CHAPTER SEVEN

ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Though Tibet had lot of cultural links with her neighbouring countries, she maintained her own individuality in matters of religion and polity. The structure of the Tibetan political, and the social institutions is naturally based on the Buddhist philosophy. Religion also serves as the base of social and cultural life of Tibetans and so Tibet is known as the land of Religion.

Puntsok Wangyal (1975:76), says that Tibet - the land of religion, had its own polity and has always been governed by its own institutions and officials. Polity, the form and process of civil government in Tibet, is often termed as "Cho-si nyal-gan" (Cho-srid gnyis-ltan). In expression "Bo-shung Cho-si nyal-gan", "Bo-shung" means "Government of Tibet" and "Cho-si nyal-gan" means religion and politics; totally meaning - "The Tibetan Government of religion and politics".

We already know about the divine origin of Tibetan royalty. Their very first king Gnya-kri tsan-po (127 B.C.), was believed to have descended from heaven. His descendants
upto VIIth generation, known as the heavenly thrones, are very much responsible in bringing the religion close to politics. Son-tson Gyen-po, son of Nam-ri Son-tsen-po ascended the throne in 620-650 A.D. He was titled, Choergyel (Religious King) by a Lama historian of the period. The term "cho" means the established religion and "gyal-po", the established political authority, the king. Hence it is understood both the religion and politics were reposed with the King. Thus Tibet maintained her dual character of religion and politics in the hands of Saska-pa and then the Geluk-pa ecclesiastical order.

As we have already discussed the reign of the Golch Dar-ma (638 A.D.) was an anti-Buddhist one. Without a central focus or authority, it laid foundation for the birth of local lords maintaining the kinship on the clan system. This led to a land owning nobility who never lost their power and responsibility of Government with the ecclesiastical rulers. Long before Buddhism came to Tibet, the present day political system of dual nature was instituted. The initial founders of Government to retain their control with the help of force transformed obedience as duty. They found necessity of the religion and the legal basis of power (Phuntsog Wangyal, 1976:80). Thus the dual natured Government was formed by uniting the political authority along with the religious authority.
The Tibetan state organization was land based. Ownership of land determined the past of the members of the public. They were expected to play certain roles for the Government. It was the duty of every noble-man to keep his sons into public service, for which he owned land from the Government and rarely he was paid anything by way of salary. The basic principle of Tibetan political organization was the obligation for a noble to serve the Government. This aristocracy or the nobility claimed their origin to any of the three sources. First, an ancestor was ennobled for good work done for the country. Secondly, the family in which the Dalai Lama or Tashi Lama takes rebirth. Thirdly, to their ancestry traced right back to the early kings who ruled Tibet. These rulers are known as the religious kings (Che-gyal). In all these cases they got land from the government; with attached serfs.

The Dalai Lama, who is the charismat of temporal and spiritual power, is the head of ecclesiastic and the secular state. He is the one now considered as the early presence of Chenrezi - patron of Tibet and embodiment of compassion. He was personally chosen by the early lama to carry out his mission of salvation. Thus he upholds the ancient tradition that affirms his periodical descent to the land of snows for the specific purposes of watching.
over the spiritual destinies of its inhabitants. As a Changchupa Semza (Bodhisatwa) and one of the most highly worshipped in Mahayana Buddhism, renounces the opportunity of vanishing into indefinable nirvana. By taking human form and undergoing birth, death and all other vicissitudes mankind is subject to, he may illumine with words and example, the creatures he protects. By this he swiftly leads them to that state of spiritual perfection which provides them paradise or liberation within the bounds of their ability, keenness and Karma.

A. Tibetan State Administration:

The state administration of Tibet operates in four levels - Central, Province, District and Village. Though each level had certain amount of administrative independence it was ultimately controlled by the next higher authority and finally the administration in Lhasa. Now owing to refugee situation and also adoption of a new step to democratise the administration as per the new constitution, certain changes have come. The administrative structure of Tibetan Government is almost the same and a few minor changes have been made here and there in the appointment and approval of the office and also its function.
Richardson 1960:19 has shown the organizational set-up of the Central administration as follows:

(a) His Holiness the Dalai Lama

The institution of Dalai Lama entered in the Tibetan history in the late seventeenth century, after the introduction of the Gelukpa - the yellow sect of the Buddhism of Tibet by Tsongkapa Lobson Dakpa (1357-1419). Altan Khan (1502-81) Chief of the Mongole, in order to put an end to the powerful hierarches of the Karmapa of the Kargyupa sect and its patrons who were supporting China, created the institution of Dalai Lama in 1678. Altan Khan conferred this title on the third grand lama of the Drepung Monastery, Sonam Gyatso. In 1642 Gushrikhan and his supporters of the Gelukpa sect killed the ruler of Tsang, the supporter of the Karmapa and conferred the sovereignty of Tibet to Ngawang Lobson Gyatso - the Vth Dalai Lama. He unified the country under his leadership and succeeded in placing the institution of Dalai Lama on a firm footing. 'The institution of Dalai Lama', as Rahul (1969:496) says "being an instrument of social and political order has been a great directive force in the history of politics of Central Asia in modern times and the tremendous force behind the institution lies not in its originality or novelty but in its lofty, moral character and the
spiritual message it holds for the people".

After the VIII Dalai Lamas (Jampel Gyatso), four successive Dalai Lamas died before they attained the age of maturity. Dalai Lama XIII, Thubten Gyatso, had to flee two times - first to Urga to escape a British military expedition under the Young-husband in 1904 and secondly to Darjeeling in India, to escape a Chinese military expedition on Lhasa, in 1910. Owing to her internal difficulties China lost her control over Tibet and in 1912 Dalai Lama XIII declared independence of Tibet. With this once again in 1935 Dalai Lama the XIV, Lobzhong Tenzin Gyatso, came to power. But the Chinese once again occupied Tibet in 1959, and made the Dalai Lama the XIV to flee away to India, along with his 80,000 subjects as refugees.

The institution of Dalai Lama with its divine authority holds the theory of reincarnation. This theory was first instituted by the Vth Dalai Lama. According to the Tibetan tradition Dalai Lama is said to be the incarnation of Chenresi - the compassionate lord and the patron deity of Tibet. After the death of the Gyalwa - Rinpochhe he is usually reborn within a year. The search takes place throughout Tibet; wherever incidents of the
small boys with miracles are heard. The child bears a few
physical marks of his reincarnation. He must also pass
through severe tests, of signs showing his earlier lives.
A number of oracles are also consulted to find out the
Incarnation. Among them, the Nechung Oracle in Tibet holds
considerable importance. When the sacred lake is consulted
the regent is accompanied by Government officials and
representatives from National Assembly. On location the
Dalai Lama is given a full training and is educated upto
his 16th year in the monastery of the Geluk-pa sect.
Immediately after that the Dalai Lama accepts the position
as the supreme temporal and spiritual ruler of Tibet. The
Tibetans address the Dalai Lama as Kunden (Presence of
Chenrezig), Yishi Norbu (wish fulfilling gen), Chamsen
Rinpoche (Precious protector), etc. Generally he is
addressed as Gyalwa Rinpoche (precious sovereign).

The Dalai Lama does not inherit any authority.
But his people invested him with it so that they may be
governed with prudence and integrity. For this position
of the highest dignity in the country the Dalai Lama, the
supreme head of Tibet is discovered and is not elected.
The Dalai Lama in the traditional Tibet has the supreme
power over the country in all matters and his word is
absolute law. Tsong-dru - the National Assembly, may discuss
the matters and send proposals for his approval but it is the Dalai Lama who makes the final decision. Dalai Lama is held with complete loyalty and affection by his people. Though he, has absolute power he is bound by the ancient customs and traditions of the country. The austerity, discipline and spiritual quality of the high lamas have had tremendous impact on Tibetan society. The Tibetan society is cast in the mould of a harsh tradition, any departure from which is considered the height of impudence (Babul, 1969:502-503). It is the Dalai Lama who looks after his people, the administration and the welfare measures like reducing heavy taxation, mediation in local feuds, establishing the monasteries, providing the facilities of education by building new monasteries and also training lay and monk officials, bringing in the appropriate law and social control.

Traditional Tibet was a feudal state. The people remained faithful to the final authority, H.H. the Dalai Lama. There remained personal royal relations between the lord and the commoners. Dalai Lama being the head of the spiritual and temporal power is the religious and the secular head of the State. His domain comprises both the religion and the State. According to Chapter V, Article 29 (1) of the New Constitution which is in force now and
promulgated by H.H. the Dalai Lama in 1963, the executive power of the State shall be vested in His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his attaining the age of eighteen. Dalai Lama is expected to preside over the meetings of the Kā-ek-hāg (Article 31 (1)). Dalai Lama shall promulgate laws. And any disagreement with the National Assembly leads him to submit the proposed legislation to a referendum (Article 32 and 33). Dalai Lama holds the authority to dissolve the National Assembly and order new elections but with due consultation with the members of the Kā-ek-hāg who are appointed by him, and the speaker of the National Assembly who is elected by the members of the Assembly.

The Dalai Lama though not elected by the people, cannot bring his undue influence over the people or the National Assembly. Because the people have enough legislative authority to check the Dalai Lama's executive powers. His Holiness the Dalai Lama may in his discretion or on the recommendation of the Kā-ek-hāg, refer any proposed legislation to a referendum and if the proposed legislation is approved by the majority His Holiness the Dalai Lama shall promulgate it within the period specified (Article 33). The Dalai Lama directs that an amendment should be submitted to a referendum and should be upheld by two
thirds of the majority of the National Assembly.

(b) The Regent (gyal-tshab) and the Council of Regency.

In the absence of Dalai Lama or during his minority, the regent (gyal-tshab) rules the country as the deputy of the Dalai Lama (Puntsog Wangyal, 1975:62). The title of De-si was conferred by the Vth Dalai Lama to Sonam Chopel in 1642 who performed the role of a gyal-tshab. This title which is equivalent to that of Prime Minister, became the designation of the chief administrator who survived under the Fifth and Sixth Dalai Lamas (Sanskabpa 1967:111). The term De-si may be rendered as political administrator of the country (Phuntsog Wangyal, 1975:63).

The first person to become the regent (gyal-tshab) was De-mo Nga-wang Jan-pei, in 1757. The first six regents were appointed by the Kā-Shāng, the Council of Ministers in consultation with the Government officials. Since 1675 the Regents were appointed by the Tsong-du, the National Assembly. The Regents must be a high class incarnated Lama of one of the three Lamaseries – Dre-Pung, Se Ra and Gen-Dem.

Before the promulgation of Constitution of Tibet, one of the three senior Abbots of the above mentioned monasteries used to be appointed by the National Assembly.
to work as a Regent. According to the Article 36(2) of the present Constitution of Tibet the Council of Regency shall consist of three members elected by the National Assembly; one of whom shall be an ecclesiastical representative. The Council of the Regency exercises its executive powers during the absence of Dalai Lama, or when he is still a minor, or in case of any disability which prevents Dalai Lama from exercising his executive functions, or in the absence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama from the State, or when it is decided by the National Assembly by its 2/3 majority that the executive functions of Dalai Lama shall be exercised by the Council of Regency (Article 36(1)). The Council of Regency in consultation with the Kā-ṃbaṅ, Ecclesiastical Council and the standing Commission of the National Assembly will conduct the search for the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Article 36 (9)). The Council of Regency shall have no power to alienate any part of the territory of the State or enter into any international agreement in relation to the independence of the State except it is approved by the majority of the members of the National Assembly (Article 36 (10)). The duration of each Council of Regency will be of the same period as that of the National Assembly (Article 36 (8)).
Next in the line of administration there might be one or more Prime Ministers. This position was always held by a senior lay official but it was not a necessary part of the system. This post was retained at the time of XIIIth Dalai Lama who ruled Tibet from 1806 to 1933 to serve as a link between himself and the lay council. Prime Ministers did not preside over the council but passed on its recommendations to Dalai Lama with note of their own opinion. But according to the present constitution of Tibet His Holiness the Dalai Lama from time to time, appoints any number of Ministers as may be required. Out of these Ministers His Holiness the Dalai Lama shall nominate a Prime Minister and not less than five other Ministers to be members of the Ka-shag, (Article 30(1)). No Minister shall be a member of the National Assembly (Article 30 (2)). In the absence of the Dalai Lama however the Prime Minister presides over the meetings of Ka-shag (Article 31 (1)).

Next to Dalai Lama or the Regent, on the civilian side, comes the Council of Ministers - (Ka-shag). This is the principal executive body. It consists of three lay and one monk high ranking officials. The Ka-shag represents both the religious and the secular communities.
of the country. It shall aid and advise the Dalai Lama in the administration of the state (Article 30 (5)).

This council functions as a Court of Justice, also.

(d) The National Assembly (Taong-du):

It came into existence in the year 1871. In the beginning it was called the "Small Assembly", consisting of the government officials and the abbots of the three monasteries - Dre-Pung, Se-Ra and Gen-Den. Puntsok Wangyal (1975:83-84) says presently there is a change in the composition of the National Assembly. The "Taong-du gya-dea", the "Great Assembly"; besides the government officials and the Abbots, included representatives of every group and occupation of Tibetan Society: traders, shop keepers, farmers, workers, etc.

The present constitution promulgated by the Dalai Lama says "All legislative powers shall vest in the National Assembly subject to the assent of His Holiness the Dalai Lama" (Article 38). Article 39 provides the National Assembly to consist of 75 per cent of members directly elected by the people in the territorial constituencies, 10 per cent of members elected by the monasteries and other religious institutions, 10 per cent of members elected by the Regional and District Councils, 5 per cent are nominated directly by the Dalai Lama and
they have the distinguished services for their credit in the field of art, science or literature etc. Each National Assembly unless dissolved shall continue for five years (Article 40 (1)). During the urgent situations the Dalai Lama may consult the standing committee of the National Assembly if the latter is not in session (Article 59 (1)). When a bill is passed by the National Assembly it shall be presented to the Dalai Lama for his consent. He either assents or withhold the bill. The Dalai Lama may return the bill to the National Assembly requesting it to reconsider the bill or introducing any such amendments (Article 60). Further, Article 61 (1) says the validity of any proceedings in the National Assembly shall not be called in question on the grounds of any alleged irregularity of procedure. And in exercising the powers, vested by or under the Constitution by any member of the National Assembly shall not be juridically questioned (Article 61 (2)).

For the present among the Tibetans in exile, the representatives to the National Assembly are elected by the common people. The duration of their office is for three years. The number of representatives elected from various districts are as follows:
(1) **Lay:** Four representatives are elected from each one of the three main provinces of Tibet—Amdo, Khamba and U-taang, together they are called Gonpa-Sum, the three provinces.

(ii) **Ecclesiastic:** From the ecclesiastic side one member is elected from each of the four main sects of Buddhism—Sakyapa, Nyengpa, Gelo-pa and Karpu-pa. These sects together are called as Chimi Shek — meaning four sects. Elections will be held once in three years in all the Tibetan Settlements in India to elect their representatives. The Council of Ministers (Kang-shag) also functions as the National Working Committee.

The six Councils which are now functioning are:


The Council for Revenue Records (Finance Office) and the Council for Religious and Cultural Affairs are represented by four lay officials and the four monk officials each and ultimately are directly under the
Dalai Lama. The other offices are headed by two to three members.

While in Tibet there were two schools Tso-kor and Shor-kor - the ecclesiastical and the secular, which prepare candidates to serve in the Government. Tso-kor composed of monk officials, Tse-drung, who must have been enrolled as members in any one of the three monasteries: Dre-Pung, So-Ra and Gon-Den. Anybody except those who belonged to the groups of untouchables - like the smiths, butchers, fishermen, hunters, etc., could become the monk officers. A candidate of 10-12 years, got admission in the training school, Tse-lub-dran, which was a part of the Secretariat. The Secretariat, under the Council of Ministers, was staffed purely by clergymen and maintained discipline of the monks and the restrictions of the lama dignitaries of all sects. It maintained records of the monks and the restrictions of the lama dignitaries of all sects. It maintained records of the monastic organisations. A few Tse-drung however came from the nobles families. They formed a special class within the ecclesiastical court and enjoyed higher prestige. This was the only way a serf was able to become a monk officer in the monastery.

Shor-kor, the Secular court, was a monopoly of the nobles. They had also a training school attached to
the Finance Officer (Tsi-Khsang). The candidates were put
to the school between the age of ten and twenty and given
few preliminary lessons. Soon after his training a
candidate was assigned with a position in all the public
functions and became a probationary officer. A commoner
may work for the Government but he could at best become
a clerk but never a 'ruling man' (pon-po).

Now under the new constitution the situation has
been completely changed. Any one can become an officer in
the monk as well as the lay courts or offices irrespective
of his social and ritual position in the society. That he
needs to possess is the required modern education and
capability to become a leader or an officer. As a result
many outcastes are now able to enter the monasteries and
also secure high posts in the Government.

B. Tibetan Provincial Level Administration

There were mainly four provinces in Tibet -
Northern, Eastern, Western and the Central. These were
administered by provincial heads - the Governors. They
were the senior most officials staying outside the capital
city of Lhasa. Each province was administered by a governor
(Garpön) coming from an aristocratic family. He was helped
by a monk colleague of equal rank. Each checked the other
in the administration of the province. The government orders were issued to the governor and he in turn issued the same to the district officers. His duty was to fix and collect the tax and later send the same to the central administrative body at Lhasa. The governor was paid in kind, out of the taxes collected by him from the districts.

C. District Level Administration

A district is jointly administered by an administrator who comes from an aristocratic family - Thongar or Dzong-pon of Lhasa, and a monk colleague. They functioned as magistrates also. The monk officer had an equal or even higher rank than the civil officer. One was expected to watch over the other so that the danger of autocracy and discrimination - the monk and lay persons. The two main groups of Tibet were minimized. As Dawa Norbu (1974:27) says apart from the political motive, this system of administration headed jointly by a lay aristocrat and a lama was to keep the concept of ideal Tibetan government. Usually the district officials were posted for three years.

Dzong-pon was the officer to whom the Government orders were addressed. He in turn ultimately transmitted them to the village leaders (pon-bu). Dzong-pon stood
above all the village leaders (of his district) and had the full authority over them. He had authority to fine the guilty and the disobedient. He was consulted and his consent was necessary before a leadership could be transferred from one person to the other. From time to time the leaders gathered in his office to discuss matters of public interest. Disputes between men and high authority were also settled by him.

The main duty of the district administrators was to collect taxes through their representatives - lechen-pa and shapto-ba, and maintain law and order through the courts of law. The revenue taxes were collected from the village heads by sending the representatives to all the villages. The tax was collected both in cash and kind. The nobles and the ecclesiastical groups paid tax of their own including that of their serfs. The serfs of state land, i.e., the tse-ba and the dw-jung (bound) paid their taxes to their respective group leaders who were responsible for the collection of the tax. Thus the serf very rarely came in contact with other officials and so were less conscious about any other form of leadership. The tax payable by the serfs was fixed and levying of more taxes by any district officer was unauthorised and so such cases were reported to the higher authorities at Lhasa.
The Tibetan way of redistribution of tax was also fixed. The tax collected from the common man was always stored at Lhasa and used mainly for the maintenance of the monasteries and the armed forces. The commoners also got a portion of it at during their needs like failure of crops, famines, drought, etc. Except the collection of the taxes the state government had no other direct administrative control on the villages.

In Tibet the state and the common people have their obligations to each other in running the administration smoothly. The head of the state the Dalai Lama, is responsible for protection of both the materialistic and spiritual life while the people in return owe him taxation in service, kind or cash at the need of his immediate master. Thus every Tibetan is a subject of the state or monastery directly or indirectly.

D. Village Level Administration

Tibetan villages were administered by village headmen. In all the cases they were nobles. The nobles with higher economic and social status had many privileges and one among them was the right to village leadership. Their economic position helped them to spend much of their...
time on the official matters like maintenance of law and order in the community, while the serfs who attached to their land, had very little free time for community matters. However, the nobles and the commoners co-operated in fulfilling their obligations towards each other and were self-contented.

A Tibetan village was a territorial as well as a social, political and a ritual unit. They were structured in such a way the members undertook mutually dependent activities combined in an organized way, for a concerted action. The village was a community of families, many of these were interrelated by ties of kinship and affinity or interwoven by lord and serfdom relationship. This proved their capacity for acting in common for the preservation of traditional customs, the maintenance of public peace and harmony, keeping up of the economic stability and for the performance of ritual activities essential for material and spiritual spheres of the village as a whole.

The following were the village leaders and their status and roles:
(1) The Headman

He was known by different names such as Gon-po, Pung-pyun and Pom-bo, depending upon the dialect of the region. The post was always held by the richest persons. Richer a person was the higher the status he had in the Tibetan society. The headman was always elected from among the rich and the commoners also followed them. Most of the time the village leadership used to be hereditary. Because, once elected a person became rich, honest and dominant and he continued as a leader for over. This position was inherited only by his sons, preferably the eldest. Usually such persons were supposed to possess all the qualities of a leader and then only they were allowed to inherit the office. Or else it was given to another person belonging to the same clan or any other person of the village who had a high status. In a few cases a leader was persuaded by his followers to withdraw from his position if he was found unfit to lead them. Thus succession to leadership was partly hereditary and partly on the basis of personal ability.

Leaders got some amount of land and the serfs attached to it, in return to their duties. One had to relinquish the land and the serfs when the leadership was transferred to another person; and this happened very
Thus the Tibetan village administration was based on clan system and was always in the hands of the nobles or aristocrats. The headman being away from the centres of the state and the district headquarters, enjoyed a very high status in his village.

Functions of a village leader were to provide military personnel from his village as and when required by the Central Government and feed them when they visit the village. It was also his duty to replace old or dead soldiers. He was also a host to the officers coming from the district places. He maintained law and order in the village and in the course of this he used physical force. He helped the villagers in all their needs and necessities. To become a popular figure among the other nobles of the society generally he gave huge amount as charity. Pom-bo held a very important position in various ceremonies arranged in the village like marriages, community rituals, etc., as a social father or the leading ritual head; and he even bore some of the expenses, incurred. Similarly he used to bear the expenses or he used to arrange for the funeral rites of an individual of his community if he had no heirs or kinmen in the village.
As the judicial head of the village headman was seldom allowed a divorcee. The parties were brought to peace through persuasion. Family solidarity was valued. Criminals like murders and those disputes which the headmen could not settle, were taken to the court of law, the Dzong-pen, at the district place. Thus though the headman had no judicial powers he could help a settlement. However he could fine whoever acted against the rules. Guilty ones were made to offer the leaders with chang and khat occasionally cash also, after making them accept their faults in public.

Another duty of the village leader was to see that all the serfs in his village were fed well by their nobles. If not, it was feared that the serfs may run away to other districts and affect the territorial solidarity and prestige of the leaders and the officers concerned.

The guiding principle in a village for its administration lies in the authority in the totality of its inhabitants. The authority of the leaders was always used in its legitimacy. The leaders had all the powers to fine and or to give heavy punishment. It was not the case with a Pom-po. The village community as a whole may not correct the action of such an official. But they could express their disapproval by petitioning the case to the higher authorities and/or by re-election or by blocking
any future appointment. It was not only the leader who maintained or effected the common good, but all the people in the community were responsible for the well being of the community. Bound by their duties to the well being of the society, thus the people were guided by the social and religious sanctions. It brought a civic responsibility and a remarkable degree of discipline also in the matters of community and its welfare. In all these cases it was the village leaders who had an important role to play. They were also the links between the people and the Government. The village leaders were assisted by two or three assistants (Tee-mey) depending on the size of the village in the administration. They helped him as the personal assistant, as accountant and as store-keeper of food, etc.

2) **Assistant Headman (Gunjung):**

Gunjung acted as the mediator between the headman and the common people. He transmitted official information to both groups. Depending on the size of the village, four to five such leaders were appointed in a village. This position was shared by all residents of a village in turn. Sometimes he was selected after an informal discussion by the elders of the community. His main duties were concerned with agriculture. He acted as a leading man for his group to arrange for the rites performed for the crop gods.
Accompanied by all his people, carrying sacred books and images of the gods, he goes round all the village fields to protect the crop against evil spirits and thereby bring more fertility to the land. He also collected contributions from his people to arrange communal rituals and common festivals at the village temple (Gompa). The Assistant headman of a village mainly acted as the messenger between the village leader and the public.

The nomads also had a leader of their own. He used to be the richest person of the group and had a high socio-economic status. He was directly linked to the leader of the village to which his group belonged. The village leader had all duties and responsibilities towards these nomads also. Thus in the traditional Tibetan society, the formally elected leader the Pem-bo, played an important role in the village administration.

Settlement Administration and Leadership in Mundgod:

The Tibetan form of state administration seems to continue here at the settlements also. But, since the refugees are rehabilitated in different packets and in mixed manner irrespective of provincial and district background the administration of these levels has changed,
a good deal. At the top is the Dalai Lama and his cabinet with its headquarters in Dharamsala. Each settlement is directly administered by the Dalai Lama through his representatives. Each settlement is divided into several villages which are administered by elected village leaders. There are nine villages in Rundgod settlement each administered by a leader. Villages VIII and IX which are too small and very close to each other are clubbed together and are put under a single village leader.

A: The Representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama (Thon-jeyw):

All the eight villages of the settlement are administered by the representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama. Thon-jeyw is appointed by the H.H. the Dalai Lama's Office to officiate as the local administrator of the Settlement for a tenure of three years. Along with his office staff he lives in the official quarters provided in the Settlement. He is paid directly by the Dalai Lama's Office. He informs link between the Dalai Lama, the common people and other agencies within and outside India. In running the general administration of the Settlement, he takes the help of the village leaders. He often conducts meetings with them. Occasionally, public meetings are also held to collect the opinion of the common people for a certain project etc., to be
started. The representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama is honoured and respected as a lord of the Settlement by the commoners. He undertakes the community level administration for the Tibetan Settlement, and all transactions with the Ministry of Supply and Rehabilitation, Government of India, through the Administrator II, T.R.R.S. Scheme at Rubli, and with many other inland and foreign agencies that aid Tibetans in one or the other, way, are handled by him.

Another duty of the thon-jeyw is to collect the levy of food grains on behalf of the Government of Karnataka. As per the communications issued to him by the revenue authorities of Mundgod, the thon-jeyw asks the village leaders to collect levy from their villages. Later it is collected and preserved in the village godowns. The account of the same is maintained by a village accountant who is temporarily appointed by the village leaders and works honorarily. This in turn is submitted to the office of the Tahasildar, Mundgod Taluka.

The thon-jeyw as Chairman of the Tibetan Cooperative Society and an administrator of the Settlement. He plays a dual role in the administration of the Settlement, because as a representative of H.H.
the Dalai Lama, he rules the Settlement and he also holds his supreme position and authority over his people, as an administrator.

The Chairman’s position is a formal one. As a representative of the office of H.H. the Dalai Lama, he is directly involved in the administration and the welfare programmes of the Settlement. In other words as a Chairman of the Tibetan Cooperative Society he holds a strategic position in the Settlement. His office is open for supervision by two senior officials — one monk official and another a lay official from the Pharnasalc.

B. Village Leader or Headman (Pem-ba):

The traditional method of Tibetan village administration was based on the clan system and leadership was passed on clan basis. Here in India, clan organisation has lost its significance. The change in the social organisation from lord-serf relation to a more democratic one has brought much structural changes in the leadership and political organisation among Tibetans.

Now here at the settlement a village leader is elected by all the heads of the families. It is not necessary for a leader to own property or to occupy
higher economic position as it was the case in Tibet. Every Tibetan irrespective of his background gets the voting right. They vote and elect a person who is educated and not necessarily coming from a noble or rich family, and they are accepted as leaders by most of the commoners. However, it was noticed that most of the past and present village leaders belong to some or the other high status group in Tibet.

In a few cases elected persons may not agree to take up the responsibility, because now they have to work in the fields to make a living. Further leadership position also takes away one's time in visiting officials and conducting public meetings. In Tibet the village leaders had lot of property and other economic gains. Therefore there was no need for them to work on the farm. Now the situation has changed and the leadership never brings any additional income to him.

Secondly, here there is very little competition in the field of leadership. Because the present situation needs an educated person to hold the office and the majority of the Tibetans are illiterate. A few persons reject the leadership offer owing to their low status and a feeling of no authority. Therefore usually when
an elected person refuses, the person who gets the next winning votes gets the leadership position. The office of a village leader is for one year. In a few cases a leader who is liked by his village is retained for several years.

2. **Sub-leader (Chok penma):**

The sub-leaders are elected or nominated by the village leader. One may also get this chance when the appointment is made on rotation basis. A sub-leader has a few formal roles to perform and also some authority, as well. He acts as an mediator between the village leaders and the people. Once appointed he works for six months and in some cases for one year. Since he has a few official roles to perform he is classed as a formal leader.

There are few leaders among Tibetan refugees who do not come under any of the categories we have discussed so far. These leaders by nature are constructive and innovative. There are a few situational leaders also. Some of them take interest to collect funds to build community halls and to conduct meetings. They teach people about the importance of modern education and change need to the traditional outlook. They also maintain contacts with a few local officials namely the health,
police and agricultural officials and teachers and use these contacts for the good of their people.

The qualities of leadership have also changed owing to the changes which have taken place in the basic structure of the Society. A leader's position varies according to the situations and duties which he undertakes. Even when the goals are set, the methods employed by a leader to consolidate his following differ according to the circumstances, by which the community is influenced by. There are many methods of acquiring leadership positions. Some may inherit by descent and others may achieve by legal acceptance of the people through election and nomination. Still others may get it by the character or traits possessed by them namely, the charismatic political status, education, etc. In other cases one may be forced to subordinate his main purpose in propaganda and to encourage the tempting of his followers by the prospect of some one or the other advantages. A leader can arouse the faith of his followers by this impressive personality. The traits of personality may vary with the programmes in view. These qualities leadership however may vary from leader to leader.
Tibetans consider the hereditary (Rogo) type of leadership as the most appropriate one to hold the administrative power. And persons tracing their origin to the early kings, families rewarded by government for rendering a service of high quality are considered more appropriate for leadership.

Now in Mundgod, the situation has changed much. In Tibet an aristocrat who held lot of land along with the serfs attached to him, used to be more interested to attain a high status in his society. Here as the land holding pattern is completely different, every one enjoys equal right and freedom. At the same time like the leaders in the traditional society have no problem of bearing heavy expenses to maintain their status in the society. They need not spend for the high officials who visit them. Higher economic status as a leadership trait has, therefore, lost its significance. However, values attached to the high classes, still continue and the people seem to prefer their leaders to be of a high social rank.

Education is also an important trait of leadership. Here again only the rich people were either able to send their children for education to district
people or train them privately at home. People of the middle and the poor classes could not afford this. In Tibet every headman had to have the education to deal with the official and village administration. Therefore every working leader in the traditional Tibetan Society, used to educate his children to retain the leadership position within his own family. Today also literacy is one of the important traits required to be possessed by a leader in the Mundgod Tibetan Society. A literate leader can read magazines and news and acquire knowledge of the outside world. Thereby he can guide his people in their political, social, economic and religious life. The leader is the representative and the authority of his community. He comes in contact with the leaders and commoners in other Tibetan as well as Indian villages. If he is educated it helps him to know the Socio-economic and other aspects and the institutions.

To maintain good contacts with people outside the community one has to speak Kannada and/or Hindi fluently. So a leader is supposed to know the local languages at least better than his followers. A leader is supposed to introduce many new things into the traditional Tibetan Society. To do this effectively he has to accept new things first and set an example to others. Thus we see
innovation of some kind has also taken as an important trait of leadership, here at the settlement.

Sympathy is another trait of leadership. A sympathetic and kind leader is liked by one and all. Most of the Tibetans have lost their own-kin and property and depend on the government help and the allotted land. A few are very poor, handicapped or too old to work. They need material help and sympathy from others. Only a kind and sympathetic leader can cater to this need. Similarly the children of poor and handicapped, also need a sympathetic leader. Naturally enough an unsympathetic and selfish leader is publicly condemned by one and all.

Boldness is also a trait for leadership. Tibetans who come from different provinces of Tibet differ very much in their socio-cultural background. To control them, to passify them, and to lead them in a foreign situation, one needs courage. When others are demoralised by their own problems the one who leads them should be morally and mentally strong. So a bold person is always preferred as a leader by the Tibetans. In addition to this morality, honesty and ideal characters are also the traits for leadership. Without these one cannot face and control his followers properly. Owing to the weakening of socio-
cultural values morality among the Tibetans seems to be weakening. Under these circumstances a person who continues to uphold them and care for them is considered a good person. Therefore the Tibetans feel that those who possess this trait are considered fit for leadership position.

Self sacrifice is another trait for leadership. A leader interested in the community welfare should sacrifice his personal comforts, gains, etc., and help his followers. No follower will accept a selfish leader. While selecting or electing a leader the Settlers take into consideration another factor - his official place of residence in Tibet. Those who come from one village or district or even the same province think they are nearer. This regional feeling is important from the point of view of settlers since they believe a person close to them will help them better.

The Tibetan religious and political supremacy lies even today with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. However, he promulgated a draft constitution as early as 1963 which he wants to adopt if and when they return to Tibet. The new constitution which is highly democratic brings not only freedom to commoners but also levels
the different socio-economic groups in the society. The constitution will also reduce the Dalai Lama into a formal figure head of the future Tibetan State. In 1969 he declared that - 'the system of governance by a line of Dalai Lamas may or may not continue, it is the will of the people that will ultimately determine the future of Tibet (Editorial, Tibetan Review, 1976:3-4). This statement has shocked many of the Tibetans because they think that Tibet cannot exist without the institution of Dalai Lama.

But many of them who are aiming and returning to a democratic Tibet say it is good for the Dalai Lama and also for the country to abolish it. There are also those who say that the institution, at present has some vital functions to perform. So it should continue till an alternative institution is found or the present one itself may continue with some changes. Dawa Norbu (1976:4) in his editorial to the Tibetan Review commented - "it is not only the Dalai Lama's promise which will guarantee a democratic set up, but the objective condition in Tibet will not allow a return to the old order. If such be the case one cannot see much in the present Dalai Lama's statement. The Tibetans need the Dalai Lama most as a
unifying force in their struggle for freedom. Or else if
times are bad he may even turn out to be a manager of
chaos and even of anarchy. Dalai Lama might prove useful
in a figure head symbolizing continuity in Tibet's
history and culture. Indeed it is not necessary to abolish
the institution of Dalai Lama altogether to usher
democracy or socialism in Tibet. Dalai Lama for the good
will of his own or for that of Tibetan peoples and also
historically, it would not be incorrect for a Dalai Lama
to abolish the institution or succession of Dalai Lamas.
Being a national institution, it might require a national
consensus, whether to abolish it or not”.

The Dalai Lama's statement to end the institution
may also mean something else. Ashok Chopra quoting Sinha
(loc.cit. 1976:5) wrote when an incarnate lama expresses
his desires to enter Nirvana, that is when he does not
like to be reborn, his followers petition him to change
his mind. The incarnation desiring to stop his rebirth
does not actually mean that he wants to end the institution
of Dalai Lama. He may just want to lay down his political
office. Further, Ashok Chopra interprets the decision of
Dalai Lama to relinquish his office, as he may be thinking
in terms of his own Nirvana. The Mahayana conception of
Nirvana differs from that of Hinayana in the sense that
the in the letter It xeeta with one's individual self and for the welfare of the humanity. Dalai Lama's announcement of relinquishing his office thus would go against the fundamentals of the Mahayana system of Buddhism. Chopra (1976:5) further writes that Mahayana doctrine represents the Karuna aspect of the Buddha himself. Scholars believe that it is left to the deity - Chejen drômae and not to the Dalai Lama, to take the decision. In this connection what Elnor Rees (loc. cit. 1976:5) says is also important. To him the only fate awaiting the future of Dalai Lamas is of "figurehead" with reduced power or none at all. In such a case the Dalai Lama should withdraw from public "activity" which goes at the cost of the spirit to dedicate his life to a worthier cause.

Tibetans in exile have also undergone drastic changes in their economic and social organization. These changes in turn have forced them to bring changes to some extent in their administration. However, the ultimate faith in Dalai Lama as the temporal and spiritual head of the State can be never wiped out from the mind of the people completely. It is certain that without him and his charismatic authority, the Tibetan Society cannot move properly or may not protect its traditional socio-cultural identities.
Now, a good lot of change has taken place in the Tibetan Society - from lord-serfdom type to the democratic one. This, however, may bring only the economic liberty and political freedom and not religious. The Tibetans believe that their culture, its values and concepts are based mainly on the religious values controlled by the charismatic authority. To break off from the religious fold means losing them permanently. They say that need the utmost control of their charismatic leader H.H. the Dalai Lama. They strongly hold the Dalai Lama as their political and religious head. Side by side they also want to have the present systems of democratic practices but not at the cost of the tradition. The Tibetans can tolerate anything but not the disintegration of their religion and the religious head. This fact is evident from the history of Tibetan administration.

Law and Social Control:

Every Society has a set of ideals according to which it trains its people. In all societies either the traditional or modern, there exists a type of social control brought about by the customs and convention, but not necessarily by law; while in some the legal law is continues to be enforced by some authority. The Tibetan law is contained in a book - Trim Yin Shelche Churum - which means 'the thirteen decrees'. This is believed to
have been promulgated by King Songtsen Gampo in the seventh century A.D. The thirteen decrees are in fact thirteen laws dealing with various types of offences, punishments and sanctions. According to Dawa Norbu (1974: 77) the Tibetan laws include a few primitive methods of mutilations like plucking the out eye balls, amputation of tongue or hand, throwing the criminal alive into water or from a precipice. However, with the influence of Buddhism these severe modes of punishments have decreased considerably. However it is on record that The thirteenth Dalai Lama officially banned such un-Buddhist punishments.

The book 'the thirteen decrees' also contains fines to be imposed in terms of gold. The laws also deal with the duties of officials, which expect them to be selfless and honest. They also deal with the holding of investigations. The eighth clause strictly forbids abortion. The ninth deals with methods with which disputes are resolved when evidences are lacking. Under such circumstances disputes are resolved by an oath and by playing dice or picking out black and white pebbles from the boiling oil. Swearing is more effective because of their profound belief in their faith. The tenth clause deals with matters on thieves and robbers (chakpa). A reward will be given to the one who kills a robber. For stealing even of small items, the thief was beaten 50 to
100 times with a leather whip (chakchēy). Stealing during the night is considered bad compared to stealing by day. If, the owner of the robbed things was beaten by the thieves it is not considered bad, as it indicates the strength of the robbers. It was also considered that the things were taken away directly.

The eleventh clause which deals with divorce, provides that in case of divorce the dowry should be repaid and sons of the union in marriage should go with the father (phu phēn) and the daughters with the mother (phōmē matēh). When a son or daughter desires to live separately, a daughter gets a quarter of the amount given to a son. If one of them was in the ecclesiastic group, as a monk or a nun, the family bore the expenses of his or her food and clothing.

The twelfth decree deals with adultery. In the traditional order punishment was considered on three factors. First, invitation for sexual intercourse; second, the verge of sexual intercourse and third, the act of intercourse. Or two intercourses were condoned. But if there have been more than sixty occasions, the adulterers were fined sixty khele of grain. A married woman when caught at extramarital unions, her nose was cut off.
A man who seduces another's wife, was fined three gold coins, which in turn were paid to her husband. He was also asked to give a written pledge stating that in future he will not do this blunder. A commoner if committed the offence of adultery with the wife of an authority, his limbs were cut off.

The last decree - the thirteenth law, deals with the general laws of the human relations.

There was no separate judicial power as such in Tibetan administration. The governor of the local government appointed two senior officials to investigate and act as judges. Regarding the judicial procedure Dawa Norbu (1974:63) says, after placing a Khat-scarf (Sacred Scarf) before a judge a disputant retreats a few steps, and with bowed head and bent knees reveals his case in the most dignified and honourable language. In the course of narration the original statements should be neither altered nor added to. He further says the people in judiciary should not accept bribes.

It should however be noticed that though there is a lack of efficient police force in Tibet the number of crimes committed more less. This was because of religious stigma on the bad things or the suffering in
the wheel of life - the Karma of bad deeds, have played their role in this. During the investigator's stay of about a year and a half with the Mundgod Tibetans cases of theft, quarrel and sinful act committed by the Tibetans were very rare. The informants also told that the severe punishments suggested in the Tibetan law are for exceptional cases. They also confess that they have never seen a person so severely punished as mentioned in the decree. It is said the thirteenth Dalai Lama rooted out such en-Buddhist punishments.

When a thief is tried for a minor theft by the village leaders, he is asked to repent for it and is asked to return the articles to the owner. He is also made to pay one hundred to five hundred tsam (bow from foot to head) depending upon the nature of crime, and also to offer a scarf and oil lamps to the god. Here at the Settlement in case a local Indian is involved both the Indian as well as the Tibetan leaders have to intervene. Here, mention should be made of the case of a Tibetan from village No. 5 who brought a stolen roller from an Indian. After a few days the owner of the roller traced it and asked the Tibetan to return it. The Tibetan asked for the return of his money first. Ultimately the matter came before the headman of the Koppa - a nearby village. During
the negotiations however it was found that the Tibetan when he actually bought it knew that it was a stolen one. The headman told the Tibetan that he has committed an offence by encouraging a thief and so asked him to return the roller to its original owner and the thief was made to pay the money back to the Tibetan buyer.

There are also cases where Indians, who work as labourers to Tibetans, stealing paddy and corn from the fields owned by the Tibetans. But when this was brought to the notice of the headman of the culprit’s village the headman has invariably taken suitable action. As aliens the Tibetans are not supposed to approach the Indians directly for regarding such matters but only through their village leaders. However, the Tibetans do not involve their leaders in these matters because of the fear that their leaders have violated the rules of the Settlement and the same shall be disclosed. Thus the aggrieved party directly takes up the matter with the concerned person and this leads to further complications. On the other hand even the village leaders keep aloof as and pretend ignorance. For example, during the emergency period owing to abolition of rural indebtedness, a few Tibetans who had lent money to the Indians had taken their land on long term lease for about eight to ten
years, had a few disputes. The borrowers belonging to poor and low castes had received this land as a grant from the government. Sometimes the owners of these lands lived away in far-off villages or were employed somewhere else. They had found it profitable to lease it to someone and the enterprising Tibetans took it. When the law to abolish rural indebtedness was implemented, the Indians claimed the land back. Here again the village and settlement officials wisely stayed away and asked the parties involved to settle the matter as quietly as possible. Because of this, a few lost their money or got little out of it. Knowing this, check on the Tibetans, a few Indians took advantage of the situation. Here too the Tibetan leaders kept away from the problem. When the acquired Tibetans protested against this, they were reminded of the instruction of the Dalai Lama that they should maintain peaceful and good relationship with the natives at any cost.

There are many offences regarding sex among the Tibetans at Munggod. A few had premarital and extramarital sex and some even resulting in illegitimate births. Had it been in Tibet, these would have created a more serious situation. But here such cases are secretly negotiated among themselves and are not reported to the leaders. However, we find that a few such cases have ended in the informal
desolution of marriage. In a few cases the village
leaders have remained aloof to avoid legal complications.
In Tibet there were ways and means to deal with offences
regarding sex. In case of a premarital sex offence the
offender was given a very simple punishment - i.e. marrying
the girl in question and accepting the fatherhood of the
child, after performing a ritual. In case of an extra
marital sex, the offender was accepted as an extra
husband for the woman, thus establishing a non-fraternal
polyandrous marriage, instead of giving a divorce.

Regarding serious offences like murders, in
Tibet, an offender was punished by making him to move
about wearing an iron ring weighing five kilograms, around
his ankles. Sometimes he was also made to carry a heavy
and long wooden plank around his neck (Tsejak). In India
such cases are dealt directly by the local courts of law
and the punishment sanctioned is given. A few elderly
informants said that it is because of their sins in
previous birth that they are suffering as refugees. Now
they say one cannot afford to commit any more sins, but
should lead a religious life and see that they will earn
a merit and go back to their homeland.
The Tibetans in Mundgod settlement maintain a co-operative society of their own and the thon-je-wy is the Chairman. Of the Society each village elects a representative of its own to work as the director for the Tibetan Co-operative Society. There are eight directors - one each from the eight villages. This position sometimes becomes dual since most of the village headmen are elected as the directors. A monk official and another a lay official, from the Dharmaala visit the society for auditing and discuss administrative matters with the officials in the Settlement. Finally the accounts are placed before the general body in a public meeting.

The Tibetans receive fertilizers, seeds and tractor services from the Society, on credit basis. As a rule they sell their agricultural products through the Society. This makes it easy for the officials to collect the loans given to them. However, a member who has not taken loan from the Society is free to sell his products in the open market. But he has to give 2% commission to the Society in the form of aid to run the Society. Members therefore prefer to sell all their surplus through the Society.
The Society also owns two trucks and maintains a workshop for the use of the members. It also runs flour mills, hotels and grocery shops in different villages for the convenience of its members.

In 1976, the Society started a handicraft section to prepare Tibetan carpets. Here about twenty trained persons and thirty trainees are working on daily wages. From time to time, they admit trainees so that after training they can get employed in the handicraft section in the Settlement. This has brought a secondary source of income for a few persons in the Settlement.

During 1973-74 the Tibetan Co-operative Society earned a net profit of Rs. 2,14,828.83. During 1974-75 it underwent loss to the tune of Rs. 72,798.30. Again in the year 1975-76, it suffered a heavy loss of Rs. 109,286.12. The members say that this loss was due to the mismanagement and misappropriation of funds by the society officials. It is also true that owing to the lack of proper leadership and inefficiency, the management was unable to recover loans from members; in some cases even the arrears of past 6-7 years. Members of the society also feel that the society officials are in office almost permanently and there are every possibilities of misappropriation, and that their
long association with the society has also taken away their efficiency. Some members are of the opinion that the present Chairman of the Society is too young to understand their problems and that he seldom mixes with the village leaders and other members. They are also of view that, because he does not possess a noble or high class family background, he lacks the leadership quality. But still no one dares to complain against him to the higher authorities in Dharmasala because he is an influential person.

The Society is a registered body under Karnataka State Co-operative Societies Act. The Chairman of this Society becomes an ex-officio member to all the co-operative societies in the Taluka. In this capacity he gets a voting right to elect directors of all the co-operative societies in Mundgod Taluka.

Kanara District Co-operative Credit Bank Ltd., and Syndicate Bank have their branches in the Settlement. The K.D.C.C. Bank is attached to the Tibetan Co-operative Society and provides loan and credit facilities to the farmers. It is found that only the village leaders, as innovators, have taken maximum use of these banks by keeping S.B. accounts and deposits. Many others have not
yet developed faith in the banking system. They rather borrow money from the banks and spend money on unproductive items than investing it. A few Tibetans have also taken loan from the Syndicate Bank, on personal security, for the business of sweaters. The amount is approximately Rs. 2,50,000 every year. The loan is returned with interest and borrowed again. A few Tibetans have taken loans from K.D.C.C. bank using the good contacts of their village leaders. It is required that those who borrow for agricultural purposes from the K.D.C.C. bank should have to produce a 'no dues' or 'no objection' certificate from the Tibetan Co-operative Society and through his village lender. Those who are very poor and have not returned the loan to the Co-operative Society cannot get this certificate and so cannot get fresh loan from any of the banks. This makes it difficult for the poor and they will have to stop their agricultural operations or have to take loan from private money lenders in the Settlement paying a very high rate of interest. This has made a few poor farmers to lease their lands and in return get a very low return out of it. This in a way has made the poor poorer and the rich the richer. It is observed that the leaders of all levels have not yet taken note of this situation.
It is a must for all the Tibetans to keep their camps clean. It was found that the people have never cared for this. A few have taken interest in cleaning the area surrounding their homes as a precaution against fire accidents. Except this no community level health and hygiene work is undertaken in the villages. It is also the duty of the leaders to see that the nursery school in their village works properly. Because the mothers leave their children between three to five years of age, when they go for work, and throughout the day the children are under the care of two maid-mothers of the school it is noticed that the arrangements are not satisfactory. Children get mid-day meal with the aid from Swiss Government. The parents also contribute, Rs. 3.00 per child per month. This amount is used towards the payment for the housemaids, the cook and for buying other things needed for the mid-day meal. In all the villages except villages III and IV the villagers have constructed common buildings to house the Nursery Schools. These buildings are also used to conduct community meetings. Recently a few active and young men in the Settlement have taken initiative and organised the people in the villages III and IV to collect funds both in cash and kind including free labour for constructing buildings for Nursery School. Extra money needed for this is obtained as a loan from the K.D.C.C. bank.
In the Mundgod settlement except the IVth and VIth all villages have electricity, because the leaders of the villages were unable to collect money from all the residents and deposit it with the K.E.B. Office at Mundgod, so that a special line upto their Settlement, could be layed. It is also said that in the past, a leader from Village IV collected about Rs. 10,000 for this purpose but spent it for his personal use because of this now the people of this particular village have lost faith in the faith in the village leadership and are afraid to subscribe. There are also some who do not want electricity and have refuse to contribute.

Those Tibetans who do not have any secondary occupations complain that their leaders are not taking any initiative to bring any small scale industries to their village. The leaders in turn put the blame on the higher authorities. The representative of K.E.B. the Dalai Lama however says that he has no funds with him for this purpose. But the Manager of the Syndicate Bank in the Settlement has informed the investigator that he is willing to sanction loan if the representative shows all the files connected with the accounts of the Co-operative Society. Since the available accounts are not clear the bank has refused to sanction any more loans as the result, a few
villages in the settlement do not have any secondary source for their living.

We cannot but fail to mention another area where the leaders have failed. It is in preventing the Tibetans from manufacturing arrack and the Tibetan beer (chāng) which is sold both to Tibetans and Indians alike. Buddhism forbids preparation as well as the selling of liquor. Some Tibetans have resorted to this illicit trade because they are poor and helpless and there is a lucrative demand for liquor.

The village leaders have also failed in settling a number of familial disputes and as a result there are a number of divorces, breaking of joint families cases of premarital sex and unwed mothers. There are many cases of extra-marital sex. Recently a murder has taken place in the Settlement owing to a dispute over extramarital sex.

But in general the Tibetans say that their stay in India is happier and free because compared with their native land here they are not very much bound by laws and regulations. In Tibet the powers and authority of a leader were effective. Here owing to changed situations the authority and the powers of both the leaders and the law
The Tibetan youth are very different compared to their old ones. They are now living in a society which is changing fast and upholds equality and democracy. They have attached to the new values instead of traditional values of the Tibetan Society. As they are now put in a different world of culture, they are able to adopt to many new things. They work for the welfare of their community as a whole, and feel that the fundamentals of their traditional culture and society with its religion should not be disintegrated irrespective of the adoption of a few useful innovations. The Tibetan Youths are also interested in learning from the outside world. A few old persons and persons of higher social strata in Tibet did not like the youth leadership, a few think it creates a sort of groupism among the Tibetans. Others think that it is against the traditional order and system of administration. Still others think it is not of any use to them when they return to Tibet. Most of them uphold the traditional ways of life with their traditional administration with minimum innovations like education which are only useful to their society. A few of my informants who appreciated the youth leadership had all the regrets that
only a few youth leaders came to the front and many others are busy with their day-to-day affairs.

In the settlement the Tibetan youth have started a Tibetan Youth Society (Shuru) in October 1970. Presently its membership thirty-five. The Society has five official positions, viz., President, Vice-President, Secretary, Cashier and Sports-in-charge. They are elected by the members once in three years. It should be mentioned here that the Tibetan youth all over India, have a union with its headquarters in Gangtok (Sikkim). Every year the youth meet and discuss about their problems and the possible ways and means to liberate their mother land.

The Tibetan Youth Society at the Mundgod Tibetan Settlement, has many plans and programmes like sanitation, teaching the Tibetans, the practices of health and hygiene, providing the poor with financial assistance, educating people against alcoholism and gambling, controlling and protecting the youngsters from falling into bad habits, conducting adult education programmes, making Tibetans to understand the local officials, starting small scale economic projects, and teaching the values of legitimate and illegitimate sex and the new and modern methods of agriculture. They also arrange for the staging of Tibetan
traditional dramas, dances and songs so that the people will be in touch with the traditional culture and values of their society. The members also visit every Settlement and conduct meetings to educate the people about the freedom of their country. They also arrange for the show of a few films which give knowledge of the outside world and play types of foreign games and the modernized methods of agriculture are also introduced. However the achievements of the youths in the settlement are not at all satisfactory. The officials of the Youth Society when the investigator interviewed, said that they lack the necessary funds and also the time because most of the employed in different capacities.

The foregone pages show that the leaders do not take much interest in the leadership activities since they are of the opinion that their stay in India is temporary. Leaders also think that they have no economic or social status to hold the leadership positions as in Tibet. The leaders here seem to only play the roles of a mediator between the people and officials and nothing more than that.

We should notice the fact that in Tibet the abrupt end of autocracy has freed the commoners from
the economic dependence on the nobles. Here in the Settlement however the Co-operative Society has provided the common men with an alternative to money lenders. Now all the Tibetans are treated equals and this change in the social organization has made each one of them independent in thought and ways of life, etc. Now a commoner can also become a leader, if he possesses qualities of leadership. Under these forces of change the old power structure is gradually giving way to a new structure of power in the Tibetan community. The people here have now assigned the leadership to the mature men instead of the dominant people as is done in Tibet. The leadership is now changing from the hands of dominant to the active as well mature ones in the community. This is due to their shifting from the traditional world of culture to the modern world with modern trends of democratic views, and perceptions. But along with all this they have great attachment to the traditional values and culture. They say they need a leader who brings new changes within the traditional values, so as to adjust themselves to the present situation of the change. But it should be noticed that to some extent the leadership of the community continues to be in the hands of dominant people.
However there has been a lot of change in the leadership of the present times. We notice that there was enough competition for leadership in Tibet, because leadership meant prestige and high social and economic status. It also encouraged joint families necessary for leadership. But now at the settlement conditions have changed, leading to independent families with their own pieces of land and with their own family members. The high and the low class distinctions is almost vanishing. At the community level, adults groups belonging to high class are pushing down the groups belonging to low class. As the leadership is not hereditary and is temporary, the people have developed new values. The competition for leadership has almost died out and sometimes inactive persons are compelled to accept the leadership positions.