studies in religious scriptures so as to maintain the richer traditions of learning of the religious order to which they belong in Tibet.

The 1970-'71 report says that 200 acres of land at Mundgod and 180 acres of land at Bylakuppe have since been reclaimed and put under cultivation. The scheme reclaimed and put under cost

Rs. 33,60,100/- It is being implemented in collaboration with the UNCHR for refugees, who has agreed to contribute to the extent of Rs. 15 lakhs.

The 1971-'72 report says that ~~the~~ around ⁶⁰⁰ lamas have been sent to Mundgod and 300 Lamas have been moved to Bylakuppe. In 1970, the Lamas cultivated 187 acres of land and in 1971 they could cultivate 300 acres of land.

According to 1972-'73 report, about 7,000 children are studying in different nurseries and schools run or aided by the Central Tibetan School Administrative Committee set up by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare. The 1973-'74 and 1974-'75 and 1975-'76 does not explain anything about children's number in the school or Lamas positions in various camps.

According to annual reports published by government of India, the Tibetan number of arrivals of Tibetan refugees right from 1959-'60 to 1975-'76 was to the tune of 56,000 and out of that, 38,000 refugees have been successfully rehabilitated till the end of 1975-'76. While there is considerable difference in government reports regarding the number of arrivals and rehabilitated and Dalai Lama's bureau's reports it has become really difficult to assess the real situation.

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